der an organized body of them as merely containing the aggregate strength of the number of men composing it, without referring to the principles upon which their union is cemented. On the contrary, their huddling together, as it were, has all the appearance of fear; and the adventurous barbarian is only the more inclined to attack them. The Mamelukes of Egypt advanced to the muzzles of the French muskets, and, in their rage* at being unable to break the ranks, threw themselves from their horses, and seized the bayonets with their hands. The Lesghis, and other Tartars, cannot be brought to comprehend the nature of discipline; but in contempt of foot soldiers, threw themselves upon the Russian battalions with unabated confidence, notwithstanding their repeated discomfiture: they attribute the success even of the Russian artillery to the horses that draw it. The Nepaulese prisoners could not understand how their troops, accustomed to victory, had been beaten; and repeatedly said, "Give us Buctower

* It affords a remarkable illustration of the tendency which extremes have to meet under all circumstances, that the highly-disciplined Cuirassiers of the French army, notwithstanding the extensive experience which they must have had, displayed the same feeling of indignant surprise on being repulsed by the British squares on the heights of Mont St. Jean, as the Mamelukes of Egypt did when they were unable to penetrate the ranks of the French at the battle of the Pyramids.—See *Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

Thapa (one of their bravest chiefs) to command us, and we will fight it over again with you whenever you please;"—and the Burmese, it is well known, were so struck with the slender make of the Madras Sepoys, that they were convinced we owed our success to some peculiar quality possessed by the Europeans, and always said, that if the latter were withdrawn, they would drive the rest of the army into the sea.

It is, however, to take a very confined view of discipline, to suppose that it consists in nothing more than ranging men in even files, clothing them uniformly, and arming them with muskets, &c.;—all this may be done, and yet fail to inspire that confidence which is requisite to make good soldiers. Confidence, in this sense, is no less the result of the character of the Government itself, than of the personal weight of the commander, whether of a battalion, division, or army—the latter having, doubtless, the greatest influence in the hour of battle, but the former giving to the army its general qualifications and efficiency. Let any one observe the difficulty of keeping up the spirit and discipline of an army, when supplies are irregularly or scantly forwarded to it, or when good quarters and accommodation for the sick are not well attended to; and he will easily comprehend how much greater the influence of Government is, than any other. The feeling of se-

curity which the soldier experiences on being assured of the stability of the system under which he serves, and under the operation of which he expects to be provided for, when disabled, or worn out in the service, is so indispensable in upholding his firm attachment, that it has been observed, that in India the East India Company suffers in the opinion of the native troops, as well as of the inhabitants at large, from the vicarious nature of its Government. Known throughout the provinces chiefly as the collectors of the revenue, its agents or functionaries are expected to take their flight upon the appearance of any more formidable competition. The idea of a change of masters thus necessarily becomes familiar to the native army, and other classes of the community; and every report of the Company's reign being over, as Bishop Heber relates, displays the little moral influence which the dominion of a century has established over the minds of the people of Hindostan. The English are, in fact, considered in no other light than those foreigners who trained the Mahratta troops in the European manner, but who, neglecting to secure those guarantees of the permanence of their system, just alluded to, did but cripple the nations of those active marauders, and deliver them, chained and bound, into our hands—they gave them the cumbrous qualities of our tactics, which rendered it impossible for them

to avoid coming in contact with our regular forces, but were unable to supply that confidence in their new organization which alone could give it effect, and enable them to contend with so formidable an antagonist. But this error, though obvious enough in the instance before us, we shall ourselves be in danger of committing, if we measure our strength merely by the number of men enrolled beneath our banners, without taking the necessary steps to inspire them with confidence in the stability of our power, grounded upon the general attachment of the people to our system of Government

This observation applies with still greater force to the attempts lately made to introduce the system of European discipline amongst the Persians. Discipline, to be efficient, should be national;—until regular institutions afford a firm basis to rest upon, a reserve and rallying point in case of defeat, it is in vain to expect any permanent benefit from the adoption of the mere outward forms of European warfare. On the contrary, the experiment will be attended with the manifest disadvantage of forcing the Persians into contact with more experienced soldiers, without holding out that prospect of renewed effort, even after repulse, which constitutes the redeeming characteristic of undisciplined valour. When men are once accustomed to act in concert, defeat and dispersion are generally fatal to them; they can no longer unite without the presence and assistance of some superior authority to re-organize them; their habits of regular discipline unfit them for the display of indi-

One point generally overlooked in appreciating the strength of our position in India, is, that the Mohammedans, besides the immense numbers that

vidual prowess; and whilst the more irregular bands of warriors are broken and dispersed only to unite again and combat with a keener thirst for revenge, the disciplined body, unless supported by a widely-extended system, having the confidence of the nation for its basis, is thrown into inextricable confusion, unable to rally till at a distance from the field of battle and safe from the attack of the enemy. It may, indeed, be objected, that great captains have, in all ages, kept their armies together by means of their own energy, unsupported by any ulterior system; but in these cases we shall find that, besides the more indiscriminate right of plunder, almost unknown in modern warfare, their discipline was enforced by the assistance of select bands, or reserves, which, whilst they formed a rallying point for those who were repulsed, kept the wavering in their ranks by the influence as much of fear as of example. In the cases before us, however,—the Mahrattas under the guidance of French officers, and the Persians under our own,—these reserves, which should be the support of the whole army, are thrown forward in the commencement of the conflict, and, being once beaten, there is no longer any hope of opposing the progress of the enemy. The declaration of Aga Mahomed Khan,* that he knew better than to run his head against the Russian walls of steel, and expose his irregular army to be destroyed by their cannon and disciplined troops, was exactly to the point. "Their shot," said the sagacious monarch, "shall never reach me; but they shall possess no country beyond its range; they shall not know sleep; and let them

* Sketches in Persia, chapter xx.

settled in Hindostan on each of their three grand irruptions, received constant accessions to their strength by Mussulman adventurers of all coun-

march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert." This observation reminds us of the advice of Memnon the Rhodian, for conducting the war against Alexander the Great, as given by *Diodorus Siculus and Arrian,†—to check the Macedonians by destroying the country before them, and preventing their marching forward for want of provisions; to trample the herbage under their horses' feet; to burn the produce of the country, and even to lay the towns and villages waste; "by which means," says the latter, "Alexander, finding himself destitute of provision and forage, would be unable to penetrate farther." To the portion of this opinion on the inexpediency of forming the Persians into regular battalions, Sir John Malcolm seems to have given his ready assent; though, from what is stated in the chapter immediately preceding the one first quoted, not altogether upon very correct principles; for, if the harlequin-changes which are there referred to, had indeed left his Persian friends no remains of barbarism but their beards, the introduction of the modern system of discipline would be in all respects right and proper; it would then be the effect of an efficient cause:—it is only its premature introduction before other departments of the state, and indeed the nation generally, had been sufficiently improved to enable them to appreciate its value, and to give it full effect, that is earnestly to be deprecated. If they go hand in hand with civilization, there is plenty of good stuff in Persia to oppose the progress of the Russians; but by no other means is this desirable end to be effected.

