



1674. What if, in the case of a trial of a native three of the five jurors should be natives, and in the case of a trial of an European three of the five jurors should be European?—I should be very sorry to see an European placed before any tribunal of which a native formed one of the assessors, or by a jury of which natives formed a part.

1675. Is there any evidence whatever, as far as comes within your knowledge, that hitherto, in the discharge of the minor judicial duties that belong to them, the natives have exhibited any jealousy of or prejudice against Europeans?—I confess I do not clearly understand the scope of that question. I am not aware how, in the discharge of those duties, the natives are in a position to manifest such jealousy or prejudice.

1676. You have stated that you consider the existing restrictions upon residence in India as desirable to be continued; has any practical advantage, in your opinion, arisen from that system which requires that every individual traveller should have a licence for the particular point to which his journey is destined?—It has had, to a certain extent, the effect of preventing improper persons obtaining access to the interior of the country.

1677. Does not the inevitable restriction which the expense of a voyage to India, and the necessary outfit, however small, occasion, in itself go a great way to prevent any dangerous influx of mere indigent adventurers into that country?—I do not think it would have the effect of preventing them. There have been numberless instances of indigent persons obtaining the means of getting out to India, and going into the country as mere adventurers, perhaps on borrowed capital; some have succeeded, and some have failed.

1678. Should the power of deportation for a supposed but undeclared offence be absolute, in your opinion, with the Governor, or would it not meet almost every possible exigency if that power were subjected to an appeal to the home authorities, and the object of it confined to any particular quarter, until the sense of those authorities was taken upon his case?—I think that the power of deportation should continue to exist in the local government, and that they should be at liberty to exercise that power in cases of great emergency; but I do not see any objection to its being subject, as a general rule, to reference to the authorities at home; I would not, however, deprive the Government entirely of the power of immediately removing a turbulent and dangerous character, whose continuance might be deemed injurious to the public interests.

1679. In how many cases has the extreme force of the law been called into action during your experience of Indian administration, or during your knowledge of it historically?—I only recollect five cases; the case of Mr. Duane, Dr. McLean, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Fair at Bombay, and Mr. Arnott.

1680. Do you conceive that that power, the existence of which has been known only in the few cases to which you have called the attention of the Committee, has had any material effect in preventing the ingress of British capital and British enterprise into India, so far as capital and enterprise were required?—No; I do not think it has had any such effect, nor that it is calculated to have, because no one will go there under the anticipation of placing himself in a situation to incur that penalty.

1681. Do you think that it has practically operated to prevent any individual going there?—I do not think it has.

1682. As you have had ample opportunity of observing the working of the constituted authorities of the local government in India, will you give the Committee your opinion, in the first place, of the necessity or advantage that exists in the constitution of Governors with Councils?—I am of opinion that the assistance of persons of local experience and knowledge in the capacity of members of Council is indispensably necessary to enable the Governor to discharge his duties. The Governor General, or Governor, is selected for the most part from persons who have never been in India, and consequently he must be totally unacquainted with local circumstances, and necessarily stand in need of the assistance of those who are possessed of that knowledge in which he is deficient. It does not seem to me that it would be practicable for them to carry on their duties without such assistance. On the other hand, the members of Council also serve as a check and a control over the Governor General, or Governor, and the discussions that take place upon public subjects being on occasions of importance committed to writing, and forwarded to England, enable the authorities at home to exercise an efficient control over the

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conduct of the administration abroad, and it is the more efficient because the members of the Council are themselves responsible for the opinions they deliver.

1683. Is it in the executive or the legislative functions of the Governor General that you consider such aid to be indispensable?—In both.

1684. Is not the authority of the Governor General paramount to that of his Council?—In some cases.

1685. In any case may not his sole authority supersede the decision of the three other members of his Council?—Not so; because in that part of the Act of Parliament which applies to the subject the cases in which the Governor General is at liberty to act on his own and sole responsibility are defined to be those in which the interests of the public service are essentially concerned, not in all ordinary cases. It is only in cases of an extraordinary nature that that authority can legally be exercised, and they have not, within my observation, been frequent.

1686. Do you mean to say that in ordinary cases, where such difference of opinion has arisen, that of the Governor General has yielded to those of his own Council?—In ordinary cases, where a difference of opinion arises, the question is decided (as the law prescribes) by a majority, but I have known frequent occasions on which the Governor General has yielded his opinion to that of the Members of Council.

1687. That which you so consider as necessary at Calcutta, do you consider equally necessary at the other presidencies?—Certainly.

1688. What advantage appears to you to result from the existence of a greater or lesser degree of independence of the Governor General in the subordinate presidencies?—In point of fact, it is impossible for the Governor General to exercise an official superintendence over the subordinate governments. He could not do it, unless all the proceedings of those governments were regularly reported to him, and if they were, it would be impossible for him to find leisure to peruse them. In cases of great importance, the other governments have been in the habit of making a reference to the Governor General in Council. Generally, I think the subordinate governments might expediently and beneficially exercise legally, as in fact they do practically, an independent authority with regard to the affairs of their respective presidencies.

1689. Would it not, in your judgment, be highly desirable, if practicable, to have one general superintending and controlling power over our interests in the East?—I should say so, if it were practicable; but supposing such a general superintending and controlling authority could be practically established, I conceive that it would materially interfere with the control of the home authorities over the governments of India. It seems to me that it would be transferring the superintendence and control now exercised by the home authorities over the governments of India, to this species of local authority.

1690. In what respect would that effect be produced by the control at home being exercised over one governor, instead of being exercised, as at present, over three distinct governors?—Because the supreme authority could not supply the authorities here with the information and the recorded proceedings necessary to enable them to exercise it. At present they have the proceedings of all the governments in India before them, and by that means they are enabled to exercise a control over every branch of the administration; and that could not, I presume, take place if the subordinate governments were placed under the superintendence of the supreme authority, and required to report their proceedings to that authority instead of the home authorities.

1691. In what manner would the control at home be diminished if the Governor General of India were enabled to report the proceedings with respect to the administration of the whole of India to the government at home instead of that information being furnished to them by three distinct governors?—At present the several governments transmit to England the whole of their proceedings and their correspondence. Now, under the supposition of their transmitting such correspondence and proceedings to the Governor General, it would be necessary, to enable the home authorities to maintain the same supervision and control that they now exercise, that the Governor General should furnish them with the same reports and materials that hitherto have been transmitted from the three different presidencies, which would obviously be impracticable.

1692. Does your objection then resolve itself mainly into the distance of those subordinate presidencies from the present seat of government?—The objection that strikes me is, that the proposed system must necessarily supersede the control which

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is at present exercised by the authorities at home over the local governments abroad; because, according to my conception, those authorities could not, under that system, be supplied with the means of exercising it. Indeed, if it were thought expedient to transfer the government of India entirely to the Governor-general, that is another question; but as long as it is considered necessary that the authorities at home should exercise a minute control over the proceedings of the governments abroad, so long, it appears to me, their proceedings must be recorded and transmitted to England.

1693. If, for instance, a certain number of vice-governors or lieutenant-governors were appointed, exercising considerable powers, but subject nevertheless to the direct control of the Governor-general, and who should report their proceedings to the Governor-general, in what manner would the control of the home authorities be diminished by those proceedings being transmitted through the Governor-general, instead of being transmitted, as at present, through the governors of those separate presidencies?—When we consider the vast mass of proceedings at each presidency that is annually sent to England, and then reflect that those proceedings are to be sent to the Governor-general, that he is then, in the first instance, to exercise the functions of direction and control that are at present exercised by the authorities at home, and then to report his proceedings with respect to all three presidencies, transmitting at the same time all the documents connected with them to England, it seems to me to form such a vast and complicated mass of business as no human powers of mind and body would be capable of executing.

1694. You have spoken of the mass of proceedings as an obstacle; does it occur to you that the mass may be greatly aggravated by the existing system of Councils at the several presidencies, and the Boards in the administration of the detail of public affairs?—I do not think that the system of Councils has that effect in any degree, but the practice of recording all the proceedings and correspondence of the Boards must of course add considerably to the mass of details. The practice of recording every transaction is what occasions the vast accumulation of matter, and so long as the government abroad is to be made accountable for all their acts to the authorities at home, so long must the habit of recording every transaction be continued.

1695. Is it not the tendency of public business to extend itself when it is under the administration of many instead of being under the responsibility of one?—Certainly that must be admitted.

1696. It has been suggested that it would be desirable to detach the Governor-general of India from the local administration of Bengal, and to leave him in possession merely of the general control. What occurs to you upon that suggestion?—I hardly see the possibility of his exercising that control unless the proceedings of the several governments are regularly transmitted to him; and I conceive if that be done it would accumulate the business in his hands to such a degree as to render it still more unmanageable than it is at present.

1697. Some of the late questions have proceeded upon the assumption of a possible change in the local administration of India, by the substitution of vice-governors or lieutenant-governors in the room of the Governors in Council, for the two subordinate presidencies; do you or do you not consider that such substitution, as depriving the Indian service of its present expectancies either of the chair of such presidencies, or the seats at the council of such presidencies, would or would not be detrimental to the character of the service by depriving its members of high objects of ambition?—I should not think that the taking away what may be called those great prizes in the lottery would materially affect the character of the service, provided that to the subordinate officers of the administration such liberal emoluments be attached as would render them the objects of pursuit, and the means of gradually accumulating a competency.

1698. Assuming that the proposed substitution has reference to an increased economy in carrying on the Indian administration, do you conceive that such economy could be carried to such an extent, comparing the present expenses of the administration of the two presidencies with the general revenues derived under each, as would counterbalance the inconvenience and injury to the service of depriving it of the prizes at present held forth by those stations to the several members?—The value of the service would no doubt be deteriorated to a certain degree by depriving its members of the prospect of attaining to offices of such high rank and emolument; but I confess I do not perceive how the inconvenience and injury of such deterioration, be it more or less, is to be counterbalanced (as

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regards the interests and feelings of the civil servants) by any imaginable reduction of the charges of the administration, unless indeed a part of the saving were applied to the augmentation of the salaries of the subordinate offices.

1699. With the diminished means of acquiring fortunes at present existing in India, is it or is it not desirable still further to diminish the means left to the Indian service, and thereby to render their connection with home more and more precarious and indefinite?—I think it of the highest importance that the civil service of India should be upon such a footing as to afford the individuals belonging to it the prospect of returning with a competency to England, and not only that, but it is essential, I think, to secure general integrity in the administration of public affairs.

1700. Do you consider it the first duty of the Government and Legislature of this country to look at the means of making fortunes for individual Europeans, or to the interest of those natives out of whose industry and labour those fortunes are to be made?—Contrasting those two objects, there can be but one answer: the advantage of individual Europeans cannot, of course, be justly put in competition with the interests of our native subjects.

1701. Has the experience of the last 50 years in each of the three presidencies justified the conclusion that there is anything inconsistent with the interests and happiness and prosperity of the natives that the individuals appointed to the supreme authority in each of those presidencies, and especially in the two subordinate presidencies, should be selected from those who have grown up in the public service of the East India Company?—My opinion has always been generally adverse to selecting the governors from among those who have belonged to the service, because I think, with very few exceptions, that an individual who has passed through the several gradations of the public service, and has consequently been known in the lowest as well as in the higher grades, cannot assume that high tone of superiority, nor exercise that degree of influence and control, and attract that degree of deference and respect, which, in my judgment, contribute importantly to the efficient administration of the office of Governor, as regards both the European and native population. A person of eminence and distinction proceeding from England to fill that office, if duly qualified by character and talent, carries with him a greater degree of influence, and inspires more respect, than an individual who has been known in a subordinate capacity in India usually can.

1702. Are you aware of the number of individuals selected to the government of Madras and Bombay respectively from the ranks of the Company's service in the course of the last 50 years?—I am aware that a considerable number have been appointed in that long course, and I admit that there may be, and have been, some splendid exceptions.

1703. Is it your opinion, looking at the increasing territorial debt of India, that it can be possible much longer to maintain the present expensive system of the administration of that country?—That reductions must be effected is obvious, and reductions have been effected to a very great extent; to such an extent that, I believe, according to the latest report, there is reason to expect that in another year or two the charges and revenue will be nearly, if not entirely, equalized, but I am decidedly averse to such a reduction of the allowances of the public functionaries as would endanger their integrity; and I am firmly of opinion that they should always be placed, with respect to allowances, in a situation of respectability and independence, with the means of acquiring, by due care and economy, a competency with which to retire to their native country.

1704. Have not the members of the Council at Bengal at present 10,000*l.* a year?—Yes.

1705. The whole principle of the Indian administration having been to keep India as much in connection with England as it was possible for a distant dependency governed by a small body of men to be kept to the mother-country, has it or has it not been materially promoted by giving to those persons who are obliged to pass a large part of their lives in India a continued stimulus to return home with fortunes proportioned to the length of their service?—I think so.

1706. Must not, permanently, a more effectual mode of maintaining our connection with India consist in sparing and fostering to the greatest possible degree the industry and means of the natives of that country?—I should think so, certainly, to a degree, in which it may be calculated to promote the interests of commerce, and to extend the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and India.

1707. You



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1707. You have been asked as to the necessity of allowing individuals to accumulate fortunes in India; are those fortunes so accumulated remitted home, or are they left to fructify in India?—For the most part they have been remitted to England; but some have left a portion of their property in India to fructify.

1708. Are not they, so far as they go, a perpetual drain upon the industry of the natives of India?—They constitute, so far, a political debt, which must be paid sooner or later from the produce of India.

1709. If no capital is invested in India, and the fortunes there made are remitted home, does not it necessarily follow that that operation is a drain upon the resources of that country?—The way in which property left in India is invested, is either in what is denominated Company's paper, (Government bonds,) or in houses and other objects; when ultimately remitted it must be supplied from the resources of that country.

1710. Since we have derived a large revenue from the territory of India, amounting now to 20,000,000*l.* annually, can you point to any great improvements in the way of public works, such as works for irrigation, roads, bridges, or any great public works in the country, by which any marks appear of the benefits derived from our empire there?—Not from public works; that has generally been left to the industry and skill of the native landholders. There has been one work of that description that has been of very great importance, the renewal of some canals anciently drawn from the Jumna in the north-west quarter of India, which have been carried through a great extent of arid territory, and been productive of very great increase of revenue.

1711. In that single and small sample, is there not evidence of the vast benefits that a paternal government might confer upon that country?—I am not aware in what manner the public resources could be applied in that way. All the lands being private property, it necessarily depends upon the proprietors of those lands to introduce such works and improvements as they find best calculated to promote their own interests.

1712. Does the beneficial tendency of our government appear upon the improved condition of the people in that country?—I think it does.

1713. In what part of India?—Particularly where the permanent settlement has been established.

1714. Do you consider then that their prosperity very essentially depends upon the manner in which the land revenue is fixed?—I think so.

1715. Have you had an opportunity of observing the condition of the people in the independent Jaghires?—No; I never was in any of those.

1716. Have you had occasion to observe the condition of the people in the few states that yet remain independent of our government in India?—No; my employment has been almost always at the presidency, or with the Governor-general wherever he has gone. When I spoke of the improvement of the people, I did not speak from personal observation, but from general knowledge. Under our government they have an advantage which they never could enjoy under their own, of being protected from all external invasion, and the security of life and property, which they never enjoyed under any other system of government, unless perhaps in ancient times, and under some distinguished potentates, who flourished before the dissolution of the Mogul empire; the Emperor Acber, for instance.

1717. Do you conceive that the inhabitants are sensible of those benefits which you have just enumerated, and that it does accordingly attach them to the British Government?—The body of the people I conceive to be fully sensible of the advantages they enjoy; that is not the part of the population of India that are hostile to us. The class of persons that are dissatisfied, are those who have been removed from places of authority and power by our supremacy.

1718. Have you seen a list of public works executed in India in the several presidencies since the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in the year 1813, as such list was presented to the Committee sitting last year, marked No. 9, in the Appendix to the Report of the 11th of October 1831?—I have not happened to see it.

[*The same was shown to the Witness.*]

1719. Though you have not previously seen it, yet from your cursory inspection of it now, or from your general knowledge of the subject, are you able to state what has been the aggregate expense of the public works there enumerated?—The course of my service was not calculated to afford me the means of answering that question.

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1720. You cannot then state what proportion of the revenue of India has been expended in public works, as contrasted either with the amount received, or as compared with any proportion which it might bear to sums expended upon similar works by the British Government at home?—No, I am not able to answer that question. I see in this list various works, such as roads and bridges, with which, being executed when I was in India, I am acquainted; but I understood the former question to refer to public works upon the lands in the interior of the country for the benefit of agriculture.

1721. To what body is delegated the legislation for India?—Each presidency has by law the power of framing its own Regulations. The subordinate presidencies generally, I believe, submit their Regulations to the Supreme Government for confirmation.

1722. Do you mean that the subordinate presidencies are compelled by law to submit their Regulations for the sanction of the Governor-general?—Not by law, but I believe by an order of the Governor-general in Council. The occasions for the enactment of new Regulations at the several presidencies of course arise out of transactions and events as they occur. In Bengal all the public functionaries in the interior of the country have by a specific enactment the privilege of suggesting any new Laws and Regulations that may appear to them expedient. These suggestions are taken into consideration by the Governor-general in Council, and if approved, a Regulation is framed accordingly. The public functionary himself is sometimes required to draw up and transmit the scheme of the proposed Regulation. Regulations are also sometimes framed under the immediate direction and superintendence of the supreme authority.

1723. Are they when passed of necessity registered in the Supreme Court?—Not those that have relation to the interior of the country.

1724. In what manner are those Laws promulgated when passed; how are they made known to the natives?—They are translated into the native languages. There is a Regulation of the Bengal presidency, the 41st, I think, of the year 1793, which describes the particular mode in which Regulations shall be framed and promulgated. When printed they are transmitted to the several judges of the provincial,illah, and city courts, and other public functionaries, both in English and in the native languages.

1725. Is there any collection of those Regulations kept?—Yes, regularly.

1726. Would it not appear at first sight desirable that there should be one general code of laws applicable to the government of India generally?—I do not think that one code of laws could be applicable to all the three presidencies.

1727. In what respect do the different presidencies so essentially differ from each other that the same system of law might not be made applicable to all of them?—There must be differences of local circumstances which require different Laws and Regulations to be applicable to them; there are different tenures of land, for instance, under the several presidencies, and I can conceive a variety of local circumstances which may be applicable to one presidency and not to another. At Madras, for instance, what is called the ryotwar system prevails very generally, which it does not on the side of Bengal or Bombay. Therefore it seems to me that it is absolutely necessary that Regulations should proceed, in the first instance at least, from the subordinate presidencies themselves, that is, a Regulation required for Bombay should be framed at Bombay, and the same at Madras, and the same in Bengal, by the authority which is necessarily acquainted with all the local peculiarities and circumstances of each presidency.

1728. In his legislative as well as his executive capacity, has the Governor a power paramount to that of his Council?—Certainly not.

1729. Have you considered in what manner a body might be constituted in India for the purpose of more satisfactorily executing so very serious a function as is implied in this unlimited power of legislation?—I have not, and am not therefore prepared to give a confident opinion on the subject; but on this first consideration of it, I am disposed to think that such a body might be constituted under the Supreme Government; I should, however, still consider it necessary that the Regulations intended for the subordinate presidencies should be framed there in the first instance, which might be submitted for revision to the Legislative Council established at the seat of the Supreme Government.

1730. Supposing that a member conversant with the local affairs of each of the subordinate presidencies were to form part of the Legislative Council constituted at the seat of government, would not that body, so composed, be qualified to take



take into consideration any suggestions that the Governor of the subordinate presidencies might make of any new Regulation that he deemed to be requisite?—That would not, in my opinion, supersede the necessity of framing Regulations at the several presidencies themselves. I do not think that the mere delegation of an individual from each presidency would supply the place of that knowledge of local affairs which appears to me to be necessary to frame Regulations adapted to the circumstances of each presidency. I think it would be necessary that the Regulations should originate at the presidencies where they are intended to operate, but they might be subject to revision.

1731. In what manner does it occur to you that it would be possible under the existing state of society in India to compose an adequate Legislative Council, on whom should devolve the responsibility of making laws for our whole Indian empire?—That subject is new to me, and I have not considered it sufficiently as to be able at once to suggest a scheme of that nature.

1732. Do any insuperable objections occur to your mind to the formation of such a council?—I am not prepared to say that I perceive any insuperable objections to it, but I question the expediency of divesting the Government entirely of its legislative power.

1733. It has been intimated by some witnesses before the Committee that it might be found practicable to introduce to that Council the assistance of a certain portion of native talent and knowledge; what occurs to you upon that suggestion?—I think it is going too great a length at first. The native agency must be introduced very gradually. The placing of natives at once in so elevated a situation would, I think, be proceeding much too rapidly in the plan of employing the natives more extensively than they are at present employed in the civil administration of the country; I doubt, indeed, whether it would be possible to find any native qualified to be a party in framing laws and regulations. They might, no doubt, afford on some occasions, the aid of information; but that would be attainable without their being associated as assessors in a council of that nature. I am disposed to think that the Sudder Dewannee Nizamut Adawlut, with some legal assistance, might be made an efficient instrument for framing Regulations.

1734. Would not their introduction into that Council, in your opinion, give confidence to the natives generally?—I do not think it would add in any degree to the confidence already reposed by them in the Government. In my judgment it would be extremely objectionable to introduce a native into that situation at all, and I do not imagine that he could be of any material service.

1735. Can you state any specific danger that you would apprehend from such an experiment?—I should not say that there was any danger in it, but I do not see the advantage of it. I think it would be placing the natives too high in point of rank and situation relatively to British functionaries and British subjects, nor do I conceive that natives could be found qualified for the task of legislation; it is not at all consistent with their habits.

1736. You referred, in one of your answers, to the vast mass of public business that was transacted in the departments in India, and which is certainly not less in the departments at home; has any mode ever occurred to you by which that increasing mass could be diminished?—It is a subject upon which I have often reflected: indeed I have been naturally driven to reflect upon it by having, while a member of Council, experienced the overwhelming and overburthening mass of business that came before us. The government is overloaded with details. The principle of the remedy is obvious: a division of labour and responsibility; but the means of effecting it are not so apparent. Even so long ago as when I left India, the machinery of government was manifestly inadequate to the work it had to perform; and of course it must be still more so now. I speak particularly of the Supreme Government. The question then is, how the government can be relieved from a portion at least of the details of business which come before it. There is nothing so great and nothing so small that, under the present system, does not require the intervention of the supreme authority. The idea that I have entertained is, that the subordinate functionaries should be invested with a greater degree of authority, so as to render it unnecessary for them to submit the whole of their proceedings to the decision of the Government, which now is the case; but I am not prepared to suggest any specific plan for the accomplishment of that important object.

1737. With regard to the transmission to the authorities in this country of the very voluminous matters of small detail that come before them, do you consider

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sider that it might be practicable to draw any line which should supersede the necessity of such very laborious investigation to so very little purpose?—I confess I do not see the practicability of drawing any such line. So long as it is deemed necessary to exercise a control and superintendence over the proceedings of the governments abroad, so long apparently must the whole of their proceedings be sent home.

1738. While you were in the government in India, was not an order issued to all the residents, directing them not to send the whole of the correspondence upon every subject, but to send a diary, and to send a list of the letters, and such of them only as were material to the diary?—I recollect (being reminded of the circumstance) that when I held the office of chief secretary, instructions were issued to the residents to keep and transmit periodically to the presidency, a diary or precis of their correspondence, and to abstain from transmitting copies of such documents noted in the diary as were not of material importance.

1739. You stated that you were connected with the Secret department when you were in India; does your experience lead you to believe that the Secret department in India is properly constituted for the purposes of despatch and secrecy?—I have no reason to doubt that it is so.

Martis, 17^o die Aprilis, 1832.

SIR JAMES MACDONALD, BART., IN THE CHAIR.

Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, Esq. called in; and further Examined.

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*1739. IS there anything you wish to state to the Committee in reference to the evidence you gave yesterday?—I have had an opportunity this morning of looking into the despatch respecting the conduct of the Indigo planters, to which I referred yesterday, and have made two or three extracts from it, with a view to show more clearly the grounds on which I found my statement regarding the conduct and proceedings of the indigo planters and their agents.

1740. What was the date of the despatch from which you made the extracts you allude to?—These extracts are contained in the answer of the Court of Directors to the despatches from Bengal on the subject of the indigo planters, and I have taken them from the answer, not from the original despatches; so that I do not exactly know the dates. The letter to Bengal, answering these despatches, is dated the 10th of this month.

1741. Do you wish to make any observations to the Committee in regard to the answers you gave yesterday on the subject of Europeans occupying land in India?—It has always appeared to me that the admitting Europeans generally to hold lands as proprietors and renters in that country, would be calculated rather to interfere with and obstruct, than to encourage and promote the interests of the native landholders. It will not be practicable to impose an effectual restraint, either on the number or description of the Europeans who, through the opening now afforded, may obtain a footing in the country. They will become the rivals and competitors of the native landholders, and progressively supplant them in the possession of their lands. The essential difference of character, habits, religion, language, attainments, modes of thinking and acting, customs and prejudices, between the two classes, constitute an insuperable bar to their ever being united by the associations and connections of domestic life, or by any common bond of national interest and feeling. They cannot coalesce and commix. There must be a constant collision between them, as well as between the Europeans themselves and their respective agents and adherents; the effect of all which will be to create disputes and disturbances that must engage the almost exclusive time and attention of the local magistracy and police. This anticipation is strongly countenanced by the information we have received relative to the proceedings of the comparatively few Europeans already established in the interior of the presidency of Bengal as indigo planters, and must consequently be aggravated by the unlimited admission of Europeans as landholders for general agricultural purposes, to which the door now seems to have been opened. The reports referred to show that their conduct has had the effect of creating disturbance



turbance and disorder in the country where they have been located; that it has been found impracticable for the magistrates to control their conduct; and I must repeat my opinion, that if such an influx of European landholders as the arrangement involves be introduced into the country, it will be found indispensably necessary to establish a new system of judicature for the control of them.

1742. The Committee understand that you have extracted from the answer to these despatches, such parts as you think tend to bear out the particular view you take of the subject?—Yes; it was with that view that I made those extracts.

1743. Is the answer to the despatches very voluminous?—It is very voluminous. The recorded reports of the conduct of the indigo planters and their agents appeared to me to afford sufficient evidence of the truth of what I have stated.

1744. Does the despatch entirely refer to this question?—It does, exclusively. Finding it difficult to describe concisely the facts represented in the extracts which I hold in my hand, I desire to refer to the detailed narrative contained in them, as bearing me out in the statement that I have given. “As magistrate of Nuddea, (says Mr. Turnbull) I have had some opportunity of witnessing the scenes of contention and strife ensuing from the various and conflicting interests to which that competition gave rise. The disorders which then prevailed in that and the neighbouring indigo districts have, I believe, nothing abated to the present day, and they are certainly such as to call for the serious interposition of Government. From the moment of ploughing the land and sowing the seed, to the season of reaping the crop, the whole district is thrown into a state of ferment; the most daring breaches of the peace are committed in the face of our police officers and even of the magistrate himself. In utter defiance of all law and authority large bodies of armed men are avowedly entertained for the express purpose of taking or retaining forcible possession of lands or crops; violent affrays, or rather regular pitched battles ensue, attended with bloodshed and homicide; our police establishments are corrupted, and the daroghas are said notoriously to be in the pay of the planters, European or native, to secure their good offices.”

1745. What is the name of the magistrate?—Mr. Turnbull; he is now a member of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut; he had been magistrate of Nuddea, which is distant about 100 miles above Calcutta. The magistrate of Dacca says, “I will not here put on record acts which have come to my knowledge of the open daring violence directed to the destruction of rival factories; but will ask, where is the instance in this part of the country of the native zemindar, who, unaided by European partners or influence, has erected indigo factories, and successfully carried on the speculation, without being in the end either entirely ruined or obliged to admit his powerful neighbour to share in his concern, or being himself perhaps cast into gaol for standing up in defence of his own rights.” Mr. Ross states, that “armed men are kept by the planters to enforce the ryots’ contracts;” and Mr. Sealy, another officer, speaks of “the number of affrays that now annually take place for indigo lands, which are invariably attended with severe wounding, and frequently with loss of life, in consequence of the planters entertaining bodies of fighting men for the express purpose of fighting their battles on these occasions.” These are facts, independently of my own observation and reflection, on which my opinion of the inexpediency of admitting Europeans generally settlers into the interior of the country, is mainly founded. Some of the reports, however, contain very favourable opinions of the personal character of the indigo planters; notwithstanding which, it appears that the above are practices and proceedings of constant occurrence.

1746. These facts, if well founded, were, I presume, known to the government of Bengal; and knowing the existence of these facts, has not that government come to a determination that it is desirable to permit Europeans to hold land upon long leases?—They have so; and it appears to me to be likely to produce an aggravation of the evil. I consider it to be our primary duty and obligation to adopt every measure calculated to elevate the natives, and to promote their interest and prosperity; and I think it is acting in opposition to that principle to introduce into the country a numerous class of persons, who, from the nature of their objects and pursuits, will have interests opposed to those of the native landholders, and from their national character, station, influence and connexions, must necessarily obtain an ascendancy over them, which they are likely to employ for purposes adverse to the prosperity of the native landholders and tenants, and to the tranquillity of the country. It would be absolutely necessary, as already observed, to make such an alteration in the administration of the laws as would be calculated to control this



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body of Europeans. In fact, where a community of Europeans is established, British institutions must follow; the effect of all which seems to me to be the prosecution of a system for promoting the interests and advantages of British subjects at the expense of those of the natives. Our forbearance hitherto in abstaining from all interference with the rights and possessions of our native subjects, securing to them the full exercise of their religion and their laws, and assisting and encouraging them in the prosecution of the arts of industry, has been, I conceive, a principal means of attaching them to our government: the measure of admitting Europeans, without limitation, to hold lands in the manner now proposed, or as I should rather say, already determined, seems to me to be a total departure from that line of policy.

1747. To what proportion of the places in which indigo plantations are established do the extracts you have quoted refer?—The districts of Nuddea and Dacca Jellalpoore; but the practices and scenes described in those extracts appear to be general.

1748. You have stated that it has been found impossible for the local magistrates to control the conduct of the European planters, and further that it would be necessary to that end to establish a new system of judicature; has any recommendation to that effect proceeded from the Bengal government?—Not to my knowledge.

1749. Has the Court of Directors found it to be its duty, in justice to the natives so suffering, to send out any orders to such effect?—Certainly not. By the establishment of a new system of judicature I mean the introduction of British law with all its machinery into the interior of the country, which I should regard as an evil of great magnitude, and which indeed could only be effected by a parliamentary enactment.

1750. Has the Court of Directors found it to be its duty to disapprove of the introduction of granting leases of land to Europeans, as sanctioned by their government in Bengal?—They strongly censured the Bengal government for adopting a measure of such paramount importance without previous reference, as well as for allowing Europeans to hold leases without any security against the abuse of the privilege;—the majority of the Court, however, concurred in sanctioning the grant of leases, subject to certain conditions and restrictions, and with a limitation as to the duration of the leases. The local government of Bengal actually adopted the resolution of permitting Europeans to hold lands on leases of 60 years; the Court of Directors have limited the term to 21. I, as a member of the Court of Directors, entirely disapproved of that measure, and did not concur in it, and I stated my reasons.

1751. In what possible manner does the limitation of the term of occupation to 21 years instead of 60, tend to mitigate the evils which you have represented as arising out of the occupation by Europeans?—I do not think that it is calculated to remove them; a door has been opened, which it will now be difficult to close.

1752. Then the Committee understand that on this point both the local government of Bengal, the Court of Directors at home, and the Board of Commissioners at home, have dissented from the opinions introduced by yourself?—My opinions were submitted to the Court when the question came under discussion in the form of a proposed despatch to Bengal. The sanction given to the measure under certain limitations may perhaps have been given under a conviction that, as it had already been adopted in Bengal, it was not possible to withdraw from it without public inconvenience; some of my colleagues did not concur in the measure, even as proposed to be modified, any more than myself, and a dissent was entered upon the proceedings of the Court, to which reference can be had if necessary.

1753. These opinions have not been acted on by either of the three governing bodies?—The establishment of Europeans as landholders in that country is a measure entirely novel, and has only been brought under the consideration of the authorities at home, and has received their sanction under the qualification and restrictions I have mentioned, within these three years.

1754. The system in India, up to the present time, having been founded upon the exclusion of Europeans from holding lands in India?—Yes, except to the extent of 50 bheegas (about 17 acres).

1755. And the present being an experiment for the first time formally introduced?—The measure appears to have been introduced not experimentally but absolutely, and I consider it to be a measure pregnant with evil.

1756. This limitation of the period of granting leases to 21 years, will of course place



place it in the power of the Court of Directors to alter this system at an earlier period than they would be able to do at the end of 60 years, if it was found inexpedient to continue it?—I think that having been once admitted, it will be found very difficult to alter the system; I do not think it practicable to recede, without producing great complaints on the part of those who may have embarked in large concerns under the encouragement of the local government.

1757. You have stated that the occupation of land by Europeans must be followed by the establishment of British institutions; will you state to the Committee why Europeans so voluntarily settling themselves should not be rendered amenable to the provincial judicature of the country?—I do not think that the local judicature is calculated to control their conduct, and experience seems to me to have shown that it is not.

1758. Will you state what you mean by the expression British institutions?—I mean principally the British laws; the British system of judicature, with all its appendages.

1759. You would consider that, on a trial by jury, part of the jurymen should be Europeans?—Yes, I mean the trial by jury; the introduction of British law and the English language.

1760. When you state that the occupation of land by Europeans is injurious to the natives, do you mean that where it has been hitherto tried it has had the effect of displacing the native cultivators?—Not the mere cultivators; I think that the European will necessarily enter into competition and collision with the natives, landholders and manufacturers, and therefore to that extent will eventually displace them.

1761. The question refers to the mere cultivator, to the ryot?—He will not displace the ryot; but it has been found, in the case of the indigo planters, that the ryots have sometimes been very much oppressed by them; that they have been compelled against their inclination to cultivate the indigo plant and to receive advances; instances of this species of oppression are stated in the despatches I have referred to.

1762. Have you read the evidence taken before the House of Lords in 1830 on this inquiry?—I have not.

1763. Has not the occupation of land by Europeans rather acted as a stimulus to industry, and increased the demand for native labour?—I should think to a certain extent it must have done so, but the natives have not hitherto been at a loss to obtain employment from the land. The indigo manufacturers have no doubt paid higher rents, and so far have encouraged native industry.

1764. You say that it has been the duty of the Government rather to assist the natives in prosecuting the arts of industry?—I think that has been the object and general tendency of our administration, our Regulations, and our conduct with regard to them.

1765. Will you inform the Committee how and where the Government have assisted the natives in prosecuting the arts of industry?—By the security that is afforded to life and property, by the moderation of the assessments, and their permanent limitation where these have taken place, and by the protection that the natives enjoy under the British Government from external invasion and internal insurrection, and by removing all obstacles to the free application of labour and the free enjoyment of its produce.

1766. What grounds have you for supposing that the life and property of the natives has been better secured under the British Government than under their own native government?—By the establishment of independent tribunals of justice, which under their own government had no existence.

1767. Does not every Mahomedan history with which you are acquainted, or even a native history written in English at Bengal within the last 60 years, familiarize you completely with instances of perpetual oppression on the part of their rulers, before the British acquired any territorial dominion in India?—I have no doubt that is a just description of the general character of the native administration for some time anterior to our possession of the country.

1768. Do you consider the introduction of skill and capital into a country, or the assumption of the whole civil and military power of a country, together with the whole of its territorial revenues, to the exclusion of the natives in a participation in the administration of the government, as the greater evil?—So far from the introduction of skill and capital into the country being an evil, I consider it to be a great benefit, and I think under proper limitations British skill and capital may be

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very successfully employed, and to a certain degree has been so; what I object to is the influx of Europeans in such numbers and in such a manner as must have the injurious effects I have described.

1769. Are you aware what is the total number of Europeans actually employed in India in the indigo cultivation?—I cannot venture to speak to that.

1770. Are you aware what is the revenue derived from the number of Europeans employed in the indigo factories?—I am not.

1771. Are you aware what is the amount of revenue derived from that source?—I am not. I could have no knowledge of these subjects since my return from India, but what I might have derived from the records in the India House, and I do not recollect having seen any statements of the kind.

1772. Are you acquainted with the district of Tirhoot?—I never resided there.

1773. You cannot therefore say whether in that district there is any appearance of increased wealth and comfort among the cultivators?—Not from my own knowledge and personal observation: but I have reason to know the fact, as I well remember that the zemindar of Tirhoot was remarkable for the excellent management of his lands; but the great improvement in this and other districts I am disposed to attribute mainly to the limitation of the public demand upon the land.

1774. Did not these perpetual disputes arise from the circumstance of the uncertainty of the boundaries, in the cases of the indigo plantations: you talked of there being conflicts and shedding of blood, did they not generally arise, not from the circumstance of the cultivation of indigo, but the uncertainty of the boundaries?—I think it is stated, in the reports accompanying the despatches on the subject, that they are occasioned principally by the ryots receiving advances from different persons for the same crop, when each of the parties making the advances endeavouring to enforce the fulfilment of his contract by means of an armed force, conflicts and affrays ensue. I am speaking from a perusal of the papers.

1775. Does not that arise more from the peculiarity of local circumstances than from any defect in the conduct of the cultivator of indigo?—It seems to arise from the avidity of the ryots to receive money, and from the proceedings of the servants of the manufacturer.

1776. Are not they generally Europeans who make the advances that you are speaking of?—Yes, through their native agents.

1777. If the persons who made the advances were natives, do you think the same result would follow?—Native manufacturers would be much more easily controlled by the local judicature.

1778. In such instances as have occurred from the misconduct of the indigo planters, are you aware whether it has arisen from the employment of improper persons in the agency of the factories?—The course of my service has not admitted of my being intimately acquainted with the details of all these proceedings. What I have been stating is derived chiefly from a perusal of the despatches lately received on that subject; but my opinion with regard to the prejudicial effects of the admission of Europeans generally as landholders into the country, is not derived from these communications, although I think it is very much supported by them. That opinion arises from a general knowledge of local affairs in India; from my acquaintance with the habits, character and peculiarities of the natives; and from observation and reflection; but I do not pretend to be personally acquainted with the management of an indigo factory. I have never been in a situation to acquire a personal knowledge of them.

1779. Has not the present system of exclusion of Europeans very much narrowed the means of selection which they can have of European agents at these factories?—I have not seen any observations nor heard any complaints on this subject, nor have I sufficient knowledge of the system to form a judgment on this point.

1780. In Nuddea are all the indigo planters Europeans, or are there any Mussulmans?—I know there are natives who possess indigo factories and carry on the manufacture.

1781. If two native planters had made advances to the ryot, would not they each have asserted their right to the crop, the same as two Europeans would have done?—Certainly; but as I said before, I conceive that the local tribunals are fully capable of controlling the natives, but that they are not efficient in controlling the conduct of Europeans.

1782. Why could not they be made efficient to that object?—The high tone of the European character itself, the influence and connections that a British subject
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of any rank in society necessarily acquires in the country, his being generally on terms of friendship with the local functionaries, a feeling of superiority over the natives, and the inferior degree of respect which an European is apt to entertain for the local tribunals as compared with those of his own nation, are all adverse to it. It is stated in the reports before referred to, that the natives are often actually afraid of bringing their complaints against Europeans before the magistrate. But under certain limitations and restrictions, and for special purposes, far from being adverse to the establishment of British subjects in the interior of the country, I think that Europeans of capital and character may very beneficially be allowed to settle; not however as proprietors of estates or renters of land for general agricultural purposes, like the native zemindars, as seems now to have been permitted, which I cannot consider as at all advisable, but on the contrary as pregnant with evil; but for the introduction of new objects of culture, of improvements depending upon British skill, energy and enterprise.

1783. Reverting to the topic of the government establishments in India, will you state to us what advantage to the public service appears to you to result from conducting so much of the public business of the country through the medium of boards?—The object of the establishment of boards of course was to relieve the Government from the burthen of details, and provided the members of the board are efficient and well qualified for their duties, that object is advantageously accomplished. The superintendence, for instance, over the collectors of revenue, seems to me very expediently lodged in the Board of Revenue. It would be impossible for the Government to keep up a correspondence with all the individual collectors; there must be some intermediate functionaries to conduct the details.

1784. What other boards exist in Calcutta besides the Board of Revenue?—The Military Board, the Marine Board, the Board of Salt and Opium, and the Board of Trade.

1785. Does it come within your knowledge whether the individual members of the several boards do take an active part in the conducting of public business?—While I was there I had reason to believe that they did so; but the president usually takes the lead in the business, as is the case, I believe, in all boards.

1786. The president and the secretary, I presume, are the official members?—The president is the officiating member, assisted of course by the secretary.

1787. What advantage or disadvantage would, in your opinion, result from concentrating several of these departments in one head, rather than in having their responsibility distributed among many members?—Practically, no doubt, there would be great advantage, provided the person so appointed be fully qualified and capable in every respect of discharging the duties of the situation; but I conceive that it would be so extremely difficult to secure the services of persons so eminently qualified, that it would be always necessary to have the assistance of other members, and that not only for the benefit of counsel and advice, but also for the advantage of a division of labour, one member taking one branch of business, and another member another, as I believe is usually practised, and to provide likewise for cases of sickness or necessary absence. A further benefit attaches to the constitution of a board, namely, that it admits of one of the members proceeding (as used actually to be the case occasionally), vested with the powers of the board, to visit the several collectorships, whilst the remainder continued at the presidency to carry on the ordinary duties of the department.

1788. That observation applies solely to the Revenue Board?—I was speaking of the Revenue Board; the Military Board is constituted upon a very different principle.

1789. Upon what ground is the Board of Salt and Opium detached from the Board of Revenue?—I believe because the business was found too burthensome in addition to their other duties, and also because salt and opium are branches of revenue so very important as to have been thought to require a special and exclusive superintendence. I believe these are the grounds on which they were separated.

1790. In a government circumstanced as the Indian government is, does it not appear to you peculiarly desirable that the executive powers of the government in that country should be concentrated as much as possible in the hands of one individual?—As a general rule or principle, I think so certainly. I consider the constitution of our Indian governments to be well adapted to the character, habits and feelings of the natives of India; the concentration of authority in the hands of one individual (which I conceive is essentially the actual constitution of the Indian

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government, and is regarded by the natives to be literally such) harmonizes with the form of government to which from the earliest period of recorded history they have been accustomed, and is calculated also to secure that vigour, promptitude and decision which the annals of British India have shown to be so necessary and so efficacious in the ever recurring emergencies of our situation in that country. The existing constitution of our Indian government is also that which seems more than any other susceptible of being guided and controlled by the authorities at home; an object certainly of the highest importance when we consider the vast distance of our Indian possessions from the mother country, and the great extent of power necessarily vested in the hands of the local administration.

1791. What other checks appear to you desirable upon the authority of the person exercising the supreme power in India, than those which are to be found in a well-defined system of laws, and in the controlling power of the authorities at home?—I have always been accustomed to consider that the power vested in the hands of the members of council constitutes a proper check to a certain extent upon the Governor-general. I think it is salutary that he should be subject to that degree of restraint under which he acts in consequence of the share possessed by the members of council in the government of the country, and such I always understood was the intention of the Legislature when the existing form of government was established, the Governor-general being left at the same time to act on his own responsibility in cases of emergency or great political importance; so that he has the benefit of efficient counsel and advice, whilst to a certain extent a check is imposed upon his conduct, without his being withheld from acting independently of his council on occasions essentially affecting the public interests and safety.

1792. Is it not in the nature of such a constitution as the executive government to daily impede the course of public business?—By no means, in my opinion, to an extent that in any degree counterbalances the advantages derived from such a constitution.

1793. We will suppose the individuals now composing the councils of the Governor-general appointed rather to discharge legislative than executive duties, and to act, if necessary, upon certain occasions in the nature of a privy council to the Governor-general: would it be your opinion that under such a state of things the legislative powers would be better provided for, and the executive government worked more expeditiously and more advantageously to the public interest?—It appears to me that in a government so constituted as that of British India, it is not expedient entirely to separate the legislative from the executive branches of the administration. I do not think they can be entirely separated without impairing the efficiency of the government.

1794. By legislative power, I mean the power of framing laws for the local government in India?—A separate council might no doubt be formed for that purpose, but I am of opinion that any laws so enacted should still be subject to the confirmation of the Government itself; but for the mere practical purpose of framing Regulations, I think a separate body might be expediently formed.

1795. Would you explain to the Committee what you mean by the confirmation of Government?—I mean the confirmation of the Governor-general in Council.

1796. Do you mean that in the event of the formation of a legislative council, the Governor-general in Council should have a veto in the laws there proposed and enacted?—I think it is expedient that he should; the subject, however, is so new to me that I ought not perhaps to deliver an opinion so precipitately. I would rather desire to deliberate more maturely on the subject.

1797. In what year were you elected a Director?—In October 1820.

1798. How soon after did you become a member of the Committee of Correspondence?—It was only in April of last year that I became a member of the Committee of Correspondence.

1799. During these 11 years after your return from filling the important station you held in India, on what committees of the India House were you appointed?—According to the established practice, I became a member of the Committee of Shipping in the first instance, and then by gradual rise I became a member of the Committee of Buying and Warehouses, and afterwards, as already stated, a member of the Committee of Correspondence. The rise in the scale of the Direction depends of course on vacancies and casualties. Under one of the bye-laws, no person coming from India can be elected a Director until two years after his return; I did not therefore become a member of the Direction immediately after my



my arrival in England, as the question implies; I was elected two years and a quarter after.

1800. Are you aware upon what principle the regulation in the Court is founded, of succession by seniority to the Committee of Correspondence?—I conceive on this principle, that by that means every Director has an opportunity of becoming practically acquainted with every branch of the Company's affairs much more efficiently than he otherwise possibly could.

1801. What opportunities do the Committees, for example, of Shipping and Warehouses afford a Director of becoming acquainted with more important matters of the government of India?—As a member of the Court, when the Court meets he has an opportunity of discussing any subject that is brought before them: for instance, when drafts or reports come from the Committee of Correspondence or other committees, on political or any other subjects, they are laid before the Court for the consideration of the members; and each member, whatever be his station, has then the opportunity of perusing them, and all the documents connected with them, and making himself fully acquainted with the subject; so that by these means he is qualified to discuss the subject when it is brought forward for decision.

1802. Practically that is the case, is it?—Yes, it is so. It is at the option, of course, of each of the Directors to take such share in the discussion of any subject as he may think proper. Some take more and some less. Some are in the habit of reading the collections of papers which usually accompany the drafts of despatches or other documents laid before the Court for approval, and thereby making themselves fully acquainted with the details of the subject; they are not therefore precluded from obtaining that knowledge to which the question refers, by the system that is established.

1803. Might it not happen that individuals who have filled high stations with great reputation in India, return to this country at a period of life that makes it highly undesirable that they should serve an apprenticeship of 10 years in a shipping or warehousing committee before they are admitted into the important part of the administration of the Court of Directors?—No doubt an individual returning from India under the circumstances described could be of more immediate use if introduced into the committee in which subjects connected with his own course of service are primarily discussed; at the same time I am inclined to think that upon the whole the present system works well, for the reason I have given, namely, that by means of it a Director becomes practically acquainted with every branch of affairs, whilst he is not precluded from affording the benefit of his more recent knowledge and experience by his being attached to a subordinate committee.

1804. By the constitution of the Court of Directors, as it exists at present, is the junior member of such Court eligible to the chair of the Court as much as the senior member?—Yes, he is eligible, certainly; but it is very unlikely to happen that the junior member should be appointed to the chair of the Court.

1805. It is, however, a matter within the competence of the great body of the Court to select the individual to fill their chair who, whether he may have been a member one, ten, or twenty years, may in their judgment be best entitled to the chair?—Certainly it is.

1806. The Committee understand that the functions of the government of India, so far as the Court of Directors are concerned, may be considered as bound up with the Court generally, but that among themselves the Court for their own convenience divide these functions into different committees, corresponding to the different departments of the state of India; is that a right view?—That is the correct view.

1807. It is understood by the Committee that the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Court of Directors are, *ex officio*, members of all committees, and from their station have the direct control, or at least a leading influence in every department of Indian administration, as far as the Court of Directors is concerned; is that so?—They have. As the organs of the Court, and as the organs of each committee when they think proper to preside at those committees, they necessarily take the lead; but the Committee of Correspondence is the committee in which the chairs usually and ordinarily preside; they attend other committees only when questions of peculiar importance are to be discussed.

1808. Considering then that the two chairs, whom in your last answer you described as organs of the Court, must be members of other committees officially, and cannot while in the chair attend regularly to such committees; do you or do

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you not consider that in such circumstances an advantage is derived from these individuals having passed up through all the successive committees, previously to their taking the chair in the Committee of Correspondence, being at the same time in the chair of the Court?—Most certainly so.

1809. There being at the same time no bye-law or other legal impediment on the part of the Court, to the selection of any individual to the chair, if he should be pre-eminently qualified in their judgment to fill it?—There is no such impediment.

1810. And the Committee understand that the despatches are open to every member of the Court, whether he be a member of the Committee of Correspondence or not; and that practically many members of other committees do read all the despatches submitted to the Court?—Every member of the Court has access to despatches and documents of all kinds that are not secret.

1811. How many classes of committees are there?—There are three general committees, with subdivisions.

1812. What public advantage results from there being so large a number of Directors as 24?—That it facilitates the transaction of business, by their being divisible into committees, and also it seems to me to afford a latitude for the introduction of various qualifications that are useful and necessary.

1813. Do you think in your opinion that the substantial business of the India House could not be conducted with a diminished number of Directors?—I will not go so far as to say that I am not aware that the existing number of Directors is calculated to clog and impede the progress of business; it does not appear to me to do so in practice.

1814. Supposing the East India Company was to divest itself altogether of its mercantile character, I presume that there would be an end of committees of shipping, warehousing, and so forth: under such circumstances, by what number of Directors could the public business of India be in your judgment satisfactorily conducted?—There is no doubt if that was the case that a considerable reduction in the number of Directors as well as in the establishment might be effected.

1815. In the event of its appearing to the Legislature desirable that the supply of young men destined to fill the civil offices in India should be provided from some other source or by some other mode than at present, what injury in your opinion would result from the remuneration of a Director being in the shape of salary instead of that of patronage: for instance, whether it would lead to a different description of men being appointed?—I do not think that any injury would result from the change. On the contrary, I am rather disposed to think it might be an improvement, as it would constitute a stronger obligation on the individuals appointed to attend to their duties; and if the existing system of election were continued, I do not think it would lead to a different description of men being appointed, unless the salary were so considerable as greatly to extend the field of competition.

1816. Do you consider it might probably happen that a limited number of Directors so appointed would feel it more imperatively their duty to take their full share in the transaction of the duties of the Court?—It appears to me it would impose practically as well as morally an additional degree of responsibility upon them.

1817. I would ask you generally, whether upon any of the points to which you have been examined by the Committee, or on any others which they have omitted, any suggestions occur to you that you consider it important to the object of our inquiry to state to the Committee?—I am not prepared at this moment to suggest anything in addition to what I have already stated; but should anything further occur to me I will submit it to the Committee in writing.



Sabbati, 23^o die Junii, 1832.

JAMES A. STEWART MACKENZIE, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Mons. L'Abbé Jean Antoine Dubois, called in; and Examined.

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1818. WERE you long in India?—I arrived in India in 1792, and left in 1823; I was about 31 years in India.

1819. In what capacity were you there?—As a Catholic Missionary from Paris (*des Missions Étrangères*), but belonging to the Propaganda Society.

1820. What part of India were you in particularly?—Tanjore, Carnatic, and Mysore.

1821. What is the present number and state of the Catholics throughout India?—In answer to that question, I will briefly state, that owing to several reasons which have been fully unfolded in my former works, chiefly in that entitled “Letters on the State of Christianity in India, &c.” which is before the public, the Christian religion has visibly been on the decline during these past 80 years. When I arrived in that country in 1792, in the capacity of a missionary, I was credibly assured by the old missionaries I found there, that before that time the number of native Catholics in the peninsula, to the south of the Krichna, was far above 1,000,000: the actual number cannot be determined with a positive precision, but it may be done by approximation. During my abode of more than 30 years in India, I endeavoured to ascertain, as far as possible, what was the present number of persons of this description, and I believe that there is no exaggeration in carrying their aggregate number to about 600,000: about 160,000 will be found in the island of Ceylon, and between 400,000 and 500,000 in the several provinces of the south of the peninsula; however, the greatest number amongst the latter live on the Malabar coast, from Goa to Cape Comorin, including Travancore; and from the information I received from several respectable quarters, I believe that the number of Catholic Christians in that tract of country amount to above 300,000, the remainder are disseminated over the provinces of Madura, Carnatic, Mysore, and Deccan.

That numerous body of Christians have for their chief religious guides eight bishops, viz. four titular bishops who are appointed by the court of Portugal, and four bishops *in partibus infidelium*, with the title of apostolical vicars, directly appointed by the Holy See, without the interference of any temporal power.

The titular bishops appointed by the court of Portugal are the Archbishop of Goa, the primate, and the bishops of St. Thomé near Madras, Cochin, and Crangomore on the Malabar coast; the two latter bishoprics have been vacant during these past 40 years, they having no revenues for their support, and the Portuguese government not being disposed, it appears, to pay bishops living in countries submitted to a foreign power.

The four apostolical vicars appointed by the Holy See are stationed at Pondicherry, Verapoly near Cochin, Bombay, and Agra; the former is a Frenchman, the three latter are Italians.

In general the Catholic bishops appointed by the Holy See in Asia, and even in Protestant countries where the spiritual authority of the Pope is disregarded, as in England, &c., bear the title of apostolical vicars, being ordained bishops, and having the true episcopal character; they are what is called bishops *in partibus infidelium*, the titles of their bishoprics being derived from ancient bishoprics in Asia Minor or in North Africa, before the overthrow of the Christian religion in those countries by the Mahometan invasion. Thus the titles of bishops *in partibus* are merely nominal, their real episcopal sees being either reduced to ruins or entirely occupied by infidels. The principal difference between titular bishops and bishops *in partibus*, or apostolical vicars, is that the former, after having once received from the Pope the canonical institution, can no more lose their spiritual jurisdiction or be removed from their sees without their consent, unless they should fall into heresy, while the apostolical vicars depend at all times on the Pope, who can at his will revoke or suspend their spiritual powers, and order them to cease their religious functions.

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Each bishop is assisted by a number of priests proportionate to the extent of his jurisdiction; most of those priests are natives of India, educated by European ecclesiastics in seminaries established for the purpose, and ordained by the bishops.

1822. What system would you advise the British Government to adopt for the purpose of improving their moral and political state?—I will confess that this question is more intricate and much more embarrassing than the first. It cannot be denied that, generally speaking, the Christians in India are held in a state of contempt by the bulk of the population; but they are no more, and even less so, than the Mahometan and other natives who have embraced a foreign religion, as the Christian religion obliges the natives who have adopted it to renounce most of the usages and practices which the Hindoos consider as imprescriptible, and as forming the indissoluble ties which unite them together: those among them who have embraced it are considered as forming no longer a part of the social body. In consequence of this prejudice, in most countries, among others on the Malabar coast and at the island of Ceylon, the Christians have, like the Mahometans, formed a separate social body, living without molestation according to the rules of their religion, and peaceably carrying on the several trades and professions common to all other Hindoos, without the difference of religion affecting their temporal interests or their social intercourse with the generality of the Hindoos. They are not admitted, it is true, to the familiarity of the latter in general, but in general intercourse of society a full scope is given to their industry, and there is no kind of trade or profession in which a due proportion of Christians are not engaged. Many among them are chiefs of villages, and live respected. When punchayets are convened to settle disputes and other matters not belonging to religion or regulations of castes, the Christians are summoned as well as other Hindoos to attend them; and although despised and kept at a distance in the familiar intercourse with the other Hindoos, to the best of my knowledge never any political incapacity has been imposed upon them anywhere in India on the score of their religion: and under the Hindoo and Mahometan princes the doors to civil and military offices were always opened to persons of merit among them, without regard to their religion. I am fully aware that there exists a strong prejudice against them among a great many Europeans, who are disposed to consider them as the very worst of the Hindoos, and as surpassing the latter in dishonesty; but from a long personal and attentive observation, I am thoroughly convinced that so far from this being the case, if an impartial inquiry was made on the subject in morality, probity, and honesty, the Christians would get the better over the other castes, and the balance would be greatly in their favour. I do not mean that a great proportion of rogues is not to be found amidst them, but it is proportionally less than among the other classes of Hindoos. Many among them have been admitted to places of trust under the British Government, and I know positively that they have most of them discharged their duties with fidelity, and to the entire satisfaction of their employers.

That owing to several causes more fully explained in my former works, chiefly in that above quoted, the Christian religion has not yet produced its full effects on the minds of the Hindoos who have embraced it, I am not disposed to controvert; but that it has produced no effect at all, and has left the Hindoo converts in the same state in which they were, or perhaps worse than before, is an untenable paradox, which will be disowned by every impartial and honest observer. I am aware that my testimony on the subject may be questioned by many persons, and attributed to a partiality or bias to which my profession of missionary among the Hindoos during a period of more than 30 years must necessarily have exposed me. I have not the pretension to be above the weakness common to most men, to be partial towards the persons who interest us in a particular manner; but as a proof that my profession has not entirely blinded me, or rendered me over-partial towards my former dear Hindoo disciples, I appeal to all persons who may have perused my works. Have I disguised or tried to excuse their faults, their vices, or their defects? Have I not been rather too plain, too explicit, and too candid on the subject? All that I can say is, that the fairness and candour of my statements have made me many enemies among the very Hindoos, and several other classes of people.

Meanwhile the religious and moral condition of the native Christians might be materially improved if their religious instruction and moral education were better attended to, and, above all, their religious guides were placed above the state of penury, I may say beggary, in which they generally live. It is well known that

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most of them have nothing else for their support but the scanty assistance of their distressed flocks, who are generally reduced themselves to a state of great poverty; and their priests, in order to procure for themselves absolute necessities, are reduced to the sad and almost unavoidable necessity of making a kind of traffic with sacraments, and to debase themselves in different ways, with the loss of their dignity and independence. In order to obviate so great an evil, I would propose to shelter the clergy from the horrors of indigence, by giving to every bishop a salary of at least 600 rupees a year; to every European missionary having under his charge a congregation of at least 3,000 native Christians and above, a salary of 300 rupees a year, with an additional salary of 50 rupees a year for a catechist; and to every native priest having under his charge a congregation of at least 3,000 natives, a salary of 200 rupees a year, with an addition of 50 rupees for a catechist, with an injunction to require nothing from their flocks for the administration of sacraments, under the penalty of losing their salaries. As the wants of the Catholic missionary are few, I think that those sums, however moderate, would enable him to live independent. In order to improve the education of the Catholics, it would be highly advantageous to maintain a well-qualified schoolmaster, under the superintendence of each missionary having under his care congregations to the amount of at least 3,000 Christians, on a salary of five or six rupees a month.

At the same time, I cannot see of what utility are those four titular bishops appointed in India by the court of Portugal; still less can I guess at the right of Portugal to appoint bishops in the British dominions; as well could the King of the French claim the right of appointing the bishop of Quebec, under pretext that that bishopric was founded by the French when they possessed Canada. Four bishops *in partibus*, or apostolical vicars, whose maintenance is cheaper than that of titular bishops, would be sufficient, in my opinion, to discharge the episcopal duties among the Catholics of India. One should be stationed in the island of Ceylon, another for the Carnatic and Madura, two for the Malabar coast, and a fifth is judged necessary for Bengal and Hindostan. A negotiation to this effect could be opened with the Holy See, whose concurrence is indispensably necessary, and no circumstance is more favourable than the present one for the purpose, all the bishoprics in India, at least three of them, being vacant; and measures might be taken to prevent Portugal from filling the vacancies until new orders.

Another measure I would advise should be, as soon as circumstances allow it, to have in future the four or five apostolical vicars appointed by the Holy See for India exclusively chosen amongst English or Irish born priests, assisted by two or three of their countrymen, beginning with the island of Ceylon, as containing the greatest number of Catholics. I am of opinion that this arrangement would be conducive to the good of the country, and produce the best effects. I know that the native Catholics of India are, in general, anxious and would be proud to have religious guides belonging to the nation which rules over them; and this circumstance would contribute to render the Catholics more respectable. An English or Irish apostolical vicar should at first be appointed for the island of Ceylon, whose religious wants are great indeed. I know from good authority that the Holy See is anxious to place a bishop there, but it is necessary for that purpose to have the concurrence of the British Government, and of the Archbishop of Goa, under whose spiritual authority the island is placed, and who would not see with indifference so large a part of his flock withdrawn from his religious power; but all things would be satisfactorily adjusted by negotiations with the Holy See. I think that such an arrangement would be highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the island, and I have been proud to find that a gentleman of rank, who has administered justice during many years in the island with so much credit to himself, and so much benefit for the inhabitants, Sir Alexander Johnston, who is so well acquainted with localities, and with the character of the inhabitants, coincides in the same opinion with me.

I owe apologies for the incoherent style and grammatical errors of my statements in a language with which I am but very imperfectly acquainted; but I have judged that my evidence in bad English would be preferred to another in a little better French.

1823. In your answer to the second question, you have referred to the expediency of the British Government giving salaries to European missionaries; has it or has it not been the uniform practice of the British Government to give any sanction to the propagation of Christianity among the people under its control?—It has never been the practice of the Government to interfere at all in the propa-

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gation of Christianity; the interests of religion have been left to themselves, and whenever any wrong has been sustained by the missionaries, that wrong has been redressed by the Government, as I myself have experienced: the interference of the Government I consider would be rather hurtful than beneficial to the interest of religion. In recommending any salary for the Roman-catholic missionaries, I have considered that they are without any funds other than those contributed by their own poor flocks, whereas other worships are in part supported by funds raised elsewhere; in some cases by tithes, in others by portions of the harvests in the country, and by considerable lands. I should still consider the interference of Government, except to that limited extent, injurious.

1824. What do you mean by the word tithes?—I mean a certain portion of the crop; a share of a crop for the religious worship was considered a tithe.

1825. When does the portion of the produce of a crop arise as a right to be enjoyed by the Roman-catholic missionary, by the Protestant missionary, by the Syrian priest or any other class?—This applies, I ought to say, only to the dominant religion of the country, that is to say, the Hindoo. When I have mentioned that the Government give no pecuniary assistance, I must make an observation: in two or three instances I made application, by means of intermediary magistrates, to the Government, representing the state of the chapels, the expense of catechists, the repairs of the chapels, and several other disbursements, for the candles and so forth. And once when I was in the Baramhal, I obtained an allowance in respect to those expenses, and also in Mysore; and in Mysore I obtained an annual allowance or grant of 300 rupees for the same purpose.

1826. What was the name of the apostolical vicar at Pondicherry, during the latter part of the period of your residence there?—His name was Louise Heber.

Jovis, 12^o die Julii, 1832.

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JAMES A. STEWART MACKENZIE, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

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Reverend Joseph H. Batten, D.D., Principal of the East India College, Haileybury, called in; and Examined.

1827. HOW long and in what capacity have you been connected with the East India College?—Since 1805: I was then appointed one of two professors in the classical department, but was not to be called in till the number of pupils should exceed 40. The college opened in February 1806, and I commenced my duties in August 1806. I remained professor till January 1815, when I was appointed Principal by the Court of Directors, the appointment being confirmed by the India Board, and was required to continue my lectures in the classical department, in addition to the duties, but on the same salary, as Principal. In that capacity I have remained ever since.

1828. What was the design of that institution, and what was the original plan of that education which it was intended to supply?—The design of the East India College was to supply a want, which had been felt and acknowledged by the government both in India and at home—the want of qualifications in the great body of the civil servants, commensurate with the extent and importance of their actual functions. There is a Minute in Council of the Marquis Wellesley, of 1800, quoted by Mr. Malthus, in a pamphlet, entitled, “Statements respecting the East India College,” 1817. Of this Minute the following extracts are found in the first and second sections of that pamphlet, pages 6, 11, 16, and 17.

P. 6. “To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages, and religions; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue, through districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions in the world; these are now the duties of the larger portion of the civil servants of the Company.”

P. 11. “The civil servants of the East India Company, therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern: they are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign: they must now be viewed in that capacity, with a reference, not to their nominal, but to their real occupations. Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world; with no other characteristic differences

differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, the peculiar usages and laws of India, and the manners of its inhabitants.

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P. 16. "The proportion of the civil servants in Bengal who have made a considerable progress towards the attainment of the qualifications requisite in their several stations appears great, and even astonishing, when viewed with regard to the early disadvantages, embarrassments, and defects of the civil service. But this proportion will appear very different, when compared with the exigencies of the state, with the magnitude of these provinces, and with the total number of the civil servants which must supply the succession to the great offices of the government.

"It must be admitted, that the great body of the civil servants in Bengal is not at present sufficiently qualified to discharge the duties of the several arduous stations in the administration of this empire: and that it is particularly deficient in the judicial, fiscal, financial and political branches of the government.

"The state of the civil services of Madras and Bombay is still more defective than that of Bengal."

There is also a speech of the late Mr. Grant, in a debate at the India House, February 6th, 1817, reported in the Asiatic Journal for April, 1817. In this speech he declares that the Court of Directors, in reducing the grand collegiate establishment which the Marquis Wellesley (in pursuance of the views above stated) had founded at Fort William, did not act upon a less enlightened policy, or a feeble conviction of the necessity of an improved education for their civil servants; but thought that they could attain the same end, not only at a much less expense, but in a much better manner, at home. To prove this, he quotes as follows from a despatch drawn up by the Court of Directors in 1802:

"Whatever European education is deemed proper for our servants, we are decidedly of opinion they should receive in Europe, and that their application in India should be confined chiefly to the study of subjects properly Indian; we have therefore in contemplation to establish such regulations at home as shall afford the means of their acquiring, with classical and mathematical instruction, the elements of those branches of science most useful in our service abroad."

He proceeds to assert, "that even before Lord Wellesley went to India, the want of an appropriate institution in this country for the instruction of young men destined for the service of the Company abroad was felt, and the outlines of a plan of education proper for that purpose (nearly such a plan as was afterwards adopted) suggested."

He likewise quotes a Report of the Committee of Correspondence of the Court of Directors, dated October 1804, to the following effect:—"As the Company's civil servants are to be employed in all the different branches of the administration of extended dominions, it will be readily admitted that, as far as may consist with an early entrance upon the duties of active life (also very necessary in their case), they should receive an education, comprehending not only the usual course of classical learning, but the elements of such other parts of knowledge as may be more peculiarly applicable to the stations they have to fill. Independent of the improvements which they may receive from establishments in India in studies properly Oriental (improvements which cannot commence till some years of youth are already past), there is a most important period of life to be filled up before they leave their native country. In that period their principles of every kind are to be formed and their minds cultivated: it is the only period their destination will allow for the acquisition of European literature and science; and, in a word, on the use which is made of it must depend, in a very material degree, their future character and services. It is not then to be doubted that they should not be left to such chance of acquisition as the routine of public or country schools may, under all the varieties of situation, tutorage, example and other circumstances incident to persons collected from every part of the United Kingdom, afford them. There ought to be one course and standard of appropriate education for them; and to this end, one place of instruction. There they should be trained with care, and required to give proofs of real proficiency; in order to which they should be subjected to the test of strict and impartial examination, a test hardly to be looked for in all the different modes and degrees of their present education. Nor ought it to be the only object of such a system to form good servants for the Company; the system should aim also at making them good subjects and enlightened patriots. They are to leave their native country at an early age, to pass many years of life among a people



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The plan of education by which it was proposed to supply the want thus felt and acknowledged by the authorities both abroad and at home was upon the principle of the above Report. It combined provisions for an enlarged European education, with the rudiments of some of the Oriental languages ; the European education embracing, besides the classical and mathematical instruction usually given to the junior part of the universities, the elements of the sciences of political economy and law. In short, it supplied very much that kind of education which Mr. Elphinstone, in his recent evidence before the Lords' Committee, (para. 2419 and 2521) has pointed out as most material for the civil service, (although he doubts the expediency of a particular college on purpose :)

"2419. I think it would be better if in England their attention was directed more to the knowledge which could be required only here, than to native languages, that can be better learnt in India; and particularly to political economy and the general principles of jurisprudence, (not English law, but general jurisprudence). Perhaps it would be better if instead of being confined to any one college, they were taken from any college where they could get a good education, and subjected to a very strict examination before they were sent out."

“2521. They might perhaps, with advantage also be instructed in the grammars of the native languages; and those who chose, in Sanscrit and Arabic, which are dead languages in India as well as here. But all other knowledge, peculiar to India, is better acquired on the spot; while much knowledge is attainable in England, which can never afterwards be obtained in India.”

I am informed also that Mr. Elphinstone is not the only civilian of high talent and situation, lately returned from India, whose views of the education required for the civil service, though carried to a greater extent, correspond in kind with those of the above plan.

1829. Could not such an education have been obtained without a special institution?—I feel confident it could not, at the time when the college was founded. Oriental languages were not then taught in any seminary in England with which I am acquainted. The ordinary schools of the country stopped far short of the scientific and political part of the education required, though they could no doubt have supplied admirable classical scholars. In the universities themselves, the regular course of studies before the first degree did not embrace political economy, history and law; studies which there are still recommended to be deferred to a later period. And the detention of students even so long as the first degree, at the university, was thought to be quite incompatible with an entrance on the civil service of India, at an age sufficiently early for that service, according to the opinions then entertained.

1830. What are the principal features of the system by which that plan was to be carried into execution?—The college was placed under the charge of a principal and several professors, having appropriate departments of instruction. The principal, besides the general superintendence of the college, took that of specific religious tuition; and, together with the professors in holy orders, was expected to preach in the college chapel. The other departments were thus distributed: classical and general literature, including English composition, was divided between two professors. The lectures in this department were not designed to teach the elements of Greek and Latin, but to apply the knowledge of these languages brought from school to a manly course of classical reading. They were upon the plan of those given at the universities, particularly at Trinity College, Cambridge; rather *viva voce* examinations than lectures from the chair. Another department, that of mathematics and natural philosophy, was also divided between two professors. The instruction here given was in the same manner, on the plan followed at Cambridge, but carried to a much less extent. So far the college pursued the system



system of education which it found established at the English universities. The next department had more immediate reference to the peculiar destination of the students, and to the early demand upon them for legal and political knowledge, (of which they would have neither time nor means to acquire the principles after leaving England): modern history and political economy being assigned to one professor, (Mr. Malthus); law, including general polity and jurisprudence, to another. These lectures also were practically a species of examinations; the professors reducing their instruction to a catechetical form, and referring to a text-book; from which, and from the comments of the lecturer, the student had to prepare his answers. The Oriental department, under two professors, with native assistants, was designed, at first, to include lectures on Hindu literature and the history of Asia, as well as in the Oriental languages; according to the following statements in the "Preliminary View of the College," 1806:

"After having thus provided for the acquisition of learning in general, it is further intended to furnish them with the means of instruction in the elements of Oriental literature. For this purpose they will not only be taught the rudiments of the Asiatic languages, more especially the Arabic and Persian, but be made acquainted with the history, customs, and manners of the different nations of the East. Among the variety of studies which may be pursued with peculiar advantage in this country, it is not to be expected that any very great portion of their time can be allotted to the acquiring a knowledge of the various languages of the East; but it is presumed that the main object of the institution will be attained, if the students be well grounded in the rudiments of the two languages already specified, and that on their leaving the college such instructions be given them as may enable them to prosecute their Oriental studies during their passage to India."

Such were the essential departments of instruction. There were also French, drawing, and fencing masters connected with the establishment. The students were to be admitted at the age of 15, on nomination by a Director; but not without first passing an examination in the Greek Testament, in two Latin classics, and in the elements of arithmetic. Public examinations in the subjects of the several lectures, after the models of those at the great colleges of the universities, also formed an essential part of the system; but no exact test was then fixed for the qualification of a student leaving college for India.

1831. Did the system undergo any material change prior to the Act of Parliament introduced by Mr. Wynn in 1826?—Several changes, and some of them important: one change immediately after its institution. The Oriental professor, who was to give lectures in Hindu literature and history of Asia, was allowed to substitute the teaching of the Sanscrit and Bengalee languages. This alteration, so far as regarded the former language, brought the system of education at the College nearer to the views which Mr. Elphinstone has taken of the subject in his evidence before the Lords' Committee, as above quoted. But it was attended with the loss of what may be considered equally or more important for the civil service, instruction in the history of India and its inhabitants. It had also the effect of introducing a demand for more than two languages, and thus of increasing the proportion of Oriental studies. It is not necessary to trouble the Committee with minor changes in other departments; the general effect was improvement, especially in the examinations. There is, however, one change proper to be mentioned in the principal's department. Direct theological instruction by lectures was given up, as not producing the effect expected from it, some years before the resignation of the first principal. When I was appointed his successor, I was required to continue my classical lectures; and from that time there has been no provision for divinity lectures, properly so called. The defect has been in some measure supplied through the classical department. A portion of the Greek Testament, with appropriate collateral reading, under the direction of the professor, forms invariably a subject of the lectures given to the junior students. This course, together with the preliminary examination in the four Gospels at admission, secures so far a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures in the original; and my own lectures to the senior students are so conducted as to involve, more or less directly, the study of Christian writers of eminence (such as Paley, Butler, &c. &c.) upon Revelation and its evidences. The pulpit also of the college chapel is filled by the principal and professors themselves.

There has been a complaint of the want of more direct lectures on religious subjects. The present system has the good effect of giving a taste for these subjects in connexion with classical literature; but a regular course of reading upon

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the evidences and principles of religion, under the superintendence of the principal, (restored to his original province), might be introduced with advantage, if enforced by an adequate test at a final examination.

Other changes in the college were that of the age of admission from 15 to 16, the latter itself too early an age for securing previous attainments, or habits suitable to the institution; the requisition, by Act of Parliament, of two years' residence there; the introduction of an improved code of laws by the Court and India Board, in which the power of expulsion was given to the principal and professors forming the College Council, and the Bishop of London was appointed visitor to them and to the students.

Another change was the institution of tests, upon which subject I would beg leave to quote from a "Short Sketch of the Established Course of Studies at the East India College," drawn up by me in 1826:

"In 1814, when laws for the government of the college were framed by the authorities specified in Act 53 Geo. 3, c. 155, a test was established, by which every student was to have his proficiency ascertained before he could obtain his final certificate. This test is confined to the several Oriental languages required for the presidency to which the student is nominated, and is thus described in the regulations: 1st. Writing the character peculiar to each language in a fair and legible hand. 2d. A thorough acquaintance with the terms of grammar, as used by the Persians and Hindus. 3d. A competent knowledge of the rudiments of each language. 4th. Reading, translating, and parsing an easy passage of each of these languages; and if Sanscrit be one, furnishing an analysis of it.

"The College Council, in 1816, suggested the propriety of adopting an European test also, 'an humble one, just sufficient to show that the student would not be allowed wholly to neglect the European departments, and to confine his exertions barely to a preparation for the Oriental test.' Accordingly, in January 1819, the following Regulation passed: 'No student shall be entitled to the certificate necessary to his appointment, unless, besides passing the Oriental test, he shall obtain the testimony of *good proficiency* in *one* department of European literature, or of *proficiency* in *two* at his last examination previous to *leaving the college*.'

"It is evident that the above tests respect only the minimum of qualification absolutely necessary to be secured before a student can obtain his certificate, in order to prevent an absolute waste of time when at college, and an utter incompetency for his duties on leaving it. Their effect, therefore, is limited to those who are influenced by no higher motives than fear and necessity, whilst the actual exertions of the great majority are excited by the other parts of the system, and are in proportion to their hopes, not merely of passing the tests, but of obtaining those rewards and distinctions which are attached to industry and merit in the several departments."

1832. What has been the effect of Mr. Wynn's Act upon the college, and, so far as you are aware, upon the civil service?—The Act of 7 Geo. 4, c. 56, was professedly an expedient for the purpose of supplying a number of writers, more in proportion to the demands of the Indian service than could be furnished by the college according to the provisions of the former Act. It operated in two ways; it substituted an examination without residence at the college for the collegiate course, and it shortened the collegiate course in certain cases. The effects of the out-of-door examination were partly detrimental to the college, and partly otherwise; detrimental, by the contrast between successive collegiate tests and examinations, both European and Oriental, required at the college, and the minimum of qualification sufficient for the London Board; a contrast most invidiously felt by those detained at the college, and producing discontent and alienation, especially in its senior students; detrimental too to the college, by the contrast between the expense of education there, and that sufficient to procure the limited attainments necessary for passing the Board; whereas, if it were required to obtain elsewhere instruction, at all commensurate with the combination of European and Oriental learning supplied by the college, and due to the demands and provisions of the civil service, parents would certainly find the cost at least equal to the expense of residence at Haileybury, an expense below that of an university, or of an eminent private tutor. On the other hand, the college has felt some advantage in losing the odium of exclusiveness, as well as in having an outlet for students, whose continuance there would be injurious to its discipline, though their offences may not have been marked enough to warrant their final expulsion. In fact, several of the persons who have passed the London Board were withdrawn, or sent from Haileybury. Upon the service I consider the effect to be, with one exception, detrimental; first, by omitting



omitting in the "plan of examination" (otherwise in many respects satisfactory) any demand of an elementary knowledge of law and political economy; and, secondly, by taking, as a minimum, qualifications which scarcely exceed those required for the first admission to the college, and thus, in fact, admitting little more than ordinary school education as a substitute for an enlarged plan of manly instruction grafted upon such an education. This will appear by reference to the "Plan" and "Test;" of which the latter, as originally settled, is as follows. Subsequently an Oriental Test has been added in two languages, Persian and Hindustani.

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(Test.)

"No candidate will be deemed qualified unless he found to possess a competent knowledge of the Greek Testament, and of some portion of the works of at least two of the above-mentioned Latin authors (Livy, Cicero, Tacitus, and Juvenal), the particular works to be selected by the candidates, subject however to the previous approval of the examiner; and also of the principles of grammar, the common rules of arithmetic, vulgar and decimal fractions, the four first books of Euclid, or the elements of algebra, including simple equations: it being understood that superior attainments in either of the departments of literature or science comprised in the foregoing plan of examination shall, at the discretion of the examiners, be considered to compensate for some deficiency in other of those departments. These are the minima of qualification. The candidates so qualified will be classed in the order in which they may reach higher degrees of attainment, and such classification will determine the relative rank in the service of the candidates when appointed writers."

Thus the London Board examination, notwithstanding the learning and integrity of its conductors, has tended to bring down the qualification for a writership. Since March 1829, of 34 persons who have passed through the London Board, no one has been in the first class, and only eight in the second; the rest being entirely of the third class: showing the tendency of a mere test to run rapidly down to its minimum as a standard. The lowness of this minimum has also rendered it almost impossible for the college to raise its own ultimate tests during the time, from the invidiousness of the contrast as felt by the parties respectively subjected to each. To the above defect is to be added the substitution of mere testimonials for a probationary course of conduct as at the college, affording a test of character not to us and the public only, but to the students, one with another, materially affecting the value of their friendships and connexions in India. Again, the other result of Mr. Wynn's bill, a quicker transition through the college, has been, in my opinion, decidedly detrimental both to the college and the service. It takes away the best men of the college just at the time when it would be most advantageous to themselves and to the rest that they should stay there, depriving it of the example of senior students, and of adequate competition in the several terms; moreover subjecting the college to be judged of, in India, by the qualifications of persons educated on a forced and mutilated system. To counteract the evil, the professors have done something, perhaps as much as they well could, by imposing such demands upon students leaving prematurely, as it was, in their judgment, proper to exact, consistently with the low ultimate test statuteably required of those going out regularly. This is a very imperfect check; and India appears of late to have been overstocked with civilians not detained long enough in Europe for their sound and permanent qualification, in consequence of the hurried discharges from the college, as well as from the London Board. In stating that I thought the Act 7 Geo. 4, c. 56, detrimental to the service, I mentioned one exception. The exception is that of the prize writerships given by Mr. Wynn, competition being the secret of securing the qualification required. That qualification in the case of the university prizeman was, I understand, eminently displayed in the service. In the case of schools, the persons chosen thence necessarily required further education in those sciences which are more peculiarly taught at the college; for instance, Hatley Frere, chosen from Westminster school as a prize writer, and a very distinguished classical scholar, afterwards proceeded to Haileybury, and there acquired that knowledge, without which he would not have been qualified, as he has since proved himself to be, for the civil service of India.

1833. Has the college had to contend with any peculiar difficulties; and have you any considerations to offer in answer to the objections which have been alleged against it, especially to those which have been lately urged?—It has had to contend with many difficulties: first, the novelty of the institution, with no association of

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feeling in its favour from parents, &c. &c. &c. having been educated there; a difficulty which would have been felt in any case, but which has been aggravated at the East India College by a disposition to consider it as a tax, a burthen, and a hazard, on the part of those who had been long accustomed to look to patronage, unqualified by any similar test of attainment and conduct. Again, mistaken views and expectations respecting it, even from its patrons themselves, as if it could effect its object, both moral as a place of probation, and intellectual as one of qualification, without many failures, and some sacrifices. Hence surprise at those sacrifices, when required, and interference with the college respecting them; and though they were made by the Court of Directors, very honourably to themselves, in the first instance, and though afterwards, on finding it difficult for them to continue that course, the Court also honourably gave up to the college the power of expulsion, there still remained, in other quarters, a disposition to interfere, and to follow up every painful exertion of discipline with outcry, exaggerations, and appeals to the public. Thus a prejudice was produced against the college which naturally affected the students themselves; some of whom, not liking to go to India, and others, seeking to escape the consequences of their own misconduct, saw a hope of effecting their objects by disturbances, which would produce a reaction from without. Such disturbances, however, at least all of a general nature, have ceased for years; the last in 1822 not being in fact general, but disapproved by the great body of students. From that time the power of the college discipline has been comparatively well established. There was, indeed, a reasonable hope on the part of its conductors of its having overcome those and other difficulties, till the Act of 1826 shook and mutilated the whole collegiate system. Another difficulty was the insulation of the college at Haileybury, thus removing its authorities from the support of other collegiate bodies, and its students from the means of correcting their opinions by comparison and salutary variety of intercourse. This difficulty still remains, but it carries with it some good as well as evil; keeping temptation to vice and to brawls in towns more out of sight and immediate reach of the inexperienced and well-disposed, though it shuts up a body of youths by themselves, without a sufficient safety-valve of amusement, and tempts them to resort for it by expeditions to the neighbouring towns. This evil, it appears to me, would be much mitigated by an increased age in the students; a change which, besides other advantages, would go far to remove another very material difficulty, that of adapting the same collegiate discipline, which suits the older students, to persons many of them schoolboys in age and habits. A further difficulty is the hardship of being judged by one rule and working according to another; and hence objections, arising from the want of a certain and definite standard of judgment respecting the college. These objections proceeded first from those who had very inadequate ideas of the kind of education required; who wished nothing beyond a school, and objected to the university-kind of scholarship, and air and expense of a collegiate institution. These objections, I would hope, are in a great measure gone by; if not, they are sufficiently answered by the considerations which have been already alleged. Secondly, from those who considered it essentially an *Oriental* seminary, and pronounced upon it exclusively according to its power of enabling youths to enter immediately on the public service in India. This is quite unjust; we have seen that the Oriental department was not originally intended to do more than to ground in two languages, and to enable the young civilians to prosecute their studies on the voyage: and latterly, although the Oriental instruction has been extended so as to bear a greater proportion to the European than originally, although it has supplied the service with many most distinguished linguists, and has in its professors and their assistants the means of reaching any extent required, yet its average working must necessarily have respect to its tests. Now these tests are sufficiently large in their demands to affect the attention which would otherwise be given to European studies during the short time of residence, yet they are not sufficient for the purpose of qualifying all who barely pass them for immediate entrance on the Indian service. Of an opposite kind to this objection is that which considers the college as forming an Indian clan. It is not, however, found to have that effect; on the contrary, Mr. Elphinstone (Evidence, 2422) "thinks the young men from Haileybury have generally a prejudice against India and everything connected with it." These opinions may be set against each other. In fact, the college, by giving what may be called a public-school feeling to persons previously educated in private, or at inferior seminaries, operates to render that portion of the students more like English gentlemen educated at our great national schools and



1834. What judgment have you formed, from your own experience and the testimony of others, of the efficiency of the college, notwithstanding those difficulties and objections?—No man is more aware of the imperfections of the East India College than myself; I have known it intimately almost from its origin; I have been present at most of the scenes which have drawn unfavourable attention to it, and I have long, perhaps too long, filled a most arduous and responsible situation there; but notwithstanding my knowledge of all its difficulties, and the full force of the objections to it, I do believe that it has in a great measure fairly answered what could reasonably have been expected from it in its original foundation, although it has not come up to the ardent wishes of myself and my coadjutors; nor, it seems, to the views, perhaps more speculative than practical, of some of those who have latterly interested themselves for the good government of India. My own experience at the university, before my appointment at Haileybury, in the classical department there, and as principal, with the means of knowing all that has been done in the other departments, has led me to wonder more at the reach and variety of attainments, on the part of those who have given themselves fairly to the studies of the college, than at the imperfect acquirements of others, coming with inadequate prior education, and at too early an age, detained there for too limited a time, and looking to tests which are confessedly below the level, to which, under other circumstances, they might be raised. With regard to testimonies, I consider them, with very few exceptions, as most favourable to the college; I beg to refer on this subject to the fifth section of Mr. Malthus's "Statements respecting the East India College," 1817, (mentioned above, Question 1828); also a speech of Robert Grant, Esq., (now the Right honourable Robert Grant, M.P.), at the East India House, on February 20, 1817, as printed in the Asiatic Register for June 1817, and particularly to pages 587, 588, containing extracts read by him from letters of Messrs. Stirling, Holt Mackenzie, and the father of the latter gentleman.

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gentleman. In a letter to Mr. Malthus, speaking of the Hertford college, Mr. H. Mackenzie, (already eminent for talent and acquirement), thus described it : "The seminary to which I shall ever consider myself indebted for a variety and extent of information that I could nowhere else have received in the space of two years;" and the following was from a letter of the celebrated father of the same distinguished civilian : "My son Holt owns with gratitude the kindness and highly useful instruction which he received at Hertford, to which he chiefly ascribes the success of his exertions in India." And further, I would refer to a speech of the same gentleman, delivered in the Court of Proprietors, 27th February 1824, and embodied in a pamphlet called "A View of the System and Merits of the East India College at Haileybury," by R. Grant, Esq., printed in 1826, from page 23 to 46, containing public as well as private testimonies in favour of the college. After reading such testimonies, and numerous letters which I have been in the habit of receiving from India to the same effect, I have felt, amidst the anxieties of my very arduous office, and notwithstanding my consciousness, both of my own defects, and of the imperfections of the institution over which I preside, this consoling and supporting reflection, that, in conjunction with the very able men who form my colleagues, I have been made, by means of that institution, the humble instrument of doing some little service to the moral and intellectual accomplishment of that most important body of public functionaries, who represent in India the principles and the qualifications of English statesmen.

1835. What capabilities has the college of admitting such alteration as, in your opinion, would render the education more efficient and satisfactory?—I think that it has great capabilities. The age of admission may be raised, and the preliminary qualification may be proportionally raised, with nothing but benefit to the service. The tests may, and ought to be revised : and it should be distinctly stated what are the subjects which are considered essential to be thoroughly known by every one allowed to depart as a civilian to India. The college, in its teachers (putting myself out of the question), in its system of lectures and examinations, and in the whole of the machinery which it has already in action, has ample means of educating up to any specific point which may be required, so far as is consistent with the condition of the students sent there, not being selected by competition, but appointed from a comparatively small class of persons. In short, let it be distinctly understood what is to be done, when the system has received its due improvements, and let the college be judged accordingly : and I have no doubt that the judgment will prove far more favourable than it can be, while the education is not only limited in respect of tests, but judged without due reference even to those very tests which it possesses. As to discipline, its code might be advantageously revised, so as to admit improvements suggested by the experience of many years, and alteration suited to the more advanced age of the students, and to the altered circumstances of the service. As to expense, it is said that the college, though useful, is not so exclusively necessary as to justify incurring expense for such an institution. But that expense, in the heaviest part of it, the building of the college, has already been incurred. The machinery is already provided ; and to make it more efficient would require nothing but what can, I fully believe, be attached and adjusted to a system which is already in existence. Let the pupil, if it be necessary, pay more highly, more in proportion to the value and the cost of his instruction, and of the provision to which it leads ; and let the strictest economy be pursued in every respect except cramping the tuition. I do not mean that there will not still remain many difficulties, many sources of objection ; but not greater, if so great, as, in my opinion, apply to modes of education independent of such an establishment. And if open competition were consistent with the nature and principles of the service, and if a due time were allowed for education at the East India College, I should not be afraid of its standing against even the universities of England, so far as relates to qualification for the civil service of India.

1836. Have you anything to suggest respecting other modes of qualification for the civil service in India?—With regard to tests, it is my decided opinion that they are insufficient of *themselves*, except under the condition of a perfectly free competition ; and that even then they would not be exempt from the difficulty of involving no adequate probation of moral conduct, and of affording to the persons destined to India no opportunity of knowing and valuing each other.

With regard to the Universities many difficulties present themselves, not against their capability of highly qualifying (with some additions to their system) for public life in India, as well as in England, those who will make the best use of those
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splendid institutions, but as to their being the places especially appointed for the education of Indian civilians. Here I beg leave again to refer to the pamphlet, entitled, "A View of the System and Merits of the East India College," by Mr. R. Grant, who has expressed in the following passage what appears to me to be the true state of the case. After having objected to the plan of substituting the universities for Haileybury, first, the much longer detention, and, secondly, the superior expensiveness which it would involve, he thus proceeds (p. 102 to 104):—"There are, however, greater objections than these. I would say then, thirdly, that an education at the Universities will not, in the majority of instances, afford an equal probability of proper qualification with an education at Haileybury. In so saying, I surely cannot be understood to speak slightly of those noble seats of learning, for both of which I feel the greatest respect, and for one the sincerest attachment. But at the universities the opportunities of idleness, and even of vice, are stronger and more numerous than at Haileybury; the discipline and superintendence are decidedly less rigid; young men also of family and opulence repair thither with little or no purpose of study; and, on the whole, while an academic residence furnishes powerful incentives to honourable exertion, it also places before the young mind too many seductions of a very potent kind, to the mis-employment of time and talents. Even among those who regularly take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and who perhaps do not constitute much more than half the number admitted, the examples of studious reading are not so usual as among the students, taken together, at Haileybury. At the latter institution a considerable portion read fairly, and fully half may be said to read hard. He must be a bold man who would say that for the Universities. I am possessed of estimates of the number of real and effective readers at both the Universities, but I suppress them, as being both invidious and unfair. I regard them as unfair by reason of the very circumstance I have already mentioned, namely, that many of the young academics are non-readers by profession. Let it however be recollected, that the influence of these triflers extends very widely, and that their example infects numbers who have not the same right to be idle. Again, I do not mean to deny, on the contrary, I have already distinctly admitted, that much good is received at those celebrated seminaries by many who are not hard students. Still less do I forget the numerous instances of intense industry and brilliant acquirements which both of them produce from year to year, or the inestimable services which each has rendered to the cause of liberal learning and useful science. I only remark that, out of the limited number of writers annually appointed by the Company, it is highly important that as large a proportion as possible should be exercised to habits of application, and that the actual proportion under the present system is clearly larger than could be reasonably expected under that which it is proposed to substitute; fourthly, it is clearly necessary to the plan, that the conclusive appointment of the young writer should be made to depend on his acquiring some honour or distinction at the University to which he is sent." Mr. Grant proceeds to show that the mere attainment of a degree without honours would not afford an adequate test; and subjoins some remarks, which have become less applicable in consequence of improvements subsequently made in university examinations. "Recollect, however," he adds, and the remark still applies, "that more than half of those who are examined for the first degree fall short of honours." Such are some of the objections to making the universities the specific places of education for the civil service of India. I do not, however, see any reason why, if Haileybury continue to be that place of qualification for civilians in general, it should be so to the exclusion of the Universities. I should consider a degree in honours at the University, together with certificates of conduct and of attendance and proficiency at courses of lectures upon law, history, and political economy, and whatever Oriental qualifications may be thought necessary, as, to say the least, barring, in the case of any individual, his being required to pass through the college of Haileybury. I should think also that a shorter residence at the University, with due testimonials, might entitle a person to have that time counted as so much spent at Haileybury, if he completed the remainder of his education there. As to other plans, that, for instance, of having the college opened to the public as well as to those destined for India, I do not sufficiently see my way. If practicable, it would obviate objections on the score of expense to the Company, and of deficient numbers at the college. But there would be a difficulty in giving a *bonus* to those not proceeding to India, to induce them to come at all, or to compensate them for the time employed there in studies of no direct advantage to any professional line of life in England.



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Another suggestion is to let all be originally military, requiring the whole to come up, before they enter the service to some common test, equal perhaps to the present tests of qualification for civilians. It does not appear to me that persons can be expected to go to the expense of general education to such an extent, when beforehand they look forward to a cadetship only, with but a chance of selection (of a few hundreds out of several thousands of them) for civil promotion afterwards in India. It seems more practicable, so far at least as concerns an arrangement for English education, to allow all that prepare themselves for a test adapted to civilians, to come as candidates for the civil service; and to give cadetships to students who at the final examination do not prove sufficiently qualified for that test, provided they appear to be both fitted and disposed for the service in a military capacity. After all, it appears to me that it would be scarcely possible to obtain for the civil service young men qualified up to the point which has been lately fixed by civilians returned from India, by any system whatever, even of free competition. The very *élite* of England will scarcely be tempted from home even by the great advantages of the civil service of India.

1837. In the earlier part of your examination you stated that the lectures in theology had been discontinued some years before the vacancy upon which you were appointed to your present office; but that in some degree the place of such lectures was supplied by lectures on the Greek Testament, and by a preliminary examination on the Scriptures upon the admission of a student into the college; do you mean that any penalty or inconvenience to the student will arise from his ignorance, in whole or in part, of such subject forming the matter of the preliminary examination?—The preliminary examination existed before the principal gave up divinity lectures. All I meant to say regarding it was, that, together with the lectures on the Greek Testament, it secured a certain knowledge of the sacred Scriptures in the original. The penalty which attaches to a failure at the preliminary examination is that of the candidate not being admitted. With regard to the lectures on the Greek Testament, and to my own, professedly upon classical literature, but embracing religious instruction, I beg to place before the Committee some of the examination papers, in which the substance of these lectures is reduced to questions, for the trial of the student's proficiency at the end of the term. And I would also beg to refer to a letter from a student, now a distinguished civilian at Bombay (Mr. Money), to his father, a Director, (read by the latter in the Court of Proprietors, 27 Feb. 1824, and published in the Asiatic Journal for the April of that year, p. 384), in which, after describing the above course of instruction, he infers that it “answers here all the purposes of theological lectures.”

Jovis, 19^o die Julii, 1832.

JAMES A. STEWART MACKENZIE, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The Reverend *James Hough*, called in; and Examined.

Rev. *James Hough*. 1838. WERE you in India in the service of the East India Company?—
Yes, as one of their chaplains.

19 July 1832. 1839. In what part of India did you chiefly reside?—In the south of the Carnatic, in the province of Tinnevely.

1840. Had you many opportunities of observing the character of the native population?—Constant opportunities; my duties as the Company's chaplain employed me only on the Sabbath. My station, Palamcottah, being small, I was, at liberty, in general, the whole of the week, to attend to the native population, and nearly all my time was devoted to their improvement.

1841. Have your labours ever had a missionary direction?—Entirely so; I had the institutions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and those of the Church Missionary Society, entirely under my care in that province.

1842. From such residence and from such opportunities of observation, can you state to the Committee what is your impression of the general character of those who either are themselves converts to Christianity, or are born of Christian parents?—The question would require me to state the different churches that are established in the East Indies, because the characters of the Christians vary according to the communities with which they are connected. The Syrian Christians appear to have



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have been the earliest Christian church established in India: the data on which this assumption is founded are uncertain. Some authorities ascribe its origin to St. Thomas. Nicephorus relates, that that apostle visited Ceylon and the continent of India, and that he closed his labours there, after having founded a Christian church. It is also recorded, I do not at this moment remember where, that one Johannes signed his name at the Council of Nice, as Bishop of India. This, which occurred in the fourth century, is probably the earliest intimation on record of the existence of a church in India.

About the beginning of the sixth century, Cosmas Indicopleustes speaks of the Syrian church which I have mentioned, and says that their bishops were ordained in Persia; whence it is inferred that they were Nestorians, as the Archbishop of Persia was at that time subject to the Patriarch of Seleucia, who was undoubtedly a Nestorian. It is not known at what period the Syrian Christians' faith was reformed, but certainly they do not now hold the tenets of that heresy. Their belief in the Holy Trinity accords with the sacred Scriptures, and the creed of the Church of England. For many years they appear to have met with great success among the Brahmins and the Nairs of Travancore, who compose the military caste, and are the nobility of that country. They were then much respected by the reigning government, and enjoyed equal immunities with the other inhabitants of the country. In the enjoyment of these advantages they seem to have been undisturbed until the Roman-catholics invaded their province, about the middle of the 16th century, and they persecuted them and destroyed many of their public records, the formularies of their church, and their Scriptures. By this means they succeeded in separating nearly one half of that body, and uniting them with their own church. The Syrian church, accordingly, in Travancore, is at present divided into two parties, the one party are called the Syrian Christians, and the other the Roman Syrians, in consequence of their being allowed to retain some of their customs and dress, but being required to conform to the principal dogmas and authority of the Romish church. As a proof of their former respectability, La Croze, whose *History of Christianity in India* was published in 1724, says that in his day they had 1,500 churches, and as many towns and villages within the kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore. They continued in the depressed state to which the Roman-catholic persecution reduced them, until within the last 20 years, when Lieutenant-colonel Monro, the British resident at the court of Travancore, commiserating their condition, exerted all the means at his disposal for their amelioration. In consequence of his interest in their favour, and his representation to the government of Travancore, many of their former privileges were restored to them. He found their bishops and clergy in a state of great ignorance, which is partly to be attributed to the destruction of all their books by the Roman-catholics. I limit these observations to the Syrian Christians. One of Colonel Munro's first objects was to found a college for the education of their priesthood, which was established at Cotym, a station about 25 miles east of Aleppi. In order to put this college in a state of efficiency, he invited the Church of England to co-operate with him in his designs for the improvement of the people. In compliance with this respect, the Church Missionary Society sent to Travancore, in the first instance, one missionary, Mr. Norton, who was shortly after followed by three missionaries, Mr. Baily, Mr. Fenn, and Mr. Baker. This college was placed under the care of the Rev. Joseph Fenn, with the entire concurrence of the metron or bishop of the Syrian church and his clergy. Mr. Fenn had the charge of this college about 10 years, and during that time educated several of their catanars or priests: when I left it there were upwards of 50 students in the college, some of whom had made great proficiency in the Latin language, the Syriac, and other branches of literature. I have three times visited this college and examined the students, and have seldom been better satisfied with the progress of the boys in an English school, than I was with the progress which these Syrian youths had made. The expenses of this college were in a great measure defrayed from the produce of a grant of land, I think I may say a whole island, in the back water of Travancore, which was appropriated by the Ranee of Travancore for this specific purpose. The island was not then in a sufficient state of cultivation entirely to support the institution; and the residue of the expense was defrayed by the Church Missionary Society, and, I believe, local contributions.