* Lib. xvii. c. 2. † Lib. i. c. 13.

tries, whether from the North, or by the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. It was by this extensive colonization that their numbers were augmented beyond the usual ratio of natural increase, and their spirit was enabled to keep pace with that of their sect in other parts of the world; a point which, though it appe[illegible] easy accomplishment to us, was sufficient to preserve their intellectual superiority over the degraded Hindoo, as well as to give them great weight as a component part of the population. To this state of things our present situation bears no sort of resemblance, nor is there indeed any thing strictly analogous in all history to the conquest of Hindostan by our countrymen. All other extensive conquests have been effected by means of large armies, and maintained either by such armies settling in the conquered country, or protecting the settlement of their fellow countrymen.* But in India, the number of European troops employed at any one period, has been inconceivably small; and our acquisitions have at once been made and maintained almost entirely by the agency of our conquered subjects. At the decisive battle of Plassey, Lord

* See a long enumeration of instances given by Seneca, ending with the passage quoted by Gibbon. (Decline and Fall, chap. ii.) "Wheresoever the Roman conquers, he inhabits."

Clive had only nine hundred Europeans; and at the present day, the number of Europeans in the whole army is not more than as one to ten native soldiers. The Europeans of every description, actually in India, are only in the proportion of one to three thousand natives; whilst under the height of the Mogul government, the Mohammedans are said never to have been less than one-twentieth, though sometimes estimated as high as one-twelfth of the whole population.

With this immense disparity of numbers against us, it is surely unwise, and even criminal, to shut our eyes to the real circumstances by which our situation, as the ruling caste of India, is distinguished. If, indeed, our hold upon the natives is in opinion—if they look up to us with confidence for security of person and property, as well as for encouragement in whatever conduces to their happiness and prosperity—which, indeed, is the only rational meaning of an empire of opinion—then it behoves us to endeavour, by every means in our power, to diffuse the benefits of education throughout the country; to reform the habits of the people; to excite their industry, and to impress them with that consciousness of their own defects, which shall at once awaken in them the desire of knowledge, and dispose them to rely upon the wisdom and beneficent intentions of their

rulers. But if by opinion, it is meant to be insinuated, as is sometimes the case, that our strength depends upon the ignorance of the natives of their immense numerical preponderance, then the idea displays not only the extreme of folly, and inattention to passing events,* but is in itself highly dangerous to the continuance of our rule. That ignorance, even if it exist at present, cannot possibly be expected to endure much longer; and if in the mean time any serious danger threaten

* The opposition to the house-tax, &c. at Benares and Bareilly—and lately, the disaffection manifested throughout the provinces during the whole period of the Burmese war—but particularly on the siege of Burtpore being undertaken, are well known. A long catalogue of the signs of the times, more than sufficient under a military despotism and an enslaved press to indicate the temper of the people, might easily be prepared;—two only are here selected. In a late disturbance in the South of India, when a distinguished servant of the Company lost his life, the natives are said to have cut off his right hand, and nailed it to the gate of their fortress, with an inscription, purporting that it belonged to one who had boasted that he never returned a native's salute. In Calcutta, under the eye of the Supreme Government, a wealthy Hindoo, who had erected an immense bazar at an enormous expense, on speculation, was almost ruined by the steady and unanimous refusal of the natives to resort to it, because he was said to have entered into a contract for the purchase of Government salt, by which the already high price of that article was likely to be farther enhanced.

our dominion, the natives will not fail to ask themselves, how far it is desirable to make common cause with a nation which has shown so little solicitude for their welfare. The presence of a rival power will at least afford them the prospect of a change; and as to the great mass of the population of Hindostan no change could well be for the worse, we ought not to be surprised at any excesses into which they may be driven. For nations do not, like individuals, "rather bear the ills they have than fly to others which they know not of;" on the contrary, they strenuously exert themselves to get rid of the burthens which they feel to be galling and troublesome; and when their condition, notwithstanding all their efforts, is perceptibly deteriorating, they eagerly catch at any, even the most remote prospect of relief; they become desperate, and judge that, happen what may, they cannot be worse: by perpetually brooding over the possible evils of a revolution, they familiarize their imagination with disasters and dangers of every description; and it has been truly said, that he who despises life is inaccessible to pity, and that there is no enemy more truly formidable than one who is prepared to die.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE COLONIZATION OF INDIA.

"Instat enim et urget, et quo te cunque verteris, persequitur."

THAT the people of India are, generally speaking, immersed in almost hopeless poverty; that they have in fact nothing to lose, and every thing to gain by a change of masters; and that they must in consequence be quite indifferent to our weal or woe, in the event of danger threatening our dominion, must be quite evident to all who have attentively considered the three great features of our Indian revenue system: the effects which followed, and those which still continue to follow, upon the permanent settlement; the acknowledged aim and end of the Munro system, which is to tax industry and improvement, and to enable Government to drain all the surplus earnings of the cultivators, as the zemindars are allowed to do in Bengal; and lastly, the refusal on the part of the Court of Directors to grant any settlement to the ceded and conquered pro-

vinces, by which a limit may be affixed to the demands of the state upon the produce of the soil. In 1786, Mr. T. Grant thus describes the condition of the Hindoo peasantry: "A seer of rice, with a little seasoning, a rag, a hut, or the canopy of heaven, (the whole brought within the daily expenditure of an anna, or twopence for each individual,) satisfy all the natural wants of an Hindostanny husbandman or manufacturer; and if he can save at the end of the year a couple of rupees from the produce of his industry, rated at one hundred in the market, he is infinitely richer, more contented, and easy in his circumstances, than the individual following either of these trades in England, who, after incurring a personal expense of two shillings a day, should be able to lay by an annual profit of two guineas from his whole estimated work of one hundred." Twenty-seven years afterwards, Warren Hastings, in his reply to a question put to him by Parliament, says: "The poor of India, who are the people, have no*

One might imagine that with these gentlemen, to want nothing, and to want every thing, were synonymous expressions. Much general misapprehension prevails in England respecting the actual wants of the people of India: when we read of the rag which covers the lower classes, and the fine cloth in which the wealthy are wrapped, we think only of the blessing of living in so genial a clime, forgetting

wants; unless the scanty rags which they wear, their huts, and simple food may be considered as such, and these they have upon the ground which they tread upon." And in Mr. Tucker's late work on the Finances of the Company, the following is the description given: "The habits of the great body of the people are simple and uniform; their diet is spare, and confined generally to a few articles of the first necessity—rice, vegetables, fish, and the smaller grains; their clothing is scanty and mean; their habitations poor and unfurnished; what we term luxuries, are confined to the opulent few.' Capital is thinly distributed over the surface; and even the advantages of a genial climate, a prolific soil, and of manufacturing skill, were not found sufficient to swell the stream of commerce. In all this the keen eye of the financier could see nothing to touch; the objects were too minute and worthless,* &c." Thus

that the temperature varies from forty to fifty degrees of Farenheit's thermometer during the year, and, not unfrequently, fifteen or twenty degrees during twenty-four hours. So far, indeed, from clothing being unnecessary, there are perhaps few countries in which the poor suffer more from the want of it; even in the hot weather, the same poverty which puts clothing out of their reach deprives them of oil, without which their sufferings from a scorching sun are excessive.

"Review of Financial State," &c. p. 49. It is worthy of

we see, that, at this moment, the account of the poverty of the inhabitants, given, too, by men who

remark, that, notwithstanding the worthless and minute nature of the objects of taxation here apparently assigned as a reason for the immense land-tax of India, other taxes formed, at the period of Mr. Tucker's writing, more than a moiety of the whole revenue of the Bengal Presidency. The salt monopoly, in particular, yields two-thirds as much as the land-revenue of the lower provinces, approaching, as Mr Tucker himself expresses it, to a poll-tax of no trifling amount. The price of salt Mr. T. states to be about 12½ pence per annum to the consumers, for six seers, (which, however, is but a small average allowance;) but as he inadvertently grounds his estimate upon the wholesale price obtained by Government, it is obviously too low. And, in point of fact, the retail price is always as high as two annas per seer, which will raise the expenditure of each individual to eighteen pence, instead of twelve pence half-penny, or about 50 per cent. upon the wholesale price: which, assuming Mr. T.'s estimate of natural price to be correct, (about one-third the gross sale price,) will make the amount of tax to Government, on account of salt, about one shilling, instead of eight pence halfpenny a head per annum, as he has stated it. This computation agrees, also, with the amount of gross sales and charges given in Mr. Prinsep's financial result of Lord Hastings' administration. The charge of 55,53,176 rupees being deducted from 2,04,75,412 rupees, and the remainder divided by thirty millions, the supposed amount of population, gives 11.925 pence, or very nearly one shilling; which, being taken as the amount of poll-tax received by Government, and 50 per cent. added for the advance of retail price, gives about eighteen pence a head, as before. Independent of this tax, the customs,

ranked amongst the firmest advocates of the Company, applies with as much force as it did nearly half a century ago, notwithstanding the boasted good effects of our rule. Yet more than thirty-five years have now elapsed since the commencement of the discussion respecting the introduction of a more equitable relation between landlord and tenant, upon the model of European tenures, and the subject is still apparently as far as ever from being set at rest. Whole volumes have been written upon the condition of our Eastern possessions, but nothing whatever has been done towards the removal of those causes which weigh down the spirit, and paralyze the exertions, of the great mass of their population. In the interminable controversy, one party accuses the other of exclusively employing the reasoning dictated by European prepossessions, whilst the other retorts the reproach of Orientalism upon all those who would

stamps, and excise, bear with considerable weight upon the people of India: though their consumption of taxable objects may be small, the general rise of prices, occasioned by high taxation, reaches all classes; for the imposition of a tax is like the casting of a stone into the water—the greatest agitation occurs in the first instance at the spot where it falls, but the movement thus occasioned soon subsides, and is carried in circling eddies to the very margin of the pool, leaving its surface smooth and undisturbed, but raised in its level exactly in proportion to the size of the body thrown into it.

persuade the world that the Indian Government ought to follow in the steps of their Mohammedan predecessors; but it must be allowed, that if there is little of unquestionable wisdom in the institutions even of the most enlightened of the old states of Europe, there is certainly infinitely less that is worthy of imitation to be found in the most recondite maxims of Asiatic government. In the mean time, however, whilst we deliberate, the enemy is almost at our gates, and the only opportunity we shall probably ever possess of increasing our moral strength, and organising our resources, is irretrievably passing away.

Whatever notions, abstract or practical, may form the plan upon which the Indian Government, if sincerely desirous to improve the condition of the country, may think proper to act—and, as has before been observed, there is reason to believe, that any system founded upon natural equity and the sound principles of common sense would speedily approve itself to the understandings, and even to the prejudices of the natives—it is quite evident that, without a great change in the present circumstances of society, there would be no adequate foundation for it to rest upon. The people whom we govern are swayed by social and religious institutions, which seem framed for the express purpose of keeping them in perpetual non-

age; and as long as those institutions continue to be unshaken by education and example, it is needless to expect that any desire of improvement will be evinced, or any encouragement be given for hoping that they will profit by the endeavours made to ameliorate their condition. Where ignorance, poverty, and superstition, are all combined, the case may well appear hopeless to those who shrink from the trouble and responsibility of effecting or recommending any alteration in the settled order of things, that is not in a manner forced upon their adoption by the resistless, though often tedious advance of practical knowledge. With the Hindoos, that advance must be even more effectually impeded by their poverty than by their ignorance and superstition. The degree of skill to be acquired in the course of laborious occupations, under the pressure of great poverty, is unavoidably small: if it be true that necessity is the mother of invention, it is no less so that her bantling will never come to maturity unless she have strength and leisure to nurse it. In order to give effect to the happy thoughts which are sometimes struck out on the emergency of the occasion, some spare time is required for reflection and experiment. Knowledge is power in every sense; but practical is not speculative knowledge, and both are requisite in order to mature the sudden conceptions of

genius, when acted upon by necessity. There can be no doubt that many useful discoveries are lost to society for want of time to record and consolidate them; and it is possible that the institution of castes and hereditary trades among the Hindoos, may have taken its rise from the idea, that constant application to one specific employment was favourable to that concentration of mind, which leads to invention and improvement. Cicero expresses himself to this effect in the treatise from which the motto to this chapter is taken;* and, indeed, before the discovery of the advantages to be derived from the division of labour, nothing short of the application of a whole life, accompanied by the traditional lights communicated from father to son, must have appeared sufficient to qualify an individual for the exercise of a distinct trade. The knowledge, which with us is communicated by means of books, must, in the rude times adverted to, have been imparted entirely by oral instruction and practical example; and each successive scholar, instead of enjoying the benefit of the accumulated experience of his predecessors in the art which he was anxious to acquire, and starting, as it were, from the landmarks which they had established, was obliged to conform to the

* "Affert autem vetustas omnibus in rebus longinquâ observatione incredibilem scientiam."—De Divinatione, i. 49.

same process, and to follow the same undeviating routine, which appeared to be the only secret of their superior dexterity.

Thus the ordinary duration of human life seemed too short to produce any material improvement; and accordingly, if the expertness with which the Hindoos manage the simple contrivances which alone are known to them, is, at first sight, calculated to excite the admiration of an European observer; that feeling, when analyzed, will be found to proceed rather from surprise at so much being effected by means apparently so inadequate, than from any impression of the actual knowledge displayed by the artist; and certainly, as far as the point can be ascertained, no material improvement in the arts has taken place amongst them for ages. In India, then, where the number of persons who are qualified to direct or assist in so great a work as the reformation of the habits and manners of a numerous population, is so small and fluctuating, the task is looked upon as quite impracticable.

The efforts that have been made by humane and enlightened individuals, to obtain a footing in this great sea of darkness, have often been interrupted, or entirely relinquished, for want of the proper means to secure and render permanent what they had gained; and before their efforts

could be renewed with any prospect of success, the waves of ignorance and superstition have swept away all but the slight vestiges of their labours, which were discernible in the barbarous dialect, and not unfrequently in the dissolute manners of their former pupils and assistants, in the generous undertaking. Nor is this the case in the work of education alone. In almost every other attempt, whether of Government or of individuals, there is the same character* of instability

These effects are especially visible on the site of old Government establishments, or indigo manufactories, which have been abandoned: there every thing seems invested with a sort of premature antiquity. In India, the decay and dilapidation of deserted buildings is astonishingly rapid, owing to the alternate dryness and humidity of the atmosphere, and the rank vegetation which quickly makes its appearance in every hole or crevice: this, together with the natural tendency of the great mass of the community to absorb and obliterate the slender alteration, either in language or customs, which the short residence of Europeans may have produced, almost induces the observer to imagine that he is surveying the ruins of some centuries, instead of those of an establishment but a few years deserted. Here, the feeble remains of some English terms appear as if transmitted by tradition beyond the memory of living man. There, a few implements, or a piece of broken furniture, the uses of which have already become nearly obsolete; or, it may be, some remains of superiority in the draught, or axletree of the carts, or *hackerries*, of the vicinity, proclaim the former existence of a better

the same want of consistent and persevering advances towards a definite end, in consequence of

state of things; but from the imperfect traces still discernible, the date appears almost to baffle enquiry. In like manner, the improvements which the occasional residence of Europeans may have effected in the natural products of the soil, linger but a few years after the departure of the individuals who introduced them: thus the fruits and vegetables of a neighbourhood tenanted by European gentlemen, being an object of profit, retain a considerable celebrity for a comparatively longer period, but in the end merge into the general mass of wild and uncultivated produce. Thus several parts of the country, which a few years since were famed for producing good mangoes, peaches, plantains, &c. no longer furnish any but the common sort; and, in general, the fruit may be said to grow almost wild, excepting on a few spots in the actual occupation of Europeans, or but recently abandoned by them. Of these a great number are susceptible of very considerable improvement; and, with care and attention, might be made to equal the produce of any climate on the globe.