1843. Do you know how many priests have been sent out from that college since its institution?—I do not know, but think there must have been upwards of 300. Since Mr. Fenn left the college in 1826, it has been under the care of the

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Rev. William Doran, a missionary of the same society, and while under his care, the number of pupils increased to 100: under his tuition, several of the students made considerable progress in the elementary branches of mathematics, besides their acquisitions in Latin and Greek and European literature. These are the latest accounts of the efficiency of the college which I have been able to collect. Another object of Colonel Monro for the improvement of the Syrian Christians, was the translation of their Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, the Malayalim, from the Syriac. This department of labour was assigned to Mr. Benjamin Baily, who in a few years succeeded in producing a translation which was acceptable to all classes. The third branch of labour was that of the school department, which was assigned to Mr. Baker, who established numerous parochial schools throughout the villages of the Syrian Christians in Travancore, and a central school for youth, preparatory to their admission to the college as students. It was the missionaries' intention to add two other grammar schools, one in the north, the other in the south of the Syrian colony, but the funds of the Church Missionary Society have not yet enabled them to carry that plan into effect. A printing press was established at Cotym, at which the Scriptures, when translated by Mr. Baily, were printed, besides the different school books and elementary works for the general use of the Syrian community. The whole of these measures were carried on with the entire concurrence of both metrons of the Syrian community of Travancore, with whom I have repeatedly conversed, and found that the missionaries possessed their entire confidence. The missionaries carefully abstained from any measures that were calculated to offend the feelings and prejudices of the Syrian Christians, although many of their practices and ordinances were such that they could not think of proposing to associate them, in their present state, with the Church of England. They carried on their measures with a hope that by this diffusion of scriptural and literary knowledge, the Syrians would in time propose to reform their own customs. I was witness to the performance of Divine worship in one of the Syrian churches, according to the form of the Church of England, in the Malayalim tongue, into which our Liturgy had been translated. This was a thing unheard of before, as the Syrians have hitherto always performed their service in the Syrian tongue, which is as unintelligible to the Syrian as Latin is to the Roman-catholic community: I have seldom met with a Syrian priest who could really interpret the prayers that he was accustomed daily to read. The missionaries endeavoured to prevail upon the metrons of the Syrians to allow their catanars to preach to their people: I also have joined them in this recommendation, when the metron assured me that he had no objection to the practice; indeed, that he should be rather glad of its adoption, but that their priests were incompetent to preach. He, however, expressed his hope that some of the priests educated in the college at Cotym would soon be able to perform that important duty, and within the past few years that hope has been realized, several of these students having preached regular discourses to their congregations on the doctrines and precepts of Scripture. The parochial schools were very extensive, but I cannot state much in their favour, in consequence of the want of constant superintendence, there being only one missionary to give his attention to the subject and the schools lying wide apart. The present race of Syrians are the children of Syrian Christians. Their state of depression has been such for years past that it has been as much as they could accomplish to keep their community together, consequently they have for years past, that is, since the persecution of the Roman-catholics, been able to make very few attempts to convert their Hindoo neighbours. The whole of this information applies to those Syrians who are the descendants of the Syrian Christians.

1844. Have you had any personal opportunity of seeing the Roman-Syrian Christians?—I have had personal opportunities of seeing them, and have visited their college, the Roman-catholic college at Verapoly, near Cochin, where the Roman-Syrian catanars are educated.

1845. By whom was that college founded?—By, I believe, the Roman-catholics of Goa.

1846. At what period?—That I cannot say.

1847. With what revenues?—I believe from Goa, but I am not certain.

1848. Are you aware of the number of persons educated therein, and of the number of priests sent forth therefrom?—When I visited Verapoly there were about 50 students in the college, the greater part of whom wore the dress of the Roman-Syrian catanar: the Roman-Syrian Christians amount to between 60,000 and 70,000, which is the number of the pure Syrian Church also. I have no direct

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direct information as to the number of priests educated at Verapoly, but conclude, from the numbers of the community so nearly corresponding with the Syrian community, that the priesthood educated there must amount to the same number. The college of Verapoly, when I was there, was under the charge of an Irish bishop, Doctor Prendergast, who was educated in Spain. He was subject to the Pope of Rome, I believe.

1849. What is your estimate of the number of native Christians, first of the Syrian, and secondly of the Roman-Syrian Church?—The Syrian Christians I have estimated at about 70,000, the Roman Syrians at the same number, but the Roman-catholics in India amount to a much greater number. I limit my answer to the Syrians, and the Roman Syrians in Travancore, because there are many other classes of Roman-catholics throughout the Company's dominions.

1850. Can you state the number of them?—My best means of information are letters which the Abbé Dubois, a Jesuit missionary, published about nine years ago in London. He says, "Francis Xavier made many thousand converts about three centuries ago, but that at the present time there are not more than a third of the Christians who were to be found in India 80 years ago, and that this number diminishes every day by frequent apostacy." But the same authority describes these converts as of the lowest character; so low, that Xavier himself, at the expiration of two years, entirely disheartened by the invincible obstacles he everywhere met with, and the apparent impossibility of making real converts, left the country in disgust. The Abbé Dubois himself was a missionary, residing chiefly in Mysore; he laboured about 32 years in India, but acknowledged that he was equally unsuccessful. With the assistance of a native missionary, he says, "I have made in all two or three hundred converts of both sexes; of this number two-thirds were pariahs or beggars, and the rest were composed of sudras, vagrants, and outcasts of several tribes, who being without resource, turned Christians in order to form new connexions, chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested views. Among them are to found some also who believed themselves to be possessed by the Devil, and who turned Christians after having been assured that on their receiving baptism the unclean spirits would leave them never to return: and I will declare it, with shame and confusion, that I do not remember any one who may be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction and through quite disinterested motives. Among these new converts many apostatized and relapsed into Paganism, finding that the Christian religion did not afford them the temporal advantages they had looked for in embracing it; and I am verily ashamed that the resolution I have taken to declare the whole truth on this subject forces me to make the humiliating avowal, that those who continued Christians are the very worst among my flock."

1851. What is your observation with respect to the Roman-catholic congregations in the south of India?—I have known some Roman-catholics of respectable character and respectable attainments; but the bulk of them answer to the description which the Abbé Dubois has given.

1852. What is the number, so far as you have been able to form any estimate, of the Roman-catholics generally, throughout India?—I should, from my own observation through the southern provinces of India, estimate them at 300,000 or 400,000: most of the fishermen round the coast, and the divers for chank and pearl fisheries, are Roman-catholics.

1853. What is the estimate of the number of Protestants, whether Lutherans, or English Episcopalians, or Baptists, or members of other sects and communions?—I had occasion, about eight years ago, to calculate the number of converts made by the different Protestant missionaries in India; they then amounted, as near as I could calculate the number, to 23,000.

1854. Does your answer include the Christians described by Bishop Heber as forming the most interesting society which he had seen in India, namely, those in Tanjore and Trichinopoly; in short, the descendants of those among whom Ziegenbaly preached, and who had been supplied by a succession of Lutheran ministers from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge?—Yes, it does include those; but Bishop Heber visited India at a later period; my estimate was taken in 1823; but the exertions of the missionaries since then have been much more prosperous than they ever were at any former period of the labours of missionaries in south India. I have been able to obtain the increase at only one station in the south of India, Tinnevely. In 1823 the native Christians in that province only amounted to about 4,000, they now exceed 8,000. That was the

schools no longer looked with a jealous eye on the natives of inferior castes. Some of them when they entered the school required to be allowed to learn their lesson apart from the boys of inferior caste. But I have invariably found, I do not know a single exception to the statement, that in a very short time they have laid aside this fancied superiority, and have mingled with their schoolfellows to learn their lessons. They soon were glad to ask of boys of inferior caste assistance in learning their lessons, and also have in their turn assisted others. One very important feature in these schools remains to be noticed: it was for many years considered impossible to prevail on the natives, the Hindoos, to allow their females to be educated. Hindoo females are regarded, it is well known, as inferior to the men, and are not allowed to associate with them on those friendly and social terms that the females of any Christian country are admitted to. A few years ago, I think about ten or eleven years, efforts were made to introduce female schools at Calcutta; for some time it was thought quite a visionary project, and one lady who went out (Miss Cooke) expressly for this purpose in 1821, was told by many persons long resident in India, that she had come to no purpose, that she could never succeed; however, she persevered, and in the schools established by her, and at other missionary stations, there were in 1823 nearly 1,200 female children; the returns last year, as well as I have been able to collect them, showed they had increased to upwards of 3,000; a sufficient proof that the native prejudices are fast declining on this subject: there is every prospect of the number of scholars increasing with greater rapidity. Besides these schools for children, the missionary societies in India have seminaries for the education of native priests, and catechists, and schoolmasters, for which they select the most promising children in their general schools. There are at present in India, I think, about 120 European ordained missionaries; about 20 country-born or half-caste ordained missionaries; about the same number native ordained missionaries and European catechists; and above 2,000 schoolmasters and readers, native and country-born, assistants to the other labourers. I have had too short a time to collect accurate information as to these numbers, and therefore speak to the best of my recollection: I think that these will be found rather within than beyond the actual numbers. Several of these have been ordained by the bishops of Calcutta, who were quite satisfied as to their attainments and piety, and their general qualifications for the ministerial office. At Calcutta, it is perhaps unnecessary to remark that Bishop Middleton endowed a college upon an extensive plan for the same purpose, that is, for educating native missionaries.

1855. Have you seen any of the native catechists or native priests in the discharge of their labours?—Yes, repeatedly.

1856. And what is your estimate of their qualifications for the work in which they are engaged?—As far as my observation has extended, I have found them very well qualified indeed. I have repeatedly travelled among the native congregations in south India, in Tinnevely, and I never travelled without a native priest or native catechist with me.

1857. Have you ever visited villages in India composed chiefly or exclusively of native Christians?—In the south of Tinnevely I have visited, I think, all the villages that contain Christian congregations, and in the centre of that district there are two entire Christian villages, one containing, I think, 500, and the other 400 native Christians. They had their regular churches, and their native priest and catechist, and their boys' and girls' schools: these Christians were living together in a state of harmony; there was not a vestige of idolatry to be seen in either of them, not an idol to be found; they had their regular service in the church, morning and evening, daily. I have visited them frequently, and have been particularly interested when among them to see the groups of women, while the men were labouring in the fields, assembled together under the shade of the Palmyra tree, spinning cotton, and singing their Lutheran hymns to the motion of their wheels. The names of the villages are, the one Mothelloor, the other Nazareth. I was much interested to observe the harmony in which these people seemed to live together; each was like an Oasis in the moral desert of this immense country. I was careful to ascertain the character and conduct of the people towards their heathen neighbours, and the Hindoo tehsildar of the district assured me that they were a quiet inoffensive people, and that he should rejoice if all the inhabitants around him were of the same character. I could not but regard these villages as encouraging trophies of the Christian missionaries' achievements in the East.

1858. Are you aware of the history of the native catechist, Sattainaden?—I am quite

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quite aware of his history and of his success; I have just been describing the scene of his labours. Sattainaden was a native priest, a pupil of Mr. Schwartz, and ordained by him with three other natives; he laboured chiefly in the province of Tinnevely, where his name is still remembered with respect. Reverting to these two villages, they were a part of the mission of the Christian Knowledge Society in Tinnevely; when I arrived in that province they had been without a missionary for ten years. I was desired by the Archdeacon of Madras to ascertain the state of Christianity within the province of Tinnevely; and in order to obtain the necessary information, I performed my first journey, and it was then that I discovered these two villages; for they may be called discoveries, since their existence was unknown at Madras at the time I sent my information. Of these two villages I sent a particular account to the district committee of the Christian Knowledge Society at Madras, which account has been published in their annual report, and has been transcribed in a Memoir of Bishop Middleton, by Mr. Le Bas. Having hereby stated the progress of the Protestant faith in India, I am aware of a counter-statement which has been published, and to which I have already referred, by the Abbé Dubois; but I think the contrast may be accounted for by reverting to the means used respectively for the conversion of the Hindoos. The Abbé Dubois endeavours to account for the failure of the Roman-catholic missionaries, by assigning these three causes: he first attributes it to the Pope's interference with the Jesuits, who conformed to the customs and idolatries and superstitions of the Hindoos, in order to conciliate their minds, and to induce them to embrace the Roman-catholic faith. The Roman-catholics in India, of the Capuchins and Janisarists, and other orders, protested against this conformity of the Jesuits, and applied to the Pope. The Jesuits, after repeated remonstrances from Rome, at length found it expedient to desist; but M. Dubois considers that from that time conversion has ceased, and the Roman-catholic religion has been on the decline. This is the first cause to which he assigns the declension of the Roman-catholic religion in India: the next is the wars between the English and the French. Now, although those wars must necessarily have interfered with the labours of the Christian missionary where they occurred, yet the Protestants in the Carnatic were much more exposed to them than the Roman-catholics, who, in many parts, were removed beyond their influence; whereas, notwithstanding the long wars between those two powers, the Protestant faith has gradually increased in India in the manner I have already stated. But the Abbé Dubois, probably not satisfied with these two causes, states, thirdly, as the chief cause, the Hindoo's detection of the Jesuits' imposture: he says, that the Jesuit missionaries, in order to reconcile the Hindoos to a change of their religion, pretended that they were Brahmins from a distant country, and thereby gained for these persons and their office a degree of respect that would not have been paid to Europeans; but he tells you in the letters to which I have referred, that after a time they discovered that these Jesuit missionaries were nothing more than *Fringes*, a contemptuous name which they usually gave in those days to the Europeans; and from that moment, he says, that conversion ceased, and that while circumstances continue as they are, he is firmly of opinion that they will continue to retrograde, until the Christian religion is extinct in India: this is his own published account. I think, from these causes, an impartial observer would directly say, especially from the third cause, the failure of the Roman-catholic is sufficiently accounted for; for how could we expect a body of people to place their confidence in religious teachers who set out with an imposture? On the other hand, I would account for the success of the Protestant missionaries by reverting to the simplicity of the means which they have used, and it will be found that they are precisely the means that were employed by the primitive teachers of the Christian religion; I mean the dissemination of the Word of God, the diligent preaching of that Word, and the education of youth; and the great care also which is exercised by all the Protestant missionaries with whom I am acquainted, to sustain the Christian character and Christian integrity in their congregations; and although compared with the numbers which the Roman-catholics could once give in describing their converts in south India, the Protestants in the same country appear to be very few, yet I am persuaded, that if the missionaries persevere in the course which they have hitherto taken, in the diligent use of the means which they have hitherto employed, nothing, with the Divine blessing on their labours, can prevent them from ultimately succeeding in diffusing the Christian religion throughout the vast continent of India.

1859. Do you consider that the number of chaplains at present in actual service, or



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or on the lists of the East India Company, can be sufficient for the wants of the people committed to them?—By no means.

1860. Do you consider that they are adequate to the wants of the particular stations to which they are appointed?—No, by no means, and for this reason: there are, indeed, some stations in the interior of India, where the duties of a chaplain do not employ the whole of his time, but there are larger stations, such as military cantonments, where there is duty for two, if not for three chaplains. The English community in India, when their chaplain is obliged to remove in consequence of ill health, which is frequently the case, are exposed for months, sometimes for several years, to the inconvenience of being without a resident clergyman.

1861. Do you conceive that the single bishop appointed for the service of the Church of England in the dominions of India generally, is sufficient for the labour necessarily devolving on him?—Certainly not; I think that there should be at least four bishops in India, one for each presidency, and one at Ceylon.

1862. Besides the admitted duty and policy of promoting Christianity in India, is there any particular mode for improving the character of the servants of the government, either European or native, which you could point out?—The Abbé Dubois, in the letters to which I have referred, does indeed describe the general character of the European servants of the Honourable Company in India as very low indeed, and as calculated to make a very unfavourable impression on the minds of the natives around; and he considers this as calculated to the extent of this impression to defeat the efforts of the missionary in that country. I should not now entirely subscribe to the Abbé's description, for although it might be, indeed I must confess that, to a great extent, it was correct when he first wrote his letters, yet at present there is a great improvement in the state of European society in India. Since the increase of the ecclesiastical establishment in India, it has produced a striking effect on the society of the Company's servants, both civil and military: and I have no doubt if the Company were to extend their ecclesiastical establishment, and to improve its efficiency, that this improvement in the moral state of their servants would continue to go on. I have also had frequent occasions to observe in India that the Company's servants who were the most attentive to their religious duties, were the most highly respected by the natives around them. I could name an instance on the Tinnevely station, were not one of the parties now living, of a native who had detected an imposition on the revenue of the Company to a very great amount; he went to the junior magistrate at the station, stated that he had information of that nature to give, and that if he would receive it of him he would give it truly, and he undertook to lead him to the spot where these contraband goods were secreted: the junior declined taking the information without consulting his superior. The native then said, "I must beg to retire; I know you, and I know your superior; I have no doubt he is an honourable man, but I do not see him go to prayers; I do not see him attend the House of God, and therefore I can place no confidence in him. I know that you do; you go every Sunday to the House of God to make poojah and perform prayer, and therefore I will trust to you, and if you will engage not to divulge the information, I will state to you all I know." The junior sent the man away, promising to return an answer the next morning; he stated the circumstances generally to his superior, obtained his sanction to proceed as the man desired, and he detected the fraud to a large amount.

Now this is one instance of the respect which the natives pay to the moral and religious character among the Company's servants, and the advantages that may be expected to accrue from it to government.

There is another suggestion that I wish to offer. I think it would be of great advantage to the Company's servants, and would make a very favourable impression on the native mind, if the Company required the Sabbath to be observed, and Divine worship to be performed every Sunday at every station where there is no chaplain, by the senior servant of the station, or the person he may depute, and that it should be regularly reported both at the military and civil stations. I have had reason to know the favourable impression that the regular performance of this duty makes on the native mind.

1863. Have the British Government given any salaries to European missionaries?—Occasionally; when the European missionaries have been called in to officiate for the Europeans as chaplains, the government have remunerated them for their services, but in no other way that I am aware of. I have answered the question as to the morals of the Company's servants only in reference to the

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Company's European servants; but I think it of very great importance that measures should be adopted for the improvement of the Company's native servants. The British Government, I may say, are brought into collision with the mass of the population of India through the frauds practised by their native servants; it is known that in our judicial courts, in our magisterial offices, corruption and bribery prevail to a very great extent. I have myself repeatedly heard the judges and the collectors in India lament, most feelingly deplore, the existence of these practices, and they have owned the inability to detect the evil. I know no means of checking and correcting this but by establishing schools expressly for the education of the Company's native servants. At the renewal of the last Charter a sum of money was appropriated to the establishment of schools throughout the province of Bengal: I believe the plan was commenced at Chinsurah, under the care of Mr. Gordon Forbes (in 1810), at that time the commissioner of Chinsurah. Mr. Forbes employed a missionary resident there to superintend the schools under his care; they became very numerous, amounting, I believe, to 30 schools, and the native children in them amounted to about 2,000. I hold in my hand an extract of a letter to Bengal in the Judicial department, expressing the great approbation of the Court of Directors to the plans so judiciously adopted and carried into effect by Mr. Forbes at that station: it is dated 2d February 1819: "It is peculiarly satisfactory to us to observe the advancement so rapidly making in the system of education for the children of the natives in Chinsurah and its vicinity, under the prudent, rational, and conciliatory efforts of Mr. R. May, so laudably countenanced and supported by Mr. Gordon Forbes, the commissioner, and we give our sanction to the monthly sum which you have directed Mr. Forbes to advance to Mr. May, in furtherance of this very desirable purpose." Seeing the acknowledged advantages that have resulted from the establishment of the government schools in Bengal, I should venture to suggest the expediency and desirableness of extending the system to the other presidencies of India, and instead of requiring one of the Company's servants to give his actual superintendence, whenever the superintendence of a chaplain or a missionary can be obtained, the collector or principal Company's servant at the station should be authorized to employ him for the purpose of superintendence.

1864. Were you at Tanjore?—Yes, I was.

1865. Are you aware that at Tanjore and at Tinnevely the Christians have been punished for refusing to drag the car of the heathen idols?—At Tinnevely I can say that they have: I have only been at Tanjore as a visitor, and therefore cannot speak positively as to the fact at that station.

1866. Now, confining yourself to Tinnevely for the present, at what time was that?—During the period of my residence, between 1816 and 1821; in fact, there was no distinction made between one class and the other; all that the natives could venture to compel they did compel, without regard to their religion.

1867. How was the punishment inflicted?—I believe with a cane by the peons of the place.

1868. Are you aware that at Palamcottah the converts were exonerated from direct taxation for the avowed support of the heathen worship in their own villages?—I am not aware of any such exemption.

1869. Do you know whether the practice of stealing and selling female children has prevailed to any extent in the south of India?—To a very great extent.

1870. For what purpose?—For the purpose of being brought up as dancing girls or common prostitutes, who form a part of the establishment of every Hindoo temple. One instance came under my own notice at Coimbatore: a man and his wife were converted to the Christian faith through the preaching of a Protestant native priest from Tranquebar, in my employment. Some time after their being impressed by his preaching, and before their admission to the Christian Church, the woman came to the catechist and confessed to him, that during the famine which prevailed in the Carnatic in 1824, she had been induced to sell her child for this purpose; they came to make the confession, and, if possible, to recover their child. I made application to the person who had purchased her, offering the money which she had paid for the child, if she would restore her to her parents; but without effect. I then applied to the tehsildar, a Hindoo, to assist me in obtaining the child, but he declined interfering. I found, unwilling as I was to trouble the collector of the district, that that was my only course to pursue: I therefore applied to that gentleman (Mr. John Sullivan), who, shocked at the circumstance, immediately interposed, and required that the dancing woman should give up the child whom she had



had so obtained, on receiving the pecuniary remuneration which she required. In this way we recovered the child.

1871. What was the age of the child?—When I recovered her she was about four years of age. The kidnapping of children is very common indeed in the south of India for this iniquitous purpose.

1872. Do the magistrates close the courts on the Sabbath?—I am sorry to say that they do not at all the stations.

1873. Generally?—I believe generally, as far as my observation extends; I can answer the question generally, but I cannot say universally; in fact, it depends on the inclination of the individual at the head of the department.

1874. Do the revenue officers close theirs?—There also it depends very much on the inclination and sense of religious duty and propriety of the person at the head of the office. But I think if any order was issued requiring the strict observance of the Sabbath, it would be attended with a most beneficial effect. In reference to the system of schools, I would beg to offer one more suggestion; I would suggest the establishment of English schools for the education of the Company's servants in their different offices, their courts of justice, and their collectors' offices at every zillah. I have made the experiment at my own station, Tinnevely, and found it attended with the most beneficial results. When I first went to Tinnevely (I was the first chaplain appointed to that station), finding how little my official duties employed my time, I began very soon to pay attention to the natives; one of my first objects was to establish an English school for the purpose which I have stated, and a Tamul school for the natives generally; at first the establishment of a school in English for the natives was so great a novelty, that I could obtain no assistance from the gentlemen on the spot. They did not interfere with me, but they wished to consider the matter before they sanctioned it. I found, however, that they had no time to enter into the consideration of the question as I thought it ought to be considered, and therefore established the school on my own responsibility. Six months had not transpired after the establishment of this English school, before the collector of the district (Mr. John Cotton), seeing the advantages that were resulting and were likely still further to result from the school, desired to know how I was proceeding, and what was the state of our funds; I sent him an account of our disbursements, and he contributed very liberally towards the object: under his patronage, I applied to the other gentlemen at the stations, and collected an amount sufficient to pay for the building of our schools and the support of our masters; and during the whole period of my residence in that part of India, the gentlemen of the station contributed annually towards the support of these schools. Several of the officers in the courts at Tinnevely were educated in our English school, and the officers so educated were found to be much more efficient than those who had been left to pick up their education at such native schools as they could find. I made a point of introducing the Scriptures and Christian Catechism and formularies into these schools, and required all the pupils, whether Brahmins or Mussulmans, or whatever were their caste, to write me daily an exercise on some part of the Scriptures, which they did, and made great progress in this way. Now, from the favourable result of my own experiment, I take on myself to recommend to the Government the establishment of a similar school at all their stations; and I should particularly urge the importance of placing these schools under the care of the resident chaplain, or of a missionary, who has more time to devote to the education of youth than any other of the Company's servants can be supposed to have. The gentleman to whom these schools are intrusted, should be required to send in his monthly returns of their progress to the ecclesiastical authorities at his presidency, for the information of the Government. I should beg to suggest that the Christians who are found competent to fill the offices of Government, should be placed on a level with the Mahomedans and the Hindoos, and admitted to all offices for which they are qualified.

1875. In your progress through the south of India, have you been along the line of coast from Bombay to Cape Comorin?—I have been from Cape Comorin to as far north as Cannamore.

1876. Between Cape Comorin and Cannamore, are there to your knowledge any British settlements possessing churches, but possessing no chaplain or minister?—Yes; at Tellicherry there was a spacious church; formerly a chaplain was appointed to that station, but he was withdrawn some time ago, eight or ten years ago; and while I was there in 1826, the British inhabitants and

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native Christians of Tellicherry were accustomed to assemble in the church on Sunday for Divine worship. When it was in a dilapidated state, they requested the Government to repair it; but finding that there was then no chaplain at the station, they sent orders to pull it down: being on the spot at the time, I ventured to interpose, and represented to the Government at Madras the advantages of the church to the present inhabitants, and requested them to allow it to be repaired. Upon this representation, Sir Thomas Munro acceded to the request, and it was put into a state of repair, and continues there to this day; with that exception, I believe there is no English church on the coast without a chaplain.

1877. Is there a chaplain at Calicut?—I am not aware that there is.

1878. Was there a chaplain at Calicut?—Not at the time I was there.

1879. Was there a church?—No Protestant Church.

1880. Was there a church at Cochin?—A Dutch church, not a Company's church. There was formerly a chaplain at Cochin; he remained there about three years, but he always used the Dutch church on the Sabbath; an English church was not built there during my residence in India.

1881. Is there an English chaplain?—No; there is an English missionary, a Mr. Ridsdale, sent out by the Church Missionary Society.

1882. Is there an English chaplain at Quilon?—I believe not at this moment; but there was when I was there.

1883. And was there a church there?—I believe that there was a church, but I never saw it.

1884. Then at present there is a church there also without a chaplain?—There is there also, to the best of my knowledge.

1885. You have stated to the Committee that you have not been further on the Malabar coast than Cannamore; from any knowledge acquired from other sources can you state to the Committee whether there be at Mangalore also a church without a chaplain?—The impression on my mind is, that there is a church there without a chaplain; but I cannot speak with certainty, and I am doubtful whether, if there be a church, it was built by the government.

1886. Looking at the map of India, and casting your eye between Bombay and Cape Comorin, will you state to the Committee what in that line of coast, extending perhaps 600 miles, is the number of European stations, and the number of chaplains or missionaries?—What am I to understand by European stations? where judges, courts, and collectors are?

1887. Take it first in the technical sense of the word; where there is a revenue collector, judge, and so forth?—To the best of my knowledge, there are eight stations between Bombay and Cape Comorin, exclusive of Goa, which is a Portuguese station.

1888. How many chaplains, when you were in India, were stationed along that coast?—Exclusive of Bombay, there were at one time four; four within the Madras presidency.

1889. At four out of eight, then, there were chaplains?—There was at one period of my residence; two of them were withdrawn during my residence in India.

1890. What was the number of British at Cannamore?—It was a large military cantonment; I think when I was there there were not less than 1,000 men.

1891. British born?—British soldiers and officers.

1892. What was the number of Europeans at Trevanderam?—I believe from 20 to 30 officers. There was generally an European regiment at Quilon, not far from Trevanderam, where, accounting for the detachments that were stationed in different parts, it may be estimated that there were at least 500 men; generally while I was in India there was a resident chaplain at Quilon, but at one period of my residence that chaplain was withdrawn and sent to another station, and the station was without a chaplain for a considerable time, and I do not perceive now that there is a chaplain there; but I have heard lately that the subsidiary force is withdrawn from Travancore, which probably accounts for the absence of the chaplain.

John Walter Sherer, Esquire, called in ; and Examined.

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1893. WERE you ever in India?—I was.

1894. Under what presidency?—Bengal.

1895. In what department of the service?—In the Company's civil service ; I was Accountant-general of Bengal.

1896. How long did you reside in India?—I arrived in India in 1798, and left it finally in 1826.

1897. The latter part of your stay in India, what were you?—I was accountant-general up to 1822 ; I returned for a short time, and in 1825 I was a member of the Board of Revenue.

1898. From this description of your service, the Committee would understand that your residence while in India was chiefly confined to Calcutta or its immediate neighbourhood?—Yes, it was.

1899. What number of natives, being Christians, do you believe are to be found in Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood?—I believe there to be a great many, but the number I cannot state.

1900. Do they form a considerable proportion or a very small proportion of the population?—In 1825 I myself received communion with 14 natives, according to the rites of the Church of England. I mention this in order to show that these were real Christians, not merely nominal ones.

1901. What has been the character of the natives, being Christians, so far as your observation extends?—Highly improved by that circumstance, and some I have known exhibiting the Christian character eminently. Abdoul Meseeh, whose baptism I witnessed in 1811, and who died I think in 1827, was an eminent Christian, and instrumental, I believe, in bringing many to a knowledge of the Saviour ; he was ordained a minister of the Church of England by Bishop Heber : I was also present at his ordination.

1902. What was the civil rank of the greater part of these natives, whom as Christians you knew prior to their conversion?—Abdoul Meseeh was formerly a soldier, and afterwards practised physic as a native doctor. I have not known many persons of rank so situated.

1903. Were they generally pariahs, sudras or outcasts, or were they persons of decent condition in civil life?—Pariah is a term not often used in Bengal : they were from the Mahomedan and Hindoo general population, the native population. Except those who are in offices of government, and a few of the old families remaining, the general population is indiscriminately poor, I should say.

1904. Whatever their original civil rank and condition may have been, what has been their conduct generally, speaking of them as masses, since their conversion to Christianity?—The conduct of those I have known as Christians, I consider to have been eminently improved by their faith. I consider the character of the children who are at our different schools to be gradually rising by means of the instruction they are receiving, and that the whole tone of moral feeling is gradually rising in Bengal through the instrumentality of these schools, and the labours of missionaries, and the general progress of truth in the land.

1905. Do your observations with respect to the character of the natives, being Christians, apply generally to all congregations under the name of Christians, whether Roman-catholics, Protestants, Episcopalians, Baptists, or members of any other sect or communion?—I should say it applies only to those who have been under missionary and true Christian instruction. Until I had been eight years in India I was not led to consider the state of religion around me ; much had been going on, I have no doubt, from the time of my arrival up to that period of which I knew nothing ; but since the year 1807, I have been led to consider the subject, and have had opportunities of knowing the state of religion generally throughout the Bengal presidency. I mention this because many Indian witnesses, of large information and general observation, may know nothing of what is going on among real vital Christians in India, and therefore discrepancies often arise in evidence given, which perhaps arise simply from that circumstance.

1906. Have you at any time visited any native congregations, or natives being Christians, in other parts of Bengal?—In Burdwan, Serampoor, at Kidderpore, and the neighbourhood of Calcutta, I have witnessed them very often.

1907. What has been the character of such persons?—I have always regarded such congregations with great interest, and of course have taken a favourable view

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of them, such as I have known personally, I have always considered as manifesting sincerity, generally speaking.

1908. Do you consider the number of chaplains appointed for the service by the East India Company is in any of their presidencies equal to the wants of the population?—I consider them in a very injurious degree inadequate in number. There are demands for the administration of the Church of England in every part of Bengal, which might be met, and most desirably so, I think, by an extension of chaplains.

1909. Do you conceive from your experience of the labours of English bishops in India, and from your general sense of the requirements of the Church, that the number of bishops at present is adequate to those requirements?—I should think not; more bishops than oneseem necessary: but in my view, an extension of the parochial clergy is much more important than an increase in the number of bishops.

1910. Have you noticed, in those stations which you have visited, the existence of churches actually ready for ministerial labour, there being no minister appointed thereto?—At Chunar a church was built by the Church Missionary Society. I am not aware that the government has built any churches for which there is no provision of minister, but I know that there are many places that require churches.

1911. What provision does the government of India make for the religious instruction of the people committed to them?—No other provision that I am aware of than the support of the established churches: they subscribe, I believe, to some of the schools, and there is a fund appropriated out of the revenues, but not for religious instruction; the committee have applied it to what they call useful knowledge.

1912. Are you aware of the appropriation practically of the lac of rupees, which by the terms of the last Act renewing the Charter of the East India Company, is the sum to be set apart from the surplus of the territorial revenue for the improvement of the natives of India?—I believe it has been appropriated to revive some Hindoo and Mahomedan colleges, under a committee of education in Calcutta.

1913. What do you consider to be the political effect and tendency of increasing the moral standard among the people submitted to our rule in India?—In the highest degree beneficial and advisable.

1914. Increasing with the moral standard the intellectual standard also?—Certainly, increasing the intellectual standard also.

1915. How far has that tendency been carried into effect by the improvements to which you have referred, as taking place within your own observation?—I may mention a circumstance which I have received in a communication from India very lately, that a large impression of Paine's works had arrived in Calcutta from America, and had been eagerly bought up by the Hindoo youths who are receiving instruction in English, irrespective of religion: the necessity, therefore, of extending the means of religious and moral instruction becomes imperious under this awakened desire of the natives for European knowledge.

1916. The object of the last two questions was rather to draw your attention to the consideration of the expediency even of separating intellectual from moral and religious instruction; how far any improvement in the political character of the people as good subjects can be expected or obtained by any improvements in their mere intellectual education, separating that from any religious instruction?—I consider that the progress of the mind, without religious instruction, is only tending to evil and mischief, and that further knowledge is greater power of doing mischief.

1917. Then, in your judgment, attempts to spread the knowledge of European science and European literature, unaccompanied with Christian knowledge, will not be productive of the benefits which have been attributed to such an extension?—I think not; but I would observe, that it appears to me that the thirst for knowledge has been excited in Bengal among the natives, and that knowledge cannot be withheld from them; this state of things renders it more necessary to supply the means of satisfying that desire safely by solid useful Christian knowledge and information.

1918. Do you consider that the insisting upon making religious education the basis of instruction in India, would give rise to jealousy on the part of the natives, so as to lead to considerable political danger?—Certainly not; the natives who are not converted to Christianity, seem to regard the progress of conversions without jealousy; but in this answer I should say, I consider the government to be entirely distinct from missionary societies; if the government attempted to insist

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on religious instruction, the effect might be different, for in my opinion the government should be tolerant only.

1919. What is the principle on which you would desire that the government of British India should proceed, in reference to Christianity?—My opinion is, that they should follow up the object of the Church establishment in India, extending it to receive all native Christian subjects who are anxious or willing to avail themselves of that establishment.

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1920. Do you conceive any encouragement should be given by the government to conversion, and in what way?—The government, I think, should use every means of rendering the Church establishment in India efficient, so that it may embrace not only the whole of our European subjects who may be members of it, but be kept in a state to receive such native converts as the labours of the missionaries are preparing to become so. With regard to all missionary societies of every denomination, the government, I think, should be purely and entirely tolerant, leaving them as quiet subjects to pursue their Christian labours in every part of India, giving no direct encouragement to any, and not assuming in the slightest degree a missionary character, but manifesting a Christian character in so far as respects its own establishment, and the desire that all should benefit by it, and that every subject, native or European, might benefit by the ministration of that church, when they are prepared to do so; but not forcing, merely leaving it to the progress of things, and leaving the missionaries of every description to proceed with a perfect tolerance.

1921. Not holding out any encouragement to any native to become a Christian?—No.

1922. But not withholding, on the other hand, any aid or support from him when he has become a Christian?—Just so; and I will anticipate one remark respecting the disabilities of native Christians: I must say that the exclusion of Christians from practising in the Mahomedan and the Hindoo Courts, appears to me to have arisen from just and genuine protection on the part of the government, and that there is no ground of reflection at all against the government Regulations in having excluded Christians from judicial offices, or from practising in the Mahomedan and Hindoo Courts. The Regulations provide, that no person shall be appointed moonsiff or vakeel, except he is a Mahomedan or Hindoo. If such a provision had not been made, European functionaries might have put their own European dependants, half-caste and others, into these offices, and the natives would not then have had the assurance they have had of the real desire of government that their own laws should be administered to them most purely. I consider that this disability which has now arisen, is rather the consequence of the progress of Christianity than any ground of complaint whatever against the government or the law. A class of native Christians having arisen, and these laws appearing against them, the laws require to be modified, in order to extend the same protection of civil rights and property to native Christians as to Mahomedans and Hindoos; nothing more nor less. I mention this, because I have heard these disabilities spoken of as if the government was acting hostilely towards native Christians.

1923. Are you aware that, by a Regulation passed last year, the restrictions to which you refer are removed from the natives?—I was not aware of that.

1924. And that at present all the natives, whether Hindoos or Mussulmans, or Christians, are eligible to be functionaries of courts of justice in India?—I was not aware of it, and I am rejoiced to hear it. All that seems desirable in that respect is, that native Christians may have perfect toleration, and that any disability that can be shown to exist to their prejudice should be removed, if removable.

1925. As you were in the Accountant-general's department, you probably audited the revenues arising from Juggernaut, and other places of Hindoo worship?—Yes.

1926. Have you also any knowledge of the revenue and the lands that were set apart by natives for charitable purposes?—It is 10 years ago since I left India and quitted that office, so that I cannot answer as to the details. I should wish to say that I consider it injurious to the natives, and inconsistent with the objects I have stated, that government should continue to treat Juggernaut and pilgrim taxes as a purely police and revenue question. I am afraid such conduct has a tendency to uphold idolatry and superstition, and I should of course desire to see it discontinued. I must however say, from my heart, that I know no ground to complain of anything I have ever seen in the government in regard to motive and intention as it respects the progress of religion in India: things are brought to light, and they may not

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have attended to them at first, but as soon as the thing is clearly before them they have acted for the best. Although we laboured so long and so strenuously on the subject of the Suttees, I must say it now appears on evidence that government had many unconsidered difficulties to contend with.

Sir Alexander Johnston, called in; and Examined.

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1927. HOW long were you in India, and what situations did you fill there? —I held offices under the Crown on the island of Ceylon from 1802 to 1818. I was for ten years during that period Chief Justice and President of His Majesty's Council on that island.

1928. Did you turn your attention while on Ceylon to the study of the history of India?—I devoted my attention constantly to that study while I was on Ceylon, and I made two journies by land, the one in 1807, and the other in 1816, from Cape Comorin to Madras and back again, for the express purpose of inquiring on the spot into the history, religion, laws, and customs of the Hindoos in the southern peninsula of India.

1929. Were you acquainted while on Ceylon with the late Colonel C. Mackenzie, the Surveyor-general of all India, and with the collection which he made of materials for writing a history of India?—I was intimately acquainted with him from my earliest youth, and I was in constant communication with him all the time I was on Ceylon, from 1802 to 1818, upon subjects connected with the history of India, and of that island, and had frequent occasion to refer for information to his valuable collection of ancient inscriptions and historical documents.

1930. Be so good as to explain the circumstances which first led Colonel Mackenzie to make this collection, and those which led the Bengal government, after his death, to purchase it from his widow?—Colonel Mackenzie was a native of the island of Lewis; as a very young man he was much patronized, on account of his mathematical knowledge, by the late Lord Seaforth and my late grandfather, Francis, the fifth Lord Napier of Merchistoun. He was for some time employed by the latter, who was about to write a life of his ancestor John Napier, of Merchistoun, the inventor of logarithms, to collect for him, with a view to that life, from all the different works relative to India, an account of the knowledge which the Hindoos possessed of mathematics, and of the nature and use of logarithms. Mr. Mackenzie, after the death of Lord Napier, became very desirous of prosecuting his Oriental researches in India. Lord Seaforth, therefore, at his request, got him appointed to the engineers on the Madras establishment in 1782, and gave him letters of introduction to the late Lord Macartney, the then Governor of that presidency, and to my father, who held a high situation under his lordship at Madura, the ancient capital of the Hindoo kingdom, described by Ptolemy as the *Regio Pandionis* of the peninsula of India, and the ancient seat of the Hindoo college so celebrated throughout that peninsula from the fifth to the tenth century, for the extent and variety of the knowledge which its members had acquired in astronomy, in mathematics, and in every branch of literature. My mother, who was the daughter of Mr. Mackenzie's friend and early patron, the fifth Lord Napier, and who, in consequence of her father's death, had determined herself to execute the plan which he had formed, of writing the life of the inventor of the logarithms, resided at that time with my father at Madura, and employed the most distinguished of the Brahmins in the neighbourhood in collecting for her from every part of the peninsula the information which she required relative to the knowledge which the Hindoos had possessed in ancient times of mathematics and astronomy. Knowing that Mr. Mackenzie had been previously employed by her father in pursuing the literary inquiries in which she herself was then engaged, and wishing to have his assistance in arranging the materials which she had collected, she and my father invited him to come and live with them at Madura early in 1783, and there introduced him to all the Brahmins and other literary natives who resided at that place. Mr. Mackenzie, in consequence of the communications which he had with them, soon discovered that the most valuable materials for a history of India might be collected in different parts of the peninsula, and during his residence at Madura first formed the plan of making that collection, which afterwards became the favourite object of his pursuit for 38 years of his life, and which is now the most extensive and the most valuable collection of historical documents relative to India that ever was made by any individual in Europe or in Asia. It was Colonel Mackenzie's wish, if he had survived till he had completed his collection, to return to England, and



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and to arrange under separate heads the materials of which it was composed. In 1817, being myself about to return to England from Ceylon, I went to Madras to take leave of him previous to my departure from India. He, in consequence of the long friendship which had subsisted between us, and his belief that we should not meet again, addressed a letter to me, giving me a detailed account of all his literary labours in India, and requesting me, in case of his death, to publish it. On my arrival in England I explained to Mr. Grant, the former Chairman of the Court of Directors, the great advantage it would secure for Oriental history and literature were Colonel Mackenzie to be allowed by the Directors to come to England upon leave, in order that he might, with the assistance of the different literary characters in Europe, arrange his valuable collection of materials. Mr. Grant, with the feeling for literature and liberality which always characterized his public and private conduct, agreed on my application, to propose to the Court of Directors to give the Colonel leave to come to England, and to remain in England upon his full pay and allowances for three years, for the purpose which I have mentioned. No steps were, however, taken by Mr. Grant, because in the mean time I received accounts of the Colonel's death in Bengal. I soon after, according to his desire, published the letter which he had written to me in 1817, and at the same time wrote to the Marquis of Hastings, the then Governor-general of India, calling his attention to the value of the Mackenzie Collection, and adding, what I knew to be the fact, that the Colonel had laid out upwards of 15,000*l.* of his own money in making it. His Lordship, a short time afterwards, purchased the whole collection for the East India Company from Colonel Mackenzie's widow for 10,000*l.*, and thereby preserved for the British Government the most valuable materials which could be procured for writing an authentic history of the British empire in India.

1931. Is there any catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection?—Yes, there is a printed catalogue in 2 vols. 8vo., which Mr. Wilson, the newly-elected Professor of Sanscrit at Oxford, formed some years ago, partly from the letter which Colonel Mackenzie had written to me in 1817, and partly from a list which the Colonel's Brahmins had drawn up of his papers previous to his death.

1932. Does the Mackenzie Collection consist of such information only as illustrates the history of India, or does it also contain materials for illustrating the state of the arts, sciences, and literature of India?—It contains, in addition to the materials connected with the general history of India, very extensive information relative to the state of the drama, and that of painting and sculpture in different ages amongst the Hindoos in the southern peninsula of India. A considerable part of the information upon these subjects was collected by Colonel Mackenzie, in consequence of communications which passed between him and me from 1802 to 1817. It is known to those who have attended to the history of the southern peninsula of India, that dramatic compositions, and pictorial and sculptural representations had been used from time immemorial by the Hindoo governments in that peninsula, as the most efficient medium through which they could circulate amongst the people of the country such historical, moral, and political knowledge as they conceived would give permanency to the system of government and the state of society which they were desirous of supporting. When I sent to Mr. Fox, in 1806, the plan, to which I have alluded in the Judicial Committee, for introducing a system of government throughout British India, more in conformity than the one which then prevailed, with the principles of the British Constitution, it occurred to me that measures ought, in pursuance of the ancient custom of the country, to be adopted by the Government for circulating amongst the natives of the country, by dramatic, pictorial, and sculptural representations, such historical, moral, and political knowledge as might have a tendency to make them understand the nature and benefits of a free government, and admire the examples which they might derive from the dramatic, the pictorial, and the sculptural representations, which might be executed for their use and improvement by the best British authors, and by the most distinguished British artists; and I therefore requested Colonel Mackenzie to make for me such a collection of the dramas, and such an account of the pictorial and sculptural representations in the peninsula of India, as would enable the British Government to ascertain what historical, moral, and political knowledge had been conveyed to the natives of India by this means, and what measures ought to be taken by them for circulating amongst the people, by the same means, such historical, moral, and political knowledge as might be applicable to the system of



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government which they might wish to introduce, and the state of society which they might wish to form.

1933. Do you think that government can derive useful information from the Mackenzie Collection, as to the historical, moral, and political knowledge which has been circulated amongst the people of the country in different ages by the Hindoo government, through dramatic, pictorial, and sculptural representations?—I think they may.

1934. Have any works been already executed in England with the view which you have suggested?—No public works. Miss Joanna Baillie, some years ago, at my suggestion, wrote a dramatic work for India, the object of which is to check the spirit of jealousy and revenge which frequently prevails in different parts of India; and I have sent it out to India, in order to have it translated and acted in that country. Mr. Stephanoff also has, on my suggestion, made a very fine painting from a sketch which I gave him, the object of which is to commemorate the admission of the natives of the country to the right of sitting upon juries, and the abolition of the state of domestic slavery which took place on Ceylon while I was on that island, and which were the first instances that ever occurred in India of such events. An engraving has been made of this painting, and sent out to different parts of India. My relative, the late Mrs. Damer, also, on my suggestion, executed a bust of an heroic size, of the late Lord Nelson, for the King of Tanjore, and sent it out to him as a present, in order that he might place it on a building which he had erected in his country to commemorate the victories of Great Britain.

1935. Do you think that Government ought to adopt measures for procuring and sending out to India, at the public expense, works of art, with a moral and political view?—I do; I think that Government ought to employ the Royal Asiatic Society of Literature in this country to make a report to it of the particular descriptions of historical, moral, and political knowledge which have hitherto been circulated by the Hindoo governments amongst the Hindoo population of the southern peninsula of India, by means of dramatic, pictorial, and sculptural representations; and also of that description of knowledge which ought now to be circulated amongst them by similar means, with a view to the system of government which is meant to be introduced, and the modification of society which is meant to be encouraged in the present times; that it ought upon the receipt of such a report to employ the ablest writers and the most distinguished artists in this country in executing public works for the great moral and political purpose which has been mentioned, and to send these works out to India and exhibit them, with such explanations as may be thought advisable, in every part of the British territories in India. Such measures would have the effect of raising the moral and political character of the natives, of affording them for their imitation the finest specimens of genius and art, and of encouraging the ablest writers and the most distinguished artists in Great Britain to devote their talents and their art to the moral and political improvement of 80 millions of their fellow subjects.

1936. Is the collection as complete as Colonel Mackenzie originally intended to make it?—By no means. The Colonel, had he survived, intended to have added to his collection a great mass of materials connected with the history of India, which are still to be found in different parts of the country, but which, if measures be not speedily adopted to collect and preserve them, will be altogether destroyed.

1937. Do you think that Parliament ought to take any measures for rendering the collection complete?—I think that Parliament ought, considering the public importance of the object, to call the attention of the Government to the subject, and to authorize it to incur such an expenditure of the public money as may be necessary to complete the collection without delay. Such conduct on the part of Parliament will show the people of India that it is anxious to obtain a thorough knowledge of the ancient and modern history of the immense empire in India, for whose interest it is constantly called upon to legislate; and will lead them to believe that those who compose the Parliament have not only the desire, but the means of becoming acquainted with the moral and political effect of their institutions, and of adapting any measures which they may introduce into India to the peculiar circumstances of the country, and to the manners and feelings of the people.

1938. What measures would you advise for rendering the collection complete?—The Brahmin who in Colonel Mackenzie's lifetime had the superintendence of all the learned natives who were employed by him in procuring materials for his collection, is still alive at Madras, is thoroughly acquainted with the plan upon which

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the Colonel, had he lived, intended to have carried on his researches, and is anxious to accomplish all the literary objects which his master had in view. Captain Harkness, of the Madras army, who has devoted his attention for many years to the same literary pursuits as the late Colonel Mackenzie, who is thoroughly acquainted with the history and antiquities of the southern peninsula of India, and is well qualified in every way for continuing the researches in which the Colonel was engaged at the time of his death, is now in England, and willing to afford his assistance in every way in which he can be employed. I should therefore propose that the Government should immediately authorize the Royal Asiatic Society of Literature in England to take such steps, in communication with the Brahmin whom I have mentioned, and with Captain Harkness, as they may deem necessary to complete the Mackenzie Collection; and that the Governor-general of India, and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, be authorized to give them all the assistance which they may require for that purpose, in every part of the British territories in India.

Veneris, 27^o die Julii, 1832.

JAMES A. STEWART MACKENZIE, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Captain *Henry Harkness*, called in; and Examined.

Captain
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1939. HAVE you been in the Madras service?—Yes, 26 years.

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1940. In what districts of India did you principally serve?—In the Carnatic, in Travancore, Mysore, Candeish, and the Nizam country. I have also been stationed on the western coast.

1941. Are you not the author of a work upon the character and habits of an aboriginal race on the Nielgherry Hills?—I am.

1942. Did you inform yourself particularly of the character of the natives of India during your residence in those districts you have named?—I made it my study. It was my amusement to inform myself of their character, moral as well as intellectual.

1943. What is your opinion of the capacity of the natives generally, intellectual and moral?—I do not know in what particulars they differ from Europeans; there is a want of firmness of character about them; I do not think them in any way deficient in intellect, and the better classes of them are a moral people. I think there is an erroneous opinion prevailing about the Hindoo character; I think they are considered less moral than they really are; there are of course good and bad among them, and the bad may perhaps predominate, but I think otherwise.

1944. Do you consider there is a great difference between the Hindoo and the Mussulman, as to their moral character?—I do; I would give the preference to the Hindoo by far. I think the Hindoo is as correct in his notions of the duties of civilized life as the Christian.

1945. What is your opinion of their fitness for office and places of trust?—I do not know of any office they are not fit for, under the superintendence of Europeans. With respect to trust, if distinction is held out to them, as well as pecuniary reward, I think they are fully trustworthy.

1946. You consider distinction, as the reward of merit, would tend materially to render them fit for offices of trust?—I do.

1947. How do you consider them affected to the English in the districts of which you speak generally?—I consider them well affected.

1948. As regards them generally, do you consider them oppressed by the existing state of the government under which they live?—I do not think they are oppressed, excepting in one respect, that they have no means of rising to any dignity or consequence in the State, or to obtain any such distinction as would particularize them among their fellow men.