Amongst the means by which settlements might be effected, and improvements in the useful arts rendered permanent, the establishment of Moravian missions, upon tracts of Government land, in different parts of the country, deserves to be mentioned. From their unobtrusive habits, and from the actual conversion of the natives forming no part of their object, though they are at all times willing to receive such as voluntarily join their communion, this most useful sect seems admirably fitted for setting an example to the people of Hindostan, of the benefit of moral conduct, in conjunction with peaceful and industrious habits of life.

the frequent changes which occur amongst the persons to whom the execution of any project requiring time and assiduity is entrusted. India, indeed, as a field of exertion for an intelligent, well-informed, and industrious class of men, may be said to be almost entirely fallow and uncultivated: a teeming soil is tilled much in the same manner as a school-boy prepares his little plot for mustard and cress.

Works of labour are performed by the effort of mere numbers, with scarcely any, even the rudest application of mechanical contrivance: the implements made use of are all of the coarsest and most cumbrous description; and these, in the feeble hands of the listless, and indolent beings who wield them, are, for the most part, so useless, that a crowd of labourers in any one line of industry, will scarcely execute more work than two or three able-bodied Europeans. Thus, whilst labour is nominally cheap, and actually so, as far as relates to the poor wretches themselves, it is, in reality, extravagantly high to those who employ them. Improvements to be seen in the great establishments and work-yards of Calcutta, and other cities, and wherever, in short, there are Europeans to direct and superintend the native workmen, have led many to imagine the latter

more expert and intelligent than is the fact: but these good symptoms are confined to the immediate vicinity of the establishments adverted to; and, like all other sorts of instruction, communicated under present circumstances, are exceedingly transient in their effects, and liable to disappear with the removal of the cause which gave them birth. In short, every Englishman who has been much in the interior of India is sensible of the slowness and want of common knowledge of unassisted native workmen, and of the helplessness to which his countrymen are reduced when planted amidst such a population; and yet, when it is proposed to give a better direction to native industry, by supplying it with examples and instruction upon fixed and durable principles, we hear nothing but of the difficulty and inutility of the measure.

The measure so often suggested, and so often evaded, or overruled, is Colonization. To counteract the disadvantages under which all classes of the community at present labour, to confer a benefit upon the governors, no less than upon the governed, Colonization is the only plan that can be adopted with any prospect of success.

By the adoption of this measure,* in respect to

* "Our empire there," (in India,) observes Sir John Malcolm, "has already derived, and must continue to derive,

India, it is not meant that a crowd of settlers should be sent out as they are to the Cape of Good Hope, Canada, or Van Diemen's Land. Colonization is, in fact, of two distinct kinds, cor-

the greatest benefit from the enterprise of British merchants, which has diffused wealth, encouraged industry, and promoted the general prosperity of the country; adding, by the increase of its resources, to the strength of the Government. English artisans have also, within a narrower sphere, been most useful: neither of these classes here, in any way, come in collision with our native subjects, by trenching upon their right of claims; on the contrary, they have been their benefactors; they have given them an example of the benefits that accrue to individuals and nations from large and liberal principles of trade; they have taught them the useful and ornamental arts of life, and it is to them that we must chiefly look, as affording examples for the natives to follow in every improvement of civilized society."—*Pol. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 255. —No testimony in favour of Colonization can well be stronger than this; and yet the General, afterwards, observing that English merchants and artisans had established manufactories in provinces which had been long under our rule, states it as his opinion, that "many reasons concur to make the increase of these settlers impolitic." What these reasons are, however, he does not condescend to inform us. But this is only one of those instances of hot and cold being blown upon the same subject with which the Political History abounds. Another instance, from the same chapter, may here be given. Speaking of the Anglo-Indians, he says, "A just and generous Government will not, however, have recourse to that narrow principle which apportions benefits by the power any class of its subjects have of enforcing them;

responding with the state of the country, which sends forth the colonists, as well as of that which receives them. One is intended for the benefit of the former, which relieves itself by encouraging

nor will it withhold any reasonable boons, because it is offended by the temper in which they are solicited. Acting on different grounds, it will give to this, as to every other class of its subjects, that consideration which is due to their condition, and which will fill their reasonable hopes, without a sacrifice of any essential interest of the empire. Though placed under circumstances of depression and discouragement, this body of men has lost few opportunities of becoming useful and respected in the different walks of life to which their pursuits have been directed. We should continue, therefore, to cultivate their moral and religious principles; and whilst we institute and encourage seminaries for their instruction upon an extended scale, we should provide the means of their future employment, in the condition of life best suited to their respective situations and qualifications." Who would not suppose from this that the writer was about to propose that education and character should furnish the criterion of fitness for employment by the state, for this class, as well as for any other of the Christian community of India; but no: Sir John goes on to observe, that, "if the justice of his proposition is admitted, the means of carrying it into execution will not be difficult, as they require *no change in those salutary restraints*, in which the principles of both the civil and military services in India are now grounded." And what are these principles of salutary restraint but the *positive exclusion* of the class, whose interest he thus affects to espouse, from both the civil and military branches of the service!—This, and several other passages of the work, exhibiting the

the emigration of its surplus population; the other is for the benefit of the latter, and consists in the infusion of intelligence and activity into the social mass, by the settlement of men of skill, industry, and capital. It is precisely this infusion, this admixture of men of energy and intelligence, with its already numerous, but almost torpid population, which is required for Hindostan, to set before the inhabitants the effects which so fine a climate is capable of producing, when their industry * is

struggle of a good and evil principle, have led many to believe that it was originally written in one frame of mind, and afterwards retouched and prepared for publication in another.

* Amongst those who have formed, or rather, who have been industrious in inculcating an erroneous impression of the mode in which it is proposed to extend the principle of Colonization to India, is Sir John Malcolm. He commences (*Political History*, vol. ii. p. 250,) by telling his readers, that no extensive colonization can take place, unless the settlers are admitted to have property in the soil: and then goes on to say, that "the grounds upon which the impolicy and danger of admitting Englishmen to follow agricultural pursuits in India rest, are, in a great degree, referable to the peculiar nature of our Eastern possessions, which must never be viewed as a colony." This proposition is what logicians call identical, and amounts to this;—India must never be colonized, because it must never be viewed as a colony. He does not give any reason why Colonization should not be permitted, other than by informing us, that whilst we have guaranteed to our subjects the enjoyment of their property, laws, usages, and religion, we ought to impart such improvement

directed with ability, and animated by an active and independent spirit.