1949. In general, in what way would you recommend the government of India, particularly in those districts with which you are acquainted, to improve the condition of the natives, and advance their moral and political character?—To allow them, as far as possible, to have a share in the government, by employing

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them in offices of respectability and trust. My view is, that respectability and honour are stronger inducements with the natives of India to correctness of conduct than simple pecuniary reward. Where they feel that they have an interest in what they are engaged, that they are not mere servants, and in no way concerned as to the result of their conduct, so long as it is not brought home to them individually, under these circumstances I consider the natives of India in no way inferior to an European officer; but simple pecuniary reward would not, in my opinion, have so desirable an effect. I allude to the natives as they are under present circumstances. As to their education, the subject is most necessary to be attended to; there are no efficient means adopted now by the government of India generally to promote that object. I consider it a very essential one; their capacity for attainment appears to me to be no way inferior to Europeans; and perhaps I am the more competent to speak to the subject, having been secretary to the college at Fort St. George for many years. I consider them also to have a very great desire for learning, and at the presidencies there is a strong desire for the knowledge of European literature.

1950. Would you point out any way in which you would propose that education should be diffused over the country; would it be by the establishment of schools, or in what way?—I think by allowing a certain portion of the revenues to be appropriated to that purpose, not by the establishment of schools of the Government; the natives have an objection to those schools; they look upon them as charity schools, and consider it is derogatory to them to send their children there. Supposing a village to pay a certain revenue to the Government, a part of that sum might be allowed to the village, to be appropriated to the education of the community. In those communities there are always some who from age or superior degree of respectability are considered the seniors or head men of the village, and I would entrust it to them, but of course under the superintendence of superior authorities.

1951. Are there any, and what offices of trust at present to which you would not admit the natives?—I know of none of the subordinate offices in which they might not be employed. In using the word subordinate, I consider it to comprise all below that of principal collector of the revenue, and the judge of the zillah court. Supposing them to be so advanced in the improvements which the measures I have suggested would produce, then I should feel no difficulty in admitting them to the office of principal collector of the revenue, or even judge of the zillah court; for my view of the future state of India does not necessarily presuppose that the powers of the situation of principal collector of the revenue and of judge of the zillah courts, are to be exactly or nearly similar to what they are at present.

1952. Do you consider it probable that in the advancement which you look to of the political condition of the natives, a beneficial change will likewise follow in their moral and religious habits?—Yes, I do; my opinion is there will be an early change in their moral and religious state; their moral state it must benefit, their religious state it cannot deteriorate; and through the advancement of their moral character I consider there will be an improvement in their religious one, but which of course must be preceded by the former.

1953. Do you consider the missionaries as likely to be instrumental, in an extensive degree, to that conversion?—There are many thousands of natives who are not Hindoos nor Mussulmans, whose children therefore willingly attend the instruction given by the missionaries, whose principal occupation at present is that of affording education to the children of the country, and to which the natives have no aversion.

1954. From your experience in India, and the course of your inquiries in different parts, have you, or have you not, seen sufficient of the state of the different settlements, with and without chaplains, to be able to state to the Committee whether there be, or be not, an adequate religious superintendence for the wants of our own people, and for the promotion of Christian knowledge amongst those at present strangers to it?—I think I have.

1955. What is the result of such opportunities as those you have enjoyed?—I think there is a deficiency of chaplains on the Establishment: I have been at many stations where Divine service was never performed for years together.

1956. Are you aware of there being any station at which Divine service has not been performed for years together by any ordained minister of the Church, in which station there is nevertheless a church or a chapel actually prepared for the reception



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tion of such minister?—I cannot say I am. I know a station where for many years the service has not been performed, but there was no church there; certain places are called stations, where only one regiment may be, or part of a regiment; I was alluding to a place where there are three or four regiments.

1957. By whom, if by any, in the absence of an ordained minister is the religious service of the Church performed to the people?—In large stations, by the staff officer, in small stations by the commanding officer.

1958. In places where there is no military force of European origin, are you aware in what manner the religious service is performed to Europeans there present?—Where there is no chaplain present, no clergyman to perform the service, it is seldom there is any Divine service performed on the Sabbath; that part with respect to marriages, baptisms, and funerals, is, as I mentioned before, performed by the commanding officer or staff officer.

1959. The question referred to places where European regiments and European officers would not be?—If there is a native force there would be European officers.

1960. Are there places in which there being no European regiment and no regiment of native force officered by Europeans, there are, nevertheless, English functionaries sent to discharge the duties of Government, in which places there is not any provision for the religious instruction of the people so sent?—Yes, I know several.

1961. What is the number ordinarily resident of Europeans at any one such place as most immediately comes to your recollection, and name it?—I will name Madura, in the Carnatic.

1962. What is the number of Europeans sent there by the Government to do the duty of the place, and what is the number of other British attracted there by other causes?—I should think the number of British sent there by the Government is five or six, but treble that number have been resident there, invalid officers, &c. &c.

1963. Making an aggregate of four or five and twenty?—Yes.

1964. Can you state to the Committee what is the aggregate revenue derived from every source by the governing power from that district in which this number of Europeans sent by the governing power, and this number of Europeans attracted there by other causes, are resident?—I cannot.

1965. What is the distance of Madura from the nearest place at which there is a regular chaplain appointed by the government?—Eighty miles, to the best of my recollection, from Trichinopoly.

1966. Have you been connected in any way with any society for the promotion of Christian knowledge, either under that title or as a missionary society, during your residence in India?—Yes, I have; I was a member of the Church Missionary Society, and one of the committee for managing the affairs of that society at Madras.

1967. In that character or in any other have you visited any congregations of native Christians?—Yes, I have frequently; I travelled with Bishop Heber, and was with him at his death, and during our progress I had opportunities of seeing many thousand native Christians assembled to receive his blessing.

1968. What is your estimate of the character of such native Christians, whether born such, or themselves converts to the Christian faith?—My opinion of their character is favourable; I think they are a moral, well-behaved people; I am alluding to the Protestant Christians, not to the Roman-catholics.

1969. Does the answer refer generally to both classes comprehended in the former question; namely, those who are born of Christian parents and to those who themselves have been converted, or to one or the other of those classes?—To both; but I have seen very few who have been converted to Christianity from Hindooism.

1970. Does the answer then refer principally to those congregations of native Christians in the south of India, whose conversion may have been the fruit of the labours of the earlier Protestant missionaries, from the beginning of the last century to the present?—It does principally.

1971. What is your estimate of the character of those Christians as compared, first, with corresponding masses of Christians in this or in any other country; and secondly, with the native heathen, among whom they are resident?—I know but little difference between them and a corresponding number of Christians in this part of the world; I do not know any other difference between them and

I.
PUBLIC.

Captain
Henry Harkness.
27 July 1832.

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the Hindoos that surround them, except in respect to religion ; I suppose them to be much the same.

1972. Do you mean that they retain the vices of heathenism with the name of Christian?—No, I do not.

1973. Then what do you mean by saying that they are much the same as the heathen among whom they are resident?—I mean with the exception of religion.

1974. By making the exception of religion, do you, or not, mean that religion has an active and practical effect upon their hearts and lives ; is their conduct different from that of the heathen around them in respect to those matters upon which religion ought to operate?—I think it is in respect to those matters in which religion is concerned.

1975. Then your answer in the first instance referred rather, it may be presumed, to the civil state of the individuals to whom you alluded, than their religious and moral character, as affected by the faith in which they were professing to live?—Quite so.

1976. In reference, however, even to their civil state, do you or do you not think that the native Christians are more or less industrious, honest, and civilized than those of their countrymen not yet possessed of the knowledge of Christianity?—I think them much the same.

1977. Give any instance in which you think that their character has been improved by the profession of the Gospel ; is it in their love of truth ; is it in their abstinence from the grosser vices of the heathen ; is it in their love of their parents and their children ; in what way is it : having stated that you do not think them more industrious than the heathen, you still regard them as having derived benefit from the Christian religion?—My idea of the benefit they have derived from the change is, that they have come to the true religion from a false one.



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APPENDIX.

I.—*Public.*

Appendix, (A.)

I.
PUBLIC.

(1.)—CIRCULAR LETTER from *T. Hyde Villiers, Esq.*, Secretary to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, dated India Board, February 11th, 1832.

Appendix (A.)

Sir,

I AM directed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India to acquaint you that it is probable they may propose to call you as a witness before the East India Committee, in the course of their inquiries into the general administration of the affairs of India. I have also to state that the Board will feel much obliged to you, in the mean time, for any information and opinions which your experience may enable you to offer in reply to this communication; and that they will be thankful for the specification of any papers, to which it may appear to you desirable to direct their attention.

(1.) Circular requiring information on subjects relating to the Public Department.

The following are the points on which the Board are particularly desirous of receiving information.

1. *Civil Servants.*

The present system of education, and any practicable improvements. The qualification as to oriental languages; whether the required proficiency is too high, and how far it can be attained in this country. The best means of preventing the early embarrassments and subsequent expensive habits of the junior civil servants. General observations on the salaries and prospects of civil servants, and how far promotion by competition is encouraged. Whether places in India, particularly in elevated situations, might not be chosen for the re-establishment of the health of Europeans, which might supersede the expense of voyages to the Cape, St. Helena, and Europe.

2. *Natives of India.*

General observations, pointing out any disadvantages under which they labour, and suggesting improvements in their situation. Measures adopted in India for the education and instruction of the natives. Whether the extension of the knowledge of the English language amongst the natives of India has been hitherto made an object of attention as a means of further identifying the natives with British rule. What has been the tendency of the general instruction hitherto given to the natives in their own languages. What may be expected to be the result of the combined system of instruction given to the natives, both in the English and in the Asiatic languages; whether favourable or otherwise to the advancement of the christian religion. Whether any visible progress has been made in the conversion of natives to christianity in any part of British India. Whether the natives of India should be encouraged to visit England. What would be the probable consequences of such encouragement with reference to religious, scientific, political, and commercial considerations.

3. *Ecclesiastical Establishments.*

General proceedings in India respecting that establishment. Whether the present establishment is adequate to the extent of territory. Whether any additions or alterations appear requisite. How far the churches are adequate, and whether constructed with a due regard to economy.

4. *The Settlement of Europeans in India.*

Whether it has of late years been promoted or discouraged. What particular classes of persons should be particularly encouraged to proceed to India. What are the dangers to be guarded against in the admission without license of British settlers, and under what conditions Europeans should be allowed to settle in India.

5. *Steam Navigation between India and Egypt, and between different parts of Asia.*

General information and suggestions on the subject. With reference to this navigation, whether coals to any extent have been found in India, and in what parts of India they are likely to be found.



Appendix (A.)

(1.) Circular requiring information on subjects relating to the Public Department.

6. *Press in India.*

General proceedings adopted by the governments in India respecting the press. How far the restrictions have been uniform in the different Presidencies, and how far in each they have varied under different governors. What is its actual condition now, and as compared with former years. If the power of summary deportation for alleged offences of the press were taken away, what regulations could be substituted, which, while they supported and maintained the authority of the government, would still preserve from all vexation the conductors of periodical publications and political journals. Whether the orders sent out to India, prohibiting the Company's servants from having any concern with political journals, are or are not evaded, and what are their practical advantages to the interests of the government of that country.

7. *Any information as to the Establishments of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, Malacca, and St. Helena.*

Having thus stated certain objects of inquiry, I have only to add, that the Board will have great satisfaction in receiving from you any additional remarks on any other subject connected with the administration of British India.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,
T. Hyde Villiers.

(2.) Answer of
—— Esq.
February 1832.

(2.)—LETTER from —— Esq., of the Civil Service, to T. Hyde Villiers, Esq.,
Secretary to the India Board, dated February 1832.

Sir,

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your Letter of the 11th instant, mentioning some points on which the Commissioners for the Affairs of India request information and opinions from me. I accordingly submit the following remarks:

1. *Civil Servants.*

I consider that Civil Servants are generally sent to India too young for their duties, their constitution and their fortune. This has arisen partly from the miscalculation of parents who have expected thereby equally to accelerate their return, and partly also from their desire to be relieved of the expense of education at Haileybury. I do not deem that college the best school for rearing useful servants. Young men are brought together there at an age when they are more inclined to frolic than study, and, from being their own masters, habits of expense are engendered, and afterwards confirmed by great opportunities in India, while little available knowledge is acquired in recompense. A very small proportion of those who commence the study of oriental languages in this country, make greater progress than a little attention in India would compensate. Besides that Persian is seldom needed, Arabic and Sanscrit are not of use sufficient to repay the labour they require. In the local languages, proficiency cannot easily be attained in this country, and is seldom carried too high, except when the examiners are believed to be hypercritical, and health is sacrificed to emulation; the system I should prefer would be to prove, by examination, that a youth about the age of twenty has had a liberal and general education, to which may be added, the rudiments of Hindoostanee, or any of the languages of the Presidency, to which he is appointed, that may be attainable, and to order that soon after he arrives he is to be sent to some small station at a moderate distance from the Presidency, with a Moonshee, and be placed under the superintendence of the Judge or Collector, who should give him an insight into the public business, and report periodically on his progress.

Promotion for a long period has gone chiefly by favour, and has been too slow to allow independence to be generally attained even in the long period of twenty-five years.

Bangalore is so salubrious, that in cases of illness not very severe, a cure results from a visit. The Neilgherry hills have a colder climate which has restored still greater invalids to health, and every facility for resort there should be afforded; but medical men alone can decide whether it may be safe and expedient to send patients so long a journey as may be required, in preference to a voyage to sea.

2. *Natives of India.*

Their great disadvantage arises from the want of character for high offices of trust.

Schools have been established, but not on extensive scale, and not embracing the acquisition of English, which I think would be a desirable attainment not difficult for the natives of India, who have a natural genius for learning languages. Their own system of arithmetic makes admirable accountants, but there is little instruction in their books, which are chiefly foolish stories, inculcating no good moral. Whatever therefore substitutes better subjects for reflection, must tend to enlighten their minds, and advance the cause of christianity: hitherto I fear there have been very few real converts.

Few natives would be able to bear the expense, and willing to encounter the contamination, the danger, and the sickness of a voyage to England; but it might be desirable that some of the higher orders should come to enlarge their understandings, and see the power of the British nation.

3. *Ecclesiastical*

3. *Ecclesiastical Establishments.*

I leave this to those who are better acquainted with the subject; merely remarking that the patronage of the appointments to this department ought to be very carefully administered.

(2.) Answer of
— Esq.
February 1832.

4. *Settlement of Europeans.*

I am of opinion that the visits of merchants to India are advantageous; but, *with a view to preserve our empire there*, no Europeans should be encouraged to settle in India. Without attempting to detail the many reasons which have led me to form this conclusion, I shall merely allude to the following obvious objections:—1. Degeneracy, both moral and physical, seems inevitable when the inhabitants of northern climates become resident in tropical regions. This is exemplified, not only in the European soldiers, but more particularly in their offspring, *though without admixture of native blood*, and is even evident in the Moghuls and other northern Asiatics, who have emigrated to our southern provinces. Indeed, as the injurious effects of the climate cannot be altogether obviated by the Company's servants, who have the means of attending to comfort, how much more severe would it be on those who cannot avert its fatal inroads, even by spending all that they can by possibility be supposed to possess. 2. If English settlers were to obtain offices, it would displace the natives, whom it is now the policy to employ, and for whom there is already so little encouragement. 3. They would probably be of such a class, that there would be frequent collision between them, and the civil authorities as well as the natives, (which the interior of a camp proves) which would add greatly to the business of the Courts, and prevent the possibility with justice of extending the system of having native instead of English Judges, as has been lately brought to the test of trial. 4. Finally, there is not much field left for profitable LABOUR in the present state of the country.

5. *Steam Navigation.*

With this subject I am not particularly acquainted.

6. *Press in India.*

I consider restrictions on the press absolutely necessary, especially if English be generally taught. Indeed we have only to look at home to see the mischief of a licentious and unbridled press, daily stimulating to discontent, innovation, outrage and blood, and reflect what would be the effect of similar excitement in a country where we subsist more on opinion than on our own strength. I deem a discretionary power of deportation to be necessary in the case of instigators to discontent, or originators of any great public evil.

7. *Prince of Wales' Island, &c.*

I know these settlements only by hearsay.

I shall conclude with a few remarks regarding the administration of justice. The multiplied forms of the Courts cause so much vexatious delay, that it would be a very desirable improvement, if greater facilities were afforded for the settlement of disputes and prosecutions, for the sake both of parties and witnesses, who in many cases have to journey so far, (sometimes twice) and to stay so long, that they are greatly injured, and perhaps ruined. The remedy seems to be to give greater discretionary powers to the judge or magistrate before whom the case is brought. I have been informed that under the native governments, the proceedings were straight forward and summary; but the British government, with a view to protecting the natives, has introduced so much technicality, that the natives who are naturally ingenious, are led to have recourse to quibbles and subterfuges, and finally to fraud, supported by perjury and forgery. I may also mention that one inconvenience in conducting the affairs of the provinces, arises from the superior Boards at the Presidency superintending a system of management of which it frequently happens they have had little or no practical experience. They are too apt to suppose that injustice or oppression has been practised in the case of native servants, as well as of the inhabitants, who are skilful in making out ex-parte statements. When native servants are brought to trial, they revise with technical and finical strictness, the proceedings of Judges and Collectors, and there have been some instances in which after corruption has been considered proved, the delinquents have been ordered to be restored to their situations, and taken into employment again in offices of the greatest importance. I need not expatiate on the moral effect of such a course of proceeding, or on the difficult situation in which the master is placed, who is expected to restore to his confidence a servant who he is convinced is unworthy of trust.

I have the honour to be &c. &c.

(3.)—LETTER from *John Sullivan*, Esq. of the Madras Civil Service, to *T. Hyde Villiers*, Esq. dated Ritchings Lodge, 21 February 1832.

Sir,

I AM desired in your Letter of the 11th inst., to state my opinion on the present system of education for civil servants, and whether it is susceptible of improvement.

The collection of a number of young men of the same age, and destined for the same scene, in the same college, has always appeared to me to be a capital mistake in the existing plan of education. It deprives young men of the opportunity of forming a general acquaintance with the men who are hereafter to figure upon the public stage in this country. To rivet the affections of those who go early in life to India to persons and things in England, should always, I imagine, be a main object of their education. To have belonged to one of

(3.) Answer of
John Sullivan, Esq.
Feb. 21, 1832.



Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

the national Universities is itself considered an honour; and to have participated in the distinctions and rewards which emanate from these establishments, is a privilege which is always highly valued. The academical honours of Hertford are not, I imagine, much prized. The young men who go there from school are by the rules of the college cut off from all society except what is to be found within the walls of the college, until they embark for India; they are in consequence almost strangers in England, and upon their arrival in India, they again associate almost exclusively with those who were their fellow collegians at Hertford.

A set of young men educated at the different national Universities would meet in India for the first time under more favourable auspices; there would be among them a greater variety of ideas, more incentives to emulation, and, what is of higher consequence, more effectual checks upon extravagance and misconduct, because the discipline of the regular Universities is, and from their composition always must be, more perfect than at Hertford; the effects of that discipline would follow the students to India. The association of the younger graduates at Oxford and Cambridge with their seniors, and with the various classes which compose their societies, cannot but operate most beneficially upon the minds of the juniors. At Hertford all are young, younger most of them than the junior graduates at the Universities. Mischief is the consequence of this congregation of youths, for it seems to be pretty generally admitted, that at no public seminary in England is discipline so completely relaxed as at the East India college.

There seems to be almost a natural association in the minds of Englishmen between India and wealth. This notion is naturally fostered at Hertford; habits of extravagance are in consequence contracted there, which cleave to the young men throughout their Indian career, to their own detriment and that of the government whose servants they are.

A very decided improvement, therefore, upon the present system, would, in my opinion be, that the young civilians should go, for general education as *Commoners*, to one of the national Universities for two years before they embark for India. The more they are scattered among the different colleges the better. I should be inclined to attach more importance to the acquisition of scientific knowledge at the Universities than to the study of the oriental languages. It seems to be admitted that little advantage has attended the attempt to master the vernacular tongues of Hindoostan in England; the elements of Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit would probably be all that could be taught with real benefit.

A knowledge of surveying, of civil engineering, of the use and application of machinery, and of hydraulics, would, in my opinion, be of great utility to many of the young men; as when charged with the civil administration of provinces, they are obliged at present to depend entirely for information upon such subjects to professional men. Many advantageous projects for the improvement of the public resources have been lost, from the want of a little elementary science in the projector.

From what I saw in early life of the college at Calcutta, and from what I have heard since, I should say that the defects of that institution entirely counterbalance its advantages. This institution, with its sister establishment at Hertford, differ from all other colleges in this particular, that it consists entirely of very young men. The effects of this college upon the service generally may be estimated by the fact, that the debts of the Bengal civilians, as returned by themselves some years ago, amounted to some millions sterling. No acquirements in oriental learning can possibly compensate for the mischief which arises from young men entering the public service under a heavy load of debt. Every attempt to check habits of extravagance, either at Hertford or Calcutta, has failed.

The salaries of young men on their arrival at *Madras* are more than double what they were twenty-five years ago; more houses are in consequence kept, and a higher style of living indulged in; and what is more pernicious, the young men, from forming a numerous society among themselves, are rendered independent of the general society of the place. My own opinion is decidedly against the continuance of the colleges at Calcutta and *Madras*; there is no such establishment at *Bombay*, and the want of it does not appear to be felt.

Sir Thomas Munro, himself an eminent linguist, has informed us, that too much importance has of late years been attached to the acquisition of languages, to the neglect perhaps of studies of equal importance. It has been often remarked, that an accomplished scholar from college is incapable of making himself understood by the common people. The acquirement of language is certainly a peculiar talent; some men may be in other respects eminently qualified for the public service who are deficient in language, and *vice versa*. General qualifications should be looked to rather than eminence in oriental learning.

The only check upon the extravagant habits, which almost all young men contract at Hertford, is to separate them as soon as possible after their arrival in India, and to send them to different stations in the country, where the acquisition of language and a knowledge of public business can be made to go hand in hand. They should be called down periodically to the Presidency for examination in language; but, as has been before observed, proficiency in language should by no means be made the only test of fitness for office.

The prospects of the civil service, notwithstanding the grant of 500*l.* a year to members of it absent on leave for three years, and the increase of the retiring pension from 600*l.* to 1,000*l.* per annum after twenty-five years' service, are certainly much lower now, when the interest of the public funds is five per cent. and the Exchange at 1*s.* 9*d.* the rupee, than they were when the interest of money was ten per cent. and the Exchange 2*s.* 6*d.* There is every prospect of a further deterioration. Civilians are restricted from every kind of commercial dealings, so that they are not able to remit their funds to England in the produce of India. Whether these restrictions might not be in some measure relaxed, without its producing



ducing any public inconvenience, is a question which certainly deserves consideration. It is, I believe, a fact that more fortunes are made in the military and medical branches of the service, than in the civil, notwithstanding the high scale of the civil allowances. In one respect the civil service is decidedly behind the military; the youngest colonel in the service ranks above the oldest civil servant on the list. At this moment the chief judge of the Court of Sudder Adawlut, a civil servant of forty years standing, gives precedent to a colonel of half his servitude. Military men participate in the honours bestowed by the Crown, and as they retain their military rank after retirement from active service, they have a name and place in society in England which are denied to civilians. Such distinctions are of moment to persons who, by long absence from home, are strangers when they return to their own country. The only effectual means of improving the prospects of the civil service, is to diminish their number, to accelerate promotion, and to allow a participation to a certain extent in the improvements effected in the public resources, by unquestionable good management. Whether in future there should be any distinction of service, is a question which has been mooted, and *prima facie*, the arguments against maintaining such a distinction, appear to preponderate. There appears to be no good reason for keeping up Presidency distinctions; the Governor-general should have the power of selecting, from the whole body of the service, civil and military persons to fill all offices.

2. Natives of India.

The disadvantages under which the natives labour, are, their exclusion from all offices of trust and emolument; their degradation from the station which they hold in society under the native governments; the appropriation by Europeans of the merit due to public service, although in fact such service may have been rendered by natives; the precarious tenure upon which they hold their offices, and the incomes of those offices; the inconsiderate treatment which they too frequently meet with from Europeans, and our heavy system of taxation, imposed for maintaining expensive European establishments. To this last of grievances may be added this crowning one, that we never think it worth our while to consult them upon any of those measures of government, which have the interests of the natives for their professed object.

Education of Natives.

It is only of late years that the government have taken any steps for promoting the *Education of Natives*. There are now two schools in Coimbatore, which cost the government about 400 rupees per annum. The population of the Province is upwards of 800,000, and the public revenue between two and three millions of rupees. The acquirement of English is not made an object of education, it is rather, and most unaccountably discouraged. The education in their own schools is confined to reading, and imperfect writing, of their own languages, with accounts. Humanly speaking, it seems to be impossible that any system of education we can devise should produce beneficial results upon the character of the natives so long as we keep them in a state of degradation. We must first hold out objects of ambition to them—motives which shall induce them to study our language, laws and literature.

Conversion of Natives.

I cannot call to mind a single instance of the conversion of a native of rank to christianity. Numerous converts have been made among the lower orders in the southern provinces of the Madras government, particularly in Tinnivelly, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society; the forfeiture of claim to hereditary property, by those who become christians, is a very serious subject upon which some legislative provision appears necessary. Our Mussulman predecessors, far from allowing converts to Islam to lose by the change, usually conferred special benefits upon them.

The exclusion of native christians from the petty offices which other natives are allowed to hold, is a very great hardship, and quite at variance with the practice obtaining in native states, where qualifications are alone looked to. The promotion both in the civil and military departments, ought to be open to native christians, as well as to other classes, without any reference to religion, and no class ought to be compelled to attend in any character upon religious festivals. It is almost the universal practice now in the Madras territories, for the local magistrates to order the attendance of a certain number of labourers, in order to assist in drawing the cars or heavy chariots round the different Pagodas; this is in strict consonance with the usage under native governments, it is however opposed both to the letter and spirit of our regulations, it is an infringement upon the liberty of the subject, and a great hardship upon the lower classes. There is an interesting correspondence upon this head between the principal and subordinate collector of Tanjore, which merits the attention of the Committee.

For the effectual education of the natives, the government ought, in my opinion, to endow a grammar school at the principal town of each province, in which the English language and European science should be principally taught; there ought to be a school in each subdivision for the native languages, and the elementary branches of education; prizes ought to be given, particularly for proficiency in English. The spread of English ought to be attempted by every means; the natives are fond of it, and acquire it with more facility than we do their languages.

3. Ecclesiastical Establishments.

The present establishment is by no means adequate to the extent of territory. There ought to be a chaplain for every province; at present there is not upon the average more than one in five. It appears extraordinary that it should be proposed to augment the number of bishops, before the establishment of working clergy is completed. The salary of a bishop

Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

would pay seven or eight chaplains. The chaplains might, I think, be employed in superintending the native schools, and it appears to deserve consideration whether their services might not be made available, under certain circumstances, in the magistracy.

4. *Settlement of Europeans.*

I should say that there is not much danger to the natives, from the free entry of Europeans, not clothed with a public character, into India, because it is evidently the interest of persons who go thither for commercial objects to conciliate the natives. Persons without ostensible means of support should be prevented from going there for their own sake as well as for the honour of the national character. It is a common remark that Europeans out of the service usually live upon a much more familiar footing with the natives than the public functionaries, civil or military. I have, in the course of a long service as magistrate, received many complaints from natives against such functionaries, and I do not recollect any having been preferred to me against European traders. Still I think it essentially necessary that Government should have the power of preventing the entry of improper persons into India, and there appears to be no other way of effecting that object than requiring that those who wish to go there should take out a license.

European settlers should be amenable to the local Courts, and the provincial magistrates should have adequate means of enforcing the processes of their Courts against them. A few respectable half-pay non-commissioned officers, to be employed as constables, would answer the purpose. The magistrates should also have the power of calling upon any European, civil, military, medical, clerical, or private individual, to sit with him as assessor in any cause in which a European may be a party.

5. *Steam Navigation.*

Indications of coal were, I believe, discovered in *Travancore* about twenty years ago. If any extensive beds of it should be found, either in that or in the neighbouring maritime provinces of Malabar and Canara, the great obstacle to steam navigation would be removed. No systematic search has ever been made either for mines of coal or for metal. There is a strong presumption that valuable gold mines exist in the province of Malabar, from the quantity of the metal which is obtained by hand-washing the earth. A geologist has lately been sent to the Madras territories, where attention has probably been directed to this subject. Its great importance would seem to render some systematic plan for acquiring the necessary information advisable, and the object it is to be presumed, might be obtained by making a knowledge of mineralogy an essential qualification for medical service in India. At confined civil stations, medical men have little or no employment; their leisure might be most usefully employed in developing the resources of the country.

For a plan of inland navigation, the object of which is to connect the Eastern and Western coasts of the Peninsula by a line of canals, I beg leave to refer to the Appendix to a little Tract upon the Ryotwar System, which I gave in to the Revenue Committee. The conviction of my own mind is, that if water carriage was generally introduced in India, we should, at no very distant period, be able to supply the home market with most of the products which are now derived from America. If Colonel De Havilland, formerly of the Madras Engineers, should be in England, he would be able to give the Committee valuable information upon the subject, as would Captain Arthur Cotton, of the Madras Engineers, and Captain George Underwood. Whether it might not be advisable to leave works of this kind to joint stock companies to be formed under the patronage of the government, seems to deserve consideration. There can be no doubt that the public resources might be greatly improved by a judicious outlay upon them. You are in possession of a memorandum drawn up by Captain Cotton upon the subject of canals and railroads.

6. *Press in India.*

There seems to be no room for discussion as to the freedom of the press. The press is practically free, both in Calcutta and Bombay; and it appears to be too late now to place restrictions upon it, except perhaps that attacks upon the government might by special enactment be declared libels, and punished as such under the verdict of a jury. The press at Madras has always been under rigid restrictions; of late years, the power of the Censor (the Chief Secretary) has been unsparingly used by the excision sometimes of nearly half the newspaper, without cause assigned either to the editor or the public. Attacks upon the government should be promptly prosecuted; and from the leaning that prevails towards the government, in a society composed principally of public functionaries, there is every reason to believe that such prosecutions would be attended with success.

Deportation is a dreadful punishment, usually involving the absolute ruin of the offending individual. To deprive him of his license to print, under the verdict of a jury, would be a sufficient penalty. Whether unanimity in the jury should be required in such prosecutions, or whether with reference to the absolute necessity which exists, of guarding against abuses of the press, a majority of voices should not be sufficient to ensure conviction, is a question which, perhaps, deserves to be considered.

There appears to be no practical advantage in prohibiting public servants from having any concern with political journals; the rule can never be enforced, and therefore ought not to have been promulgated. There is, and always must be a strong government party in India; those who render themselves obnoxious to the government will always be made to smart for it, except where there is glaring misrule, the opposition party will always form but a very small minority of the whole; the public servants would seem to be the natural counterpoise to

professed



professed journalists. Under the present restrictions, the government are prevented from availing themselves of the aid of their servants, in expounding measures of the government, which are railed against because they are not properly understood.

Elevated Situations for Sanitariums.

In the Madras territories, the mountainous region, which separates the Province of Malabar from Coimbatore, and termed the "Nilgherries," is resorted to from all parts of India. The climate is, perhaps, unequalled, the mean temperature of the air during the year not exceeding 60°. There is every reason to believe that a great saving of life and expense might be effected, if recruits for European regiments, or whole regiments, were sent in the first instance to these mountains, which are within 100 miles of the Malabar coast, instead of to Madras. The Nilgherries indeed, with reference to the great military stations of Bangalore, Trichinopoly, Quilon, and Cananore, are nearly in the centre of a circle, so that troops could move from them in any direction. In a political point of view they are important, as affording a strong hold from which no native power could drive us.

I have already spoken upon this subject in my Evidence before the Committee last year. The natives of the Hills, it will be seen, have suffered severely from our settlement among them.

Churches.

There are churches at the principal stations. It is very advisable that each province should contain one. The Catholics shame us in this particular, although without political power, and deriving no revenue from the country, the priests of the Church of Rome usually manage to erect small chapels wherever they have any thing like a congregation.

By calling for the estimates for building the churches of St. George and St. Andrew at Madras, and of St. James in Calcutta, and by comparing the Estimates with the actual cost, you will be able to ascertain whether such buildings are constructed with a due regard to economy. There could be no room for doubt upon the subject, if public buildings of all descriptions in India were built by contract.

Administration of India.

I cannot venture in this place to trouble you with more remarks upon a subject of such deep importance. All persons who have thought much about it, seem to agree in opinion, that we are sinking under the burthen of expensive establishments; that our power is endangered by collision between the Executive and Judicial Authorities; that the machine of government is clogged by the multitude of hands employed in working it: and that we require that power should be as much as possible concentrated, and a more simple system of rule established.

I have to offer many apologies for the hasty manner in which these Answers to your important Questions have been drawn up.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

J. Sullivan.

(4.)—LETTER from *Francis Warden, Esq.*, formerly Member of Council at Bombay, to *T. Hyde Villiers, Esq.*, dated 28 Bryanstone Square, 30 April 1832.

Sir,

1. I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated the 13th of this month, requiring, by the direction of the Right honourable the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, any information or opinions which I may be enabled to offer on several points connected with the general administration of that country.

(4.) Answer of
*Francis
Warden, Esq.*
April 30, 1832.

1. In respect to Civil Servants.

2. After receiving the best classical education which England affords, a person appointed to the Civil Service in India, must keep four terms at the college of Haileybury, an institution established in 1805, for the purpose of affording to civil servants instruction in those branches of education which are likely to be most useful in their official career in India. He is required to produce a certificate to the Court of Directors, from the Principal of Haileybury, that he has, during the prescribed period, been a member of the College, and duly conformed to its rules and regulations. His age must not be under fifteen, nor exceed twenty-two years.

The present system
of Education.

3. On his arrival in India, an acquisition of the languages is an indispensable preliminary to his employment in the public service, and for the study of which, every facility is at his command in the colleges of Fort William and Fort St. George; and through the medium of native teachers at Bombay, periodical examinations take place to ascertain the progress of the students: and at Bombay a servant must master two languages, one the Hindostanee, and the other Guzerattee or Marhatta, before he can be advanced beyond the lowest grade. The required proficiency is by no means too high; and although the ground work, or a grammatical knowledge of the Hindostanee, and probably of one or more of the Indian languages may be laid and acquired in England, which would certainly facilitate the progress of the student in India, yet the study of it should not be allowed to absorb too much of that valuable portion of time, intervening between his leaving school and embarking for India, which can be so much more profitably applied to studies of higher importance, which can best be prosecuted in England, as the native languages can be best learnt in India.

The qualifications
as to Oriental
languages; whether
the required profi-
ciency is too high;
and how far it can
be attained in this
country.



Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

Any practicable improvements.

Note. There is not much weight in this objection; because the experience and qualifications of Registers must be nearly on a par with those of Judges. Besides which, in such vacancies occurring Registers are to report to Government and to confine themselves to duties connected with the preservation of the public peace, and other emergencies, till a successor be appointed.

4. On obtaining a certificate of qualification for official employment, a civil servant selects the line of service the most congenial to his own disposition and habits, in which he generally continues to rise to its head, after at least ten years training in subordinate situations. The rule has not been strictly adhered to, servants being removable from one branch to another. Those deviations have not, however, been so constant and numerous as seriously to prejudice the public interests, and may be regarded as exceptions to the general rule.

5. The improvements that appear desirable are, a higher degree of qualification, as well in respect to knowledge as to age, and a rigid enforcement of the rule of separation of functions, at least as far as relates to the judicial and revenue branches of the administration.

6. In determining on the introduction of the judicial system into Bengal in 1793, that offices so incompatible as those of Judges, Magistrates, and Collectors, should not be held by the same individual at the same time; that salutary reform fell short of the object in view, by admitting persons entering on their career of service in the revenue and judicial departments, to pass in succession from one to the other; from Registerships to Collectorships, and from Collectorships to Adawlut. The motive for that course of promotion arose out of the want, in the revenue branch, of lucrative appointments, which might serve as the reward of long and faithful service; thus sacrificing the efficiency of the system to the personal views and interests of individuals. That defect attracted the notice of Lord Minto in 1809.

7. In adverting in his Minute of the 3d of February of that year, to the means employed of qualifying persons for the dispensation of justice, which now formed so important a branch of the constitution established for the internal administration of the affairs of India, Lord Minto maintained that the knowledge obtained in the public schools in England and in the college of Fort William, was not calculated, however valuable in themselves, to qualify a young man, without further aid and instruction, to discharge the duties which they are called upon to perform as Registers or Assistants; and occasionally, and more especially the higher functions, when the entire charge of a Zillah may at any time devolve to the Register, by the death and sudden illness of the Judge and Magistrate.

8. The most effectual remedy for those defects, which occurred as practicable, without a fundamental change in the system, established for the administration of justice were, 1st. To appoint some person of legal knowledge and habits to the situation of professor of law, for the instruction of the younger branch of the service, in the general principles of jurisprudence; in the rules which should govern their conduct in the discharge of their duties, as justices of the peace; and, as far as circumstances will admit, in a knowledge of the principles of Hindoo and Mahomedan law. 2d. To instruct them, by means of the professor of the regulations, in a knowledge of those regulations. 3d. To attach the persons destined for the judicial branch of the service, to the Courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and Nizam Adawlut, in the capacity of assistants, in order that they may acquire a practical knowledge of the business of the several Courts of judicature, until their services may be actually required on the occurrence of vacancies in the Zillah Courts, as registers and head or second assistants; and finally to establish periodical examinations in the above different branches of knowledge, both with the view of exciting a spirit of emulation among the junior servants of the Company, and of enabling government the better to judge of their qualifications for office.

9. The government concurring in those suggestions, a series of resolutions passed to give them effect; the concluding one of which was, that the servants of the Company, who, on quitting the college, may enter on their course of service in the judicial department, rise only in that department: and that in like manner, those persons who may enter into the revenue department, rise only in that branch of the service.

10. Those proceedings were transmitted to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and though no similar plan was expressly introduced at Bombay, the principle of keeping the two lines distinct was generally observed at that settlement. The rule was subsequently disregarded. The tide changed in favour of the revenue branch, both at Madras and at Bombay; and collectors were considered from their training, and the nature of their duties, which afforded them, as it was assumed, greater opportunities of obtaining a knowledge of the revenue system, landed tenures and territorial rights, which become matter of litigation, as better qualified for the office of judge, than those who had not acquired any practical experience on those subjects. The impression was, as it appears to me, an unfortunate one; and led to the revival of the practice of selecting judicial servants for the revenue line, and revenue servants for the judicial, to the injury of both branches; against the evils of which, Lord Minto had applied a remedy.

11. No person should be appointed to the civil service under the age of twenty, nor after he has completed his twenty-fifth year: and he should be entitled to retire on the annuity fund after an actual service of twenty years. After having received a sound classical education, the attention of those destined to India, should be directed to the study "of political economy, and the general principles of jurisprudence, not English law, but general jurisprudence." "Their minds should be impressed," (I refer more especially to the judicial line, as demanding primary consideration) "by instruction and discipline, with correct notions of right and wrong; with proper views of the proportion of pains and penalties to public offences, and the distinction between such offences and injuries; with a just discrimination between redress of injuries by law and by equity; with the leading maxims of the law of evidence; the acknowledged principles of jurisprudence applicable

Mr. Elphinstone's Evidence.

Lord Minto.



to cases of frequent occurrence; and with a proper conception of the legal extent of their own powers;" and should undergo a very strict examination before they receive their appointments for India.

12. On their arrival in India, they should go through the course of discipline prescribed by the existing regulations. They should be attached to the Sudder and Nizamut Adawlut at the Presidency, or to either of the Zillah Courts, to a collector's cutchery in the Provinces, or to a political residency, according to their peculiar qualifications, or the choice each may make of either of those branches of the administration. The facilities which exist for requiring a knowledge of the languages, the restrictions against the employment of civil servants, until fully qualified for the discharge of their official duties, and the leisure they command to improve on the ground-work laid in England, by a studious and diligent application of their time in India, are advantages of which the majority profitably avail themselves.

13. Under such a plan, neither a professor of law nor of the regulations, as proposed by Lord Minto, will be necessary, a knowledge of which is easily acquired. On a servant's selecting the judicial line, passing his examination in the languages, and being reported to possess a general knowledge of the regulations, and of the principles of the Hindoo and Mahomedan Codes, he should be appointed to the situation of an assistant to a Zillah Court, making himself conversant with its forms and proceedings; and being also employed in the trial of suits for money or other personal property not exceeding 20*l.* (R^s 200.); in hearing and determining petty offences; and in taking depositions and examinations in cases of higher crimes, within the limits of the Sudder station, for at least four years. After that period, he should be stationed in the larger or more populous towns or pergunnahs; his civil jurisdiction being extended to the cognizance of suits of all descriptions, for money or other personal property, or the property or possession of land, or for any other description of real property, not exceeding 50*l.* (R^s 500.); and of appeals from the decisions of Moonshiffs. He should also be appointed a justice of the peace, and exercise all the powers vested in a single magistrate by the laws of England, or such enlarged powers as local circumstances may render it expedient to vest in a single magistrate in India. He should continue in those subordinate situations of assistant judge and assistant magistrate for a period of eight years at least, from the date of his obtaining his certificate of qualification in India, before he be eligible to the judicial bench: the judge, however, recommending to the Sudder Adawlut, and this latter Court being empowered, on such recommendation, to enlarge the civil jurisdiction of those assistant judges, who manifest, by their temper, conduct, and ability, qualifications entitling them to the distinction of being entrusted with a higher degree of responsibility.

14. Such a course of discipline would supply European judges sufficiently qualified for the administration of justice in India. There is nothing intricate in the character of its litigation. The subtleties and refinements of English law are not known, and it is to be hoped may never be known in the provinces of India. Decisions are formed on the plainest and simplest principles of justice and equity. Barristers of ten years standing, and attorneys versed in all the technicalities and flaws of English law, are not required; the more especially as justice and policy demand that professional practitioners should be supplied from among the natives of India.

15. I can suggest no means of preventing these evils beyond that of immediately removing those who display a disposition to extravagance and idleness from the Presidency, and placing them under respectable and experienced functionaries in the Provinces until a decided reformation be made in their habits of improvidence. Expensive habits, however, are not the growth exclusively of India; they are acquired in some of the public schools in England, at the Universities, and even under the parental roof. If a young man of dependent circumstances does not see the folly of extravagant habits at the age of twenty, no regulations will check his indulgence of them in India. It is more likely that he will at that age have acquired a relish for the society and attractions of his native country, and will repair to India with resolutions to economise, with the view of retiring from it with an independence within the prescribed period of the service, than if he went out an inexperienced boy of seventeen. From the state of the society in India, the local authorities have the amplest opportunities of judging of the conduct and character of the junior civil servants; of their pursuits and general fitness for particular branches of the administration; and above all, of their temper and conciliatory disposition; qualities more essential to the Indian service, in reference to their association with natives, than first-rate talents; and upon the chief local authority the responsibility should rest, of not promoting those notorious for their expensive habits, or who are involved in embarrassments. The same responsibility should attach to the home authorities in the distribution of their patronage.

16. I can add nothing on these points to the observations contained in my Minute of the 3d of August 1824. Since that date, the Annuity Fund has been established for the Civil Service, on the principle detailed in Appendix I. to the Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the present State of the Affairs of the Company. There is another fund in India, formed by a contribution, at the rate of two per cent. on salaries, for the maintenance of the families of civil servants who may die in indigent circumstances; and it was in contemplation to extend its provisions to the grant of an allowance to the widows of retired annuitants, which appears to be called for, from the revolutions that have occurred in the financial state of India. In illustration of which, this simple but forcible fact will suffice. In 1812, a servant who had saved 12,800*l.*, and vested

(4.) Answer of
F. Warden, Esq.
April 30, 1832.

The best means
of preventing the
early embarrass-
ments and subse-
quent expensive
habits of the junior
civil servants.

General observa-
tions on the salaries
and prospects of
civil servants.



Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

* Registers now receive fixed salaries in lieu of fees.

See Evidence 7th of June 1830, Query and Reply, 5764.

Note. Out of eighty annuities available in five years, 41 only have been taken; viz.

Bengal	-	-	19
Madras	-	-	18
Bombay	-	-	9

And how far promotion by competition is encouraged.

Note. In the Act of 1793, three years residence in India is requisite to entitle a civil servant to hold an office of 500*l.* per ann.; six years for 1,500*l.* per annum; nine years for one of 3,000*l.* per ann.; and twelve years for one of 4,000*l.* and upwards.

Whether places in India, particularly in elevated situations, might not be chosen for the re-establishment of the health of Europeans, which might supersede the expensive voyages to the Cape, Saint Helena, and Europe.

the amount in the government securities, might return to England with an income of 1,000*l.*; a similar capital now yields little more than 400*l.* The fact also proves the great amelioration that has taken place in the finances of the Company.

17. The salary for writers I consider sufficient. As soon as they qualify themselves and enter on public employment, a junior assistant judge should receive 500 rupees a month, and the fees on the suits he may decide. A senior assistant judge should be allowed 1,000 rupees a month, and the * fees on the suits he may decide; a further increase being made on his completing a ten years' residence in India, after which he should trust to the chances of the service for his further advance. The salaries of those of corresponding rank in the other branches of the service being regulated on similar principles.

18. Recent accounts from Bombay represent the prospects of the junior branches of the service as most deplorable and disheartening. I can offer no opinion on the subject, not knowing the changes which have been lately introduced, or the grounds on which the representation is founded. The salaries of the higher class of functionaries are in general liberal, and enable civil servants to command every comfort in India, and to save a portion of the amount; but those earnings will not now accumulate and yield an adequate independence in this country within any reasonable period of time, in consequence of the low rate of interest and the ruinous state of the exchange. Some relief therefore appears indispensably necessary. The Annuity Fund, to which the service contribute at the rate of four per cent. on their allowances, will go a great way in aid of the public finances, in the extension of that relief.

19. Mr. Melvill believes that the expense to the Company of supporting the Annuity Funds of the three Presidencies will be between 50,000*l.* and 60,000*l.* annually. They contribute also liberally in the allowance of interest, and of exchange to the Charitable Fund. Suppose we take the whole expense at 80,000*l.*, it is the extent of the civil pension list for the civil branch of the British empire in India, and cannot be considered an improvident expenditure. The accounts are to be adjusted at the end of every five years; when, if the balance of the fund shall be larger than indicated in a prospective estimate, framed at the time of the institution of the fund, the difference is to be made over to the Company, and *vice versa*.

Mr. Melvill apprehends that this adjustment will prove very favourable to the Company; the civil servants not having taken the annuities to the number that were expected. There cannot be a doubt upon the question. In the first place, it is very questionable whether the expense to the Company is so great as that estimated by Mr. Melvill, even if the whole annuities were taken annually. Instead of meeting the service half way by granting an annuity of 500*l.*, which is the principle of the system, it is contended that the Company do not meet us one-third of the way, and that they grant only 300*l.* in every 1,000*l.* annuity, instead of 500*l.* I am not competent to prove the fact, nor have I yet received from India the data on which it is founded. But the point at issue is of material importance. There should be a proportion of 1,500*l.* annuities, to which the seniors of those taking the 1,000*l.* should succeed, as vacancies occur. That increase in the annuities, which would induce persons to retire from India, who now prolong their stay, and some relief in effecting remittances to England, appear to be the best means of improving the prospects of the service, with the least pressure on the public finances.

20. Though it is a principle of the civil service that promotion shall succeed by seniority that rule is not yet imperative in its operation, in nominations to official situations. Promotion by competition may be said to be checked by legislative enactment. I consider it, however, a salutary restraint on patronage, without inflicting any serious injury on the service. After 12 years, a servant is eligible to the highest situation, even to Council. The Court of Directors may select the ablest for Council; and a Governor may also exercise that power in respect to subordinate situations. It would, however, be felt as a hardship were a junior to be preferred to a senior, merely because the former has had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, which had not fallen to the lot of the latter. Whenever a representative government may be established in British India, intellectual competition will naturally arise; and first-rate talents, and the most brilliant attainments will acquire, the ascendancy and the guidance of affairs. Under the present constitution of India, and the simple and inartificial nature of the duties to be performed, there is not a very large field for official competition; the more especially as the highest prize in the service is generally placed beyond the reach of the servants of the Company.

21. The obsolete commercial designations of writers, factors, junior and senior merchants, will no doubt be abolished, and more appropriate ones substituted.

22. No other elevated situations can probably be chosen for the re-establishment of the health of Europeans in Western India, than those already discovered; the Neilgherries and Maubeleshwar. They cannot, however, be so efficacious in restoring a constitution debilitated by a long residence in India, as voyages to the Cape, St. Helena, and above all, to the mother country. The expense of a voyage home and back, and a sojourn in England for three or five years, are serious drawbacks on the Indian service, especially where a servant is compelled to encroach on his capital, the earnings of years, for a maintenance, during the period of absence. It is ruinous to his prospects, of ultimately retiring with a moderate independency to his native country.

2. *Natives of India.*

23. The obligation imposed on the British government to protect the vast population of India subject to its allegiance, and to improve its condition, cannot be discharged with any degree of safety or success, without an accurate knowledge of its social and political institutions, and of the character and actual condition of the people. It would be a waste of time to comment on those speculative opinions which have been advanced on the singular structure of Hindoo society, at a time when their religious institutes and code of laws were unknown. The labours and researches of our learned having, however, unfolded their contents, and the rapid progress of our aggrandizement having enlarged our intercourse, we possess materials sufficient, though yet in many respects defective, to legislate with greater degree of certainty than formerly, for the improvement of the British empire in India.

General observations pointing out any disadvantages under which they labour.

24. It is contended by one class of those who have bestowed any attention on the affairs of India, that the Hindoos, the mass of the population, in their domestic and national character, have been stationary since the age of Menu. That though conquerors have established themselves at different times, in different parts of India, yet the original inhabitants have lost very little of their original character. The antients in fact give a description of them, which our early travellers confirmed, and our own personal knowledge of them nearly verifies. The Hindoos have been confined to the same caste and way of life from sire to son. Their prejudices have been transmitted like instincts: and the same unvaried standard of opinion and refinement, have blended countless generations in its unprogressive everlasting mould. "The people are little different from what they were one thousand years ago. To their few wants, the uniformity and extreme simplicity of their habits, their unsocial education, and the heat of the climate; to these causes, and not to our laws, are to be ascribed the peculiarities of the people." The disadvantages under which they labour, are attributable chiefly, if not wholly, to the institution of castes."