The general advantages attendant upon this great measure will not be confined to the natives alone, or to the working classes; the Government of the country will feel the benefit of it in almost

as will promote their happiness, and the general prosperity of the country; but not to associate with our improvement any measure, of which the operation is likely to interfere with their interest, to offend their prejudices, or to outrage their cherished habits and sentiments;" by which insidious *petitio principii*, he plainly insinuates, that Colonization would inevitably work all the mischief alluded to. He afterwards admits, however, (p. 251.) that land might be purchased, "where our regulations have made it saleable;" and thus unwarily affords us a clue to his whole argument upon this subject; for, on enquiring how it happens that the property of the natives is not everywhere saleable at the option of the possessor, we are naturally reminded that a permanent settlement, conferring the right of property in the soil, has, as yet, been given but to a small portion of the Company's dominions; and that, in all other parts of India, Government still claim and exercise the right of universal landlord. Sir John Malcolm's apparent solicitude, therefore, about the rights and cherished habits of the inhabitants of India, is but one of the many instances in which that writer makes use of certain set phrases, in order to "keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope." The only rights for which he contends, are those of the Company to have a share of the advantages resulting from the increased produce of the soil, no matter how that increase has been effected: in other

every stage of its administration; but more particularly in the check and restraint which the presence of respectable settlers will impose upon such of the public functionaries as are liable to be betrayed into the commission of acts of an arbitrary and unjustifiable nature, by the too great discre-

words, to tax the land to the utmost.' In his account of the Bareilly insurrection, he is contented with slightly passing over the opinion of the Commission in favour of a permanent settlement of the Upper Provinces. In vol. ii. p. 169, he informs us, that the permanent settlement of 1789,—the only act of the Company which secures the right of property in the soil to any portion of their subjects,—"is now admitted, by its warmest advocates, to have been too much hurried," &c.; and, in page 183, we are told, that "a long period must still elapse before we have accumulated facts and experience, in which we can venture to establish permanent and unalterable arrangements;" and again, page 250, the impossibility of recalling the favours and concessions granted by the Company to its subjects, without impairing the confidence of the natives in the good faith of Government, is assigned as a reason that "no measures should be adopted *creative of such rights and privileges*, unless we have the clearest conviction that they can be permanently maintained, without injury or danger to our native subjects, and to the general interest of our empire of India." This sort of reasoning is the more extraordinary, as the writer, at page 173, had evinced a sounder knowledge of his subject, by observing, that "a government which precludes itself from any increase of territorial assessment, must look to the general diffusion of wealth for the future improvement of its resources; and though a long period

tion with which their distance from the seat of Government induces them to believe themselves armed, and in the assistance which such men would have it in their power, to render the state, by acting in the commission of the peace, and relieving the magistrate of the district from a portion of his too extensive and often incompatible duties.

must elapse before it can venture to subject to direct taxation any of the possessors of that affluence which its liberal policy has created, it may expect to receive an early and constantly increasing return, through the enlarged demand for the necessary commodities and luxuries of life required for a population advancing in numbers and comfort, and the consequent progressive improvement of duties and customs." But thus it is throughout the work referred to. It was published, apparently, with a view of supporting what are termed the rights of the Company, grounded upon a recommendation to respect the barbarous customs and cherished habits and sentiments of the natives, together with an adherence to the usages of the governments in India which preceded our own—tolerably efficient barriers against the progress of civilization, it must be allowed!—Here and there, however, symptoms of a better spirit become apparent; but these only bubble to the surface of the stagnant mass, show themselves for an instant, then burst and disappear for ever. Sir John is, indeed, as he has elsewhere styled himself, "the advocate of *very slow* reform." He says, "we cannot interfere in the prevention of infanticide, or in the self-sacrifice of females on the funeral pile of their husbands, otherwise than by praise of those who abstain from such acts, and neglect of

The "brief authority" of public officers when exercised in situations remote from the capital, (and in Bengal the term *remote* may be applied to districts not very distant from Calcutta, in consequence of the * slowness and difficulty of communication between all stations excepting those lying on the principal military road, or in the direction of the stream of the great rivers, no less than in consequence of the total silence of an enslaved press upon all subjects relating to the ser-

those who approve or perpetrate them. How much more manly was the course pursued by Capt. Kennedy, the Political Agent at Subathoo: see that officer's Report on the State of the Hill Tribes entrusted to his superintendence:—see Calcutta Annual Register for 1821. A system of Jesuitical compromise is certainly not calculated to raise us in the estimation of that part of our Indian subjects whose good opinion is worth preserving.

* It is worthy of remark, that, notwithstanding the inconvenience experienced for want of the means of rapidly transmitting intelligence throughout India, the line of communication by telegraph, which was commenced more than eleven years ago, is not yet completed even half-way to Agra. It is calculated, that if this method of communicating with the frontier had been in operation at the period of the first armament against Bhurtpore, under the late Sir David Ochterlony, the state would have saved, on that occasion, in extraordinary expenses alone, as much as they have lavished upon that hitherto useless project during the eleven years of indecision above mentioned.

vants of Government,) and the excesses occasionally committed by individuals now residing by special favour in the country, and who may be disposed to avail themselves of their distance from the district, or city courts, and of the apparent credit which they enjoy with men in authority, as by the smallness of their numbers, and the habitual deference with which they are regarded by the submissive natives, would meet with a salutary check in the residence of a numerous and respectable class of their countrymen, and that mutual feeling of independence and consideration would be established, which is at once the cause and the effect of morality and upright conduct.

The temptation to make bad use of their power, wealth, or influence, is as great, and probably as mischievous in its effect, amongst the higher classes of natives themselves, as amongst Europeans. Natives of all ranks are prone to ill-treat those beneath them; and men of wealth and authority press servants and porters, and exact supplies of all kinds, on their own terms, without any apprehension of being called to account for so doing; for such is the difficulty of obtaining redress under such circumstances, both in regard to the actual expense of prosecuting in the first instance, and the great trouble and interruption of

business entailed by an appeal to our courts, at the distance of sometimes more than an hundred miles, that very few can be found either rich or persevering enough to go through with the process.* In the present condition of the more wealthy classes of natives, in respect of moral feeling; and of the poorer classes, as to the contempt and helplessness into which they are fallen, no laws or prohibitions can be effectual in repressing the disorders adverted to; † and any advantage to be gained by associating individuals of rank in the administration of the provinces, would be greatly alloyed, by the danger to be apprehended from adding personal influence to the numerical preponderance already so fearfully on the side of the natives. A late member of the Calcutta Government is said to have been well aware of the great oppression practised by the darogahs, or subordinate police authorities, as well as by the munsiffs, or native civil commissioners, and to have recommended the abolishment of their appointments in favour of the zemindars, who were to have been

* As an instance, it may be mentioned that the jurisdiction of the Zillah Court of the twenty-four Pergunahs, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, extends as far as the Island of Saugor, probably 120 miles.

† "Là dove la materia è corrotta," says Machiavelli. "le buone leggi non giovano."

vested with authority to investigate and decide upon civil and criminal complaints of a specified extent; but as there were few objections against one set of natives which did not apply with equal force to every other, the project appears to have been abandoned. The only method, indeed, which suggests itself for relieving Government from this twofold embarrassment, without increasing the number of their civil and military functionaries beyond the competence of their utmost revenues to support the expense of, is to permit and encourage the settlement of Europeans throughout the country, not only with a view of rendering their services available in carrying the laws into effect, but by reforming the habits and manners of the natives, and setting before them the spectacle of an industrious class of men, living under the same laws as themselves, enjoying the comforts and conveniences of life by the exertion of their skill and diligence, and a rigid adherence to the principles of morality and justice in the regulation of their concerns.