Orme.

Sir W. Jones.

Hazlitt on the knowledge of characters.

Sir W. Strachey's replies to queries, 1802.

Mr. Rickards.

25. The fact is admitted by an adverse party, "as proved by the highest authorities, that the Hindoo castes are now the same as they have been for centuries;" yet these contend that the constitution of their society would always have admitted their gratifying their tastes, and the natural bias of their minds, to the same extent as is now perceptible, and to much greater, if the gates of knowledge had been fairly opened, the means of attaining it honestly encouraged, and laws and regulations enacted, really calculated to improve their condition. But in these respects our system, both social and political, has unfortunately been fraught with obstructions and discouragement. That the error lies in supposing that the religion of the mass, *as now constituted*, is an absolute bar to the progress of improvement, or binds them down as slaves to the observance of minute ceremonies and rites, which no individual of the community dares, under the severest penalties, to violate. The great mass of Hindoos throughout India consists of mixed tribes of innumerable denominations, and tied down by no restraints, which are not imputable to an intolerable land-tax, to poverty, ignorance, and despotic power, which the diffusion of knowledge and liberal institutions would speedily dispel. That the impressions which have so long and so generally prevailed, as to the superstition and prejudices of the Hindoos, and the unalterable simplicity of their food and habits, are erroneous, and a delusion, advanced by the servants of the Company to palliate their errors, and their misrule.

26. I am free to confess that I belong to the former class of disputants. I attribute the stationary condition of the Hindoos, and the disadvantages under which they labour, to their religion, and above all to the institution of castes, which has maintained and continues to maintain the most powerful influence in perpetuating prejudices, the influence of which is fatal to the best interests of the country.

27. Had the original code of the Hindoos been more generally diffused, it would not have been difficult to have reformed many of its absurdities, and the improvement in the condition of its followers would have been more rapid. Unfortunately, however, as the knowledge of the code was confined to the libraries of the priesthood, and was inaccessible to the numerous subdivisions into which the original divisions branched forth, each caste formed its own rules for its moral discipline, prescribing the observance of minute ceremonies, regulating its food, dress, manners, and social intercourse with other castes, infinitely more rigid than the original text, which no individual of that community dares violate under the severest penalties; and throughout the whole of India, each separate caste has its own assembly of elders, who enforce its laws with the most arbitrary severity. The Hindoo religion admits of no proselytes. The same principle, and it is a principle of degradation, pervades each of the grand and minor divisions of Hindooism. Each of the four grand divisions was, and each of their respective and numerous subdivisions is, in a spiritual sense, stationed between certain walls of separation, which are impassable by the purest virtue and the most conspicuous merit. Purity of food and a rigid observance of ridiculous forms and ceremonies, constitute the standard of moral excellence and superiority of character. The commission of crime is not viewed as so heinous an offence as a breach of the rules of caste. An eater of fish, though the purest of all food, is excluded from the hospitality of those who live on a vegetable diet: and the consumer of animal food is held in a still lower scale of degradation. The purest virtue and the highest personal merit, cannot wipe off this stamp of caste degradation.

28. I do not mean to contend that the institution of castes opposes any obstacles to agricultural pursuits and improvements. The raw products of the soil may be carried to any extent, in promotion of the external commerce of the country. It is as it affects its internal prosperity that the system is to be deprecated. The simple wants of the Hindoos,



CSL

I. PUBLIC.

Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

Sir Thomas Munro.

Mill-Colony Sup. Ency. Britt.

Bombay, Jud. Consul, 17 Feb. 1810.

even of the wealthiest, oppose serious obstacles to the improvement of the resources of India. "Their laws of inheritance also obliging men to divide their property, not only contribute to split the whole country into potatoe fields, but essentially diminish one of the highest motives to action, and at all events effectually prevent the growth of an aristocracy of wealth." The custom of the country too, which renders so many offices hereditary, and authorizes a division of official emoluments, by circumscribing the field of competition for official employment, checks every motive to intellectual improvement, and reduces situations of honourable independency to a standard, not affording a maintenance to the holders among whom the emoluments may be divided, and compels them to resort to acts of corruption and speculation.

29. The prejudices of the great mass of the population moreover, being unfavourable to the consumption and increase of cattle, it is of little comparative value; and only a small portion of the land is reserved for pasture, or appropriated to the cultivation of products for their food. Were those prejudices destroyed, the price of cattle, as an article of consumption, trade and manufacture would rise, and bear some proportion to that of corn, and the value of land and the wages of labour would increase. But this is hopeless, so long as Hindoo prejudices predominate against the consumption of animal food. They are stubborn obstacles to the raising the value of a commodity, of which the high price is, according to Adam Smith, so very essential to improvement. In India, more than nine-tenths of the land in tillage are appropriated to the cultivation of grain for the support of man. In England it is the reverse, the larger portion of land is appropriated to the support of cattle.

30. What I mean to illustrate by these observations is this, that from the simplicity of Hindoo habits, controlled by the institution of castes, the proportion of the population employed in raising food being annually increased, and the proportion in every thing else being annually diminished, the labour of a man upon the land is just sufficient to add as much to the produce as will maintain himself and raise a family. Men have food, but they have nothing else. The human race becomes a mere multitude of animals of a very low description, having only two functions, that of raising food and that of consuming it.

31. Notwithstanding its poverty, however, there is scarcely an individual in India who has not his daily food and a hut to shelter him at night. There is more general comfort and happiness than in other countries; and the cultivators contrive to save money, to expend in marriages and other ceremonials enjoined by their religion. So long, however, as the wants and habits of the Hindoos continue unchanged, so long must the internal state of India continue depressed.

32. The opinion of Governor Duncan, than whom no one knew India better, is important on this subject. Mr. Riekards, one of his council, remarked on the poverty, absence of comforts and insecurity, which ages of oppressive government had so universally established, and disarmed death of all its terrors among the natives. Indifferent to it from fatalism, it was from these and other causes, sometimes not unacceptable and sometimes even desirable. Mr. Duncan observed, that he should be sorry, "were the impression as to the great mass of the inhabitants of India, being less happy than those of Europe, likely to become the received opinion, by those who are to legislate for them in England. From the wealthier classes of inhabitants downwards, and the more so in proportion as we descend, are the means of comfortable subsistence, according to the education and consequent habits of the several classes, of more easy attainment, in the various parts of India Mr. Duncan had seen and acted in, than he understands them to be in Europe; whence the alleged indifference to life in the former country ought perhaps to be sought for (as far as it may really subsist) in the moral and religious institutions of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, rather than in their inherent disregard of life, which in most societies on earth is with the general mass not far from a level."

33. I will, however, appeal to facts, to the condition of the population of Bombay, the oldest European settlement in India, having been under the Portuguese and British rule for three centuries. On its cession to the Crown of England, the population did not exceed 15,000 souls, "the outcasts of the natives of India." It now contains 15,474 houses, valued at 3,606,424*l.*, and a population exceeding 229,000 souls. There are many natives of great wealth, great intelligence, and of liberal principles. There is a numerous class of native functionaries, with salaries ranging from 500*l.* a year downwards. The wages of labour are higher than in any other part of India. There is no greater portion of poverty nor ignorance than prevails among the same number of individuals in the most civilised part of Europe; there is no intolerable land-tax, no despotic power, except that of summary deportation of Europeans; knowledge is widely diffused; liberal institutions are encouraged and exist; and a spirit of independency prevails among the people, which they freely assert in the maintenance of their rights and privileges. The custom duties are very low. There is an entire freedom of trade. It is the land of universal toleration; and in no part of the world are the inhabitants so lightly taxed. Of the population, excluding European troops, the English amount to 938; and the native Christians to 8,020. There are 10,738 Parsees, and 25,920 Mahomedans, and the rest are Hindoos. Now, in what degree do the wants of such a population contribute to encourage industry, and augment the resources and the revenues of a country? The annual consumption of the native portion of that populous and wealthy island, of articles, the produce of Europe, amounts to 115,240*l.* The chief articles are enumerated.* The consumption of articles, the produce of India, amounts to 657,698*l.* of which 210,000*l.* is of grain, and of piece [†] goods 25,000*l.* The opinions recently urged, of the extent to which the custom of eating animal food at Bombay is carried,

* Broad Cloth	15,000
Copper, of sorts	12,000
Iron	18,000
Piece Goods	20,000
Printed Cottons and Calicoes	10,000
Eatables	290
Beer, Brandy, Gin and Wines consumed by the Parsees and Native Christians	16,440
Wearing Apparel	1,500
Cutlery and Hardware	2,500
† The demand for the Manufactures of India being still more than double the demand for the manufactures of the United Kingdom.	



is also erroneous. The number of bullocks, sheep and kid daily slaughtered on the island scarcely suffices for the consumption of the Christian and Parsee portions of the community, including the European troops and seamen; and it is well known that Europeans stationed in the interior obtain animal food with the greatest difficulty.

34. These facts are sufficient to prove the few and simple wants of the Hindoos. It is a mistake to suppose that the influence of castes has diminished even at Bombay. Among the Parsees (who were also originally classed into four orders, the athornés or sacerdotal order, the military, the cultivators of the land, and the working people) the power of punchayets has become nearly obsolete, and a great revolution has occurred in that class of the population within the last twenty years. Those who first came to Bombay were chiefly workmen seeking employment in the dock-yard and shipping. Several of them acquired wealth by their industry. Those who followed, regarding the men of established wealth as their patrons and protectors, received assistance from them in their difficulties, and in return yielded them a willing respect, as their benefactors and protectors. It is the spirit of all small and isolated castes, and of sects established in the midst of larger communities of a different nation or religion, to consider themselves as more intimately connected with each other, and as forming persons of one family. This was originally strongly felt by the Parsees, while they continued a small and humble body. As their numbers increased, the chief Parsees had each his tribe of dependents, whom he pushed on in various lines of life, and supported at considerable expense. This dependence was part of his magnificence and glory. Crowds of Parsees, however, continued to pour in from the northward; and as the majority had no claims upon any of the richer Parsees at Bombay, and as they rose to importance from their own industry, the system of internal management, long ripe for a change, became weakened about the year 1800, and received a violent check. The higher classes were disposed to manage for themselves. The lower, who no longer received the same support from their superiors, were thrown upon their own exertions, and taught to trust to themselves and their own efforts. The consequence was a greater degree of independence on both sides, which has naturally produced its benefits and disadvantages. The public, however, on the whole, is more effectually served, whilst the different individuals pursue with intelligence their separate interests; their increased numbers rendering them less fitted for being constituted as a caste, than when they were fewer and less powerful. As a body of men, they are resolute, and fully capable and disposed to redress themselves by force. They are already masters of the greater portion of the landed property of the island; they have a connection with almost every trading firm of Bombay; and are regarded by the other castes with some dread, from the ascendancy of their character. They have, within these few years, become less profuse in their marriages and general expenditure. They have imbibed, however, many of the simple habits of the Hindoos. Their dress is not more costly; their food (they abstain from eating beef) is more expensive than the Hindoos, but infinitely less so than that of Europeans. The Parsee punchayet still, however, exercises some powers beneficially, chiefly in matters connected with their religion and domestic rights, and in which they have in their own hands the means of enforcing their decrees: but as a moral restraint, its maxims and influence are nearly obsolete.

35. The Court of Directors expressed an anxiety to restore the power formerly exercised by the higher classes of Parsees over their inferiors, by means of their punchayets. It was found impracticable. Indirect influence, moral estimation, and long habits of voluntary acquiescence in the will of others, when once interrupted, were not easily restored, and least of all by positive institutions. The difficulty arose out of the increase of the tribe, the numbers now possessed of wealth, their independent turn of mind, and from the want of a good understanding among the leading families. It would be difficult also to enact an unexceptionable body of regulations for the conduct of their punchayets, and unless that were done, there would be food for interminable law-suits. The second class of rich Parsees wish to live and expend their money as they please, without troubling or being troubled by punchayets. The Recorder's Court was, on its institution, their favourite punchayet. The spirit that would have made them submit in preference to their own heads of caste, when they were a humble body struggling for existence, was gone, and could not be revived. Among a rich and numerous people, who have lost their habits of personal attachment and obedience, law must complete the submission, which opinions and habits no longer command. The schism among the Parsees at Surat was of a still more violent character, and they are of a more immoral and dissolute race than at Bombay.

36. No such emancipation, from the oppression of caste discipline, has occurred among the Hindoos at Bombay. Though there is less veneration paid to the Brahminical character, the power exercised by the various castes, which are very numerous, over their members, is still great. Each caste chooses its head, and two, three or more assessors, who assist him as a council. Ordinary matters are managed by them. In extraordinary cases, or where there is much difference of opinion, a meeting of the whole caste is called, who decide by a majority. Those who refuse to abide by the sentence of the caste are expelled. This is the utmost limit of their power; but it is not small. The sentence affects the man's wife and his children, who are admitted to no intercourse with the caste, cannot eat, drink or sleep in any of the houses of the caste people, and the children cannot marry whilst they continue under the interdict. On their submission, a trifling fine, and a dinner to the caste, are the ordinary punishments. In some castes they must be purified by a Brahmin before they can be re-admitted. Many castes in Bombay, especially the lower, have shewn a great desire to subdivide themselves. They have been left to arrange their disputes among themselves; the majority have sometimes expelled the minority, for the purpose of bringing them back; such disputes generally terminate in a short time by the two divisions acknow-



Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.
Magistrate's Report.

* Uncivilized tribes of the country.

ledging each other. Sometimes the minority form themselves into a separate body, select their council, enact their own rules, and are governed by their own separate laws. In no instance have the seceders, as in the case of the Parsees, boldly thrown themselves under the protection of a court of law. Such an example is alone wanting to lead to a dissolution of the influence of caste institutions. Such is the state of the population of Bombay.

37. In the provinces the influence of caste institutions is still more inveterate. Throughout the Hindoo code the superiority of the Brahmin over all earthly beings, is in the highest degree inculcated, and the scale of caste superiority, and of degradation, is as rigidly maintained by the laws of each subdivided class. Brahmins are defiled in our gaols, if confined in the same quadrangle with Mbars, Maungs, Koolies, Bheels and Ramooses,* though at a distance and in separate apartments; for to such persons it is not permitted to reside even within the same village with persons of caste; and while a Brahmin is cooking, the shadow of a Ramoosee is supposed to impart impurity, both to the Brahmin and to his food. Even the indulgence of allowing Brahmins to receive water from a servant of their own caste is not a certain security against defilement: since their servants are obliged to pass by sentries, as well as prisoners, of whom many are outcasts, whose near approach, without contact, is supposed to affect the purity of water. One class of Brahmins will not eat food prepared by the hands of the Brahmins of any other class, nor sit with them at any entertainment. Among the subjects on which caste rules are sometimes framed, and which are usually perverted to the injury of public prosperity, the destruction of private rights, and seldom calculated to answer any conceivable intention whatever, are the rules for carrying on trade and manufactures, such as that no individual of a Jummayet (caste assembly) shall buy or sell more than a certain quantity of goods in a certain period, and there is a district in Guzeratte, where the population entertain the strongest prejudices against dress. In short, we encounter "caste and national prejudices, ancient and deeply rooted customs, affection stronger than even the love of freedom," in every quarter, to discourage intellectual competition, and to enslave the mind. The natives affect mystery and concealment, dread the influence of evil eyes on their houses, families and cattle, and are always suspicious of innovation.

38. Undoubtedly some change has taken place in the political condition, and some relaxation in the prejudices of the Hindoos, under the British rule. Their wealth and their comforts have increased; many of them have substantial and costly houses, keep their horses and carriages, entertain Europeans, and with that view, fit up one or two of their apartments in the English taste, the rest being kept in an unfurnished and filthy state. Some Brahmins will not scruple to visit an Englishman at his meals, even whilst he is feeding on a round of beef: and Brahmin children no longer hesitate to associate with Hindoos of inferior caste in the English schools. State policy has compelled Hindoo sovereigns to bestow their daughters in marriage to Mahomedan conquerors, and to entertain Mahomedan troops for the protection of their principalities; and Hindoo sovereigns have sacrificed their prejudices to conciliate the forbearance of their bigotted oppressors. Hindoos have often been seen bowing at the shrine of a Mahomedan saint, keep their festivals, and celebrate the martyrdom of Hussain Hossan. Even the wretchedness and misery which are supposed to follow expulsion from caste are, in some districts, said not to be felt by the expelled member. All those remarkable deviations from the immutability of the Hindoo character have occurred, and some are manifest to the commonest observer; they, however, constitute exceptions to the general rule. If we look to the domestic habits of the Hindoos, to their village institutions, which, however lauded by some, operate as a discouragement to competition and to intellectual improvement; to their system of education, and to the existing state of their manufactures and agriculture, no change is perceptible; they are the same as they were centuries ago. With all their display of wealth in their houses and equipages, their expenses are extremely limited. The personal expenses of the most opulent Hindoo do not absorb one-third of his income, another third is bestowed in charity, and the rest is saved. The use of clothes and other articles of British manufacture, admitting the consumption to be greater than it actually appears to be, involves no proof of relaxation in their prejudices, nor affords any prospect or hope of an emancipation from the thralldom of caste institutions.

39. In fact, the policy of the British government in maintaining those institutions as the most efficacious instruments for controlling the moral habits of the Hindoos, has tended to uphold their influence; and the institution of caste has still a strong hold on their minds and actions. A Hindoo of a respectable family, not many years ago, indulged in the harmless frolic of attending a fancy ball at Bombay, in the uniform of a celebrated hunting club; he was expelled, and not re-admitted till he had paid a fine of 500*l*. An appeal for redress to the Recorder's Court would have availed him nothing. Many instances have occurred of appeals made to our Zillah Courts against caste decisions, which have been reversed, and the complainants directed to be restored to their rights and privileges. The degrees of our Courts have been disregarded, and the expelled members have been ultimately obliged to submit, and to regain admission into the caste by conforming to the prescribed penalties.

40. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the influence of caste institutions, their ridiculous and puerile inhibitions, and their unjust and arbitrary awards, must yield to the progress of education and of reason, and to a conviction of the more just and mild administration of the laws, through the medium of our courts of judicature. All such artificial fabrics are doomed to decay, when the circumstances that originally led to their creation cease to operate. Caste institutions are mutual associations for supplying the defects and remedying the injustice of the civil and judicial administration of the native governments. If the

British



British government abstain from giving aid to castes in their internal affairs, and refer all its subjects to the laws, the influence of that institution, left merely to public opinion, must, though gradually indeed, inevitably decline by the mere effect of public neglect. It will be long, however, before much difference is visible in so vast a population; but when it does appear, the change will travel rapidly. Even the visit of Ram Mohun Roy to England, the spirit with which his conduct is criticised by one portion of the native press at Calcutta, and defended by another, and the discussions which are carried on through the same medium, on the humane and important resolution adopted by Lord William Bentinck, to abolish the practice of Suttees, are all in proof of the growing influence of reason and of the incipient breaking down of castes, or the "artificial and unnatural division of a people into distinct classes, which has for so many ages proved the most effectual method which could have been devised by the ingenuity of man to check their improvement and repress their industry."

Appendix (A.)

(4.) Answer of
F. Warden, Esq.
April 30, 1832.

41. If we look to the character of the natives and the great assistance we derive from their agency in all branches of the administration, we shall find evidence sufficient to prove that education has not been entirely neglected in India. It has, however, been of a demoralizing tendency. In diplomacy, sophistry, treachery, and perfidy, are their peculiar characteristics. "The point of honour is totally unknown to them; and good faith, at the hazard of their own immediate views, is treated as folly." In other branches, wrong principles and narrow views prevail; speculation is considered from the sovereign to the peasant a venial offence; and the grossest abuses are occasionally practised. When, however, we fairly examine the question, and advert to the little encouragement which the natives have received under the British rule, to a faithful discharge of their duties, to the limited degree of control, which from the few Europeans employed in the country, has been exercised over their agency, our surprise must be excited, not at the prevalence of corruption and the existence of abuses, but to the limited extent to which they have been carried. The scale must preponderate in favour of the general honesty of the native character. For the administration of justice, the natives have proved themselves pre-eminently qualified. The first step towards their improvement, is to admit them to a larger share of official emoluments. In the provinces they cannot be more extensively employed. In the judicial line they are entrusted with a higher degree of responsibility at Madras and at Bombay, than at Bengal. It is only necessary to classify the situations natives are to fill, and to fix suitable salaries to each. This reform will naturally render a smaller number of Europeans necessary; but we must take care not to reduce it to too low a standard, for a vigilant control over native functionaries, and European also, is indispensable.

And suggesting
improvements in
their situation.

42. At the Presidency of Bombay, there are many situations which they would fill with advantage; and at the Presidency, the reform should commence; for there the natives of wealth and rank are in general, from a constant and long association with Europeans, more honest, more intelligent, and more independent than they are in the provinces. I have no hesitation in giving it as my deliberate opinion, that by re-constituting the Supreme Court, a Court of Recorder, the demand for justice at Bombay not requiring a more costly tribunal, the Mahomedan and Hindoo law officers may be associated with the Recorder as assessors in all those cases in which the Court is bound to administer the laws of the natives, and in the trial of natives for criminal offences. They should be admitted in due time to practice as attornies and barristers in His Majesty's Court. The Court of Requests at Bombay should be modelled on the plan of that of Bengal, and should have the same extent of jurisdiction; and if composed of four commissioners, two should be natives. They should be eligible to the grand jury. Five or six of the most respectable and intelligent should be appointed justices of the peace, and two of them stipendiary magistrates; and they should take their tour of duty with the European magistrates, and officiate at the Court of Petty Sessions, and at the Quarter Sessions in controlling the Parliamentary Assessment which is leviable under the Act of 1793, for watching, repairing, and cleansing the streets of the town of Bombay; and natives should be eligible to the offices which are maintained from that tax. They should also be eligible to the second and third classes of civil appointments at the Presidency. There are natives at Bombay fully competent to fill any of these situations, with the exception of practitioners in the King's Court, for which of course they cannot be immediately qualified. The Indo-Britons should be equally eligible to those situations.

Note. The Corporation of Madras was originally composed of a mayor and ten aldermen; three being Company's servants and seven natives, who were to be justices of the peace also.

43. Whilst we thus open to the natives the avenues to employment in the civil administration of affairs, it does not require much sagacity to predict, that, unless we similarly improve the situation of the native officers of the army, we shall sow the seeds of disaffection in a soil which also stands in need of improved cultivation. The native army was much more respectable, and our sepoys were more attached to the service, when we had native commandants of battalions, than they are at present. A proportion of natives of high caste and of education should be admitted as officers in our native army, with the prospect of rising to the rank of commandants. Our security would not be endangered in my opinion by the concession.

Note. A solicitor has repeatedly informed me that he had a Hindoo and a Parsee in his office, who were as competent to perform the duties of an attorney as the majority of those who were practising in the Supreme Court.

44. That the natives stand in need of a better system of education is undoubted. They are themselves fully convinced of its necessity, and anxious to promote its attainment. The readiness with which they have supported every plan that has been proposed for the diffusion of education, and the liberality with which they have come forward to establish one or more professorships, expressly for the purpose of extending a knowledge of the English language, the arts, sciences and literature of Europe, is decisive of the fact.

Measures adopted in India for the education and instruction of the natives.



Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Departments.

Note. In 1804 Lord Wellesley yielded to a remonstrance addressed to the Governor-General, by a number of respectable Mahomedans, against the subject proposed, for a public disputation at the College of Fort William, "the advantages which the natives of India might derive from translations in the vernacular tongues, of the books containing the principles of their respective religions, and those of the Christian faith;" under a belief that the discussion would involve topics offensive to their religious prejudices. The question was withdrawn, and an official document was circulated, declaring that "the discussions of any subject connected with religion, or which was degrading to the religion of India, was quite foreign to the principles of the institution of the College." *Malcolm's Pol. History of India, v. 2, p. 270.*

Whether the extension of the knowledge of the English language, amongst the natives of India, has been hitherto an object of attention, as a means of further identifying the natives with their British rulers.

45. Representations had been frequently made since 1815, by the Sudder Adawlut of Bombay, of the declining state of learning in Western India from the want of encouragement and public seminaries. On the 28th of July 1824, they reported, that the crisis long looked for had arrived. It was hardly possible to procure a Mahomedan law officer sufficiently qualified to perform the duties required of him; and no prospect was entertained of being able to fill up vacancies that might occur in the several Courts. They earnestly entreated the government to adopt some arrangement at an early period for the formation of an institution for the better education of the natives, on the principle recommended by the Court of Appeal on the 20th of December 1817. Those representations were brought to the notice of the home authorities, but no means were adopted for the introduction of an improved system of education. Not only were no measures adopted for that purpose, but by diminishing the salaries of the native law officers, the only inducement held out to the natives to study was thus unfortunately checked. Had their salaries been more respectable, there would have been no want of qualified agents.

46. In the consideration of this subject, however, we should never lose sight of the suspicions and alarms which the natives long entertained of our views in promoting education, which they conceived were solely directed to their conversion. On the publication in India of the discussions that occurred in England, on the renewal of the last Charter, and of the purport of the numerous petitions presented to Parliament, urging the Legislature to adopt measures for promoting the moral and religious improvement of the natives, the leading members of the Hindoo, Mahomedan, and Parsee sects waited upon me, as Chief Secretary, to know what was the object of those proceedings? I informed them, that there were people in England who considered it an obligation of duty to diffuse a knowledge of christianity throughout the world; that we translated, read, and studied the religious books of all sects, and had no other object in view than to circulate as widely works on christianity. That they might rest perfectly assured that the governments at home, and more especially in India, would not interfere with the religious tenets of their native subjects, but would continue to allow the most universal toleration, and protect the natives in the undisturbed enjoyment of their respective religions; and that the ultimate predominance of the one or the other would be left to the course of events, and the progress of knowledge uncontrolled by the exercise of any arbitrary act of power. They expressed themselves perfectly satisfied.

47. Whilst, however, no particular institution has been established for the promotion of education, on the ground of those representations, the most laudable exertions have been made since the formation of the Episcopal Establishment in British India, by Archdeacon Barnes, by the English and Scotch clergy, and by the labours of missionaries, to extend the benefits of education, by the establishment of schools at the Presidency and in the provinces, towards the support of which, in Western India, the Company have contributed on the average about 4,000*l.* annually.

48. In 1814 the American missionaries established native free schools in Bombay and its vicinity. In 1824 they had 26 schools, at which 1,454 children, of whom 136 were of the Jewish persuasion, were in a course of instruction, in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, some of the simple parts of astronomy, and other scientific and general knowledge, in the Marhatta language, which was alone taught. The Scriptures are a principal class book in all their schools; but the children are not required to yield their assent to their doctrines; and such other ethical compositions as are commonly used in English schools. They have also successfully established a female school, at which 54 girls attended, of whom 17 were Jewesses. The expense, about 30*l.* a month, is entirely defrayed from America; five of the schools being supported by small associations, mostly females, in that country.

49. The Bombay School Committee, after having provided for the education of the European and Christian children of both sexes, turned their attention in 1819, to the means best calculated for extending that blessing to the native children of India. The plan met with the entire approbation of the assemblies or punchayets of two classes of the native inhabitants of the island. In 1820, the number of children, including the regimental schools under the control of the society, exceeded 800. The annual expense is 2,500*l.*, chiefly contributed by private individuals. The most decisive and beneficial spirit, however, which has been infused into the natives, and which has produced in the higher and middle classes an eager desire to promote in their families the highest attainments in literature, arts, and sciences, under an improved system of instruction, was created by the policy of Mr. Elphinstone, which displayed itself in the munificent example set by the natives of Western India, in the establishment of the Elphinstone professorships.

50. The anxiety of the natives to extend the knowledge of the English language, has not yet received any corresponding degree of encouragement. A sum, equal at least to what they have themselves raised for the purpose, would be a donation not unworthy the liberality of the government. Something more is, however, necessary. Without in any manner interfering with the native village schools, bad as they are, seminaries should be established in each Zillah, for instructing the children of the higher and middling classes in the English language, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, jurisprudence, political economy and medicine,* by school-masters to be sent from England; qualified assistants to teach the elementary parts of the English language may be found in India. "The natives of the city of Surat have shown a strong desire to have their children taught the English

* A medical school was established at Bombay in 1824, for educating native doctors for the Company's service. The object ought to be extended.



English language. Their proficiency, however, cannot reach beyond the moderate education which an European soldier can bestow, the only means at present available. Nothing permanently useful can be done without extraneous aid. The natives have no public spirit,* and although perfectly aware of the advantage to their children, of a good education, and a knowledge of the English language, they will never hold out hopes of advantage to a single individual, properly qualified for the important task of instruction."

51. As a further proof of the desire of the natives to acquire the English language it may be stated that the Bombay Government proposed to the professors of a Mahomedan College at Surat, and of the Hindoo College at Poonah, to introduce the study of English as a branch of education in those establishments, and offered, with that view, to be at the expense of training at Bombay a number of Mahomedans and Hindoo youths as schoolmasters, and to furnish those colleges with a select supply of English books, expecting that the Mahomedans would accept the offer, and that the Hindoos would reject it. The reverse proved to be the case. The Hindoo professors unhesitatingly accepted the proposal, and a number of Hindoo boys was sent to be educated at Bombay, to each of whom a monthly allowance was made by the government. I have not met with any information of the effects of that measure.

52. I doubt whether any great advantage has resulted from the instruction given to the natives in their own languages. It appears to me that ultimately, and in a very few years, greater benefit will be bestowed on the country, and at less labour and expense, by circumscribing our efforts and funds to the diffusion of the English language, and the circulation of English books, than in instructing natives in their own languages, printing and circulating their own works, translations of English tracts, and of English works on arts and sciences in all the languages of India. A laborious undertaking. With all our philological knowledge of the languages, our vigilance and our anxiety, we shall, I am afraid, diffuse in our translations a great many serious errors.

53. Colonel Briggs states in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords, that "he met two Brahmins one day sitting on their horses reading on their journey books which had been printed in the College at Bombay. He asked them, where they had got them, and if they had bought them very cheap? they said they bought them very cheap at Poona. They were some of their own stories." An inference might be drawn from that anecdote, that those tracts were sought after and read by the natives. The reverse is the fact; piles of them are mouldering away at the different stations under the Presidency of Bombay. By a recent Report from the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, it appears, that in a period of three years, 234 tracts only of all kinds were disposed of in the Surat division; of which nine were purchased by the village schoolmasters, and the remainder were bought in the city, principally by those officially connected with the gentlemen at the station; and that they are not much sought after by the natives. Few were disposed of at two other stations in Guzeratte. In the Northern Konkan, a few were given away, but not one purchased. No tracts had been sent to the Southern Konkan. Some copies of a work on Hindoo law had been furnished, of which not a copy had been sold. No mention is made of the demand for these tracts in the Deccan, except in the Kandeish division, where very few had been sold, and none for the use of the schools. The character in which the Marhatta books are printed are not in general taught in schools. Instructive books, promotive of moral improvement, are little sought after, unless they can be obtained as a free gift, or for the most trifling consideration. Books of arithmetic were most in demand, but not to the extent that might be expected. The people, it is said, are too poor to purchase; their neglecting to do so was however attributed to a disinclination to lay out money in that, the utility of which was not apparent.

54. It further appears by that Report, that in the British territories, dependent on Bombay, containing a population of 4,681,735 souls, there are 1,705 schools, at which 35,153 scholars were receiving education; 25 schools, having 1,315 scholars, being maintained by the government; and 1,680 are village schools, having 33,838 scholars. The proportion of the population attending a course of education being one in 133. In England one in 16 are educated; in France one in 30; and in Prussia one in 954. The village system of education is represented as of the lowest description, and the same as handed down from time immemorial; and the little improvement attempted by the government, has been attended but with indifferent success. The most cumbersome mode of learning to read and obtain the simple rules of arithmetic is practised. The books read are some silly stories; and the writing acquired, goes little beyond the ability of signing one's name. The exceptions are in those whose occupation in life is that of employment as accountants, clerks, or holding government offices; and what is learnt by those classes is not acquired at schools, but at home or in some house of business. The ignorance of the village schoolmasters is lamentable. The government schools are favourably spoken of. The Sudder Adawlut suggests the extension of the means of acquiring the first and best rudiments of learning, and the reading to be such, as shall improve the understanding and enlighten the mind; and that a higher range of education on the European system be afforded at the chief cities of Surat, Poona, and Ahmedabad.

55. That Report, though it has disappointed the expectations I had formed of the rapid progress of Education in India, has only tended to confirm the opinions I have ever entertained and expressed, in favour of the plan of limiting the resources and the efforts of the government to the education of the natives in the English language. Their sagacity has given a decided preference to that object, which, when once mastered, the whole store of knowledge is laid open to the natives at the least possible labour and expense. Why should we diverge a single step beyond the plain and easy tract of improvement which they are

* The public spirit recently displayed by the natives in the promotion of education, disproves the justness of this remark.

Sutherland,
1st August 1820.

What has been the tendency of the general instruction hitherto given to the natives in their own languages.

Report, dated 16th
October 1829



Appendix (A.)

Answer to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

Quarterly Review.

What may be expected to be the result of the combined system of instruction given to the natives, both in the English and in the Asiatic languages; whether favourable or unfavourable to the advancement of the christian religion. Whether any visible progress has been made in the conversion of natives to christianity in any part of British India.

Whether the natives of India should be encouraged to visit England. What would be the probable consequences of such encouragement, with reference to religious, scientific, political, and commercial considerations.

General proceedings in India, respecting that establishment.

Whether the present establishment is adequate to the extent of territory.

Whether any additions or alterations appear requisite.

themselves desirous of pursuing? I do not contemplate the education of a population of eighty millions of souls in the English language; but I do contemplate, and at no distant period, its general use in all our proceedings, and its ultimate foundation, as the language of the educated classes of British India. I feel persuaded that a "a more familiar acquaintance with the English language would, to the natives, be the surest source of intellectual improvement, and might become the most durable tie between Britain and India. In any plan, therefore, for the public education of the natives, the complete knowledge of our language ought to form so prominent an object, as to lay the ground for its gradually becoming at least the established vehicle of legal and official business. The English language would thus, in India as in America, be the lasting monument of our dominion; and it is not too much to hope that it might also be the medium through which the inhabitants of those vast regions might hereafter rival the rest of the civilised world, in the expression of all that most exercises and distinguishes human intellect."

56. An improved system of education, and more correct and enlarged views, cannot fail of impressing on the natives a conviction of the absurdities, the fallacies and errors of their religion; and must gradually lead to the advancement and ultimate triumph of true revelation. No visible progress has been made in the conversion of the natives to christianity, as far as my observation has extended. At the Presidency, I have no doubt that the confidence of many respectable natives in the purity of their faith has been weakened; and that an example only is wanting to encourage them to declare their conversion.

57. Although a residence in England, or a more general intercourse with other nations, must tend to enlighten the natives, it does not yet appear necessary that any particular encouragement should be held out to them to visit England; it would prove unavailing. I have repeatedly represented to the higher classes of Hindoos and Parsees the advantages of sending their sons to England to complete their education. They admitted it; but the deprivations which they would experience in the observances of their religious and caste ceremonies, and of funeral obsequies in the event of their death, and above all the obstinate objections which the females of the family entertain to the measure, constitute stubborn obstacles to a gratification of their wishes in that respect. Mr. Ward, in his History of the Hindoos, states, that "the caste converts a desire to visit foreign realms into a crime. That a Brahmin, about forty years ago, went from Bengal to England, and lost his rank. Another Brahmin went to Madras, and was renounced by his relations; but after incurring some expense in feasting Brahmins, he regained his caste. In 1808, a blacksmith of Serampore returned from Madras, and was disowned by his friends; but after expending 2,000 rupees among the Brahmins, he was restored to his family."

Ram Mohun Roy is of course wholly indifferent to caste anathemas. The example of so enlightened a native is the best possible encouragement to others visiting England.

3. Ecclesiastical Establishments.

58. The neglected state of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Western India, until the constitution of the see at Calcutta, was a disgrace to our national character. The first English Church at Bombay was built in 1715, and it continued the only English church in the territories dependent on Bombay, till the enlargement of the ecclesiastical establishment. The reproach, however, which long attached to the English, of being a nation without a religion, has been entirely removed. The establishment, as at present constituted, I consider quite adequate to the extent and the wants of the Christian population of British India. With the exception of those stations where there are European troops, the number of Europeans is so few that the duties of a chaplain must be very circumscribed indeed, and he has abundance of leisure to devote to the superintendence of schools in promotion of the moral improvement of the natives. It was formerly required by the Court of Directors, that "all chaplains appointed to India should learn, within one year of their arrival, the Portuguese language, and should apply themselves to learn the native languages of the country, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoo servants of the Company in the Protestant religion." Though the declaration of the object for that qualification, even limited as it was to the Gentoo servants of the Company, was impolitic and injudicious, it is yet to be regretted that none of our chaplains are qualified to perform the Church Service and to preach to the natives in their own language.

59. An allowance ought to be made to the archdeacons at the several Presidencies, to enable them annually or occasionally to visit the several stations within their respective jurisdictions, which would supersede the necessity and circumscribe the range of the bishop's visitations extending beyond the limits of each Presidency.

60. Additions and alterations are much required for the improvement of the native christians, and of those of the lower classes of other persuasions; and they can only be usefully derived from Bishop's College, at Calcutta. I would strongly recommend that measures be adopted for the admission of a certain number of students, the sons of respectable christian families, Native and European, into that college, for the purpose of being educated and ordained as priests, to afford spiritual aid and comfort to the native christians in Western India. The salaries and establishments to be afforded to them will of course become objects of consideration.

61. The Roman Catholic native christians generally, and more especially those in the Island of Salsette, which was for about a century subject to the Portuguese, and has been a British



British dependency since the close of 1774, are in the most lamentable state of superstitious degradation, of which one example will suffice.

62. The alarm occasioned by the cholera morbus induced the native christians of the class of Coolee fishermen, of a district in Salsette, to imitate the example of the Hindoos, and to have recourse to the same superstitious ceremonies to appease the wrath of the deities supposed to preside over the malady. A circle was formed round a number of frantic people, principally females, whose groans and violent gestures were said to indicate that they were under a supernatural influence. They were sprinkled, during the violent exercise they were under, with water and coloured earth, and were urged to exert themselves to the utmost in a sort of dance by the sound of native music. It not unfrequently happened that an obnoxious individual was pointed out as the author of the calamity, and that murder or violent assaults resulted from those oracles.

63. The vicar excluded the native christians who engaged in those ceremonies to the number of 1,243 from the church. In their difficulties they appealed to the magistrate for his assistance. On a point of religion he declined all official interference, but offered his mediation to adjust the differences. His attempts at reconciliation proved wholly unsuccessful, as the parishioners refused to make the slightest atonement to the vicar for their offence, and threatened to quit the island. On the re-appearance of the epidemic, they renewed their request to be permitted to resort to their superstitious ceremonies, as our remedies to check its progress had proved inefficacious. Their request was refused, and a shed erected for the purpose was removed. They assembled to the number of several hundreds before the Adawlut, and a dead body was brought and laid down at the door; and, refusing to disperse, the magistrates seized several of the leaders, who were insufferably clamorous and insolent, and punished them on the spot, when the rest returned quietly to their homes.

64. The occurrence, however, convinced the magistrate that the prejudice was too deeply rooted to be eradicated by resistance, and he determined to treat it with more indulgence. After a short interval, he summoned a few of the most respectable of the Coolies, and explained to them that if they would give security to prevent all disturbances, he would not object to their adopting any ceremonies they pleased, but that they would not be allowed to assemble in crowds for any purpose, or to spread an alarm among the rest of the inhabitants, which the state of the disease did not appear to warrant. The security was given, and no further inconvenience was experienced; they were, however, so exasperated against their vicar that they petitioned the magistrate that a Hindoo priest might be formally authorized to perform marriage ceremonies among the Coolies of their district. The magistrate abstained from all interference, under a hope that the appointment of a new vicar general might prevent the apostasy of these deluded people.

65. This is a deplorable state of things in an island which has been so long subject to the dominion of the British Government. Some more decisive measures are obviously required for the moral and religious improvement of the native Roman Catholic christians in India. Little support can be expected from their own priesthood, who are illiterate and ignorant, and who perform the service of the Roman Catholic Church, and preach in a language (the Latin) perfectly unintelligible to their flocks. Many respectable native christians of Salsette, have complained to me of the decayed condition of their churches, and the destitute state of their religious establishments. There can be no doubt, that had one of our chaplains, or a Protestant missionary, conversant in the Marhatta language, been stationed in Salsette, and made himself known by his pious exertions, to improve the moral condition of the people, those unfortunate christians would have sought his protection, rather than have looked for refuge by relapsing to the idolatry of the Hindoos. This circumstance will also prove the great benefit which may be expected to result from Bishop's College, as soon as spiritual assistance can be afforded, from that wisely planned institution, to the native christians of India.

66. As the European troops at Bombay, and probably at every other cantonment, attend divine worship, in consequence of the heat of the climate, at five or six in the morning, I consider the churches adequate to the wants of the christian community. At the Presidency, where the christian population is comparatively numerous, it is fit that our religious and other public edifices, should be constructed on a scale corresponding with the wealth and character of the capital. In acting however on that principle in the provinces, and at stations where there are not half a dozen christians, and where divine service is performed only once a month, we have exceeded the bounds of a due regard to economy.

4. Settlement of Europeans in India.

67. As in every branch of the administration the most decided improvement in the character of the natives has resulted from their association with Europeans, their freer resort and settlement in India I consider as the chief and only effectual means of ameliorating the general condition of the country. "Merchants are commonly ambitious of becoming country gentlemen, and when they do, they are generally the best improvers." Unfortunately no such ambition stimulates the native merchants of India. Accustomed to the rapid improvement of their capital, by the profits of trade and money-lending, very little of their attention has been bestowed on the cultivation of land; and it will be some years probably before any great capital takes that direction. A native merchant of Bombay would as soon be entombed as become a country gentleman, far removed from the excitement of watching the various signals, almost hourly displayed at the signal posts at Bombay, announcing the arrival of ships from every quarter of the globe. India must therefore

Appendix (A.)

(4.) Answer of
F. Warden, Esq.
April 30, 1832.

Bombay Jud.
Records, 1820.

How far the
churches are ade-
quate, and whether
constructed with a
due regard to
economy.

Whether it has of
late years been pro-
moted or discour-
aged.

Appendix (A.)

Answer to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

look to European intelligence, skill and enterprize, for the improvement of her agricultural resources. I am afraid, however, that but few will emigrate to India, whilst America and the Cape of Good Hope are so much nearer their reach.

68. No obstacles have been opposed, but the reverse, to any desire manifested by Europeans licensed to remain in India, to settle in the interior. An application was made some years ago by one of the European firms in Bombay, to know if government had any objection to an indigo establishment being formed in Guzeratte, under the superintendence of an European. The reply was not only in the negative, but the anxiety of the government was expressed to promote the speculation. Nothing more was heard of it. Every encouragement was formerly offered to Europeans to cultivate lands in Salsette. One speculation only has succeeded after struggling for years against many difficulties; its ultimate success was secured by a contract for the supply of spirits to the government. An application was preferred in 1826 by an European, to occupy a deserted village in Kandeish, which was complied with. About ten years ago, orders were received from home not to allow Europeans to hold lands, even on the Island of Salsette, beyond what might suffice for the construction of houses and gardens, as temporary habitations for Europeans. Europeans are licensed to proceed to India in two capacities only, as free mariners and free merchants; and very few, under those designations, have arrived in Western India, qualified to embark in other pursuits, and especially in agricultural speculations.

69. Shortly before I left India, I requested a friend, who was well acquainted with the province of Guzeratte, to ascertain from the natives whether or not they had any objections to the settlement of Europeans in the country. I received the following reply: "India can only be visited by respectable capitalists; and these must select for settling the places most convenient for commerce, and which are generally the worst climates; that is, situated in the lower parts of the country, where river navigation is to be commanded. These people, and their offspring for education, may most of them be expected to return to England; and if they have prospered much, they will stay there altogether, and enjoy the fortunes they may have made. The children of their followers and attendants may gradually add to the number of Europeans domesticated in the country. These people, as far as I have observed, have more mildness of disposition than their British parents, and instead of any inclination to oppress the natives, and infringe on their institutions and enjoyments, seem themselves to become identified with the country and its inhabitants. It is almost impossible to put the question in a fair point of view to the natives, as to their like or dislike to colonization; as they would suppose the meaning to be, to let loose amongst them so many thousands of men, like our European soldiers. But if you ask them, whether those days were good and prosperous, when there were Dutch, French, and English factories at Broach, Surat, and Ahmedabad, they will point out the descendants of natives who made large fortunes in the profitable commerce of those times, and wish for the return of such employment, as a relief to the present stagnation which prevails so much all over this province. Intercourse, beyond that of the public servants with the natives, which always assumes a character of authority on the part of the European, certainly seems much to be required; and as an instance of the advantage to be expected, may perhaps fairly be brought forward the prosperity of Natives and Europeans already connected together in commercial pursuits. At Bombay they seem to act on great equality, and to possess towards each other the same cordiality and good feeling, as European merchants amongst themselves; and perhaps the footing on which Europeans and Parsees stand towards each other, may be taken as an example of what might be expected from a more extended intercourse. Now that peace prevails throughout India, and agriculture is extending so entirely over the country, as to make grain produce unequal to any profitable return, it appears necessary to attend the more to the improvement of commerce, and in this quarter it is at a very low ebb. Scarcely an article of European manufacture is to be obtained here; and instead of this town (Broach) being the principal outpost from Malwa, enjoying a brisk trade, the contrary is quite the case. I mention this to introduce the supposition of the different state of things that might have been expected, had a few respectable merchants been spread over Malwa during the last few years, to have introduced British goods into the interior, and drawn out the resources of the country. We now see the most cumbersome articles, such as Mhowra berries from the interior, and cocoa nuts from the coast, conveyed between Broach and Malwa in large carts or waggons drawn by eight or ten bullocks with great labour, over our heavy roads; whereas the intelligence and enterprize of British merchants, in unison with the Company, no doubt before this would have had flat bottomed boats navigating the Nurbudda up to Tuluckwara, and perhaps assisted by steam vessels. The Company would be amply repaid for their share in the expense of such improvement; while civilization would be advanced greatly, by opening the high road into the interior, and introducing trade into the wild tract situated between Guzeratte and the high country. Another important advantage of assistance from steam vessels would be, rendering the communication certain in point of time, between Guzeratte and Bombay. It has often occurred to me, that steam boats might be used, in assisting the cotton botellas to get down to Bombay in April and May, against the southerly winds, by which the cargoes would be ready so much earlier for the China ships, and a great deal of cotton saved from injury from the rains. To the northward there no doubt might be some capitalists settled on the river near Ahmedabad and Kaira, in sugar and indigo manufactories; and they would introduce improvement in the growth of tobacco, opium and other articles of commercial produce, which the facility of export renders so desirable in Guzeratte, in preference to grain. The settlement of respectable establishments of this description, in the northern Purgunnas of Puranry, Hursol, and Morassa, I conceive would be most important, and would give the natives confidence in improving



Appendix (A.)

(4.) Answer of
F. Warden, Esq.
April 30, 1832.

improving that part of the country. "The tract just beyond, between Eder and Doongurpoor, is a fine fertile country of hill and dale, with a good climate; but from its distracted state during the last twenty-five years, it has become overgrown with luxuriant jungle, and the Koolies, taking advantage of the disorder, have acquired such power throughout it, that they are the terror of the better classes, who are chiefly Rajpoots; and every attempt at improvement is consequently checked. Increased intercourse with respectable Europeans would tend greatly to improve all this tract, and a field would be afforded for the sale of British goods; in return for which the natural productions of the country, such as gums, drugs, wax and the like, would be acceptable to the European merchants; and the soil is suited for the growth of sugar cane, indigo, opium and all garden produce. The rest of the northern portion of the Province, from the Saburmutee river westerly towards Deesa, is also of the finest soil and climate, and suited equally well for the enterprize of European capitalists."

Letter, dated 29th
Nov. 1828.

What particular classes of persons should be particularly encouraged to proceed to India.

Letter from the Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, to the Board of Control, dated 16th Oct. 1830. Para. 38.

Note. The supreme government sees no reason to conclude that our institutions may not be so improved by a plan of steady and gradual reform, as to afford in every part of the country (excepting of course certain poor and wild tracts which are inhabited by uncivilized and wild races) a security for persons and property, not less perfect than is enjoyed in any of the foreign dominions of the British Crown.

Letter to the Judges. No date. Appendix V. 1831.

What are the dangers to be guarded against in the admission, without license, of British settlers.

70. If I thought that, by a removal of the existing restrictions, the sewers of London and Westminster would at once disembogue into the Ganges and disturb and pollute the reputed purity of its waters, or that our provincial Courts and provincial Magistrates were incompetent to enforce the law and to protect the rights of European British settlers, that they would be living under a despotic and imperfect government, and that it was impossible to give them either that security and easy enjoyment of landed property, or those ready remedies from private wrongs, or that independence of superiors, which more regularly constituted governments afford, I should be of opinion, that the period had not yet arrived when European British subjects ought to be permitted freely to resort to India, and to settle and hold lands in the provinces. Assured, however, as I feel, that they would be equally well protected beyond, as within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts in India, or even as in any part of the United Kingdom, and would command cheaper and more prompt justice, though unquestionably not so much of English Law, I hesitate not in expressing my firm conviction, that the privilege might be safely conceded. The distance and expense of the voyage, and the necessity of possessing some capital or credit, would operate as an effectual bar to the lower or the idle and dissolute classes emigrating to India, who ought alone to be excluded. Fully sensible at the same time of the wisdom of the policy of gradually introducing so great an innovation, I would restrict the residence of European British subjects within a circumference of ten or twenty miles from the station of each Zillah Court, vesting in the local governments a discretionary power to enlarge those limits, should any inconvenience be experienced from the restriction in question.

71. Entertaining the opinions I do of the efficiency of our judicial system, and of the adequate control which our magistrates may exercise over British settlers, I am not aware of the dangers to be particularly guarded against in their freer admission into India. It is, however, indispensable, in reference to the attempts which have been recently made to degrade the character of our provincial Courts, that their constitution and powers should be distinctly defined and recognized by Parliament.