Many, however, are inclined to doubt how far the proposed settlers might promote the advantage of the under tenants and cultivators, under the system of landed property at present established in India. Whilst the profits of capital vested in land in England are acknowledged to be lower

than by most other methods of employing it, ample compensation is supposed to be made by the advantage which the possession of real property confers, in the shape of political influence, votes in elections, eligibility for, or patronage of, local appointments, militia commissions, &c., together with game and other privileges; and the landlord is thereby disposed, not only to refrain from rack-renting his estate, but to grant occasional indulgences to his tenants, as circumstances may require. But in India no advantage is attached to the possession of land beyond the direct amount of its rent; the landholder looks upon the crop as his best security for the payment of his own dues and those of Government; and the vigilance which his intermediate position between the State and the cultivators of the soil obliges him to exert, has, as has been before observed, the most unfavourable effect upon the spirit and industry of the great bulk of the people. As long as this state of things is allowed to continue, it may be thought that the introduction of European settlers would fail to be attended with the benefit anticipated; for if they were to become landholders, their interests being in all respects the same as the present proprietors, they would have every temptation to bear as severely upon their under-tenants; and it would be some time before the effects of general improve-

ment and encreased industry would introduce a more liberal mode of proceeding. The demand for produce of all kinds might, indeed, be expected shortly to encrease the aggregate industry of the country, and raise the value of labour; but in the mean time, to secure to the under-tenant and ryots as much as possible the advantages which, as holders of farms, they would not fail to derive from the encreased demand for land which an influx of capital would occasion, some provision on the part of Government appears desirable. Not that it is probable that, without a reform in the habits and manners of the people, any positive regulation will materially improve the condition of the two classes in question; but by giving them a firmer hold upon the land they cultivate, the present value of their rights would be enhanced, and they would in some measure be secured from the exactions of any new purchasers of the zemindary estates, of which their fields or farms constitute a portion. Notwithstanding every effort that can be made, the value of those rights will still be very small, and liable to constant diminution, by the rapid increase of population, which existing laws* in favour of marriage render inevi-

* The Mutsu Puran says, "No man ought to remain unmarried even for a day; if he does so, he must perform certain penances as an atonement; and this, although he may

table. These laws, which it is imperative upon every Hindoo to obey, must tend greatly to counteract every attempt which is made to improve the condition of the people; and until, by slow degrees, the energies of the country shall be completely roused, and a general demand for labour shall give every man the means of obtaining a livelihood in proportion to his intelligence and industry, no permanent amelioration can be expected. Meanwhile, however, by rescuing the small farmers, &c. from the situation of tenants at will

otherwise be diligent in prayer, in giving alms, and in studying the Vedah." And the Bubusut Puran, "If a man marry after his forty-eighth year he shall be accounted sinful; but if he remain unmarried, or without a male child, until his forty-eighth year, all the good actions of his life shall be of no service to him." Again, the Chundogopurusistang—"A gul of ten years old is arrived at the age of puberty, therefore let her be given in marriage in the course of her tenth year." And in the Bubusut Puran, "If a girl is not married before the age of puberty, her father, mother, and eldest brother, are rendered for ever sinful."

Adverting to the great increase of population which laws of this nature must occasion, it may here be remarked, that the quantity of salt annually sold by the Government may form a criterion by which to judge of the general impoverishment of the people, or the degree in which they are inconvenienced by that cruel monopoly. On comparing the gross sales and selling prices of salt given in Mr. Tucker's Review of the Finances of the Company, pp. 54, 55, 56, the increase

liable to be sold, as it were, with the farms they occupy, without being sure of being allowed to hold them a day beyond the transfer, they will have an opportunity of profiting by any accidental acquisitions of means, or local convenience, which may arise; and be able to better their condition, without the constant apprehension of having the produce of their labour wrested from them.—"Agriculture," says the Lord Archon in the 'Oceana,' "is the bread of the nation; we are hung upon it by the teeth; it is a mighty nursery of strength; the best army; the most assured knapsack; it is managed with the least turbulent or

in the quantity supplied does not appear to bear any proportion to the supposed increase of population; the consequence is, that the price has been raised almost a hundred per cent. in a period of thirteen years; and whilst this increased demand, when the quantity produced has been augmented by about one-fifth, affords a satisfactory proof of the greater proportional increase in the population; it also serves to show how extensively the tax must operate as a grievance on the people, "whose simple diet requires the addition of salt as a stimulant." If there be truth in Mr. Tucker's estimate, the Company would at once increase their revenue, and diminish the inconveniences experienced by the people, if they were to augment the quantity of salt at least two-fold.

For an account of the oppressions suffered by the salt-manufacturers, scarcely surpassed by the *mita* of South America, see Rickards, p. 118. In 1825, Mr. Tucker says, "This grievance has, *I trust*, been removed."

ambitious, the most innocent hands of all other arts—wherefore I am of Aristotle's opinion, that a commonwealth of husbandmen, and such as ours, must be the best of all others.' I wish I were husband good enough to direct something to this end: but racking of rents is a vile thing in the richer sort, an uncharitable one to the poorer, a perfect mark of slavery, and nips your commonwealth in the fairest blossom." All classes, indeed, excepting the zemindars, whom the permanent settlement of the Lower Provinces has secured in the possession of the lands, would concur in the propriety of such a regulation; and even to the zemindars themselves, such advantages might be offered as would obtain their consent, without involving any infringement of their proprietory rights.

One plan which suggests itself, is to encourage the zemindars to grant leases, by making a remission in the amount of their land-tax, in proportion to the length of lease granted. If an abatement of one per cent. were granted for leases of ten years and upwards, and of three per cent. for leases in perpetuity; the certainty of immediate profit would probably induce the zemindars to accept the terms; and the farmers and cultivators being secured in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, at least for the shorter period,

would have a strong interest to exert themselves in improving the condition of their lands. It may indeed be objected, that such a measure would benefit an order of men, the zemindars, who, whatever may have been the case with their predecessors, are now in no want of such assistance; but if, in benefiting the poor classes, this be unavoidable, without a direct violation of acknowledged proprietory rights, it may be remarked, that as the increased amount of rents has, in almost all instances, taken place rather from the extension, than from the improvement, of agriculture—as the same slovenly husbandry that was in use fifty years ago still continues to prevail—there is reason for believing that increase, great as it has been, does not preclude the hope of considerable improvement in the quality and quantity of produce being effected, by the exertion of the cultivators and small farmers, should the encouragement now suggested be afforded them. On the contrary, with the increased circulation of money, which the new order of things would create, and the consequent fall in the rate of interest, the industrious would be able to procure the necessary funds for increasing their stock and produce, without the risk of ruining themselves by the accumulating interest of their outlay, as is the case at present.

And if, in this respect, the Upper Provinces would gain more than the Lower, in proportion to the check to improvement, which cannot but have been the effect of their expectation of receiving a permanent settlement, having so repeatedly been disappointed, this effect of the measure may perhaps be considered as rather an additional recommendation of it, as it will tend to bind those more closely to the soil, who, from their geographical position, are most exposed to external aggression. Rendered comparatively independent in his circumstances, the cultivator would not fail to profit by the example set before him by the European settlers, in procuring for himself the comforts and conveniences of life, and in qualifying himself for taking a share in the affairs of his district and country. The settlers would form a nucleus of intelligence and industry, the presence of which could not fail to have a favourable influence upon the minds, as well as the actions, of the population; mixing with the natives as farmers, planters, and traders, bound to them, in short, by one common interest, and by reciprocal good offices, they would give strength and consistency to the mass in time of peace, and in war they would organize and conduct levies, and perform all the duties of a brave and active yeomanry, sufficient to

animate the allegiance of all orders, and place the country in perfect security against external aggression or internal revolt.

Not only would the condition of the native population be greatly improved by the measure proposed, but the state would directly participate in the advantages conferred upon the agricultural classes. The interest of wealthy and intelligent landholders would prompt them to undertake those works of public utility, the expense of which is now defrayed principally by the state, as lord paramount. Local charges of this nature form a large deduction from the gross rents, and, in addition to the cost of management and collection, which, it is to be presumed, would also be diminished, greatly reduce the net receipts of revenue. The redemption of land-tax by some; the reasonable terms on which others would lend their aid in superintending and remitting the collections; and the consequent abolition of various offices, which the present state of the country renders indispensable, would not fail very shortly to relieve the Government from charges, the saving of which would more than compensate for the diminution in the stipulated amount of their land-revenue. The Government, by rigidly adhering to the *principle* of universal proprietorship, has become justly obnoxious to the reproach of having contributed

little—nothing towards the embellishment of the country, or the convenience of the inhabitants, generally, by the execution of works of public utility. Indian history is full of descriptions of the magnificent edifices, and other works of art, completed by former sovereigns and provincial rulers. Firoze Shah, we are informed in Dow's translation of Ferishta, built fifty great sluices; forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanserais, a hundred palaces, five hospitals, a hundred tombs, ten baths, ten spires, a hundred and fifty wells, a hundred bridges, &c. &c. Baber, in his Memoirs, tells us that he ordered a minar, or turret, to be raised at every nine coss, and a post-house* at every ten coss, with a relay of six horses; and he is never tired of speaking of the number of gardens and palaces which he erected and planned. Shere Shah, Ackbar, Jehangler, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, appear also to have vied with each other in magnificence of this nature; and the great officers of state, in all parts of the empire, have left behind them monuments of their taste and liberality. The costly materials which they employed, together with the grand scale and mas-

* The quickest mode of travelling now in use, or indeed attainable at present, in Bengal, is by what is called Dawk; that is, by palanquin conveyance, at the rate of about four miles an hour!

sive style of the edifices alluded to, form a remarkable contrast with the small and unpretending buildings erected by the English. Nothing, indeed, can be more striking than the difference between the approach to Delhi, or Agra, even in their present state of decay, and that to Calcutta, after its having been nearly a century the capital of our Eastern empire, the seat of our Government, and the residence of the most opulent of all classes, whether European or native. In the former, the road is lined with the ruins of palaces, gardens, fountains, tanks, serais, baths, in short, et *quicquid tantæ præmittitur urbi*—whilst the latter exhibits nothing from which, at the distance of a mile from the city, the traveller could be led to suppose that he was approaching a place of greater consequence than an ordinary country-town. The reproach which Burke thundered against his countrymen in the East is not yet wiped away; and though, perhaps, it cannot now be said, that "were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ourang-outang or the tiger," yet the monuments of state or beneficence left behind us, would be comparatively few indeed; and, excepting in the town of Calcutta itself, they would be almost entirely con-

fined to the repairing of Ali Murdan's and Firoze Shah's canals, the construction of an imperfect military road from the seat of Government to the Upper Provinces, and the erection of a gaol in all the principal towns.

The influence upon the minds of men, which is created by an attention to whatever contributes to adorn the face of the country, and adds to the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants, is at all times sufficiently great to become an object worthy of the consideration of Government. Attachment to the spot on which we were born is not a mere sentiment grounded upon early association, but has for its basis the substantial advantages which that spot affords. To strengthen these claims is to nourish the spirit of patriotism; and a wise government will never relax in its efforts to promote a feeling upon which the safety of the country may eventually depend. In India, especially, all our institutions should have this object in view, in order that a foundation may be laid for organizing an efficient provincial army, and a regular system of defence, in the furtherance of which all ranks of the community may be interested. The diffusion of instruction amongst all classes, together with the encouragement to industry which has just been recommended, will engender a spirit of pride and independence in the peasantry of

the country, and render them bold, active, and capable of encountering the fatigues of a soldier's life in time of need. A plan for raising regiments in each district, officered, as much as possible, from the gentry, British, Indo-British, and native,* of the neighbourhood, would not only encourage the feeling of patriotism, and attachment to the soil, amongst the soldiery, but dispose the whole country to take an interest in the events of war, and keep up a salutary emulation and rivalry between the several corps of the army. During peace, such troops as were necessary might be stationed, as much as convenient, in the district where they were raised, and employed in the execution of such works of public utility as would at once furnish them with ample occupation, and conduce to the general advantage of the community.

* Speaking of the Roman conquests, Gibbon remarks, "In their manners and internal policy, the colonies formed a perfect representation of their great parent; and they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties of friendship and alliance. They effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name, and a desire, which was seldom disappointed, of sharing, in due time, its honours and advantages.—The grandsons of the Gauls, who had besieged Julius Cæsar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness."—*Decline and Fall* c. 2.

The pay and subsistence of the army should be sufficient to induce men of good character and abilities to enrol themselves. The honourable poverty, as it is called, in which it is deemed politic to retain the military profession, becomes a mischievous fallacy when carried so far as to lower the defenders of the country in the estimation of their fellow men. If poverty induce contempt in every other class of society, it certainly will not promote in the breast of a soldier, those sentiments upon which his character and intrepidity in a great measure depend. The pay of soldiers should of course be regulated by the rate of wages, generally obtaining, in the country where they are employed; but an individual engaging himself in the profession of arms, should not only be maintained during the continuance of his employment, but he should be recompensed, according to the length of his service, upon rejoining his fellow countrymen, and resuming the habits of life which his enrolment had interrupted. Greater risk is incurred from the effect of military licence, by drawing a distinct line between the soldier and the citizen, than by encouraging them to cherish reciprocal feelings of kindness and confidence, and to entertain a common sympathy for the prosperity of the state. For this purpose, the formation of a regular militia should be encouraged, and, in

recruiting for the army, men who have been brought up to regular trades should be preferred. In all situations where active military service was not required of them, they should be employed in the execution of public or private works, according to their several qualifications, upon such additional wages as would be a sufficient compensation for their labour. Independent of the general advantages attendant upon this system, if steadily adhered to, it is probable that it would materially affect the institution of castes among the natives, by setting a bounty upon useful endowments; instead of filling the ranks, as at present, with men who, in the common phrase, are said to be fit for soldiers because they are fit for nothing else.

Little or no effect, however, from a plan of this

According to Van Halen, (Narrative, &c.) this seems to be very much the case with the Russian army. The colonel of a regiment is said to be allowed to profit by the industry of his men, when military duty is suspended. "The soldiers then become masons, carpenters, smiths, &c. or engage in whatever occupation they may be hired for; so that, as they are furnished by the colonel with suitable dresses, that their uniforms may not suffer during the time they are thus employed, they cannot be recognised as soldiers, except by their mustachios. Besides, there are always a certain number of men employed in the workshops belonging to the regiment, in every description of trade; consequently, every thing that can possibly be wanted for the corps is made by the soldiers."