72. The conditions should be an obedience to the laws and regulations which may be from time to time enacted for the government of the country. Without intending to throw any impediment in their transit through the country, every European leaving the Presidency or arriving at a Zillah station without passing through the Presidency, should be required to register in the senior magistrate's office his name and age, his occupation, the place of his birth, and the place where he purposes to take up his abode in India, copies of which should be forwarded to the judicial secretary for the information of the government.

73. The powers vested in justices of the peace in the provinces by sections 105 and 106 of the 53d Geo. 3, c. 155, in the cognizance of assaults and trespasses committed by British subjects on the natives of India, and of debts not exceeding the sum of fifty rupees due to natives from British subjects, which have been repeatedly exercised, without any appeal having been preferred against those convictions and decisions to His Majesty's Court of law, satisfactorily prove the competency of the magistracy to the exercise of a salutary control in the protection of the Natives against the acts of Europeans. The civil and criminal jurisdiction, however, over Europeans in the above and in all other instances, should merge into and be exercised by our Courts of law, at which an European Judge presides, subject to the provisions of the existing regulations. All appeals from the decisions of those Courts in civil actions by British born subjects, lying to His Majesty's supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay. They should not, however, be liable to be set aside on the ground of any informality of proceeding, or of any technical objections, but purely on their merits.

Section 72.
Clause 5. Chap. 16.
Reg. 4, 1827.

74. There can be as little difficulty in providing for the administration of criminal justice. The European magistrates will take cognizance of, and decide all complaints, which a single magistrate in England is empowered to hear and determine by the laws of England, inclusive of the jurisdiction vested in them by sect. 105, of the Act already noticed. Enlarged powers in the cognizance of higher offences, involving a punishment not exceeding a fine of 100*l.*, or imprisonment not exceeding four months, might be vested in criminal Judges, their convictions being removable by writ of *certiorari* into the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery at the Presidency. Felonies and all crimes of higher magnitude being cognizable by the circuit Judge, who should be empowered to punish by fine not exceeding 200*l.* or imprisonment not exceeding eight months; all sentences exceeding that degree of punishment being referrible for the confirmation of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, a jury of five or seven British born subjects being assembled for the trial of all

Appendix (A.)

Answer to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

* Appendix 7, to the first Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1830.

Europeans capitally indicted; the King's and Company's civil and military officers being liable to serve on such juries, should there be a deficiency from other classes of Europeans, for the formation of a jury. Trial by jury to the same extent as is practised in England being introduced as soon as the state of the European population will admit of its more general introduction.

75. The regulations* under which Europeans are permitted to hold lands by the supreme Government, appear to be well adapted, with certain modifications, to the purpose. The Courts of law and not the revenue authorities, should be vested with a jurisdiction in all matters relating to rent or other consideration connected with lands leased to Europeans; and the cognizance of all disputes, complaints and breaches of the peace should depend on the award of a Court of law. The cancelling of the license and sale of the plantation appear to me too severe a penalty.

76. The soil of India yields almost spontaneously products of the most valuable description, which by an accession of European capital, skill, and intelligence, and an improved system of culture and management might be brought to a degree of perfection, adapted to the wants of the United Kingdom. The evidence upon that point, deducible from the papers recently published, appears conclusive in favour at least of the cotton wool of the East Indies; as the objection to its quality, and its inferiority to that of Carolina is attributed, not to any inferiority in the soil in which it is grown, but to defective modes of cultivation and of cleaning the Indian cotton.

77. The Bombay Government, on the occupation of the district of Broach, took all the cotton produce on their own account in payment of revenue, at the prices of the surrounding districts, and prohibited the sale of it to others. In 1807, they proposed to throw the cotton trade open; but the potails, alarmed at the combination of the merchants, petitioned against the innovation, and solicited the commercial Resident to shield them from loss, and to obtain a good market for the produce of their labours, which the Company, as certain and constant purchasers, afforded. The resolution was therefore abandoned.

78. The commercial Resident divided the kuppas or unclean cotton into four classes. The first was termed toomul, being the first plucking; the second was denominated kametee; the third and fourth, first and second rassee. Different prices were fixed for each: and the ryotts, to obtain the higher prices, were induced to gather and deliver it in the cleanest possible state. The superior quality of the Company's revenue cotton, as it was called, and especially of the toomul, was universally acknowledged. The classification operated as a premium for the improvement of the produce. That system continued in force until the year 1821, when it was abolished by orders from home, arising out of representations founded on general principles, of its injurious operation equally to the ryotts and the merchants. The market was thrown open; the classification was discontinued, and the withdrawal of the encouragement to the cultivator to gather the produce in the cleanest state, and the fall in prices which followed from the increased cultivation of cotton elsewhere, combined to produce a serious deterioration of the quality. Frequent instances occurred, during the prevalence of that system, of the revenue, on account of the whole district, being paid to the government entirely from the cotton deliveries, leaving a balance in favour of the ryotts, beyond which they retained a portion of cotton for their manufactures of thread and coarse cloth, and for sale in the market, having the grain produce of their lands in reserve for their own profit.

79. Notwithstanding it is admitted that the Bombay cottons, particularly of the growth of the districts near Surat and Broach, are little or nothing inferior to the Georgian Upland cotton and New Orleans cotton in the United States of America, recent despatches from the Court to Bombay state the alarming fact, that the late consignments of cotton to England are represented to be almost entirely deficient of every property, which is esteemed by the British manufacturers, inasmuch that many persons who were previously in the habit of using Surat cotton have discontinued their purchases; and it is only from very great improvement that they can be expected to return to its use.

80. The attention of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade has been attracted to the possibility of improving the culture in India, not only of cotton but of tobacco also, with the view of deriving the supply from the East Indies, instead of from the United States of America. In promotion of that object Lord Ellenborough, in a letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, adverts to the importance of improving the cotton grown in the East Indies, of extending the export trade of British India, and of rendering the United Kingdom independent of foreign nations, for the raw material of one of the most considerable of our home manufactures.

81. The Court of Directors, in reference to those communications, entered into an explanation of the measures that have been taken at different times by the East India Company, for introducing into India the culture of various sorts of foreign cotton; and for giving instructions in the use of the American machines for separating the wool of the cotton from its seed; that land is granted to speculators for the growth of cotton on the same terms as to those for the cultivation of indigo, and that a drawback of all duties is allowed on export to the United Kingdom. They also advert to a specimen of tobacco, the produce of Guzeratte, sent home in 1823, which was not fit for the London market. A second consignment of tobacco, made in 1827, was pronounced of a quality superior to the former consignment. In consideration, however, of the very low price of the American tobacco, the prosecution of the importations, as an article of commerce, was not deemed advisable. Mr. Ritchie, of Bombay,

Appendix (A.)

Evidence before
the Select Com-
mittee of the House
of Commons,
7th March 1832.
Capt. Cruickshank.
Mem.

Bombay, many years ago, sent home tobacco as an experiment; one bale brought sixpence a pound in bond higher than any American in the market at the time; but the average of the consignment was found to be defective in the curing, and did not pay. That the experiment so far proved that it would answer as an article of exportation from India to Europe; but it is so very delicate an article, that it is very difficult to bring it into a proper state for exportation, the slightest particle of green vegetable matter left in it, heats it on the voyage. The whole imports of tobacco from Bengal and Bombay together have however proved failures.

82. Experience has convinced us, add the Court of Directors, that the improved cultivation of India cotton, so as to render it fit for the British market, will not be effected merely by the continuance and occasional encouragement of Government. We have therefore resolved, that an experimental plantation for cotton shall be established at the expense of the State, within the Bombay territories, to be raised from seed of the best of the indigenous plants of India, and from the green seed from Georgia and New Orleans. A person, either Native or European, of competent skill in this branch of agriculture, being entrusted with its management at a moderate monthly salary. It appearing at the same time desirable to obtain the advantage of the application of European skill and industry, to the attainment of the object in view, the Government are authorized to grant to British subjects, (resident in India under due authority,) properly qualified by character and by command of capital, a sufficient quantity of government land for the establishment of a cotton plantation; the land to be secured to the parties on lease at a low rent for a term of years, on the condition of its being used for the cultivation of cotton; the Court having also determined to send out a number of Whitney's saw gins, a machine, by the use of which the American cotton is brought to market in such excellent condition, which is represented to be so simple in its construction, and so easily worked, that the cleaning of the cotton, which was formerly performed by separate tradesmen, is confided to the management of slaves.

83. These measures are generally a repetition of those which have been before resorted to, for the improvement of the cotton produce of India, and they will follow the fate of their predecessors. It is established beyond a doubt, by the evidence to which I have alluded, that the soil of Guzeratte is capable of producing cotton equal to the best American; and tobacco, which only requires greater experience and care in its cultivation and cure, or the introduction of the seed of the Virginia tobacco, to render it a valuable article of export from India. In further proof of the fact, I annex a letter from the late Mr. Gilder,* dated the 8th of March 1830, in reply to an application I made to him for information on the capabilities of Guzeratte to promote the export trade, founded on his own personal experience.

* The gentleman
alluded to in the
Evidence of
Mr. Ritchie.

"The only experiment made by me in the province of Guzeratte, was the introduction of Bourbon and Pernambuco cotton, both of which thrive luxuriantly, and might beyond question be cultivated to any extent, leaving this country independent for the supply of the superior cottons, of the United States, South America, and Egypt.

"Indigo was formerly cultivated to a great extent in Guzeratte; the remains of the factories are to be seen in all the pergunnahs, particularly Jambooser, Neriad, Dholkha, and Petland. The annual export of this dye from Cambay to the Gulf of Arabia, averaged 5,000 maunds. There is still some made near Cambay, but the greater part required for the manufactures of the country, is imported from Bengal. The soil and climate of Guzeratte are particularly favourable to the growth of this plant, and the crops would not be subject to the inundations so common and destructive in Bengal.

"Tobacco is extensively cultivated, and the quality might, by great attention, be improved and produced equal to that from the West Indies; but the natives of India seldom originate any improvement. They will prosecute any measure after having seen its advantages.

"The sugar plantations are abundant and the cane of the best quality, and would produce sugar equal to any in Bengal, but the people confine the manufacture to a coarse quality, termed 'Jaggree.' The whole of the province of Guzeratte may really be considered a garden, requiring only capital and skill to produce all the articles I have mentioned, and many others, in the highest state of perfection. The honourable Court of Directors, in acknowledging the receipt of the few bales of cotton (Bourbon) which was cultivated under my superintendence, expressed their surprise, that, notwithstanding the heavy expense that had been incurred, by sending the Bourbon seed to each collectorate, mine was the only sample that had been received; its quality was considered very firm, and estimated at 2s. 3d. per pound in London. I may mention in favour of the Bourbon cotton, that the plant is productive for about fourteen years, whereas the common plant of the country is an annual. I ought to have stated, in explanation of the failure, with the gentlemen officially instructed to introduce the cotton within their pergunnahs, that the ryots view with great distrust any measures interfering with the management of their lands, under an impression that they might perhaps be compelled to cultivate a quantity of this cotton on any terms the collector might impose. This they have frequently stated to me, and it may account for their neglect of attending to the instructions they have received."

84. The result of my observations of the various efforts which have been made for the improvement of the productive resources of India, has only confirmed the justness of the general remark, that the interposition of the government in those speculations, however zealously, anxiously, and disinterestedly directed to their success, ever ends in disappointment. It is a feeling not peculiar to the ryots of India; but the cultivators, manufacturers, merchants and the industrious of all classes, "view with great distrust any measures interfering



Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

* The sea-customs and transit duties on export from Surat, were—
Per Candy, Rs 5.1.12½
From Broach 2.3.66
From Kairah 6.3.80
Kattiwar - 7.

† A Broach Beega contains yards—
2477. 7. 64.

‡ There are 48 seers or lbs. in a dhurree, 20 dhurrees one bhar. The average proportion in weight of seed (or kupaseea) to rooce or cotton wool, is one-third of the latter to two-thirds of the former. Kuppas of the best soil and most favourable season will yield 18 seers of clean cotton, from one dhurree of 48 seers; and of an inferior soil, and an unfavourable season, it will yield 15 seers of clean cotton per dhurree.

§ In the Surat division it averages 1.55d. per lb. In Kaira, 1.13d. per lb. In Ahmedabad, 1.53d. per lb. In the Southern Marhatta country 1.14d. In Kattiwar the assessment exceeds 5l. a kandy. I have no information as to the number of lbs. in a Kattiwar kandy.

ing with the management of their lands," or speculations on the part of the government. Sovereign farmers or landholders, or Sovereign cultivators, are as much to be deprecated as Sovereign merchants. The interests of the Sovereign and the subject are quite distinct. It is the duty of the former to cherish and promote the welfare of the latter, by a wise and liberal policy, abstaining from all measures, however pure and honourable, which may directly or indirectly interfere with the pursuits or excite the suspicions of the industrious classes of the community.

85. If the justness of that principle be admitted, the policy we ought to pursue for the extension of the export trade of India in the valuable products of the soil, which are in universal demand, such as coffee, cotton, pepper, sugar, indigo and tobacco, appears clear and decisive.

86. It is admitted that the encouragement extended by Parliament, by the 9th Geo. 4, c. 76, to the cotton of India, by the reduction of the import duty from its former rate of six per centum on the value to a fixed rate of 4d. per cwt. will not be sufficient to introduce Indian cotton into general use in the home market, (notwithstanding that by that concession a Surat bale of cotton pays about 1s. 2d. only, whereas the same quantity of Upland American cotton pays about 12s.) unless measures shall be taken in India for applying greater skill as well as capital to its cultivation. Those indispensable requisites cannot be forced into India; they must be encouraged and introduced by liberal concessions. India, from its greater distance from the European market than America, Egypt, and other foreign countries producing similar commodities, labours under a serious disadvantage in the difference in the charge of freight alone. It is impossible she can compete successfully with her rivals, from the pressure under which she labours. A fixed rate of duty on import into the United Kingdom of only 4d. per cwt. and a free export from India, or a drawback of the sea customs* and transit duties have proved insufficient. One other expedient remains to be tried. The land assessment should be remitted, not only on cotton, but also on the other enumerated articles, and a moderate duty substituted. I would relieve the cultivators, and transfer the burthen, considerably lightened, on those better able to bear it, the home and foreign consumers. The measure will not ultimately affect the finances of the Company. They will receive into their home treasury, in the shape of an import duty, a proportion of their revenue, which is now payable in India from the land. The moderation of the impost cannot fail of encouraging the consumption; and the increased demand will encourage an increase of cultivation and of revenue. I can illustrate the effects of the plan only as far as it affects the article of cotton, the produce of Western India.

87. Out of 1,451,973 statute acres in tillage in Guzeratte, 175,721 only are under cotton cultivation, 4,955 under sugar cane, 1,923 under indigo, and 10,766 under tobacco; the rest is appropriated to the growth of grains and of garden produce. The assessment on the land in tillage with cotton, sugar cane, indigo and tobacco, cannot exceed 80,000l., which will therefore constitute the amount of the sacrifice of land revenue in Western India.

88. The expense of cultivating one beega† of land in Broach with cotton is stated at Rs 2. 3., and the produce assumed at an average of the highest and lowest, being four dhurries‡ of kuppas, yields Rs 6; add of dry grain and straw grown at the same time, Rs 1.3., makes Rs 7. 3., leaves a balance of Rs 5., of which, the government assessment being Rs 4., leaves one rupee to the cultivator. It requires 14 beegas of land to produce a Broach kandy of 864 lbs. of cotton, on the government assessment therefore is Rs 56, or at 1s. 9d. the rupee, 4l. 17s., averaging 1½d. per lb.§ As the finances of the Company make it desirable that no article of revenue should be got rid of or dealt with, except upon the principles of exchange and equivalent, they ought to be allowed to levy a duty at the rate of a farthing per pound on all cotton, the produce of the British territories in India, imported into the United Kingdom; the export duty from India to China and all other places being fixed, including sea customs and transit duties, at the rate of 28 rupees per Surat kandy of 784 lbs., half of the present amount of the land assessment. That some relief to the cotton trade of Western India is required, will be admitted, when it is stated that the Bombay merchants have for the last five or six years, sent their ships to Calcutta for cotton ladings for China; and cotton is also purchased at Omerawatty, four hundred miles in the interior, and brought by land to Bombay for the China and English markets. If some relief be not afforded, its cultivation will be abandoned in Guzeratte.

89. The cotton produce of Broach has been exposed to extraordinary vicissitudes. The prices of kuppas from 1779 to 1806 varied from 48 rupees the highest to 30 per bhar; about 2½ or 2¾ bhars or kuppas yield one Broach kandy of clean cotton; and the pergunnah is supposed to produce, in the best season, 40,000 bhars of kuppas. The highest price paid was from 60 to 65 rupees in 1801, when the produce was very scanty. From 1808 to 1821, the Company received 174,491 bhars of kuppas, averaging 14,540 bhars annually in kind, in payment of revenue. The highest price paid by the Company for the toomul was, in 1820, Rs 80 per bahr; and the lowest was, in 1808, Rs 46. 2., and Rs 57 per bhar on the average of the twelve years. The highest paid for the inferior or fourth description was Rs 74 per bhar, and the lowest 41; and on the average of the 12 years, Rs 52. From 1822 to 1828, when the Company discontinued the system of receiving the cotton in kind, the highest price paid was, in 1824 and 1825, Rs 60 per bahr, and the lowest was Rs 25. In 1828, the price fell below the standard of 1779, the highest being Rs 32, and the lowest Rs 25 per bhar.

90. The increased growth of cotton in Bengal and in Egypt, for the China market, has depreciated the price in Western India. The revenue, however, being still kept up at the highest standard, the cultivators are exposed to great distress. The price can hardly fall below that



that of 1828, as grain, cheap as it is, yields nearly an equal return to the cultivator, besides affording in stubble provender for his cattle. It is reckoned that jowar, the staple grain of the black land, which is the proper soil for cotton, at R^s 11 per kulsee of 640 lbs., and kupas at R^s 35 per bhar, are the lowest prices from which the ryott can obtain an adequate return, under the existing rate of assessment. Assuming the cost of producing 64 lbs.* of clean cotton at R^s 2. 3. and the ryott's profit at R^s 1. the total cost of a Broach kandy will be, R^s 50½, or 1¼d. per lb.; add packing, shipping and screwing charges at Broach, Bombay, &c., and freight home, landing and insurance, 1½d. per lb., the Broach cotton ought to be landed in England at a charge of 2¾d. per lb.

* No allowance is made for the advantage the ryott derives from the cultivation of grain with the cotton.

91. The total export of cotton† from Bombay in 1825-26, exceeded sixty millions of pounds; about a third of that quantity I assume as the produce of the British territories in Western India. That the effect of relinquishing the assessment on land producing cotton will lead to an increased cultivation, not only in Guzeratte, but in the rich soils of the fertile province of Kandeish, in the Deccan, and in the Southern Marhatta country, there can be but little doubt, to the augmentation of the general industry and wealth of the country.

92. I have no data on which to form a calculation of the effects of the plan on the other enumerated articles of produce, nor of the rate of duty which the Company should be allowed to levy on their import, in commutation of the assessment on the land appropriated to their cultivation. The heavy assessment on sugar cane land operates as an entire prohibition to its cultivation, for the purpose of being manufactured into sugar, as an article of export. The remains of vats in many parts of Guzeratte afforded evidence of its cultivation having been formerly prosecuted in that province; and it formed an article of export on our first establishment in the country. I am aware that much requires to be done to improve the quality of the Guzeratte indigo. In fact, the extension of the export trade of India, in the articles enumerated, and in all others which may be in demand in Europe, and capable of being produced in British India, is an object of such high importance, both to England and to India, as to demand the fostering support and encouragement of the government. There is no point in which we stand more in need of information, than that of the cost of producing the various articles which enter into the export trade of India, and of the proportion of the land assessment, and of the other demands of government bearing on those products respectively. We cannot legislate with any degree of safety towards the improvement of the resources of the country and of the state, without such information.

93. Next to the remission of all demands on the land yielding those valuable products, and the substitution of moderate duties of customs, every facility should be afforded to the settlement of individuals experienced in the best mode of cultivating and preparing each of those articles of produce, cotton in particular, for the supply of the European market, and every encouragement given to the cultivators to improve its quality.

94. On the 18th of November 1829, a regulation was passed (Regulation 3, of 1829) for the punishment of frauds in the packing and sale of cotton. Any persons fraudulently mixing bad and good cotton, and selling it as good, or fraudulently deteriorating the article, by exposing it to the night dews, putting dirt, stones, earth, or any other substance, or salt water amongst it, with the view of making it heavier, are declared guilty of a penal offence; and punishable on conviction, for the first offence by fine and imprisonment, not exceeding two years; and on conviction of a second or more offences, with fine and imprisonment not exceeding seven years; the cotton so fraudulently offered for sale being liable to confiscation and to be burnt, or otherwise destroyed.

95. Those provisions are very severe and arbitrary. The regulation must, however, be very circumscribed in its operation; for as the merchants now generally purchase their cotton at the Presidency, the enactment has no effect within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court; and as the cotton undergoes a very strict examination by the purchasers, it must prove a sufficient punishment to the dealers to have that which is bad or deteriorated thrown upon his hands.

96. About sixty years ago, the Company directed their attention to the improvement of the silk manufactories in Bengal, and with that view they engaged and sent out to India persons from Lombardy conversant in the process; and the governments of India obtained from Italy, Turkish Arabia, Persia and China supplies of the eggs of the silk-worm from those territories respectively. Had similar measures been resorted to for improving the cultivation of cotton, and the other valuable products for the growth of which the soil of India is so favourable, there is no anticipating the state of prosperity which the export trade of the country and the internal resources would now have exhibited.

5. *Steam*

† From 1820-21 to 1829-30 inclusive, the Company consigned 67,684 kandies, 369 lbs. of cotton to China. The prime cost, commission, Northern duties and charges, interest, re-packing, screwing, &c. charges at Bombay, warehouse rent, and proportion of warehouse establishment, additional duty 2 rupees per bale, insurance at 2 per cent., and the freight of hired tonnage engaged in 1828 and 1829, excluding the freight in the Company's ships, cost R^s 109,74,415. Amount sale in China, exclusive of Canton, unloading charges, R^s 125,84,559.



Appendix (A.)

General information on the subject.

5. Steam Navigation between India and Egypt, and between different Parts of Asia.

97. The plan of opening a communication with England by the way of Egypt, by establishing Steam Vessels between Bombay and Suez, and Alexandria and England, originated with the government of Mr. Elphinstone. As a scheme for facilitating a regular intercourse between England and India, it is most desirable; but I do not think it would answer, that is to say, pay itself, if the despatches occurred more frequently than quarterly. It is a speculation, however, in which private individuals should be encouraged to embark. They will readily extend the advantages of steam communication, and the employment of steam vessels, wherever it may be practicable and profitable to do so, which government should encourage by having recourse to those private vessels, in forwarding their own despatches, and in the transport of troops, and in other exigencies of the public service. The only vessels of that description which the Company should maintain, should be two or three armed steamers; one to be employed in the gulph of Persia, with the view of enforcing the existing engagements with the Arab Chiefs for the abandonment of piracy, and another to cruize along the coast, between Bombay and the mouth of the Indus, bringing to and examining every suspicious vessel that may be navigating in those waters, with the view of guarding against the revival of piracy.

With reference to this navigation, whether coals to any extent have been found in India, and in what parts of India they are likely to be found.

98. The productiveness of the coal mines in Cutch, and the quality of the article, had not been satisfactorily ascertained when I left India. Any quantity may, however, I should imagine, be supplied from the coal mines in Burdwan. There is no want of the article at Bombay. It is occasionally to be had at the expense of landing it from the vessels importing it from England.

See Mr. Bracken's Evidence, 22 Feb. 1831.

6. Press in India.

General proceedings adopted by the governments in India, respecting the press.

Note. A mere reference to the geographical positions of the British and French settlements, combined, as was the fact, with our utter ignorance of the ports at which the French cruizers rendezvoused, will shew that the alleged danger to our trade from newspaper publications was all imaginary.

99. The control over the Indian Press was established by the Marquis Wellesley. "The first regulations restrained the press from publishing any general orders or naval intelligence, and the arrival or departure of ships. It was designed to protect the commercial interests and those of the State from our enemies. The Indian seas were at this period filled with French privateers; and it was discovered, that the shipping intelligence, inserted to gratify the curiosity of the readers of newspapers, was sent to every point where it could reach the commanders of those vessels, whom it often enabled to intercept merchantmen, and to avoid the British cruizers." The establishment of the Censorship followed, whose duty it was to revise the proof sheets, and to expunge every article which contravened the regulations which were passed for the control of the press. I exercised the office for fifteen years at Bombay.

100. Notwithstanding that Lord Wellesley's regulations were rigidly enforced under the government of Mr. Duncan, publications were yet sanctioned by me which were pronounced objectionable. I received a reprimand from Lord Wellesley, for allowing the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, as Governor-general of India, to appear in the papers, on the plea that the knowledge of that fact might have defeated any important negotiations in which the Governor-general might at the time be engaged. After having passed the proof sheets of a newspaper on a Friday night, and repaired to the adjoining island of Salsette for a little relaxation from the fatigues of office, I have been summoned to Bombay, and directed to recall the newspapers, and to have them recast, because they contained debates in Parliament on the affairs in India, which too freely commented on some of the measures of the ruling authorities.

101. On the death of Mr. Duncan, in 1811, I abstained from the exercise of the duties of censor on my own responsibility. I informed the editors, that as they were as competent as myself to judge what constituted an infraction of the press regulations, I relied on their observance of them, without their submitting the proof sheets to my inspection, referring to me only such publications on the admissibility of which they might entertain any doubts. The editors fully redeemed the confidence reposed, on their observance of the regulations.

102. From researches which I made of the Bombay records in India, I found that from the year 1792 to 1819, in addition to the instances I have alluded to, six publications were noticed by the government as objectionable. In 1792, the Courier made some comments which were not palatable to the government. The expedient was resorted to of securing its support, by constituting it the organ of promulgating the official acts of the government. On the 21st of December 1804, an article appeared in the Courier which did not meet the approbation of the Secretary. The editor* apologized. An offensive publication appeared in the Gazette, and was noticed in the Minutes of Council of the 6th of September 1809. An advertisement in the Courier, by a Portuguese, announcing the sale of a house to take place on a Sunday, attracted notice.† The Guicowar complained of a publication in the Gazette reflecting on his avarice, which was communicated to the editor, and an apology appeared in the ensuing paper. Some remarks in the Gazette against the late Duke of York, copied from an English paper, were deemed objectionable by the Commander-in-Chief, and an apology made. No complaints were ever made of the incorrectness of law reports, by any of His Majesty's Judges, though they were constantly published. From the date, however, of the establishment of the Supreme Court at Bombay, scarcely a report of its proceedings has appeared in the journals that has not been complained of, as a mis-statement to lower its character. With whatever precaution the reports

* Letter dated 31st Dec. 1804.

† Con. 29th Nov. 1811.



reports have been compiled to secure accuracy, the publications have been denounced in terms the most unqualified, as gross mis-statements uttered with a base and mischievous intent.

103. The regulations of the Marquess of Hastings, dated the 19th of August 1818, comprehend the control established on the abolition of the Censorship at Calcutta. Those regulations were introduced into Bombay by the government of Mr. Elphinstone, on the 20th of December 1819, when the censorship was abolished at that Presidency.

104. A few weeks before the termination of the period of the suspension of the barristers at Bombay, the Recorder waited on the Governor, and mentioned the misrepresentations by the Gazette of the Court's proceedings on that occasion. They had been published four or five months before without their inaccuracy having been complained of. The Governor proposed to write a circular to the editors, to warn them that they would be held responsible for their inaccuracy; that any mis-statements tending to lower the character of the Court, or of the public functionaries, or of individuals, would be considered as an infraction of the rules prescribed for the conduct of the press, and proceeded against in such manner as the government may deem applicable to the circumstance of the case; and that all offensive remarks on the proceedings of His Majesty's Courts would be proceeded against as breaches of the 1st articles of the Rules.

105. The Recorder expressed his acknowledgements to the Governor for the adoption of that measure, and his regret that he had not before requested his interference (which he had now afforded so kindly) to correct or prevent former misrepresentations. The Recorder at the same time remarked, that he supposed the Court would not be required to prove what had been done in Court, but that its complaint of a mis-statement would be deemed sufficient. He was informed that the assertion of the Court would, of course, be considered as sufficient authority for its own proceedings; and that it would be inconsistent with its dignity, which it was the object of the latter to uphold, to subject it to such an investigation. Thus was another restriction imposed on the press, as far as related to the publication of law reports, of a dangerous tendency to the security of individuals, who were not apprized of the evidence on which alone their condemnation depended.

106. On the 3d of September 1824, a letter was received from the chief and junior puisne Judges, proposing the enactment of a rule, ordinance, and regulation to facilitate the conviction of anonymous libellers, founded on the statutes of 37th and 38th Geo. 3, explaining fully the reasons for that recommendation. The government immediately adopted the suggestion. The Advocate-General was directed to frame the enactment. It required time and consideration, and some correspondence ensued with the Supreme Court before the draft was completed. It was not therefore till the 2d of March 1825 that it passed Council, and was forwarded to that tribunal for registration.

107. The proprietors of the Courier, adverting, on this occasion, to the utter* impossibility of rendering a law report literally and verbally correct, and to the power of which the Supreme Court might, under that regulation, assume the exercise of summarily punishing the proprietors or editors by fine and imprisonment, for an alleged contempt in the publication of reports of its proceedings, addressed a letter to the editor, conveying the strongest injunctions on the necessity of his observing the utmost circumspection in the management of the Courier press. He was cautioned in urgent terms against the publication of any matter, whether original or otherwise, that could be considered or implied to reflect, directly or indirectly, on the Judges of any of His Majesty's Courts in India, and to abstain from publishing any report of the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Bombay which had not its special approval.

108. On the confirmation of the Calcutta press regulation by the Privy Council, the Bombay Government submitted a corresponding enactment to the Supreme Court for registration. It was refused. In thus briefly detailing the general proceedings adopted by the Government at Bombay respecting the press, I feel it necessary to refer to the explanations I afforded to the Court of Directors, in my Minute, dated the 27th of May 1826, of the origin and extent of my connection with the press at Bombay, and of the period of its duration.

109. Although no direct charge was ever made by any of the Judges against me of encouraging publications in the press, with the view of degrading the character of the Supreme Court, complaints were yet preferred, particularly in a correspondence with government in 1826, that I did not use my influence to suppress those misrepresentations. Now, whatever that influence might have been, it was, I solemnly assert, anxiously directed to the object of enjoining, on the part of the editors, an observance of the regulation of the

(4.) Answer of
F. Warden, Esq.
April 30, 1832.

* In the cause *Cursetjee Monackjee v' The Company*, involving the sum of about 50,000*l.* the Company's solicitor was directed to make the most accurate report of the proceedings. With that view Mr. Morgan obtained the Recorder's notes of his judgment; and having framed the report, submitted it to the Recorder, who approved of it, and it was sent in to government. Sometime after a gentleman at Bombay informed a member of the government, that the Recorder's judgment was incorrect. He was asked, if official use might be made of his communication. He replied in the affirmative; and obtained and delivered in another revision of the Recorder's judgment, as the correct one. That important document was thus obtained through an irresponsible and unofficial channel. Mr. Morgan, on being called upon for an explanation, maintained the accuracy of his report. What chance, under such circumstances, had an editor of giving satisfaction?



Appendix (A.)

Answers to Circular relating to subjects in the Public Department.

How far the restrictions have been uniform in the different Presidencies; and how far in each they have varied under different Governors. What is its actual condition now, and as compared with former years.

If the power of summary deportation for alleged offences of the press are taken away, what regulations could be substituted, which, while they supported and maintained the authority of the government, would still preserve from all vexation the conductors of periodical publications and political journals.

Reg. 24, 1827, of the Bombay Code.

Whether the orders sent out to India, prohibiting the Company's servants from having any concern with political journals, are or are not evaded, and what are their practical advantages to the interests of the government of that country.

Speech Sir J. Malcolm, 1824.

the government for the conduct of the press. The complaints of the senior and junior puisne Judges of the Supreme Court, that the reports of its proceedings were designedly rendered incorrect, with the view of degrading its character, had no foundation. No impression of the kind can be left on the mind of any individual from a perusal of any one of those reports. As, however, those individuals who so loudly complained of the abuses of the press at Bombay are no more, I have felt it necessary to adhere, as closely as possible, to the letter of your requisition, as to the general proceedings adopted by the government in India respecting the press, contenting myself by a reference to the public records for any fuller information you may require on the subject.

110. The restrictions have been generally uniform at Fort William and Bombay. At Madras the censorship still exists. The preceding details will show the degree in which they have varied under different Governors. The restrictions, I understand, have been entirely removed at Calcutta, or at least they are not enforced. They have not been annulled at Bombay. In former years none were imposed.

111. The power of summary deportation should be taken out of the hands of the local government for alleged offences, not only of the press, but generally for all other offences. I do not consider such a power essential to the respectability or security, either of the government of the Supreme Court, or of any of the constituted authorities. It has inflicted the most grievous wrongs on individuals. Security of persons and property should not be rendered dependent on the caprice, the weakness, or the irascibility of official dignitaries. If, in the discharge of their duties, they stand in need of a power to protect them against imaginary molestation from the press, which the law or the custom of England does not recognise, they are unfit for official situations. Their personal convenience ought not to be consulted at a sacrifice of the constitutional rights and privileges of a British community.

112. Although the Calcutta Press Regulation was rejected by the Supreme Court, it is yet in force beyond its jurisdiction, in the territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay. No printing presses should be allowed to be established at the Presidency, or in the provinces, without a license from the government. The discretionary power, however, of recalling that license should be taken away from the government. If any regulations more arbitrary or restrictive than the laws of the realm be deemed necessary for India, which I do not admit, they should be incorporated in a judicial enactment; and all breaches of them, arising out of a false and malicious perversion of the views or motives by which any of the proceedings of the public authorities, or the conduct of official functionaries are animadverted on or discussed in periodical journals, should be punished by fine or imprisonment, by the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of a court of judicature, or by the latter alone, where the former institution does not exist; but in no instance by summary punishment, either by the authority of the government or of a court of law.

113. I am persuaded that these orders are not in any instance evaded; they are, however, productive of prejudicial effects to the interests of the government in consequence of their removing men of learning, of diligence, and of caution, which invariably follow a liberal education, from the control and conduct of the press. I am satisfied that the danger to India, from what is termed the freedom of the press, is greatly exaggerated; both extremes, an unrestrained freedom and a degraded and enslaved subserviency, are prejudicial to India, and especially to the security of the character of individuals. A press controlled only by the laws, is the only salutary check on governments, courts of law, and other constituted authorities, in a distant colony. The impolitic restraints which have been imposed upon the Indian press have given it an importance in the estimation of the natives, which it would not have acquired had it been left to the ordinary control of the law. Those restraints have taught them that the British power, hitherto considered irresistible, dreads, and is assailable through the medium of the press.

114. We are told by high authority that the Brahmins and the educated classes are adepts in spreading discontent, and exciting sedition and rebellion; that they know well how to awaken the fears, to alarm the superstition, or to arouse the pride of those they address. That this dangerous species of secret war against our authority has been carried on by numerous though unseen hands; that the spirit is kept up by letters, by exaggerated reports, and by pretended prophecies when the time appears favourable from the occurrence of misfortune to our arms, from rebellion in our provinces, or from mutiny in our troops. That circular letters and proclamations are dispersed over the country with a celerity that is incredible. Such documents are read with avidity; the English are depicted as usurpers of low caste, and as tyrants, who sought India with no view but that of degrading the inhabitants, of robbing them of their wealth, and of subverting their usages and their religion. The native soldiery are appealed to, and advised to murder their European tyrants, who are few in number.

115. Notwithstanding the malicious efforts of those native and skilful intriguers, has the stability of our empire been shaken by those mischievous spirits? So indifferent would we appear to be to the danger, and so regardless of our own security, that we have adopted the most efficacious expedients to increase the evils, by placing in the hands of the natives, through the introduction of our lithographic presses, the means of multiplying and more widely circulating those seditious placards. By the policy we have pursued, in prohibiting



to the influential portion of society, the Company's servants, an interest in its respectability, and by abstaining from conciliating the support of any public journal, European or Native, we have rendered the press, if not hostile, at least perfectly indifferent to the support of the government.

116. If such be the mischievous efforts of our enemies, could a press, subject to no other control than that of the law, increase the evil or enhance the danger? Would not a counteracting influence, through the medium of the press, widely and successfully diffuse an antidote to a poison which is so actively disseminated? That antidote, however, will not be applied so long as the existing restraints continue, which indispose the conductors of public journals towards the government.

117. The perusal of the speech from which those passages have been quoted, the more strongly impressed me with a conviction, that the conciliation of the press was more than ever necessary to the promulgation of truth, "which needs only to be fairly heard, to prove an over-match for falsehoods" and misrepresentations. Let the natives have facts fully stated to them; let them have the means of weighing the arguments on both sides of a question; let one newspaper freely expatiate on the odious character of our policy and of our views; let another deny its accuracy, contrast the present and past condition of all classes of the population of India; the security to persons and property which prevails wherever the British supremacy predominates; the check it has imposed on its exercise of despotic authority by the institution of courts of law; let the vices and virtues of Englishmen be fairly canvassed, and misrepresentations corrected; security, rather than danger will result from such public discussions. The sagacity of the natives is sufficient to discriminate truth from falsehood. There can be no danger of allowing them to exercise their judgment on the question, through the medium of a press controlled only by the law.

118. A Gazette has been recently established at Bombay, on the plan of the London Gazette, merely for the purpose of promulgating the official acts of the government. There is therefore no journal whatever in its interest. It would, in my opinion, be a more politic and more economical measure, to constitute one of the established English, Hindostanee, Marhatta, and Guzeratte journals respectively, the official government paper;* its advertisements and other official communications being paid for. Through the medium of those journals, authentic and correct reports of public events, of the condition of the country, of the measures pursued by the government for its administration, and of their results, the state of the police, and of civil and criminal justice, as drawn from official sources, should be promulgated; and I entertain not a doubt, that the most salutary and important advantages would result to the interests of the government of that country, by eliciting under such an exposition of its administration, the most valuable information from intelligent though unofficial sources, of inconveniences which may be felt by any of our subjects, and of errors and abuses which may exist in any of our institutions, which it is impossible to obtain through the exclusive instrumentality of official functionaries. A more beneficial check would be imposed on the administration of so extensive an empire, than can be maintained under the present state of the press, which operates chiefly as a cloak to the arbitrary acts of those in authority.

7. *Any information as to the Establishments of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, Malacca, and St. Helena.*

119. I am unable to afford any information on these establishments.

120. The admission of natives to a more responsible share in the administration of the country suggests the expediency of remodelling the governments of India. Having, however, trespassed so largely on your attention, and having yet to reply to your judicial queries, I abstain from entering on so indefinite a range of discussion, as this invitation embraces. At the same time I shall be happy to afford any information, which the Commissioners for the affairs of India may desire, on any specific points which may fall within the scope of my experience.

The Board will have great satisfaction in receiving any additional remarks on any other subject connected with the administration of British India.

28, Bryanstone Square,
30th April 1832.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
F. Warden.

* The total charge of printing incurred by the government of Bombay, from the 1st of May 1793, to the 30th of April 1828, inclusive, amounts to Rs. 7,45,515, or at 2s. per rupee, 74,451*l.*, averaging only 2,130*l.* per annum. The average of the last ten years, which was the heaviest, was 3,569*l.* The average charge for advertisements alone, for the last ten years, was 565*l.* per annum. The expense for the four papers would therefore be 2,300*l.* per annum only. The press, as a government concern, cannot be so economically conducted.



(5.)—LETTER from The Hon. *Mountstuart Elphinstone* to *Thomas Hyde Villiers, Esq.*
dated London, August 5, 1832.

Appendix (A.)

(5.) Answer of the
Hon. *M.*
Elphinstone,
August 5, 1832.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to reply to the various questions stated in your letter of—March 1832.

1. *Civil Servants.*

Though the college now existing has had the advantage of some professors of the greatest eminence, and has in consequence produced some young men of high acquirements, yet the effect of the present system of education on the generality of young men does not seem favourable.

I think the best plan would be, to allow them to find education as best suited them, subjecting them to a strict examination in classics, general principles of law, political economy, and perhaps in the Arabic and Sanscrit, or in the mere grammar of Persian and Hindostanee; the practice of living languages is evidently best attained in the countries where they are spoken. They should probably not be appointed to India till they were twenty at least. On arriving in that country they should be sent at once to stations, but should not be raised above the lowest rank until they had passed a strict examination in native languages, and undergone a full inquiry into the state of their debts. On this last subject I understand some vigorous steps have been taken by Lord W. Bentinck; should they not prove effectual, I should think some measures like those adopted towards officers who fail to pay their bills, should be applied to civil servants, and that they should be dismissed if they exceeded a certain amount of debt.

Considering the immense importance of the object, it might not perhaps be impracticable to declare no debt recoverable from a civil servant if incurred under a certain age, without the express sanction of some officer to be named by the Governor-general.

The allowances of junior civil servants should be merely enough to maintain them in comfort; those of the higher ones should be sufficient to place them above all temptation to laxity, not to say dishonesty. No consideration of economy ought to weigh for a single moment against this most essential point of keeping up the tone of the service.

No offence, where pecuniary profit appears to be the motive, should ever be passed over, or treated with the least indulgence.

Great restraint is no doubt placed on promotion by competition, in consequence of the legal restrictions; but those restrictions are of such vital importance, that I think the inconvenience must be submitted to: every opportunity of preferring remarkable merit to seniority, which those restrictions allow, should be seized on; and the occasional irregularities which now exist, (such as appointing junior servants to stations of which they cannot receive the full salary) can be productive of no prejudice to the service as long as they are so closely watched at home.

I can add nothing to what the Board is probably informed of, regarding the elevated regions which may be used as retreats for invalids.

2. *Natives of India.*

The disadvantages under which the natives labour, from long subjection to bad government, from ignorance and superstition, and from the degradation of character resulting on those causes, are obvious.

The great peculiarity in their situation arises from the introduction of a foreign government. This at first operated beneficially, by establishing tranquillity, and introducing improvements in administration. Its next effects were less beneficial. Under a native government, independent of the mutual adaptation of the institutions and the people, there is a connected chain throughout the society, and a free communication between the different parts. Notwithstanding the institution of castes, there is no country where men rise with more ease from the lowest rank to the highest. The first nabob (now king) of Oude, was a petty merchant; the first peishwa, a village accountant; the ancestors of Holcar were goatherds; and those of Scindia, slaves. All these, and many other instances, took place within the last century. Promotions from among the common people to all the ranks of civil and military employment, short of sovereignty, are of daily occurrence under native states, and this keeps up the spirit of the people, and in that respect partially supplies the place of popular institutions. The free intercourse of the different ranks also keeps up a sort of circulation and diffusion of such knowledge and such sentiments as exist in the society. Under us, on the contrary, the community is divided into two perfectly distinct and dissimilar bodies, of which the one is torpid and inactive, while all the sense and power seem concentrated in the other.

The first object, therefore, is to break down the separation between those classes, and raise the natives, by education and public trust, to a level with their present rulers; but even in this a foreign government has difficulties to overcome, as its improvements may fail from the want of preparation in the people to receive them; they may occasion violent resistance, from their objects being misunderstood; and in particular instances they may produce great danger even from their success, if they are ill suited to the general state of society, or clash with particular parts of the ancient system which have not yet been removed.

This consideration should impress on us that, although our efforts for the improvement of the natives should be strong and constant, they should also be patient and deliberate. An opinion seems rather to have gained ground in late years, that the scrupulous caution which we have hitherto shown in all our proceedings towards India was too nearly allied to timidity, and that it only requires a little enterprize to effect every change that we think desirable. This seems to me a very dangerous error. If acted on in great questions by the government,
either



Appendix (A.)

(5.) Answer of the
Hon. M.
Elphinstone,
August 5, 1832.

either at home or in India, the consequence scarcely requires to be pointed out; but even a disposition to encourage such an impression would be very mischievous. There is always on the part of individuals an inclination to enforce their own opinions in opposition to those of the natives, which it requires all the weight of the government to check; if this restraint were withdrawn, native prejudices would be daily outraged by the carelessness of some, and the ill-judging zeal of others, and the result is not difficult to foretell: even if it were possible to keep down the people by force, our power stands by our native army, and our native army partakes in all prejudices of the nation; caution, therefore, is the surest way of attaining the objects which all have at heart. The improvement of the natives is certain if our rule continues; but so great is the danger from inconsiderate attempts at improvements, and also from premature and partial changes in the opinion of the natives, as to make it at least an even chance that we are separated from them before they have had time to derive much permanent benefit from the connection.

Particular disadvantages under which the natives labour will appear in the answers to questions relating to the different branches of administration.

All the suggestions I could offer on the best mode of education, and the measures adopted or recommended at the Bombay Presidency when I was there, are contained in a Minute laid before the Council at Bombay in December 1823, and in the series of proceedings of that government, beginning March 25th, 1825, and July 25th, 1825. The state of education at that time is shown by the reports called from the judges, collectors, &c., in the beginning of 1824.

I will here only remark, that I conceive that it is more important to impart a high degree of education to the upper classes than to diffuse a much lower sort of it among the common people. That also is highly important; but it is not the point in which there is most deficiency at present. It will, besides, be much easier to make the lower orders desirous of learning to read, after a spirit of inquiry and improvement shall have been introduced among their superiors. The most important branch of education in my opinion is that designed to prepare natives for public employment. It is important, not only from its contributing so directly to the general improvement, but also from the stimulus it affords to education among the better class of natives by connecting it with their interest.

I conceive that the study of English ought to be encouraged by all means, and that few things will be so effectual in enlightening the natives, and bringing them nearer to us; but I have no hope that ever it will be more than a learned language, or at best a language spoken among people of education, as Persian is now in some parts of India. I believe there has been no instance of one language being supplanted by another, unless among people in a very low stage of civilization, or even among them, unless they were previously reduced either to actual servitude, or to a state very little less dependent.

With respect to the employment of natives, they are already very largely admitted into the judicial department. It seems desirable gradually to introduce them into offices of higher rank and emolument, and afterwards of higher trust. I should see no objection to a native member of a Board, and I should even wish to see one district committed experimentally to a native judge, and another to a native collector. At the same time I think very strict supervision requisite, and many Europeans necessary for the purpose. If this be not attended to, the natives will introduce their old corrupt practices into the system at the first outset, and we shall never be able to eradicate them.

In opening the higher appointments to the natives, care should be taken to do it in such a manner as to prevent unreasonable expectations and consequent discontent.

No situation of political or military power should for a very long time be entrusted to a native.

The result of educating natives both in English and in their own language must be favourable to the progress of christianity; indeed education seems to me the only means by which there is any chance of favouring its progress; direct attempts at conversion, while the native superstitions are still unimpaired, would I conceive excite a spirit of controversy and opposition, if it did not lead to more serious results. Except in the case of the conversions by the Portuguese, which seemed more nominal than real, I have not witnessed any visible progress in the conversion of the natives in India; I have heard that many have been converted in Travancore, but I know nothing of the particulars.

Inconvenience will doubtless in time result from the resort of natives to Europe, especially from the uses of intrigue and chicane to which they will apply their visits. These are among the fruits of visits of ordinary natives to Presidencies in India, and probably would be here; but I think the advantages of encouraging them to visit Europe greatly preponderate over the disadvantages. It may even be considered whether it would not be desirable for the government to send some young men to England on purpose to be educated here, and be attached to some of the colleges for their countrymen at their return to India.

3. Ecclesiastical Establishment.

The Board must have much better information than I can give regarding the Ecclesiastical Establishment; I believe the churches were adequate, and they were constructed with as much regard to economy as was consistent with giving them the appearance of churches.

4. The Settlement of Europeans, &c.

The settlement of Europeans at Bombay was not interfered with. In the interior it was seldom allowed without permission from the Court of Directors. I do not know whether they encouraged it or not.



I think the establishment of a colony in India would be an evil, because the increased numbers of Europeans, and their more frequent collisions with the natives, would render general those feelings of distinction between the two classes which seem to prevail in all other colonies.

A much greater evil would be that a colony would draw off the attention of the Legislature from the natives, whose interests would never be separately considered, though they would often be directly opposed to those of the colonists. The danger of this undue attention to the European settlers exists even now when there are only 3,000 or 4,000 in all India.

The unrestricted settlement of Europeans, though not sufficiently numerous to form a colony, would do much harm, from their getting into disputes with the natives, and thus rendering our government unpopular, even if they did not excite open disorders. The manners and habits of the lower orders would also be offensive to the natives, and would increase their dislike to the European character, while it diminished their respect for it.

They would be turbulent and difficult for the government to manage. The settlement of Europeans would likewise do much harm, and create much discontent, by supplanting the natives in the middle class of employments. This I should consider the greatest danger of all, if it were not that it might be guarded against as far as the public was concerned by legislative enactments.

It does not require a very great number of Europeans to produce most of the ill consequences I have stated. Even when I speak of a colony, I do not suppose the present numbers (of 3,000 or 4,000) to be increased tenfold. The formation of such a colony as should be able to make head against a revolt of the natives I consider to be out of the question, both from the nature of the climate, and from the difficulty of finding room for them in a country like India, without pressing so much on the natives as to lead to insurrections and to their extirpation before they were strong enough to offer resistance.

The above objections apply but little, or not at all, to the settlement of persons possessed of capital, or of the means of instructing the natives in agriculture or manufactures. The influx of such settlers would probably be extremely small, indeed I am not aware of any change that could be made which would add to their numbers. The effect of their operations in opening new sources of employment and creating competition for labour is so great that it would almost reconcile me to unrestrained settlement, if I thought it indispensable to the attainment of this object. I cannot, however, perceive that it would promote it at all; and I think all the advantage we can hope for from settlers will be secured if the Court of Directors and Board of Control grant licences to all capitalists desirous of going to India, and to all agriculturists or manufacturers who can find security for the payment of their expenses back to England, in case they cannot be provided for in India. I should wish to keep up the system of licences, because it preserves a control over the influx of Europeans, and affords the means of stopping it if it should not be found to answer; I should also wish to keep up the power of removing Europeans in particular cases. Independent of cases of misconduct and oppression, I can easily imagine situations in which the conduct of a religious or political enthusiast might be very dangerous without being actionable. If, however, it is conceived that such a rule would deter speculators from embarking capital in Indian transactions, it would not be difficult to exempt every man from its operation who should invest a certain sum in local improvements or commerce.