nature, can be expected, until measures are adopted for diffusing throughout the country the benefits of elementary instruction in the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures, by the possession of which the people will learn the value of labour, and be able to put forth their strength in the great field of human industry. Many people imagine that this useful measure is in actual operation, in consequence of the forty-third section of the charter of 1813, directing that "a sum of not less than one lac of rupees, (10,000*l.*) shall be annually set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India, &c." When, however, it is recollected that British India is supposed to contain nearly ninety millions of inhabitants, it will not be deemed surprising that the expenditure of such a small sum as ten thousand pounds is found totally inadequate to the production of any visible effect upon the manners and habits of the people. The Hindoo and Mohammedan Colleges, established in Calcutta, are undoubtedly useful institutions, as far as the learned natives of India are concerned; and while some of the former bid fair to spread a knowledge of

the English language among the natives of the higher classes of Calcutta, the latter is chiefly instrumental in qualifying Mohammedans for the appointments of vakeels, or pleaders in the law courts. The gradual introduction of the English language, however, is a point of so much importance, that any institution, which has for its object the perpetuation of the existing absurdities of a body of law administered in a language alike foreign (and generally unknown) to the judge who presides, as well as to the suitors and witnesses, cannot but be considered as a misappropriation of the funds in question. If the English language were made an indispensable qualification* for

* Of late years, a great deal too much importance has been attached to the acquisition of the languages of the country, as a qualification for office. Sir John Malcolm very justly observes, that strict principle, general knowledge, and sound judgment, should constitute the principal considerations in estimating the character of a public servant. "As an auxiliary," he adds, "to the developement and useful action of these qualities, an acquaintance with the languages of India is most desirable; but unassociated with them, it is nothing, and injury has sometimes resulted to the public from a too exclusive consideration being given to this attainment."—*Pol. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 187. It may be questioned, indeed, whether a nation was ever civilized by its conquerors making themselves masters of its language. The study of a language, almost necessarily induces an imitation of the trains of thought, and even of the manners, the traces of which it has been em-

every public employment, it would tend, more than any thing else, to the encouragement of general knowledge, and, as a natural consequence, to the gradual weaning of the minds of the natives, from the absurd superstition by which their ener-

ployed to record; and the acquisition of a living language in particular, is not more aided by a quickness of ear and comprehension, than by a certain mimic inflection of voice and gesture. The truth of this remark is so generally felt, that most persons, in their first colloquial attempt in a foreign tongue, run into the extreme of action and grimace, in order the more readily to make themselves understood. But if this be the case with a mere accomplishment, how much more true it must be, where the language in question is that by the aid of which the greater part of our official business, as well as familiar intercourse with those around us, is carried on. Perhaps there are few causes which have had a more direct tendency to retard the progress of European arts and civilization in the East, than the general favour which Oriental studies have found in the eyes of our countrymen; and certain it is, that many instances are to be found of promising talent for the public service having degenerated into mere pedantry from the same cause. There are, accordingly, few Oriental scholars in India who have distinguished themselves in other branches of learning or speculation, or who have established a reputation as men of enlarged views, even on subjects connected with their pursuits. They mostly evince a sort of literary proselytism, and are occupied only in upholding the credit of their adopted faith. Some brilliant exceptions there undoubtedly are, and perhaps no one shines more conspicuously as such than the writer already referred

gies are clogged, and which sits like an incubus upon both their mental and physical powers. A knowledge of the English language would, in this sense, conduce both to the moral and physical advantage of the natives, and would shortly render

to in the note; owing, probably, to his active employment and varied occupations having so absorbed his attention, as to have prevented his penetrating too deeply into the wilderness of Eastern lore. But this pre-eminence, as it is highly honourable to him as a man of talent, only renders it the more to be regretted, that he should have expressed opinions so adverse to the general improvement of the natives of India, and so little in accordance with that spirit which might be expected from an independent Briton, who owed his own early rise to the display of considerable ability, and to the exertion of a frankness and uprightness of character, not only highly creditable to himself, but capable of producing the best effects upon the condition of those who, more perhaps than any race on earth, need the advocacy of commanding talent, in unison with powerful influence. What was said by a French writer, on the conversion of Abubekre by Mahomet, may, with a little alteration, be applied to Sir John Malcolm. "When a man of consequence falls into an error, the contagion spreads with rapidity. The vulgar appreciate the value of an opinion according to the idea which they form of the merit of those who embrace it; and they imagine, that where the head is sound, the heart cannot err." But whether the opinions which that writer has lately put forth on the subject of a maximum taxation on land, the necessity for absolute government, and the slavery of the press in India, proceed from his head or his heart, they are equally to be regretted.

them fit to take a share in conducting the affairs of the country, which their utter ignorance now affords an excuse for depriving them of. Education would not only engender new tastes and new wants, but confer the means of gratifying them. A thousand channels of industry would be opened, and doubtless new forms of invention would be "bodied forth," which it is impossible, under present circumstances, to foretell; for, as there are stars, the light of which astronomers tell us has not even yet had time to reach the sphere which we inhabit, so there are combinations of thought in the fertile mind of man which it is hardly possible to imagine. In proportion as the genius of the natives was called forth, the increased intercourse with Europeans, which would be the direct consequence of their newly-acquired intelligence, would elevate their moral character, and imbue them with a spirit which could not but be favourable to the propagation of the religion of the Gospel amongst them. It would, indeed, be doing no less injustice to the purity of that religion, than to the dignity of human nature, to suppose that any thing but utter ignorance could retain the natives of India in the gross system of idolatry by which they are now debased; and the evident feeling of shame that is perceptible in the countenance of every native above the ordinary stamp,

when the ceremonials of his religion are spoken of in his presence, should be hailed as a good omen of the ultimate effect which the diffusion of knowledge will produce. It is easy to conceive how the most gifted genius, when standing alone, and unsupported amidst a priest-ridden population, and having none but repulsive and haughty Europeans, in high official stations, to resort to, will cling to the errors of the religion in which he was brought up, even in spite of his better reason; but when the number of those with whom he can indulge in a community of thought is increased, there will be no longer any such reason for concealment; and conversion* will rapidly proceed, as

* The danger of exciting insurrection on the score of religion, where we are so vastly outnumbered by our native subjects, and of rousing opposition on the only point on which our native army is likely to make common cause against us with their fellow-countrymen, is too obvious to be insisted on: it is impossible, therefore, not to agree with Sir John Malcolm (*Pol. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 265.) in his general reasoning on this subject; but when he asserts that the progress of the British was accelerated by their adoption of this principle, and that of the Portuguese and French impeded by neglecting it, neither history nor reason will bear him out. If the Portuguese had surrounded their settlements and towns with native Christians, they would at least have been certain of the allegiance of their subjects; and their fall would have been retarded, instead of hastened, in proportion to the number of adherents which religion had procured

it always should do, by the light of reason and reflection:—*non est religionis cogere religionem*—but example and education are at all times legitimate means of producing conviction.

With the slender means, however, at present at the disposal of Government, it is unreasonable to expect that any decisive improvement, of the kind alluded to, will be effected. In Calcutta, the success of several public and private establish-

them. They would, in short, have been less dependent on Europe for recruiting their strength. It was, however, the decline of their power and influence in Europe, and the consequent want of support from the mother-country, added to the active and persevering hostility of the Dutch, that occasioned their downfall in the East; and these causes were quite sufficient, notwithstanding the assistance which they might have derived from a Christian population, even had it been as numerous as the writer would persuade us. In like manner, the French were overmatched by the English having been enabled, in consequence of their possessing the command of the ocean, to intercept all supplies in time of war; and in consequence, too, of their growing wealth and influence with the natives giving them a political ascendency at the several native courts. Religion had no influence in this case; and if, in the time of Dupleix and Lally, the religious feelings of the Mohammedans and Hindoos were outraged, the historian, in order to demonstrate the truth of his position, should have given us some proofs of positive injury to the French interests from the cause. It is, indeed, so little certain that the Mohammedans would evince any interest in a professed intention to convert the Hindoos by pries, or,