Europeans of course could only hold lands on the tenures already established, and the only remaining difficulty I apprehend in the suggested increase to their numbers would arise from the manner in which they are to be made responsible to justice. The extension of English law is very objectionable, and placing Europeans under native law would indirectly lead to the same result. In a choice of difficulties I think it would be preferable to extend the powers of local magistrates in some degree, still continuing to apply the English law to Europeans, and leaving all capital, or very serious, causes to be tried, as at present, by the Supreme Court.

5. *Steam Navigation, &c.*

Much later information than I possess on these subjects must be already before the Board.

6. *Press in India.*

The restrictions have not been uniform at the three Presidencies. At Madras the censorship has been kept up; at Bombay Lord Hastings's rules are in force, and acted on according to their spirit and letter, but there is no regulation for licensing the press.

In Bengal there is such a regulation, and Lord Hastings's rules are in force, but I believe no steady system has been acted on at that Presidency for several years past.

If the power of sending editors out of India were taken away, the licensing system of Bengal would afford a preferable means of control, but so much discretion must necessarily be left to the government that it is difficult to devise any regulations which shall put the editors entirely beyond the reach of vexation. The most obvious way would be to have clear rules, however strict, and to interfere with no publication that did not infringe those rules.

Those established by Lord Hastings would have answered this purpose if they had been constantly acted on; but every governor is naturally inclined to allow as much relaxation in them as he thinks he can with safety, and the varying opinions of governors in this respect, together with the indiscretion of individual publishers, prevents any uniform line of conduct to which an editor might accommodate his proceedings.

As far as relates to the freedom of editors from vexation, therefore, it seems necessary that those rules should be steadily acted on or abandoned altogether.



(5.) Answer of
Hon. M. Elphinstone, August 5,
1832.

For many reasons I think they should be steadily acted on. The effect of a free press on the Europeans, and through the officers on the native army, has often been set forth, particularly in Sir T. Munro's minute of April 12th, 1822.

Its relation to the army has since been illustrated by the share taken by the newspapers in the late discussions relating to military allowances; but the rapid advance made by the natives has now brought forward a new consideration as important as any yet contemplated. This is the effect of the European press on the native press. Many natives already read English, and, as the number increases, the English newspapers will write for native readers. This will lead them to comment on the native newspapers, and to assert the right of that branch of the press to freedom, if attempts shall have been made to keep it under restrictions. This will create discontent, and lead to disputes with native editors, and will end in the abandonment of the control over them also. So that it may be taken for granted, that if the European press be free, the native one cannot long be otherwise. If all be free, we shall be in a predicament such as no state has yet experienced. In other countries, the use of the press has gradually extended along with the improvements of the government and the intelligence of the people; but we shall have to contend at once with the most refined theories of Europe, and with the prejudices and fanaticism of Asia, both rendered doubly formidable by the imperfect education of those to whom every appeal will be addressed. Is it possible that a foreign government, avowedly maintained by the sword, can long keep its ground in such circumstances?

The orders against civil servants taking part in political journals have not to my knowledge been evaded. The advantage of the prohibition is, that it diminishes the risk of public officers being engaged in the disputes to which the press gives rise.

I have, &c. &c.

M. Elphinstone.

(6).—EVIDENCE given before the LORDS' COMMITTEE, 1830, on Subjects relating to the PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

Natives : Condition, &c.	p. 295	Slavery	- - -	p. 303
Education	- p. 297	Civil Servants' Education,	p. 304	
Employment	- p. 298	Offices	- - -	p. 304
Half Castes	- - - p. 300	Indian Navy	- - -	p. 305
European Residents	- p. 301			

Natives :—Condition, &c.

MANY* of the zemindars have very considerable property. There are natives of great wealth in Calcutta: they are generally the large landed proprietors, and many of them are engaged extensively in the country trade. The large landed proprietors live partly on their estates and partly in the towns. They have large establishments, which they transfer from the town to the country and back again, as they are fond of numerous bodies of retainers running after them. The jaghiredars and men of property in the Deccan rarely go to Bombay, as they have a considerable apprehension of coming into collision with the Supreme Court, though they do not doubt its justice. The population of the towns is usually composed of poor persons. They are chiefly Hindoos, with some Mussulmans.† The zemindars and rich men of Calcutta are chiefly Hindoos; some few are Arab merchants, and some few Indian Mahomedan merchants.

In Malabar those who have property are principally Mahomedan merchants. There, the Mahomedans are merchants and shopkeepers, as well as landed proprietors and cultivators. They trade much with the Persian Gulph, the Red Sea, and the Indus. The monopoly of timber by the Government was seriously injurious to their commerce; but it has now been abolished, and ship-building has improved. About one-fifth of the population of Malabar is Mahomedan, and about four-fifths are Hindoos. There are estates so small as to produce hardly a rupee a year of rent, others yield from 5,000 to 10,000 rupees. Some of the proprietors possess from 10 to 100 estates. The great proprietors generally lease their estates: some of the tenants are hereditary.

The great native chiefs often lend out money at high interest, which is employed in commerce, and they sometimes employ banking-houses to carry on commercial business on their account, but this is seldom avowed, and is not the general practice.

Mr. Hyde says that many among the ryots are wealthy; and Mr. Davidson that he has known instances of ryots being worth 3,000 or 4,000 rupees, though there are but few who have any capital of consequence. Mr. Rickards says it is impossible for them to accumulate capital; they are kept in a state which gives them little more than a bare sufficiency, and their poverty is extreme. Mr. Harris's opinion is, that they live from hand to mouth, and have

* Some, not many. Christian, 52.

† The population of large towns is more Mahomedan than the general average of the country. Mangles, 44.

Mangles, 41. 44.
Do 42.
Do 44.
Christian, 53.
Chaplin, 179.
Do 180.
Christian, 53.
Mangles, 42.
Warden, 120.
Baber 198.
Do 197. 214.
Do 196. 207.
Elphinstone, 165.
Hyde, 111.
Davidson, 252.
Do 259.
Harris, 307.



Fleming, 71.
Dunlop, 324.
Elphinstone, 165.
Mangles, 42.
East, 77.

Harris, 303.
Davidson, 255.

Davidson, 254.
Harris, 302.
Davidson, 252.
Maxfield, 417.
Mangles, 42.

Chaplin, 184.

Elphinstone, 163. 169.

D^o 167.

D^o 173.

Baber, 206.

D^o 207.

D^o 207, 208.

Davidson, 253.

Briggs, 294. Harris, 307.
Chaplin, 180. 186.
Rickards, 279.
Baber, 205.
Elphinstone, 158.

D^o 165.

D^o 157.

D^o 172. 174.

Fleming, 68.

D^o 69.

D^o 68.

Jenkins, 147.

Fortescue, 33.
Baber, 197.

have seldom the means of accumulating any capital. Two rupees a month would maintain a labouring man, probably less: about three rupees a month are the lowest wages paid to a servant: a labourer gains from three to four.

Generally speaking, the Mahomedans are more careless, debauched, and rapacious than the Hindoos, but some of the Hindoos are quite as bad as any Mahomedans. The Hindoos have the greater disposition to accumulate capital. The Mahomedans, except some few persons of high rank, are not, like the Hindoos, in possession of much wealth, and have comparatively but small landed possessions. The Hindoo is in general a much superior character as a servant; he is more docile; but the Mahomedan has fewer prejudices: so far, however, as the common business of life is concerned, the religious opinions of the natives do not come prominently into contact with Europeans acting merely in a commercial capacity. There is a material diminution in the proportion of the Mahomedan religion to the Hindoo. The natives are in general* industrious and regular as labourers; they are an exceedingly amiable and interesting race of men; among them are many gifted as merchants, and in every way to be compared with the merchants of any other country.

Their prejudices prevent their eating with Europeans, but not from being present while Europeans are eating. The higher Mahomedans will eat with the English, but not so the Hindoos, or the lower class of Mahomedans, who are Hindoos in point of prejudice and feeling. There is very little social intercourse between Europeans and natives, and there never can be much; therefore, an European can never acquire a sufficient knowledge of the language, habits, and usages of the people. In the Deccan the necessity of being extremely courteous and civil to the native gentry was inculcated on all the European authorities, and great satisfaction was given in consequence. The government has prosecuted its servants for oppressing the natives, but the law in that respect has never been enforced except at the instance of the government.

The difference between the various classes of natives as to capability of improvement is not great; some are more tied down by religious prejudices than others, and consequently less accessible to improvement. The religious prejudices are diminishing amongst some few of the educated classes only; education will in all probability still further diminish them. The attachment to caste prevails as much in commercial towns as in country districts. An increased intercourse with Europeans has a tendency to weaken the prejudices of the natives, but it has not had any effect in diminishing their attachment to caste. The Brahmins are not found to favour each other more than persons of any other caste. The native† Christians are the most industrious, moral, and obedient subjects of the Travancore and Cochin rajahs, and many of them are opulent. No such thing is known as a convert by our English missionaries. A person who has forfeited caste sometimes turns Christian, but otherwise it is out of the question, and for a good reason—they lose their birthright, are disowned by their family, and looked upon as degraded.

The ryots seldom discuss the measures of government; they are very subservient. The zemindars, from their greater information, are more curious to know what is going on, and their curiosity is increasing.

The land assessment is very heavy; the only means of improving the condition of the people generally is to lighten it; and this ought to be done. The inhabitants of Malabar are in wealthier circumstances than those of many other parts of India, but still they are, from over taxation, in great distress, when compared with what they used to be. The assessment was not really lower under the native governments, but under them a part was embezzled by the heads of villages, who were so far better off; with us, all is taken by the government. There is a disposition in the natives to emigrate freely into districts in which they find themselves moderately assessed, and where they can be secure in person and property.

The effect of our government has certainly been beneficial, but it has been attended with evils; it levels all ranks, it withdraws a good deal of the encouragement formerly given to learning and to excellence of all sorts: by the destruction of the higher class of natives, it has diminished the demand for many Indian manufactures, as the Europeans who supply their place make use chiefly of articles of their own country, while the importations from England of the cloths, &c. worn by the natives themselves, have supplanted the manufactures of India.

The general cultivation, even in the short period that most of the territory has been under the Bombay Government, has been greatly extended, but it has received a check from the fall of prices, arising from that extension and other causes.

The people appear more comfortable than formerly: they have not more clothing or more furniture in their houses, but they dress better and in a different way. The Hindoos have adopted many of the Mahomedan customs in point of dress; there is not, however, any visible alteration or improvement in the habits of the people. There is much more agricultural capital in the country than formerly; no more appears to be applied to trade or manufactures, but a great deal more land has been brought into cultivation. At Nagpore there is no improvement in the implements of husbandry; the native plough is a very coarse and rude instrument. European implements might be constructed to suit the different soils in India, and they would be much better than those now used, but the expense of them would be greater than the ryots could afford. The introduction of capital would no doubt be attended with considerable advantage in the cultivation of land. Delhi is increasing in population, owing to the administration since we have had possession of it. In Malabar the country is highly cultivated; it is quite a garden; much more so than it was before we had possession. It is very thickly inhabited,

* They are very indolent. Dunlop, 324. 325.

† About 10,000 in Malabar, and 50,000 in Canara, chiefly Roman Catholics. Baber, 196. 207.



inhabited, about 120 inhabitants to a square mile: the population has nearly doubled within the last 30 years. Canara also is very fertile; the people are much better farmers than in Malabar, and take more pains to improve the land. More capital is now employed in the cultivation of land, and the people are improved in conduct; but in general they are against all improvement, or alteration of their old customs, and they are very indolent. In the independent jaghires the villages are populous, the people well clothed, and in many respects better off than in our territory. The ryot has scarcely any furniture, and his agricultural implements are very rude, but his condition is improved, and his clothes and house are better than they were. The natives are in a deplorable state under our system; their poverty is extreme; the cultivation of the country is consequently in a low state, and far less productive than if more capital could be employed on it. The agriculture of India is miserably deficient, from the extreme subdivision of land, and the want of accumulated capital.

The natives labour under a most intolerable grievance in being pressed on the part of government to serve as porters to marching regiments and European travellers. Men are frequently impressed who never carried burdens. They are paid at an established rate. Houses are sometimes unhatched for fodder for the cattle, and the sepoy will carry away the rice, fowls, butter, &c. which the people have laid in for their own use. The villagers are impressed days before, as they invariably run away and hide themselves when they hear that a detachment is coming.

The zemindars are becoming much more extravagant, but their extravagance does not induce them to obtain European luxuries. Some may have a taste for European luxuries, and some certainly have the means of indulging that taste. They live in the European style with regard to carriages and equipages of that nature; and they have British mirrors, lustres, chandeliers, &c., but not jewellery. They are acquiring a greater taste for European luxuries; and some few, it is said, indulge in large quantities of wine, and cherry brandy. The higher classes are the great consumers of British manufactures. The ryot has hardly become a purchaser of them. Within the last three or four years a good deal of British cotton-twist has been used by the native weavers in making up the cotton cloth which the natives wear. The British cottons do not last so long as those of native manufacture. The best cloths are those made in India, by hand, from English twist. The habits of the natives induce them to use their own articles. If European articles should be cheaper than their own, they would gladly purchase them; but they want little; they are very frugal, and in a great degree wedded to custom. In Calcutta European goods appear to be more used than they are in the interior, and the houses are better constructed. Some imitation shawls have been used by the natives. No great quantity of European manufactures is to be seen. If they had the means, the ryots are anxious to get British cloths, hardware, glass, and articles of that description. As far as their means go, they have a great disposition to procure and use British manufactures, particularly broad-cloth; an increase of the means among the better classes (such as head servants, assistants, &c.) would certainly lead to an increased demand for British articles; but the great body of the people are not likely to become consumers of British manufactures. The manufacture of cloths worn by the lower classes of the people has not been affected by the importation of cottons from England. Their clothing is very scanty. The trade at Luckipore in calicoes was quite knocked up by the manufactures of Manchester; but there was not much consequent distress, as the weavers became cultivators. Many British chintzes have been used lately, and the manufacturers of Indian cottons have become cultivators, or rather cultivators to a greater extent, for cultivators they were to a certain degree always. From the extension of the use of European manufactures among the middle classes, a number of natives must have been thrown out of employment. There has been a considerable increase in the use of all articles of British cloth manufacture of late years; the superior skill of our artizans, and our improvements in machinery, have enabled us to import cloth, and to undersell the native weavers. Articles of coarse cloth used by the lower classes (the larger proportion of the cotton manufacture of India,) continue to be manufactured by the natives; but the better description of cotton and silk goods, and the finer articles of the fabric of Indian looms, have been in a great degree superseded by our manufactures; and no doubt many weavers have been compelled to resort for maintenance to agriculture, a department already overstocked. The manufactures of England are used instead of those of India, but not a greater quantity of manufactures: the circumstances of the natives are not so improved as to cause a great increase of consumption. The piece goods of India have been altogether supplanted by British goods.

If the ryots acquire capital, they employ it in establishing their families in the world, which is regarded as a religious duty. There are instances in which they have embarked it in the cultivation of indigo, cotton, tobacco, &c.; they appear to have no objection to such an employment of it. Where they can they expend their savings in improvements on land.

There are about 50,000 Portuguese, partly of Portuguese descent, partly converts from the religion of the country, who have assumed Portuguese names. Those in towns are little esteemed; in the country they resemble more the Hindoo ryots. There are one or two considerable mercantile houses carried on by them.

Native Education.

The rich natives of Calcutta are in general very good English scholars, so far as matters of business and writing go; and some few of them have made very considerable attainments. The native gentlemen, the Mahrattas particularly, neglect their education very much; they think more of the sword and of the field than of education. The knowledge of reading and writing is universal among the Brahmins, shopkeepers and merchants; but not very general among the other classes. There are schools maintained by the natives in almost every village

Baber, 208.

Do 211.

Dunlop, 325.

Chaplin, 184.

Harris, 307.

Rickards, 279.

Do 276.

Davidson, 259.

Baber, 217.

Fleming, 68.

Christian, 52.

Mangles, 42.

Christian, 56.

Mangles, 42.

Christian, 55.

Do 56.

Do 52.

Fleming, 69.

Davidson, 252.

Harris, 304.

Do 307.

Warden, 119.

Harris, 301.

Do 307.

Fleming, 69.

Cotton, 98.

Elphinstone, 157. 175.

Chaplin, 179. 182.

Larkins, 26.

Davidson, 253.

Harris, 303.

Elphinstone, 171.

Baber, 196.

Mangles, 42.

Briggs, 300.

Do 298.

Also Chaplin, 180.

- Harris, 304.
- Briggs, 300.
- Elphinstone, 168.
- D° 167.
- Davidson, 255.
- Elphinstone, 156.
- D° 167.
- D° 168.
- D° 156.
- D° 168.
- D° 154.
- Hodgson, 247.
- Strange, 263.
- D° 264.
- Rickards, 282. 284.
- in Candeish. The rajah of Sattarah refused to receive some schoolmasters educated at Bombay. The state of native education was very low; merely little village schools, where a little writing and reading Bengalee, and keeping accounts, were taught. There were no other means of education, except for the higher classes. The natives were all eager to learn. They are in general desirous of receiving information, but there is no disposition among the higher classes to acquire a knowledge of English, in consequence of a jealousy of assimilation to the English. There is no unwillingness on the part of the natives to learn the English language, but there is no great disposition for it, except where they are likely to be employed in offices where a knowledge of that language is required. The Brahmins in general are unfavourable to education, though some individuals have exerted themselves to promote it; but no great degree of resistance is to be apprehended from them, so long as they do not perceive the connection between the diffusion of knowledge and the downfall of the superstition on which their power is founded. The religious prejudices will in all probability be diminished as education proceeds. It would not be difficult to effect improvement among the natives: they have common schools at present; but they should have an opportunity of learning all the arts of useful life, chemistry, natural philosophy, mechanics, &c. So far as reading and writing go, though by no means so extensive as might be desired, the state of native education is creditable to the people, being carried on entirely by themselves; but in all the higher branches it is totally defective. The objects of education may be most usefully effected by the encouragement to the greatest extent of village schools; by printing books for the use of those schools, and books of entertainment and instruction for the lower classes of the people; by the foundation of colleges for the higher branches of knowledge, and by the publication of books in those departments of instruction; probably more by a systematic education of the natives for office than by any other means, as contributing so much to promote the fitness of the natives for taking a share in the administration of the country, and also as affording a stimulus to education by the connection which it establishes between instruction and promotion. The ultimate result might be the making over all civil business to the natives, retaining the political and military in the hands of Europeans. For the higher branches of instruction, Mr. Elphinstone proposed, when Governor of Bombay, the institution of a college, the employment of two or more European professors, the grant of prizes to the students who showed most proficiency, and the giving of rewards to any European or native who would produce a translation of an English book on science, or an original work on science, in a native language. There is very great difficulty in finding persons in India capable of teaching the European branches of education; it is one of the principal obstacles to the promotion of the higher branches of native education. The only remedy would be to provide young men in this country properly qualified, who should proceed to India at a sufficiently early age to admit of their learning the languages of the country. If such a supply were provided in the first instance, no doubt a sufficient number of natives might ultimately become qualified to carry on the business of education. There is a small college at Poona, where the natives may get some instruction to qualify them for judicial situations, but there is a very great deficiency of the means of educating them. The Sudder Adawlut has represented that the knowledge of the Hindoo and Mahomedan law is becoming extinct among the natives, and that there is much difficulty in finding law officers. There is a college established at Madras for the purpose of educating pleaders in the courts of law, and of examining all those who are candidates for office connected with the administration of the law. It might be extended to revenue officers. It would be advantageous to establish a college in some part of the Madras territory, at which the natives of high rank and property might obtain a better and more extensive education. The natives have of late years made much progress in education, particularly in the acquirement of the English language. There are now ample means for the extension of education in the numerous schools and literary institutions which have been established in various parts of the country, and to which the natives flock with avidity. It is also in the power of Government materially to advance this object by encouraging the establishment of seminaries for education more generally, and by granting prizes.

Employment of Natives.

- Fortescue, 33.
- Mangles, 44.
- Chaplin, 180.
- Mangles, 44.
- Elphinstone, 153.
- Chaplin, 183.
- Fortescue, 33.
- Mangles, 44.
- C. Smith, 59.
- D° 62.
- D° 63.
- As the correspondence and records are all in the Persian language, and as the Hindoos rarely acquire a knowledge of that language but for purposes connected with employment, the majority of copying clerks are Mahomedans, who in writing proceedings are more familiar with the language, it being so connected with that of their religion. The persons employed are generally Hindoos. The Brahmins are the best educated, and the best fitted for the discharge of all offices. The Mahomedans are in general worse educated, and they have had always a much smaller share in the public business.
- The highest salary of any native (and he a very clever man indeed) was 30*l.* or 40*l.* a month. Native judges have from 20*l.* to 50*l.* a month. The highest salary does not exceed 500*l.* a year, and it very rarely amounts to that.
- The natives, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, are equally trustworthy. There is no want of integrity where they are liberally rewarded for their trouble, and consideration is shown them; where this has not been the case, there they have failed to merit consideration. They are certainly equal, in point of ability, to any duties; but they require very great and constant vigilance and superintendence, and without that they are not to be trusted. They are clever, shrewd men, but their character is open to suspicion; they are in general intriguing, and supposed to be corrupt. They are accurate and able, but their merits stop short at accuracy and ability. A native would think himself bound by his oath, even when informally administered, and it would depend upon the stimulus applied whether that feeling were overpowered; for example, whether he was bribed, or had a strong prejudice



or interest in the case: the oath would, however, have some weight with him under all circumstances. The morality of the natives is rather loose, especially in matters connected with public money; the abuses which exist are not to be ascribed to the financial system of Government. In their present state, to secure the integrity of the natives, a very strict superintendence by Europeans is necessary; then good salaries, and pensions after long employment; and, above all, good education: the ultimate result might be the making over all civil business to the natives, retaining the political and military in the hands of Europeans. Amongst the higher classes of the military portion of the Mahomedan population there is a quicker sense of honour than among the lower classes of the Hindoos, but there is also precisely the same thing among the higher classes of the military population of the Hindoos, such as the Rajpoots. There are amongst them men that may be trusted with any thing. The inhabitants of the Malabar coast are more strict observers of truth than the other inhabitants of Hindostan. The Mahratta Brahmins are in general corrupt; but it is in the power of an European, who will take the trouble to superintend them, to prevent anything glaringly dishonest or grossly partial. Officers were always found sufficiently qualified to perform the duties assigned to them. Care was taken not to exact too much from them in the way of probity, hoping that in the course of time, when they saw that there was a resolution that they should be as pure as they could be made, they would improve; at last, there was little peculation or misbehaviour among them. Natives may certainly be made, by degrees, fit for employment in the higher situations of the revenue, judicial, commercial, and even political departments. It would be wise to promote them to places of higher trust, gradually, and under due selection made for the purpose. In the progress of events and time, and with improved education, particularly by being instructed in the useful arts and sciences common in Europe, they would be capable of superior employments. Mr. Harris, as an indigo planter, had no reason to repent employing natives in the most responsible situations under him. The Hindoos possess a very high intellectual capacity. There are a number of persons (more particularly in the town and neighbourhood of Madras) capable of exercising revenue and judicial functions. The state of society in British India might be greatly improved by employing the natives more generally in the administration of the country. Too little regard is paid to them; they are kept at too great a distance, and their experience and talents are estimated too lightly. There are, no doubt, instances of corrupt and vicious conduct among those now employed, but lapses of this nature are to be accounted for from the present state of Indian society. When moral improvement is more generally introduced among them, their manners as well as their principles will assume a higher scale. They might be trusted with greater judicial authority, and employed in higher offices. They might be employed with equal advantage both in the revenue line and in the police. They have of late years made such progress in education, that there can be no doubt of a sufficient number being found to fill all the situations recommended; but if those situations were open to the legitimate ambition of the natives, they would afford them an additional stimulus for qualifying themselves. The higher ranks in Guzerat are indisposed to take such offices as are open to them, because they have been accustomed to great arbitrary authority under the former government, and would not be content with so limited a share of power as they would possess under the British system. Besides, it is probable that they would be less attentive than persons of lower rank. The exclusion of natives from the higher offices must have a considerable tendency towards debasing their moral character generally. By giving them a share of the advantages of their own country, we shall promote their interests, and secure their attachment; but a good deal will depend on the way in which it is done. To elevate the character and improve the condition of the higher orders, we ought to allow them a larger share in the administration, and provide them with honourable and lucrative employment. At present, all incitement to exertion is much destroyed, and the moral character degraded, the natives being confined in a great degree to subordinate offices, and all paths of ambition shut against them. They might be employed with perfect safety to the British Government. They cannot perhaps be raised to an equality in rank and influence with Europeans, who must in general superintend them, but they can safely be admitted to higher employments. They have been more employed of late, and the experiment has succeeded. They are adapted to all offices. In point of natural ability they are not at all inferior to Europeans, and in many respects they are superior, in knowledge of the native languages for instance, which Europeans never can acquire so perfectly. They might be admitted to a very high description of office in the revenue and judicial lines, but they should always be under the control of Europeans. Their employment in the highest offices is not recommended, for the policy of our government would always require that those should be filled by Europeans. They might be advantageously employed where assistant judges and subordinate collectors are now employed, on salaries from 80*l.* to 160*l.* a month; not immediately, but gradually, as men of talent were discovered. The office of Zillah Judge would often be conducted with great efficiency by a native, and there is no reason why it should not be so conducted, if he were sufficiently well paid to keep him honest. It would, however, be preferable to confine the natives at present to more subordinate offices; and the natives found at the Presidencies are not to be recommended. Natives should be employed where they reside. If a native occupied such a situation as assistant collector, he would be satisfied with a smaller salary than that now given to an European. The present salary of an European sub-collector, and it is sufficient, is 160*l.* a month; a native would serve for half or two-thirds the amount. The administration of the revenue and judicial departments by natives would be more satisfactory to the people, more efficient, and cheaper. Where the European management has not been efficient, great frauds have

Elphinstone, 173.

D^o 157.D^o 156.

Johnston, 133.

Baber, 204.

Jenkins, 142.

Hodgson, 247.

Davidson, 252.

Harris, 303.

Strange, 264.

Rickards, 276. 277.

D^o 278. 280.

and 336.

D^o 281.D^o 282. 284.

Elphinstone, 166.

Chaplin, 185.

D^o 186.D^o 180, 181.D^o 180.D^o 181.D^o 183.D^o 187.D^o 183.

Chaplin, 184.



Appendix (A.)

Chaplin, 180.

Hodgson, 250.

Davidson, 253.

Rickards, 281.

Mangles, 45.

Ricketts, 194.

D^o 190.

Chaplin, 186.

Ricketts, 194.

Elphinstone, 171.

Baber, 207.

Mangles, 46.

Ricketts, 193.

Baber, 207.

East 80.

Elphinstone, 171.

Mangles, 45.

D^o 46.

C. Smith, 63.

Mangles, 46.

Elphinstone, 171.

Chaplin, 186.

Baber, 207.

Mangles, 46.

Ricketts, 190.

Baber, 207.

Ricketts, 193. 195.

Elphinstone, 171.

Ricketts, 192.

D^o 193.

D^o 192.

D^o 194.

D^o 193.

D^o 192. 193.

Elphinstone, 171.

Ricketts, 191.

Mangles, 44. 45.

Chaplin, 186.

Mangles, 44.

Ricketts, 191.

Mangles, 44.

been detected in the natives, for where a collector is not vigilant, the duty is performed by irresponsible and ill-paid natives.

It does not appear that the people are in general better satisfied with native officers than with European, though in some instances it is so. They doubtless look up to our courts for an impartial administration of justice, and they conceive that they are free from that corruption to which their own system is more liable. The European character stands in general very high in India; it is regarded with considerable awe and respect, which forms the chief security of our precarious tenure. The Hindoos have not so much confidence in Mahomedans when placed in offices of authority as they have in persons of their own persuasion, nor as they have in Europeans. The natives would decidedly be best satisfied with an European decision. In the ordinary transactions of life, they repose more confidence in Europeans than they do in each other. They would be better satisfied with the decisions of native judges than with those of Europeans; and if an European presided, it would have the same effect as is produced at present, of obviating all doubt on the score of integrity.

Half-Castes.

THE majority of half-castes reside in Calcutta. Their number has not materially increased, for the European servants of the Company marry English women more generally than they did at an earlier period; and if a half-caste marry a native, the children merge in the native population; if he marry an European woman, they lose the opprobrium of being half-caste; not if a half-caste man marry an European woman, but only when a half-caste woman marries an European man. The number must have increased considerably since 1812. There are now about 20,000. The half-castes reside chiefly at the Presidencies. There are very few in the interior. The disadvantages under which they labour must prevent their residence in the interior. There are but few at Bombay, from 1,000 to 2,000. In Malabar and Canara, there are about 50 or 60, the offspring of British subjects.

They are almost universally Christians; even the children of common soldiers; and principally Roman-catholics. Some of them, no doubt, follow the religion of their mothers, from having been deserted by their fathers in their infancy; but the greater part of them are certainly brought up as Christians. Those called Portuguese are generally Roman-catholics; but there are some Protestants, and that number has latterly been increasing.

The half-castes partake partly of the native, and partly of the European character. They are not naturally more intelligent than the natives, but they have often a better education. They have effected greater improvements in such land as has become their property. They are in general not on a par with Europeans, either in mind or body. As a class, they are not considered to stand on a level with Europeans, but there are very many exceptions. They are treated with delicacy or vulgarity according to the character of the European with whom they have dealings. Their evidence is taken as readily as that of an European, and as much confidence is placed in it. The evidence of a half-caste is very near that of a native in point of credibility. All the feeling which the natives have against Europeans, they have also against the half-castes, whilst they probably have not the same respect for them. The half-castes are Christians, and they eat with anybody; the two great offences in the eye of a native. So far as the Hindoos make a distinction between the half-castes and the Europeans, it is to the disadvantage of the half-castes, and they have the same feeling as between themselves and the half-castes, or even the lower order of Europeans. The prejudice the natives entertain against them arises from their being in general the offspring of low-caste women, and from their being blacker than the natives themselves, though a fair complexion is not of itself an evidence of high-caste. They are usually the children of low-caste women, or of women who have lost caste. From their want of education, and from their desertion by their fathers, with no other protection than that of their mothers, it may naturally be supposed that they must be exceedingly indolent and immoral. The females in general follow the example of their mothers. Some of the sons are employed by government, and a more meritorious or trustworthy set cannot be. Those in the public employment are respected by the natives, but it is owing to that circumstance. Some few might be admitted to situations of more trust; some are worthy of any confidence. A few have acquired landed property.

The institutions for educating them have received support from the officers and servants of the Company, but not from the Government, who have refused assistance, because, it is presumed, the objects were half-castes. At Bombay there is no public establishment for educating them; but there is a considerable school carried on by subscription, and assisted by the Government. At Calcutta there are the Military Orphan School, containing perhaps 800 boys and girls; the Parental Academic Institution, with 130 or 140 boys; the Grammar School, with 40 or 50. The children of soldiers are educated at the Lower Military Orphan School, and are sent out as drummers, &c., or apprenticed to tradesmen. There are also private schools, at which boys remain till they are 17, but they have not the means of obtaining a collegiate education. The education at Calcutta is as good as in England. The greater proportion of the half-castes must be the children of soldiers and persons in a destitute condition. There are about 1,500 educated, of whom perhaps 1,000 are employed; 500 or 600 in the public offices, and the remainder in private establishments. They are almost universally servants of the Company as clerks; and they have, with very few exceptions, confined themselves to that employment. A very superior man in the territorial department had a salary of from 50*l.* to 70*l.* a month. The half-castes have received salaries as high as 600*l.* a year, but the cases are very rare. In the police, they are employed as clerks to the magistrates, not as officers. They are eligible to all employ-

ments



ments held by natives, but they are not much employed in them; in many of them not at all. The Government would probably be very jealous of a general employment of them, from a fear of supplanting the natives. They are allowed to enter into the service of native Princes, but not without the permission of Government. They were also employed in the irregular corps. In the Indian army, they may be employed as privates, but they are not; as drummers and musicians they are. When they are the sons of native mothers, they are excluded from the rank of officers in the Company's military, naval, or civil service. The exclusion is by usage. The rule used to apply to the children of the half-castes married to Europeans; but it has been modified. Mr. Kyd, a large ship-builder at Calcutta, is a half-caste: Colonel Skinner, also a half-caste, has great influence among the native population; he could raise 10,000 men at any time. The natives have no objection to him on the ground of his mother having lost caste. Two or three half-castes having served their regular apprenticeship to attorneys, have been admitted as such in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. They have conducted themselves with entire propriety and integrity. Two or three are practising in the medical profession. Some have been employed as missionaries, both as teachers of schools, and as preachers of the Gospel; and have acquitted themselves well. Their influence in this respect would be increased, if they were placed in a more favourable situation. Men of education, half-castes, have gone out to India, and been compelled to return, because they could not brook the treatment they experienced. From the nature of the education the half-castes receive, and the principles in which they are brought up, they have a stronger feeling to improve their situation than Hindoos have. In the half-caste schools natives are employed to teach the native languages, by their proficiency in which the half-castes might be rendered instruments of great good to the country. The appointment of them to offices from which they are at present excluded, would raise them in the estimation of the natives, who are at all times disposed to identify them with their fathers, and it is the marked distinction which prevails that attracts their notice. Some of them are engaged in trade; some in the maritime trade of the country, to a pretty considerable extent as a beginning; no large portion of the trade between Calcutta and China is conducted by them; a few are officers and captains of ships; there are some wealthy mercantile houses in Calcutta belonging to them. Many of them are qualified to hold high situations by their education. It would be extremely bad policy to admit half-castes to higher situations, for the native gentry of the country would not regard them with respect; they look down upon them very much.

They are Europeans in the eyes of society; natives in the eye of the law. They are not liable to be sent out of the country, and they can purchase land. As natives, they are not considered to be entitled to the protection of the Habeas Corpus Act. If born in wedlock, they are British subjects; but Europeans are very seldom married to Hindoos; soldiers, &c., marry native Christians, Portuguese as they are called, but not Hindoos. The situation of half-castes in respect of civil rights is very perilous. If they resided out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, being many of them illegitimate, who therefore could not be deemed British subjects within the general meaning of the laws passed for India, the difficulty was to know how to deal with them, for the Mofussil Courts only administered the Hindoo law to Hindoos, and the Mahomedan law to Mahomedans. They are subject to the law which affects their mother. The religion of their mother is never adverted to: they are never asked whether their mother was a Hindoo or Mahomedan. While Christians they are subject to the Mahomedan law, and that is doubtless a difficulty. They stand, under the strict letter of the law, on the same footing as natives: in the interior they are treated as natives in all courts of civil and criminal justice.* Strictly they are subject to the law of their mother, but generally they are treated as Mahomedans. Residing beyond the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court they are subject to the Mahomedan civil and criminal law; the former is not applicable to them as Christians; but it has been much modified by the regulations. The criminal law, under felony, is applicable to all Europeans. The Hindoo law is administered to Hindoos, the Mahomedan to Mahomedans; and in cases not specified, the judges are to act according to good conscience; but, nevertheless, Christian half-castes would be dealt with according to the Mahomedan law, though the magistrate might act otherwise if he liked. It is said, that some residing in the interior, seeing the disadvantages under which half-caste Christians labour, have brought up their children as Mahomedans.

European Residents.

THE number of Europeans residing in the provinces under Bombay is very small. At Madras there are comparatively few in the interior. There are many at Cawnpore not in the service of the Company. For residence in the interior they receive a license from the local government, which enables them to go to a particular place. If they wish to remove, they ought to apply for another, although they do move occasionally without attending to that formality. It requires the permission of the government to enable a person, having the Court's license to proceed to India, to reside at a distance from the Presidency. Persons who have not the Court's permission are frequently allowed to reside at the Presidencies, but great difficulty is made in permitting them to go into the interior. The license given to them is for a particular place. None ought to be allowed to go into the interior without the leave of government. But no respectable man is ever refused leave; and many get it who ought not

Elphinstone, 171.
Ricketts, 189.
Elphinstone, 171.
Mangles, 45.
Ricketts, 189, 190, 191.
Elphinstone, 171.
Mangles, 45.
Ricketts, 189, 193.
Elphinstone, 171.
Ricketts, 188.
Mangles, 45.
Ricketts, 189.
East, 76.

Ricketts, 196.
D^o 193.

D^o 195.

D^o 193.

D^o 194.

D^o 195.

D^o 192.

D^o 191.
Chaplin, 185.

Elphinstone, 171.
Mangles, 45.
Ricketts, 192.
Mangles, 45.
Ricketts, 193, 194.
East, 79.

Mangles, 46.
C. Smith, 65.
D^o 60.

Ricketts, 195.
D^o 188, 190, 191.

D^o 190.
D^o 191.

D^o 193.

Elphinstone, 170.
Davidson, 263.
Robertson, 103.

Elphinstone, 169, 170.

Ramsay, 233.

* At p. 65., in answer to the question, Whether there is any distinction between the half-castes residing within the district of the Supreme Court of Calcutta and those in the interior? Mr. Smith says, "They are all subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, being in that respect on a par with Europeans."



Robertson, 105.
Hodgson, 246.
Davidson, 253.

D° 255.
D° 256.

D° 257.

D° 259.
Harris, 302.

Ditto, and
Dunlop, 324.

Dunlop, 324.
Harris, 303.

Rickards, 335. 336.

Ditto, and
Crawford, 350.
Rickards, 282.

Hodgson, 244.
D° 246.

Baber, 219.

D° 220.
Robertson, 104.

Elphinstone, 169.
D° 157.

D° 173.

D° 157.

not to have it. The general habits of Europeans settled in India are not of an unfavourable description. They have not been oppressive superiors. The natives have been most particularly benefited by intercourse with Europeans. A more extended settlement of Europeans would not excite disputes; those that have arisen are occasioned by the want of power to hold lauds, and by the use that has been made of Europeans by the natives in boundary disputes; they enlist Europeans on both sides; disputes are not common between wholly Europeans on one side and natives on the other. One of the means of improving the natives would be a more extended intercourse with Europeans. The difficulty of settling in India deters Europeans from embarking their own capital there. If the restrictions were removed, it is possible that, from the redundancy of capital in England, attention might be turned to India. Europeans ought to be allowed to go to India without restriction, and when there, to hold land on freehold. The situation of the ryots under them would be improved. The number who can go must be so small that they would not displace the natives. There cannot be an emigration of common labourers; the emigrants must be capitalists and artisans. Those parts of India are most improved where Europeans have had most intercourse. If the power of holding lands were granted, great encouragement and security would be afforded to persons disposed to embark their capital. The villages under Europeans increased much in value, from two-thirds to three-fourths. The employment of European assistants would not take place to such an extent as materially to interfere with the employment of natives; they could only be employed as overseers on account of the climate. An European assistant would have from 100 to 150 rupees a month (or 200); a half-caste, if a man of character, not less than 100; a Portuguese, a person not superior to a native in general character, but considered to have some command over them, would have 50; and a native fully competent, and always trustworthy, from 12 to 20, or from 30 to 40; but he could not be trusted in the same way. There is no indisposition on the part of the ryots to co-operate with Europeans: from such intercourse the natives would be gainers in point of instruction and morals. The opinion that a more frequent settlement of Europeans would be safe is founded on a belief that it would consist of persons of a character and education superior to those of the lower orders. The introduction of a great number of European settlers might lead to frequency of dispute and consequences detrimental to the native population. The residence of Europeans has considerably benefited the country; the zemindars become wealthy, and the ryots improved in condition, the value of land enhanced, and cultivation progressing. Further advantages might be anticipated from the unrestricted application of British skill, capital, and industry to the many articles which the country is capable of producing. If the natives were adequately protected in persons and property, considerable advantage would result from the admixture amongst them of respectable Europeans. No Europeans except persons of capital or good education would ever resort to the interior, for the lower classes could hardly find employment in that climate. It has been thought necessary hitherto to guard the natives against violence on the part of Europeans by prohibiting the latter from going into the interior, and perhaps, as matters now stand, that prohibition is necessary; but if efficient laws were put in force for the protection of the natives, there could be no danger in allowing Europeans of capital to settle in the interior. By the admixture of persons of that description with the natives, great advantages would result to the latter, not only from the expenditure of capital, but also from the example of the great skill of Europeans in various arts. Mr. Hodgson has given in his evidence a list of the successful and unsuccessful attempts made by Europeans to introduce new articles of cultivation in India. The best encouragement for the growth of foreign articles would be to leave the parties to settle themselves the terms on which the land should be cultivated or procured; or to facilitate the object by the removal of inland and export duties on the article. The only chance there is of much increased growth taking place is the introduction of increased capital, and the example to be set by Europeans. There need be no apprehension as to the peace of the country or the happiness of the natives, provided Europeans were placed under adequate control, and were made amenable to local laws. At first their establishment must be very gradual. Of course no person, such as an artisan or labourer, or one without capital, can find employment in any other way than by superintending the works of others. If Europeans were allowed to settle and occupy lands, it would be extremely prejudicial to the natives, from the tendency of the strong to oppress the weak, which has been experienced wherever Europeans have been in the interior at a distance from an European station. The people would not complain of them, partly through fear, and partly from the want of the means of subsistence when away from their homes. Another objection is, that the superior intelligence of the European would give him such a decided superiority over the native operatives, that the whole industry of the country would centre in him. The agencies created for natives would benefit only a few. Any well regulated intercourse with Europeans must have the greatest tendency to diminish the vicious habits of the natives, and increase their wealth; but the intercourse must be with respectable Europeans, otherwise it will have the effect of deteriorating rather than advancing the natives. Too much facility cannot be given to the settlement of capitalists in India. A more general residence of Europeans would certainly be attended with great advantages, if they carried capital or skill with them, and such might go as had capital to employ in commerce or agriculture. The employment of European capital is extremely likely to lead to the creation of employments, in which the natives might engage; not perhaps so much its employment on land, as on any other object. A greater variety of employments, and consequently a greater competition for labour, would no doubt improve the situation of the natives, and ultimately their character, but it is doubtful whether such an influx of European capital is likely to occur as would produce such an effect. Any unrestricted residence of Europeans would be productive of more harm than good; it would throw impediments in the way



way of the more general employment of natives in offices. None of the present restrictions could be dispensed with; it would be sufficient if the Government had the power of sending Europeans out of the country, and from one district to another; if they were so numerous as to form a very considerable community, they would be very unruly, and difficult to manage on the part of a Government which must always be arbitrary in its character. If there were a great body of discontented colonists, their clamours would probably very much weaken the Government in the eyes of the natives; their disagreements with the natives would also be dangerous; if the private trader consulted his own interest, he would attend to the feelings of the natives, but he would probably not look beyond the advantage of the present bargain. A public servant has many motives for conciliating the good will of the natives, which a private trader would not have. A native can only obtain redress against an European in the Supreme Courts, and a poor native would not have the power of carrying on such a prosecution; the only chance for him would be the Government taking up the prosecution, if it were a serious matter. It is easier for an European to obtain redress against a native; the latter has more facility, as far as mere regulation goes, in complaining against a public functionary than against a private European. Europeans could never be employed in the cultivation of land; the climate would not admit of it; they might be employed generally in the superintendence of land: the employment of British skill and capital in cultivation might be productive of great advantage; it would have a beneficial effect in giving employment, and in improving in some degree the resources of the country. The respect and reverence which the natives have for the European character would be diminished rather than increased by their mixing with Europeans of the middling or lower classes; their prejudices would be outraged, and the effect would be hostility to our government and general disaffection. It would be utterly impossible to manage by natives the interior government of a province to which an unrestricted intercourse of Europeans was allowed; such resort would at no distant period lead to the total overthrow of our government. If an inundation of Europeans of the lower orders were admitted into the interior, the Government could no longer have any control over them; it would lead to stripping the natives of their land, depriving them of every office or employment, however subordinate, and ultimately reduce them to the most degraded state of a conquered people: it would probably lead to such an interference with the village institutions as to cause a general disaffection. The majority of those who now resort to India have no capital of their own.

It would require great consideration to know under what law Europeans residing in the interior of India ought to be put. The general administration of justice in the provinces ought to be according to the law of the natives exclusively; for Europeans, there might be courts constituted in the interior on the principle of the Supreme Courts: it would not be advisable to extend the jurisdiction of that court into the interior; difficulties now exist, but the inconvenience is not felt at Madras, the Europeans in the interior being comparatively few. Europeans ought in the interior to be subjected to the same laws as the natives: there would be an objection to Europeans being entirely subjected to the local tribunals, because the law which is administered in the provinces would not always be suitable to them, and the complaints which they would in consequence make would probably lead to alterations of that law in a manner not suited to the natives. It might be considered oppressive to try an European without a jury, while it might not be regarded as expedient to extend the use of juries to natives; this contingent inconvenience is a greater evil than that which exists at present. Europeans are now subjected to a certain extent to the local tribunals, and their number is not yet so considerable as to create any great inconvenience in the cases in which they are not so subjected.

See also the head "Indigo," in the "Evidence given before the Lords' Committee, 1830, on Commercial Subjects."

Slavery.

A modified degree of slavery exists in the Deccan, principally confined to females. There are few Mahratta families who have not female slaves; but it is a domestic and mitigated sort of slavery, not agricultural. In Rangan there are a considerable number of bondsmen, who in fact have sold themselves for a certain sum to work for their masters for life, but they may redeem themselves by paying up that sum whenever they please. They come and cultivate for their masters when they like, and they are not forced to work contrary to their will; the only mode of forcing them to work is to withhold their wages. There is no corporal punishment; they are not resold. It is said that the practice of parents selling their children exists; such sales would be valid under the Hindoo, but not under the Mahomedan law. It is only in one district that the bondsmen are numerous; they are regarded almost as children of the family. Under the Mahomedan law there is some disqualification in regard to the evidence of a slave.

Domestic slavery exists, but there are no agricultural slaves; it is the mildest species of servitude. The slaves are persons purchased in times of scarcity, children purchased from their parents; they grow up in the family, and are almost entirely employed in domestic offices in the house. They are not liable to be resold; there are no avowed sales; children have been kidnapped clandestinely. It is doubtful whether slaves can possess property; perhaps by the Mahomedan law they cannot. Persons who have sold their children in times of scarcity, come to redeem them, paying back the purchase money; it is doubtful whether under the Mahomedan law they have a legal right to have them back. Slavery is recognized by the Hindoo law. Enfranchisement would not be an acceptable boon to the domestic slaves; to the agricultural who have mortgaged their labour, it probably would. The children of domestic slaves are slaves; those of mere bondsmen are not. A degree of slavery has

Chaplin, 181. 186.
Elphinstone, 157.

D° 175. 158.

D° 173.

D° 158. 169.

D° 170.

Chaplin, 185.

D° 186.

Davidson, 257.

D° 263.

Rickards, 284.

Elphinstone, 170.

Chaplin, 187.

Fleming, 72.

& Robertson, 106.

Fleming, 73.

Robertson, 106.

D° 107.

Jenkins, 148.

Appendix (A.)

Evidence on subjects relating to the Public Department.

Hyde, 112.

Warden, 115.

D° 117.

Baber, 210.

& Rickards, 283.

Baber, 204.

D° 211.

D° 197.

D° 207.

existed in the city of Nagpore particularly, but to a very small extent. In seasons of famine it has been the practice for people to purchase the children of the poor, who, in order to subsist themselves, are compelled to part with their offspring. These are brought up in the family, and instances occur in which the purchasers are not particular in retaining them. If the parents or relations claim them, they are generally willing to give them up; otherwise they are used as domestic slaves. There are none attached to the soil. It is not believed that the children of slaves are also slaves. There is no difference in value in the testimony of a slave and that of another person. In Arcot there are about 20,000 slaves. They generally go with the land, and are transferred when the land is sold; they are never sold by themselves, but if the land is sold they go with it. They are so well protected by their masters, that they can scarcely be considered as slaves. The children of slaves are also slaves, but they are never sold. Enfranchisement seldom takes place. Slaves are not capable of possessing property. In Malabar and Canara there are slaves attached to the soil. They are, in fact, a distinct caste of Hindoos; they are born slaves; they are transferred with the soil; and if the soil be overstocked, the surplus slaves are sold or mortgaged, or let out on rent to neighbours. Their evidence is as much relied on as that of the common inhabitants of the country. The master is bound to support his slaves. He may punish them, but cruel treatment is punishable by the regulations. The slaves have diminished in number, but not by voluntary manumission. The slaves in Malabar are absolute property, as much as cattle. They are bought and sold. A slave generally sells at from five to 20 rupees; when leased out, the usual rent is about 2s. a year. There are upwards of 100,000 in Malabar alone; they are in a most abject state of wretchedness. They are employed in agriculture, never in domestic labour, by the Hindoos, though sometimes by the Mahomedans. There are none imported now; some were kidnapped from Travancore and Cochin, and many of them found on the plantation of a native-born British subject. There are two instances in Malabar of persons who have been in the situation of slaves becoming proprietors of estates, but generally speaking they are not permitted to hold lands; their owners lay claim to every thing they possess. In Canara, Cochin, and Travancore, slavery is of the same character. Perhaps the whole population amounts to 400,000 souls. In Canara the slaves are better treated than in Malabar, as the landholders are in better circumstances, and better farmers. Slaves have been sold as cattle in Canara for arrears of revenue. The persons employed in searching for gold are the slaves of the proprietors.

Civil Servants' Education.

Elphinstone, 160.

THE civil servants receive an education at Haileybury. At Calcutta and Madras there are colleges where they receive a further education in India. At Bombay there is no college, but they are subject to an examination in the native languages before they are permitted to enter on an appointment; and to a second examination before they are promoted to the next step. A great deal of their education is acquired in the course of their duty, as they rise in the service. At Bombay they are sent into the interior after they have passed their first examination, which is generally in three or four months. They could acquire in the provinces the knowledge necessary for passing the first examination, and it would be useful to send them there; but at Bombay they are not so numerous as to occasion much inconvenience from their being kept in one place: wherever there is a great body of them together, the effect is injurious. The Bombay servants, educated without a college, have not been less efficient than those of Calcutta and Madras. It would be better if in England the attention of the persons intended for the civil service was directed more to the knowledge which can be acquired only here, than to the native languages, which can be better learnt in India; particularly to political economy, and the general principles of jurisprudence, not English law. It would be better if they were not confined to one college, but taken from any, and subjected to a strict examination. The effect of keeping them in one college is to make them more extravagant and less subordinate than they otherwise would be. The young men educated at Haileybury have generally a prejudice against India, and everything connected with it. The knowledge usually acquired at our schools and colleges is a sufficient preparation for young men who are going to India. They might perhaps with advantage be also instructed in the grammars of the native languages, and those who like, in the dead languages of Sanscrit and Arabic. But all other knowledge peculiar to India is better acquired on the spot; while much knowledge is attainable in England which can never afterwards be obtained in India. Some attention would be necessary to provide native instructors for them in India, but their studies might be left to their own management, provided they were subjected to a strict examination before employment.

D° 167.

D° 168.

Offices.

Elphinstone, 159.

PERSONS are appointed to office by seniority in their line, with attention to fitness where there is anything peculiar in the appointment; there is very little room for selection. The Government is not always able to place in offices of the highest power and responsibility such persons as it would desire. It would be impossible to induce well-educated men to go to India, on the chance of getting appointments according to their merits, without a rise that is in some measure certain. There is no restriction on the choice by Government, of the servants to be employed, except that imposed by the Act of Parliament; but the Act is not very restrictive in practice, as when a man approaches the time at which he would be entitled to hold a specific appointment which it may be desired to confer on him, he obtains it, but without the full salary. The restrictions do not apply to the military employed in civil situations, as their employment is altogether irregular. In the political line they might be employed indiscriminately with civil servants; but in other civil departments it would not be desirable



Appendix (A.)

Chaplin, 178.

Elphinstone, 161.

D° 161. 162.

D° 162.

Mangles, 39.

Elphinstone, 161.

D° 162.

Mangles, 39.

Elphinstone, 162.

D° 163.

Maxfield, 415.

D° 416.

D° 415.

D° 416.

D° 416.

Alsager, 489.

Maxfield 417.

to employ them without special reasons, as it would render the civil service so insecure that properly educated persons would not enter it. The military employed in the civil service are still borne on the strength of their regiments, but they have not been employed in such numbers as to affect the efficiency of the army. Almost the whole of the collectors in the Deccan were military officers; they performed their duties very satisfactorily; they had been selected as men of talent, and as having a competent acquaintance with the native languages.

The powers which the Governor retains, and the particulars on which he should consult the members of council, or act independently of them, when he quits the seat of government, require to be defined. It would be advantageous that the Governor should be allowed the latitude of acting independently of his council on all occasions, as he must always be the responsible person. There is certainly great inconvenience and loss of time in the long discussions which now arise in council on all subjects; but in so distant a government the advantage is probably greater than the evil. It is an advantage that the authorities at home should know the opinion of more than one person; and the Governor being aware of the discussion that will take place, is obliged to mature his propositions more than he otherwise might do. The appointment of Boards or single heads of departments might relieve the government from the minute details of business; but the Bombay government has time to get through those details. At Calcutta, two members of council are nominally President of the Board of Revenue, and President of the Board of Trade: under Mr. Hastings, and in times preceding him, they actually performed the duty of President. At Bombay no particular part of the duty of government is delegated to the members of council individually; and it is not desirable that it should be so delegated, for each would then be responsible for his own department; his opinion would have greater weight than it now has; and the Governor's attention would be withdrawn from the department committed to a particular member of council. The secretaries prepare memoranda on the different subjects for the consideration of the members of council. The duties of Territorial Secretary in one branch correspond in a great measure with those of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England. He manages the whole financial business of the government in concert with the accountant-general. He has the management of the territorial revenue, and of the revenue derived from salt and opium, and he conducts the correspondence of Government with the Board of Revenue.

There is no practical inconvenience from the present relation between the Supreme Government and the subordinate Governments; but it would be desirable that the Supreme Government should not possess, what it seldom exercises, the power of interfering in the internal affairs of the other Presidencies, except in cases likely to affect the general interest of India.

The Government ought to have the power of protecting any of its servants from the Supreme Court, by taking the responsibility upon itself, even though the servant did not act under a written order from the Government. The Supreme Court ought not to have the power of summoning the Governor or Council as witnesses or jurors; and the Governor ought to be protected against groundless charges of felony or treason. Much confusion has arisen from the Supreme Court conceiving that it represents the King, and that the Government does not; perhaps this might be removed by the Governor having a commission from the King.

The regulations made by the Government for the internal administration of the seat of government at the Presidency, have no effect until registered by the Supreme Court.

Indian Navy.

Undoubtedly His Majesty's ships are able to perform any duty the British Government can impose on them. The service of the Indian navy could be performed by King's ships, if they were placed sufficiently under the authority of the local government. The government is constantly in want of vessels of war; and unless some are at their disposal, they must be often reduced to considerable difficulty. The promotion in the Indian navy is very slow, and the service offers few inducements for a gentleman to enter it. It was most insignificant as a naval service, from its inefficiency and the neglect that was shown to it. The ships are in general conducted very economically. The crews consist of Europeans and natives; the proportion varies; much depends on the exertions of the commander himself; for the Government furnish neither means nor men. The crews are a motley set, such as can be collected; an inferior crew for a man of war. The Company have sent out marine boys, but not men. The crews have usually behaved remarkably well in action. The Arabs are muscular, strong, hardy men, but lubberly, and not good seamen; they would not bear comparison with an English sailor. But the native crews consist of Mahomedan natives of India; the best are the Gogorees, from a small place in the Gulf of Cambay. It is not advisable to have too many natives; two boats' crews are sufficient for each ship. They are not so liable as Europeans to get drunk on shore. It is not imperatively necessary to have natives to perform the duties on deck. The duty of a soldier is more irksome than that of a sailor, and Europeans undergo the former notwithstanding the heat. In warm weather there is no sailor more active than the Clasher, the native sailor of India. They are not good helmsmen, and they are not fit for cold weather, but for the purpose of navigation in warm climates they are as smart and active as any people; they have not the stamina of a British sailor, and their strength is not equal to his, but they have taken in the sail and set it quicker than British sailors; they are more active, and run out on the yard lighter.

There is no difficulty in navigating the Red Sea, either in steam-boats or sailing vessels. It abounds with shoals, but the direct navigation for ships is clear and extensive enough, and a ship has plenty of sea-room.



I.
PUBLIC.

Appendix (A.)

Evidence on sub-
jects relating to
the Public Depart-
ment.

(7.)—EVIDENCE given in the SECOND REPORT of the COMMONS' COMMITTEE on EAST INDIA AFFAIRS, in 1830; and in the REPORTS of 1830-1, and 1831; on subjects relating to the PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

Natives, Condition of	-	-	p. 306	Character of the Indian Government
Education of	-	-	p. 311	and of the Civil Servants
Employment of	-	-	p. 312	Half Castes
				European Residents

Natives;—Condition of, &c.

Rickards, 2798.
D° 2825.

Mill, 3443. 3870. 3893.

Bracken, 230.
Gordon, 546.

D° 574.

Chaplin, 5255.

Forbes, 2445.

Mill, 3345.
Christian, 3063.
Sinclair, 4380.

Christian, 3043.
D° 3084.
D° 3085.

Sullivan, 4728.
Sinclair, 4384.

Mill, 3372.

D° 3461.
Sullivan, 4692.

Chaplin, 5257.

Sullivan, 4955.
D° 4959.

D° 4958.
Christian, 3091.
Mill, 3348.
D° 3462.

D° 3469.

D° 3533.

WITHOUT a suitable reform of the system of taxation, and a better administration of justice, the progress of prosperity among the natives cannot be great. Where the revenue is collected, as it is in India, on the principle of the Government being entitled to one-half of the gross produce of the soil, and vast numbers of officers are employed in the realization of it, it is a moral impossibility for any people whatever to live or prosper so as to admit of a very extensive commercial intercourse. Generally in India more than enough has been collected by the Government from the cultivators; but instructions, more and more peremptory, have been sent out, to take especial care that no more than the rent is taken from the land. The large proportion of the gross produce, which the Government take from the land, interferes with the rate at which the cultivators of the soil can borrow money. The natives of the Coromandel coast would not be benefited by free trade and settlement, if the same revenue system were enforced. In taking the land tax, as little as possible is left for the subsistence of the people. It is impossible to look for improvement in any way, unless there is a moderate assessment of the land. Almost the only thing to be done to improve the character and condition of the inferior classes, is to lower the assessment, and fix it for a long period. By taking a moderate rent, we shall contribute more to the prosperity of the people, and to the suppression of crime, than by the most perfect code of regulations; but a more speedy and economical mode of obtaining justice is also necessary. The native capital is considerable, though it has not been increasing of late years, owing to over taxation. The natives want encouragement to apply it.

The zemindars are not saving men. In Allahabad and Cawnpore the zemindars are not in general wealthy men. The great landowners in Tanjore, like great landholders elsewhere, are not men of prudent habits; they are often encumbered with debt; and on the occasion of any great ceremony, they do not limit their expenses by any regard to the future. If they accumulate capital, they generally bury it; there are no means of their employing it to any extent, and there is no place where they would feel disposed to deposit it. A bank might be of use, and a general permission to Europeans to reside, might lead to such establishments.

The ryots are, generally speaking, a poor class. There are degrees in their poverty, but in general they are poor. It could not be said that a ryot has no means of collecting capital, but it is a rare occurrence to see a ryot possessing any considerable degree of capital. In some villages they appear to be very comfortable; in others, quite the reverse. If a ryot accumulates property, it is either appropriated to the improvement of the land, or dissipated in weddings and feasts, or employed in trade. The establishment of banks would tend to encourage industry. From the insecurity of property, which, till the time of British rule, was perfectly habitual in the country, improvidence was almost universal. The people, beyond a small number of the mercantile class, have not a notion of accumulation. Every individual spends as fast as he can; and the disposition of the ryots generally is, not to accumulate, but to make away within the year with almost every thing which the year affords them. Everywhere in India the progress of wealth has been, by necessary causes, slow. Many of the ryots are men who live from hand to mouth, and if a plough breaks, or a bullock dies, or the rains fall, they are not able to carry on their cultivation; they are men of no capital; many cultivate upon borrowed capital: a succession of bad seasons will go far to ruin the richest proprietor. The lower classes of ryots are generally poor, but perhaps they would bear a comparison in point of condition with the lower orders of peasantry in Europe. It is the fate of the lower orders, in most countries, to have little more than the bare means of maintenance. The great mass of the ryots are in the condition of daily labourers; generally speaking all over India the proprietor is the cultivator of his own farm. Their houses are much in the same state now as they were at a period of remote antiquity; the walls are built of mud and thatched with grass. They answer all the purposes of the climate. In many parts of Coimbatore there are great improvements, tiles being substituted for thatch; in the town the houses are almost invariably tiled. Their principal article of food is grain. Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Furruckabad are in an advanced state of cultivation; Goruckpore is quite the reverse. In Bengal there has been a considerable increase of capital and extension of cultivation. There is an increase of cultivation at Madras, as there is elsewhere; but it is much more difficult for cultivation to make progress at Madras, because the soil is comparatively poor, and the cultivation expensive, as it is carried on by means of artificial irrigation. It is the case universally in India, that there are no visible, direct marks of improvement, except in so far as the population has increased and the cultivation extended; the general appearance of the people, or the circumstances of the people taken individually, have not materially improved anywhere. There has been an extension of capital, the effect and consequence of the general protection of persons and property which have existed everywhere. The condition of the



the people of Guzerat is less distressed than that of most other parts of India. The farmers of Madras are worse off than the porters of Calcutta, with regard both to food and clothing. The peasantry of Madras are in much worse circumstances than those of Ceylon. Scarcity and famine, from drought, are common. Land in Bengal would sell at from ten to twenty-five years' purchase; in Madura it is not saleable; there land is a service, not a property; it is scarcely a saleable article in any part of the Madras presidency. The opening of the trade to India has greatly conduced to give additional value to the lands in Bengal, and to enable those who now possess estates in that quarter to obtain a rent for them, and sometimes a high rent, where there was none at all, or scarcely a scanty subsistence. The people of Tanjore are not in so wretched a state as Mr. Gordon describes. Dry land is of value both in Tanjore and Ramnad. The inhabitants of Tanjore seemed to be very comfortable; the assessment is in some places very light, and in very few is it heavy. It is a great exporting country; they have much more food than they can consume. There are very few opulent native families resident in Madura. No class can be considered at all rich except the officers in the actual service of the Company. Whoever has money not employed in trade, has it taken from him by the Company's servants. The great body of the people in Bombay are of the poorer classes, but they cannot be said to be almost in a situation of beggary; they are very poor, but then they require little to support them. Trade cannot be very much increased without bettering the condition of the natives, so as to give them the means of paying for imports. The land-rent is very high; the country suffers from taxation, and so consequently does commerce. Bombay has been improving much within the last few years, extending much, and improving in the style of building and in the roads. The value of houses and lands in Bombay is high compared with Madras and Calcutta, and rents are rising. In consequence of the return from a state of war to peace, much of the land which was left untilld is now productive, and much of the produce of the country, which was formerly destroyed; is now coming into the market; this sudden increase in produce has occasioned a great fall in prices all over India. The depreciation varies from 30 to 40 per cent. in some cases, and is still going on. The ryots in the Bellary district have required that the revenues should be taken in kind; on the other hand, the prices of some necessaries of life, such as salt and tobacco, have increased enormously. The cultivators in the Deccan are much involved in debt; they borrow money on the security of their crops and lands at from 12 to 24 per cent.

Under some of the native chiefs, whose administration is good, and where perhaps the assessment is lighter, the condition of the lower orders is perhaps superior to that of the same class in some parts of the Company's territory, visible not so much in the superiority of their external appearance as in the fully cultivated state of their lands. The ryots, generally speaking, are not in good circumstances. In some of the districts of the native chiefs, nothing can be worse than the condition of the lower orders. The situation of natives of a superior class is upon the whole much better in Mysore than in the Company's territories, because the whole civil and military administration rests with them, instead of being vested in Europeans. Instead of having a master in every European, they have only one master who is their prince; but the lower orders are not by any means so well off under the Mysore government at present, because it is a most oppressive government. The higher classes are not absolutely better paid under the native governments, but they have various perquisites, and they obtain gratuities and remuneration from their Prince in various ways, which they do not receive under the British rule. Coimbatore is in a much higher state of cultivation now than when it was ceded to the British government, but there are evident traces of a still more extended cultivation in ancient times. The condition of the country in Burdwan in the neighbourhood of the coal mines owned by Europeans, is unquestionably improved. The peasantry of Java are in a better condition as far as external appearance; in the wearing and consumption of manufactured goods, they consume a greater quantity and more expensive articles than the Bengalese. The wages in Java are nearly double those in Bengal. The food of the Javanese is chiefly rice or maize, and a little palm-tree sugar. They are generally well fed and clothed, and, for the climate, well housed. Their clothing is principally of cotton; in the central district it is commonly the manufacture of the country. The climate, and the facility of procuring food, do not make them indolent where property is secure; at least they have not that effect on the Chinese in Java. There are Chinese labourers as well as Javanese. The former have ordinarily thrice the wages of the latter, as they are chiefly the artisans and merchants. The cultivators in Persia, and in the British territories in the south of India, are pretty much alike in point of comfort. The natives in provinces not belonging to the Company appear to be in much the same state as those in the Company's territories. There is no difference in the appearance of the cultivation. The land-tax is much the same. The territories of the native chiefs in the Deccan are in a more flourishing state than the Company's. The condition of the people in the Deccan has been highly ameliorated since our conquest of it. Coimbatore is capable, from the diversity of its temperature and soil, of yielding every species of European as well as of tropical produce. It is intersected by rivers from which canals are taken off for irrigation; these, at a comparatively small expense, might be so prolonged and enlarged as to make a canal communication from one end of the province to the other, and to connect the eastern and western coasts. The principal products are iron, cotton, saltpetre, tobacco, elephants' teeth, sandal-wood, opium, sheep, cattle and grain. The great fertility of Coimbatore, its varied produce, and its proximity to the coast, render it of great importance in a commercial point of view; and its importance would be much enhanced if the communication with the Malabar coast were improved, either by opening canals, or constructing a railway. The peasantry in Coimbatore are in an improving condition, and contented, but the case is not so in other parts of India, in Malabar and Canara for instance. In Coimbatore, the peasantry

Gordon, 420.

D° 422.

D° 587.

Rickards, 2842.

Sinclair, 4233.

D° 4359.

Gordon, 792.

Ritchie, 1532.

D° 1493.

Sullivan, 4951.

Chaplin, 5286.

D° 5258.

Sullivan, 5051.

D° 5074.

Bracken, 324.

Gisborne, 1004.

Maclaine, 1718.

D° 1760.

D° 1718.

Ritchie, 1255.

D° 1532.

Chaplin, 5366.

L. Smith, 5532.

Sullivan, 4768.

D° 4960.



Appendix (A.)

Chaplin, 5301.

Rickards, 2798.

D^o 2795.D^o 2807.D^o 2817.

Gordon, 549.

Rickards, 2820.

D^o 2839.

Ritchie, 1218.

L. Smith, 5463.

Sinclair, 4394.

D^o 4399.D^o 4400.

Stewart, 2545.

Sinclair, 4403.

Willey, 2303.

Gordon, 507.

Chaplin, 5443.

D^o 5417.D^o 5420.

L. Smith, 5478, 5484.

D^o 5516.D^o 5600.D^o 5615.

are generally docile and obedient; there is however a spirit of independence growing up amongst them; they are no longer the yielding people they were; they resist exactions much more than they did. They are as industrious a people as are to be found in any country. The nature of our government is not calculated for much improvement of the people of India. They enjoy under our sway more security of person and property, and they suffer less oppression and exaction, than under native rule; they have generally also an incorrupt and impartial administration of justice, though a very tardy and expensive one; but the degradation of not being employed in the higher offices tends much to check improvement. Any improvement which may have arisen in consequence of the introduction of British capital and enterprize into India, is nothing in comparison with what would be the case if the natives were sufficiently encouraged, and proper attention paid to their cultivation and improvement. India requires capital to bring forth her resources; but the best and fittest capital for this purpose would be one of native growth, and such a capital would be created if our institutions did not obstruct it. In their present state of extreme poverty, and almost slavery, it is not reasonable to expect that any great improvements can flow from the natives. One of the greatest, however, of which the mind of man is susceptible, has been made by them entirely through their own exertions. Their acquirement of knowledge, and particularly of the English language and literature, of which there are many examples, is quite astonishing. It may even be questioned whether so great a progress in the attainment of knowledge has ever been made under like circumstances in Europe. The examples certainly are among those who have kept up an uninterrupted intercourse with Europeans, but their exertions have been altogether independent of European assistance; they have been self-taught. In many branches of art, also, their skill is unrivalled; several of their fabrics, such as muslins, shawls, embroidered silks, and pieces of workmanship in gold, silver, and ivory, have never yet been equalled by British artists. In many other arts connected with the comforts and conveniences of life, the natives of India have in some made great progress, and in others attained perfection, without being in the smallest degree indebted to European patterns or examples. The inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, are, generally speaking, a better educated race than the inhabitants of the interior, ascribable to their living in much more comfortable circumstances, and coming more habitually into contact with European refinement; but there are to be found in every part numerous individuals whose natural talents and capacity are fully equal to those of the inhabitants of the Presidencies. In the cities, the situation of the natives is very superior to that of the inhabitants of the interior. The natives are much given to commercial and industrious pursuits, and exceedingly well qualified to succeed in them. They are sufficiently commercial to answer the highest expectations that can be formed, or desired, in respect to trade between the two countries; but our local institutions must be greatly altered before they can become wealthy or prosperous: if the condition of the natives, their habits, wants, rights, and interests were properly attended to, all the rest would follow.

The native merchants of Bombay consist of Parsees, Hindoos, and Mussulmans. The Parsees are the most intelligent: they are the remains of the original inhabitants of Persia who fled to India, and they are very numerous. They are for the most part free from the prejudices of caste. They very frequently embark as super-cargoes, principally for China. The native merchants are not so prosperous as they were; they were very rich.

The natives of the Madras territories are not frank or generous, and gratitude is a word which does not exist in any of the native languages, or in the hearts of the natives. They would not be insensible to kind treatment, but it seldom makes the same impression in India as it does in other countries.

Except where a native's own concerns are at stake, he will communicate with the Company's European servants very freely. He will not communicate with any person on his own private affairs, but upon any other point, upon the state of the country or the affairs of his neighbours, he has no objection to talk freely. The people are exceedingly submissive both to native officers and to Europeans; but perhaps more so to the former than to the latter. They are a very obedient race.

In Tanjore, instances of stealing from each other the grain which is left in the fields only slightly protected, are not frequent.

The natives of Cutch are a particularly industrious race; much more so than those of Bombay or Madras. They are a very fine race of men, and nearly the same size as the Bengalese. The prices of labour are low, and the people are generally deficient in capital.

On the Coromandel coast, the Mahomedans are a stout race; the lower class of Hindoos small, weakly, and short lived.

The natives will in general bear an advantageous comparison with those of any country in the world. Their moral character deserves an extremely favourable opinion. In large towns, no doubt, they are very dissolute, as the inhabitants of large towns are in every part of the world, but in the country their moral character stands in general extremely high. Dishonesty on the part of domestic servants is very rare. Writing desks may be left open in the utmost confidence that nothing will be abstracted. The doors of houses are often open during the night as well as the day. The public servants in the Deccan (the Mahratta Brahmins) are very dishonest. The natives are remarkably intelligent, and exceedingly merciful and tender hearted. Considering the disadvantages under which those in the Deccan have laboured for many years under a vicious government, they are a very good people, and greatly belied by all those who have written about them. They are by no means a cruel people; they were rude and violent, but they are essentially a good people; and where they have taken to cultivation, they are most quiet and orderly. The inhabitants of Bombay are quite equal, if not superior, to those of towns in England. They are an uncommonly sharp and intelligent people.

The



The wages of a Hindoo carpenter would be 6*d.* a day, of a Chinese 2*s.*, and of an European, the lowest superintendent of carpenters, 6*s.* Two Lascars may be considered equal to one European; in a cold climate the Lascar becomes of no value. Two Lascars can keep watch more easily than one European, and do many small jobs; there is not much work on board a ship that requires great strength. The condition of an Indian ship without European officers, is as slovenly, dirty, and ill-managed as possible. The Christian natives of Manilla are especially employed as steersmen, so are the native Portuguese, but not the Mussulman Lascars. The average rate of wages in Burdwan is from 5*s.* to 8*s.* a month. In Calcutta, five or six coolies may be hired for the day for a rupee; at Ramnad, three men or five women will cost from sun-rise to sunset not quite 4*d.* Their labour is equal to that of Europeans. They are poorly fed and thinly clad. The rate of agricultural wages is certainly under 3*s.* a month.

The ryots under the British government have the power of migrating, and it is believed that they do migrate from one part of the country to another, in cases of ill treatment; perhaps they are sometimes forcibly brought back, but it is not likely that the cases are of frequent occurrence. In the Madras territory a native cannot quit his village for a day's work without a pass. The object is to force the inhabitants to remain on the lands on which they were bred, that they may cultivate them for the Company on the Company's own terms. Advances are forced on the natives, in order that they may be considered as the Company's ryots. There is no such system of passes.

The treatment of the natives by the Company's servants, is not by any means so courteous as it ought to be; they are often treated with great harshness. Generally speaking, there is no familiar intercourse between European public functionaries and native public functionaries. The native gentry have, in the Deccan, privileges not enjoyed by those of our own provinces; they are exempt from the rigid operation of our rules of court; strict forms of process are dispensed with in a great degree; and their personal attendance is not always required. There is a constant interchange of visits of ceremony between them and the public servants; and the utmost freedom of access is given to them on all occasions. They very rarely visit Bombay, from an apprehension of coming in contact with the Supreme Court. The natives have no or very little confidence in the present system of administration of justice in the provinces. They have entire confidence in the King's Court. They are apparently better satisfied with the arbitration of an European than with that of a native.

A tariff is published by the collector of fixed rates, at which articles must be supplied by the natives to Europeans. The rates are not above half the market prices, but in general the articles are seized, and the natives do not receive anything whatever. The native officers of the revenue police are glad to make use of the name of an European, and will perhaps seize a dozen sheep, supplying only one to the traveller. At the head police office in Madras, there is a constant supply of sheep and poultry kept up for the table of the judge and collector, gratis. The natives have no one to whom they can complain, as the wrong is done by and for the magistrate. The personal services of the natives are equally impressed. The tariff rates are sometimes paid. When the Company's servants travel through the country, they pay for the necessaries with which they are supplied; of late years, at all events, it has been usual to pay. The payment is made according to a rate, a fair rate, fixed beforehand by the collector of the district.

Under the native governments it is by no means an uncommon practice for the revenue officers to enforce payment by torture. Under the Company's government, no such grievance could have been inflicted by the authority of any European. Such abuses no doubt occasionally occurred, but every exertion has been made to suppress them, and they must have been nearly put an end to. Mr. Ritchie never heard of torture being applied to extort taxes.

So far from having any antipathy to the use of European commodities, the natives very much covet such articles. They have not shown any indisposition to the consumption of British manufactures other than that arising from inability to purchase, or the unsuitableness of the articles to their tastes and habits. In all the bazaars from Bhooj to Kaira, European cotton manufactures are met with. They are much worn by the natives, and particularly sought after. British manufactures, both cotton and woollen, British muslins and shawls, are worn. A preference is given to the shawls of this country, even at Mandavie, which is a large depôt for Persian shawls. The consumption of British articles has considerably increased of late years: the principal articles used are printed calicoes and broad cloths, and a little iron and cutlery. The English cottons have, to a considerable extent, superseded the manufactures of the country. They are considered to be cheaper, but not so lasting as the native goods. The natives are very fond of European colours and patterns. The great mass of the people use Indian articles, because they are coarse and very cheap. The finer kinds of white cotton have superseded the manufacture of the Western Provinces to a great extent. British goods are subject to duties on importation and on transit through the interior. The introduction of cheap British manufactures into India is a positive good. Although many articles of British manufacture are now imported into India at a far less cost than the same articles can be produced in the country itself, it is quite clear that they have not altogether superseded, and probably never will supersede, the use of coarse cotton articles manufactured by the natives. There is one very strong proof of this in the large quantity of cotton yarn twist which is now exported from this country to India, for the purpose of manufacture on the spot, and is quite a new article of trade; and with respect to coarse goods manufactured in Bengal, as large, if not larger quantities of these goods are now exported to the Eastern Archipelago (the chief market for them); whence it is clear that the manufacture has not been superseded. The first import of cotton twist was in 1823; in 1824, it was about 121,000 lbs; in 1828, 4,000,000. From 1814 to 1824, repeated attempts were made to introduce it, but without success, the price being too high for the natives to purchase, and it was also



Gisborne, 1139.
Ritchie, 1236.
Gisborne, 1142.

D° 1035.

Ritchie, 1531.
Gordon, 410.
Gisborne, 1160.

Bracken, 18.

D° 33.

D° 29.

D° 34.

Gordon, 420.
Gisborne, 1038.

D° 1175.

Ritchie, 1262.

Gisborne, 1040.

D° 1184.

D° 1173.

Ritchie, 1236.

Gisborne, 1163.
Ritchie, 1343.

Bracken, 264

Maclaine, 1781.

supposed that it was not fitted for native use. There would not have been such an import if the Company's monopoly had continued. It has not been introduced successfully more than 100 or 200 miles from Calcutta. In 1819 or 1820 it was first imported into Bombay. The cloth made from it is worn by the middling and rather higher classes, not by the lowest class; they wear a heaviersort of cloth, in the manufacture of which we have not at all interfered with them. The British twist is worked up in the same looms in which their own twist used to be worked; they have no European machinery. There are considerable complaints made by the natives, that the goods manufactured from British twist are not so durable as their own. The twist sent out has been principally of an inferior quality; some parcels of superior quality have been sent out; but they would not fetch in Bengal a price proportioned to their increased cost here. A very considerable consumption of cotton goods takes place on the island of Bombay. The consumption of British piece goods is increasing rapidly in every village in India, and that of cotton yarn very rapidly indeed. The Indian cotton manufactures are more durable than our's and their muslins are of a softer texture, arising probably from their being spun by hand. The spinning of cotton thread is the chief employment of the women; the finest is said to be spun under water. The consumption of British cotton goods is very considerably increasing among the natives. Certain descriptions are cheaper than their own manufactures, but not the very lowest kind; the very common and coarse cloths they make cheaper themselves, but the middling and better descriptions (Dacca muslins, for instance,) are much dearer than Manchester piece goods. The natives above the lowest class, such as shopkeepers and persons that possess a little property, use European piece goods. Of late years, the lower classes have worn over their heads and shoulders, and also sometimes round the waist, a particular kind of cloth or handkerchief, which has been sent from Manchester, and which they obtain at a cheaper rate than cloths of their own manufacture, made of cotton and coloured. The cotton yarn imported is in general worked up into low-priced cloths, but some of it is used for a better description of cloth, and also for thread. The importation has increased amazingly within these few years. It was unknown in Calcutta a short time since. There was no great quantity imported before 1824 or 1825. The value of the importation in 1827 and 1828 was about 190,000*l.*; in the following year, it increased considerably; in 1829-30, it fell off; but the average of the three years, 1827-8 to 1829-30, was about 230,000*l.* European manufactures are exposed for sale in the bazaars in the interior of India, and there are large quantities of imitation shawls of cotton. The importation of cotton fabrics from Great Britain has very considerably interfered with the native manufacture, but it has not produced distress among the weavers and artisans to the extent that might be supposed, as the weavers are also cultivators and ryots, and turn their labour from one employment to the other, without that shock, perhaps, which might be expected in other countries; and some of them are employed in working up the cotton twist imported from England. Previously to that importation, the yarn was supplied chiefly by the women without machinery. There are now spinning and weaving mills in India. The natives of Madras have begun to consume British manufactures according to their means, but their means are extremely limited. The importation of British cotton manufactures must have interfered to a certain extent with the same branch of Indian manufacture, but the whole quantity of English cotton goods sent is so small when compared with the consumption of the population, that it cannot have interfered very materially. It must have produced partial distress at the time; but the native weavers do not confine themselves to weaving; they are also agriculturists and fishermen. The cotton twist sent out has also furnished some employment for them. The 4,000,000 lbs. of twist sent to India would make half as many yards of cotton goods as we have imported into India within the last year, but of the spinning of that twist the natives have been deprived. The large importation of cotton piece goods from Great Britain must in some degree have proved injurious to the corresponding native manufactures. There are now no imports into Bombay of muslins from Bengal. The weavers at Surat have been much distressed, and have taken to other employments. The importation of British cotton twist has to some extent proved a substitute to the Indian weaver for the loss of work by the importation of piece goods; and so probably has the increased importation of raw silk from Persia. The importation of British piece goods has scarcely at all interfered with the coarser Indian goods. The diminished price of cotton manufactures in Europe and North America must have materially contributed to the falling off in the manufacture of Indian cottons, as the latter used to be shipped in large quantities to Europe and South America, where they are now nearly superseded by the manufactures of England and other countries. Supposing the manufacturing interest of India to suffer by an import of British manufactures, the agricultural interest would be more than compensated by the necessity of our purchasing their articles in payment for the goods so imported. The import of British white and printed goods into the countries east of the Cape was, in 1815, 800,000 yards; and in 1830, 45,000,000. The value of the imports of cotton was,

In 1829, Calcutta, 655,462*l.*; Bombay, 570,626*l.*
1830, ——— 798,756*l.*; ——— 618,174*l.*

The natives are much wedded to their own machinery, both in agriculture and manufactures; they dislike the adoption of our machinery; they dislike all changes. To this day, they use cattle for treading the corn. There is great difficulty in persuading them that changes are for their advantage. They are more indisposed to change than any other people, and the poorest classes are the most in disposed.

There is not much extension of the Christian religion. There is no person, "to my knowledge," who has been converted; but it is said that there are one or two villages near Calcutta, in which the inhabitants have shewn a disposition to become converts to Christianity. The higher class of natives in Calcutta are getting rid of Hindooism, but they are not adopting any other religion. There are several missionaries in Java, but they have not made many proselytes.



proselytes. The Christian religion has made extensive progress in the Philippine islands. In Manila, the natives call themselves Christians, so do the Chinese, and attend divine service as Christians. The Spanish authority in the Philippine islands is chiefly maintained by the Roman Catholic priests, Europeans, and descendants of Europeans. Maclaine, 1801.

Education of Natives.

The Governments in India have, very much to their credit, encouraged the improvement of the natives, by patronizing and supporting institutions for learning and the acquirement of knowledge. They have also attempted to introduce improvements in agriculture and in manufacture; but in these latter attempts, by stepping out of their sphere, they have generally failed. In Tanjore there is a missionary who has a school in the district, but no other means have been taken for the education of the natives. There is no public fund for education in Coimbatore. There are generally schools in every village, supported by the people themselves, for teaching the elements of the vernacular languages. There are four schools supported by the Government, and the payments amounted to about 300 rupees a year, the population being about 850,000, and the revenue 27,00,000 rupees. The proportion of the whole who are able to read and write is very small indeed. They are very anxious for education. One of the greatest boons which the Government could confer upon the people would be to have in every province a large grammar school, and branch schools. It has been under contemplation, and has been partially effected; but the agency is so small in proportion to the population that it cannot produce any beneficial result. The people in general are not in a state of such prosperity as to enable them to contribute very largely to establishments of the kind; there are already schools in every village, but the education given does not exceed that of merely writing imperfectly, and reading a little of their own vernacular language. Rickards, 2809.

No native should be admissible after a time into a public office who could not read, write, and speak the English language. The children of the natives have great aptitude in learning that language. Since the institution of schools for the instruction of natives in English, under the patronage of Mr. Elphinstone, many of them can read, write, and speak it with fluency. Sinclair, 4404. Sullivan, 4971. Petition from Natives of Bombay, 25 Jan. 1831. Report, 1831, p. 536.

There are a number of remarkably intelligent well educated men among the natives at Bombay, particularly the Parsees. Nearly the whole of the Parsees speak English. They have invariably educated their children in English, and many of them can speak it as fluently as Europeans. The Parsees have more pride, and have taken more pains to understand English, and all our laws and institutions, than any other class of Indians, not excepting the Brahmins of Calcutta. They are by far the most intelligent class. Hindoos are also educating very fast, but they have not made that progress which the Parsees have. The Mahomedans, generally speaking, are not so industrious, and have stronger prejudices against sending their children to school. The English language is in such extensive progress now in Bombay that it could hardly be more extended by any regulation of Government. Education is also going on in the Deccan, but it is quite in its infancy; they are a totally different people in knowledge and prejudices. There is at Bombay a very liberal establishment by the Government for education, under Captain Jervis, an officer of very great attainments in the native languages. The officers of the native army rise from the ranks invariably, and there are very few of the present age who are very well educated, but their intelligence is still remarkable. There are now regimental schools established by Government. No compulsion is necessary to enforce attendance, as they are very willing and anxious to attend. L. Smith. 5455.

The increasing of the sources of education and intelligence must in the end tend to drive us out of the country. It is not in human nature to suppose that when their minds are armed with intelligence they will not use it. They cannot go on with the means of intelligence, and let a handful of Europeans govern them. They ought decidedly to be enlightened, but the effect will be, that we shall lose the country. D^o 5625. D^o 5459. D^o 5484.

In Calcutta, the knowledge of the English language is extending very much among the natives, and there are day schools where the children learn it. The Hindoos in Calcutta are becoming much better educated, and are divesting themselves of their prejudices; those of the higher classes generally learn English. Besides public institutions, there are some few private individuals engaged in teaching children of the higher class. The natives have a debating society; they are apt in learning the English language; the children are quick and intelligent. Some of the higher classes, or such as are intended for the courts of law, learn Sanscrit and Arabic; of late years they have shown a preference for the English language. D^o 5492. D^o 5633. Bracken, 263. D^o 264.

The Mahratta Brahmin generally speaks not only his own language, but Hindostanee, and is quick at learning any thing. Scarcely any have a knowledge of English; it is not considered necessary. There would not be any insurmountable difficulty in introducing the English language generally in India, but there is hardly any necessity or use in it further than that it would give the natives an opportunity of learning European sciences. Our civil officers are, generally speaking, never appointed to any responsible charge until they have acquired a proficiency in the native language, and therefore there is no necessity for the natives learning English to enable us to transact business with them. It might possibly be an advantage to have one language for the conduct of the whole government business, but it can never be attainable. Chaplin, 5427.

The acquirement of knowledge by the natives, and particularly of the English language and literature, of which there are many examples, is quite astonishing. Rickards, 2807.

The inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, are in general a better educated race than the inhabitants of the interior. D^o 2817.

Employment of Natives.

Rickards, 2808.

Craufurd, 1916.
 Christian, 3064.

D^o 3067.

Chaplin, 5296.

Until the natives are raised (and they can be so raised with great advantage) to participate largely and actively in the government of themselves, India never will be justly or securely ruled under any European sovereignty. Natives ought to be admissible to the same employments as Europeans. To facilitate the decision of civil suits, and disputes between landlord and tenant, it is necessary either to increase the European agency, or make use of native agency. Natives would be found competent to discharge the duty. The natives would not be as well satisfied with native judges as with European. The natives are many of them very well qualified, and very shrewd people, but their integrity is open to suspicion. The best way of improving the character and condition of the superior order of natives would be to leave open to their ambition some of the higher and more lucrative offices of the government, and to allow them to participate as much as possible in the administration of their own country: it may not be politic to allow them to hold the highest departments, which should always be filled by Europeans. They ought to be admitted to the revenue and judicial departments: from the chief political offices they should always be excluded. By permitting the natives to fill a few of the high situations, we shall gradually raise a native aristocracy of our own, who being indebted to our government, will feel an interest in maintaining it; they would consider the security of their own fortunes identified with the safety of the government. Their exclusion from all offices and places of trust, except the subordinate ones, has a tendency to produce a deterioration of character. In this respect they sensibly feel the consequences of foreign rule; they regard themselves as a conquered and degraded people. All the paths of honourable ambition being shut against them, it may be feared that discontent will increase, so that we may eventually become extremely unpopular. Indeed a general disaffection might be expected to take place, were it not for the sense, generally entertained, of the good faith of the Company's government, its regard for the rights of persons and property, and its strict attention to the religious customs and prejudices of their subjects. Hence, though there is little attachment to our rule, and no great interest in its stability, there is a general feeling of respect and a thorough confidence in the integrity of the English character, which, supported by the fidelity of our native troops, forms the chief support of our tenure in India. Many individual natives in the different departments are highly deserving of confidence, but generally speaking, our revenue servants, from the inadequacy of their pay, are extremely open to corruption and intrigue of every sort. Those who have the prospect of promotion for good conduct are more to be depended on than others. Dishonesty on the part of domestic servants is very rare. The dismissals of public servants are extremely frequent. The abuses generally arise from the pay being inadequate to the trust and responsibility of the office, and to the facilities of concealing and appropriating part of the collections. A private servant has not the same temptation nor the same facility that a public servant has, who is employed in collecting the revenue. The Mahratta Brahmins, the class employed in the Deccan to conduct the public business, are intriguing, lying, corrupt, licentious and unprincipled, and when in power coolly unfeeling and systematically oppressive. The degradation arising from not being employed in the higher offices tends much to check improvement. The natives ought to be declared eligible to fulfil and execute all civil offices, judicial, financial, and territorial. It is not to be believed that a population of 60 millions does not contain within itself talent, assiduity, and integrity to justify their being largely admitted into those offices. The advantages in policy and morals which would thence result are numberless. It is highly politic to introduce the English language into the vernacular languages of India; and no native after the period of 12 years should be admissible into any office, unless his competency in the English language were certified on examination.

D^o 5301.

Petitions from Natives of Bombay, 31 Dec. 1829, & 25 Jan. 1831. Report, 1831, p. 534.

Petition from Natives of Bombay, 25 Jan. 1831. Report, 1831, p. 536.

L. Smith, 5471.

D^o 5569.

D^o 5621.

D^o 5626.

Sullivan, 4780.

D^o 4653.

D^o 4772.

D^o 5094.

D^o 4772.

The natives ought to have all the privileges of British subjects, and not to be debarred, through distinction of colour, and because they are natives, from the benefits of the administration of the laws of their own country, but it should be done gradually. The natives ought to be brought forward, and the preparation should be the introduction of the English language. The most intelligent natives will be found at the Presidency. Natives can of course be got to serve for much smaller sums than are paid to the European servants; they are much more easily paid, but for many years they could not be employed exclusively; there must be Europeans mixed with them. After some years they would be equally efficient; they should be gradually introduced. All the details of public offices are now managed by natives.

The people must feel degraded from not being admitted into the superior offices, and the feeling will increase with their increasing intelligence; they ought to participate in the administration of the country.

The natives are a very sensitive race of people, alive to kindness, and grateful for it, and fully as anxious to make suitable returns as other people are. The native servants deserve a very high character; where they have been wanting in good qualities it has been entirely owing to our treatment of them. The giving them greater trust and responsibility, and at the same time a liberal and fair increase of pay and consideration from the government, will tend to render them men of integrity, whose duties may be enlarged with perfect safety to the state. As much confidence may be placed in natives as in Europeans if equally well treated. They would be nearly, if not altogether, as honest as Europeans, if we held out the same motives to them. A larger extension of confidence in them would produce a better state of feeling among them. Those who are most conversant with the natives entertain that opinion. If they are found to be corrupt, it is entirely in consequence of our treatment of them. They have no interest in working for us, and therefore they invariably work against us when they can. They are most anxious to be raised in the scale of society, and they feel acutely the depressed state in which they are kept; that feeling is universal. The feeling dearest to their hearts is to be entrusted with that degree of power and official emolument which they invariably enjoyed



enjoyed previously to our obtaining possession of India. Where confidence is placed in natives, it is very frequently rewarded by a faithful discharge of their duties, but there has no doubt been cause to complain of abuse of confidence. The more they are encouraged, and the more they are employed, the more they will improve themselves. The best system that could be established at this moment, would be to intrust all the details of revenue, and all the original suits in judicature, to natives, leaving the business of control to Europeans. The natives would do the details much more effectually than Europeans. The most efficient officers of Government would be quite helpless without the assistance of the natives. No natives but those duly qualified by previous education in the inferior offices of the civil administration, should be permitted to occupy the higher grades. The native servants in the revenue department are liable to be dismissed at the will of the European superior, and so long as we refuse to accord to the natives a fair share of the government, and to ingratiate them, it is a sort of power that cannot be dispensed with, because the higher classes now have no interest in a pure and upright administration. The substitution of native for European agency would cause a large reduction in the government expenditure. Europeans should be confined to superintendence and control.

The corruption of native servants is very great; they are never to be trusted. No doubt, under liberal treatment and vigilant superintendence, and with the progress of education, the qualities of the native agency will improve, and after a time rapidly; and as the natives become fit for trust and employment, the amount of European agency may be diminished. The Government have no other than very imperfect instruments to employ; with the total absence of a moral feeling in the country, it is not shameful to be dishonest in a public trust, no discredit attaches to a man in such a situation for robbing either his fellow subjects or the Government; and if he does not avail himself of his advantages to make himself rich by any means, he is reckoned rather to have behaved unskilfully than to have behaved honourably. Although there is no doubt that a commencement of improvement in the moral condition of the natives has been made, all improvements of that sort are slow, and must be very slow under the unfavourable circumstances in which the natives of India remain, after being placed for many generations under the demoralizing influence of a bad government, under which they found their protection against oppression in nothing but cunning and fraud. The operation of our government has had a very salutary influence, and will go on, gradually rendering its good effects more and more visible; but such progress has not yet been made as to render it safe to trust the inferior people whom we employ, or to relax the most vigilant superintendence. The native moonsiffs have rendered useful service; but both in Bengal and Madras there is evidence of no small amount of corruption, and it is imagined that the corruption is not less in the Deccan; but there is no doubt that the native conduct has improved. There are no complaints on the records of Government against the native sub-collectors in Guzerat or the Deccan, but there have been heavy complaints against functionaries of the same description in other Presidencies. The salaries paid to native superintendents would be considerably less than those paid to Europeans. The advantage of employing natives would be cheapness. An opinion is very generally entertained that it would be good for the natives to be more largely employed in the business of government than they now are; but really the great concern of the people is, that the business of government should be well and cheaply performed; and it is of little or no consequence to them who are the people that perform it. The idea generally entertained is, that the people of India would be elevated by giving them a greater share in their own government; but to encourage any people in a train of believing that the grand source of elevation is in being an employé of Government is anything but desirable. The right thing is, to teach people to look for their elevation to their own resources, their industry, and economy. Let the means of accumulation be afforded to our Indian subjects; let them grow rich as cultivators, merchants, manufacturers, and not accustom themselves to look for wealth and dignity to successful intriguing for places under Government, the benefit from which, whatever it may be, can never extend beyond a very insignificant portion of the whole population. The natives do not look upon their exclusion from the higher branches of employment as a stigma. The feeling of degradation from being governed by foreigners is altogether European, it has little or no existence in Asia; employment would have little effect in ameliorating the native character. The thing of importance in order to elevate the character of any people is to protect them. Elevation is the natural state of a man who has nothing to fear, and the best riches are the effects of a man's own industry; effects which never fail when the protection is good. The extensive frauds committed by the government native servants are not all to be ascribed to their low rate of payment, as the tehsildars are handsomely paid, receiving 140 rupees a month; but no pay would prevent them from taking money from the people, so long as the revenue system makes the temptation so powerful. The present system has caused a great degeneracy of morals, and the people are very much worse than the people of this country. A change of system might be expected to produce an improvement in their morals; at the same time the character of the natives is such that they seem to have no idea of justice or truth; they call deciding in their favour justice, and deciding against them injustice, and they have not much idea of gaining justice, except by means of bribery.

They have very great confidence in the Europeans generally, and the only reason why they have not absolute confidence in them is, that they are afraid that the Europeans will be imposed upon by their native servants, and therefore they bribe the servants of the judge, though the judge himself may be a person of unimpeachable character.

The head native judge in Tanjore was a man of first rate character; but some of the Talook moonsiffs, who were in inferior stations, were not so highly considered; in fact, some of them were very generally accused of corruption, as well as incompetency. The employment of

Sullivan, 5092.

D° 5052.

D° 5053.

D° 5092.

Mill, 3415.

D° 3545.

D° 3555.

D° 3559.

D° 3560.

D° 4192.

Sinclair, 4345.

D° 4348.

D° 4407.

Sinclair, 4422.

natives in that way cannot be extended further than it has been. An honest native servant is an exception to the general rule.

Chaplin, 5436.

Christian natives are frequently employed as clerks and copyists, and there are other situations in which they are employed in different departments. It is said that Mr. Sullivan had a native Christian employed under him in a high office.

Government.

Chaplin, 5279.

UNDER the native governments it is by no means an uncommon practice for the revenue officers to enforce payment by torture. Under the Company's government no such grievance would have been inflicted by the authority of any European : such abuses no doubt occasionally occurred, but every exertion has been made to suppress them, and they must have been nearly put an end to. The government of the Company is a mild, beneficent, good government, well calculated to promote the general welfare and prosperity of our fellow subjects in India. The nature of our government is adverse to improvement. Its officers are constantly fluctuating. Partial and limited experience is no sooner acquired than a change takes place before it can be brought into effectual operation. Plans of improvement are followed for a time and relinquished under a new Chairman, a new Governor-general, or a new administration of the revenue. These frequent revolutions occasion a vacillation in the administration of affairs extremely injurious to the interests of the community. The present government of India is a most enormously expensive one in the civil administration of the country. In every civil department a saving might be effected by the employment of natives, and by simplifying the machinery of government. A very considerable reduction might be made in the number of Europeans. The present mode of carrying on the government is by a system of Boards, which is as complicated as can be. The government have no direct communication with their executive officers. Every thing passes through the Boards, and that leads to an enormous multiplication of records, and to great delay and expense.

Stewart, 2470.

Chaplin, 5301.

Sullivan, 5080.

D^o 5089.

D^o 5091.

L. Smith, 5571.

Of late years the natives in Bombay have been carefully taught to believe that Parliament and the King are everything to them. The impression is very local at present, and though not advantageous even there, it is not of much consequence while confined to the Presidency. If the impression become more general, it would, no doubt, be highly injurious to the Company's government. It must of course tend to bring them into contempt, and diminish their power and authority. There is not a better set of public servants in the world than those of Bombay. There is not a more honourable or assiduous class.

D^o 5609.

Sinclair, 4419.

There have been cases of peculation brought forward and substantiated against the Company's European servants, though not very frequently ; when they have happened, they have been to a large amount ; but peculation is infinitely more common among the natives ; the dishonest European is an exception to the general rule, but among the natives an honest servant is the exception.

Sullivan, 4655.

As land is the principal source of revenue, and its collection much affects the happiness of the people, a minute knowledge of the territorial branch of administration is quite essential to every civil functionary of the Government in whatever line he is employed. No person is employed in any office of trust who has not that knowledge. The civil servants are not always able to communicate with the people in the native languages. There are some instances of the collector and judge having learned one or two languages, and being then sent to a district where there is a third language spoken, and they are obliged to communicate by interpreters. One of the peculiar difficulties of Madras is the number of languages spoken within that Presidency. The writers are encouraged as much as possible to become acquainted with the native languages, but perhaps in their after service the languages acquired at Haileybury may not be of so much use as might be expected. Ignorance of the native languages must render the Company's servants more liable to be imposed upon. The civil officers are, generally speaking, never appointed to any responsible charge until they have acquired a proficiency of the native languages. It might possibly be an advantage to have one language in which the whole government business should be transacted, but it is not attainable. There are many gentlemen in the civil service who have a knowledge of the native languages, superior even to many of the natives, except the very highest caste of Bengal Brahmins. There are good Sanscrit scholars among the Europeans, and some who speak all the languages with great fluency. It is impossible that any body of men could improve more than the Bombay civil servants have since Mr. Elphinstone's government.

Sinclair, 4336.

D^o 4340.

D^o 4349.

Chaplin, 5431.

L. Smith, 5498.

Comparison of our government with that of native chiefs, pp. 307 *et seq.* of this paper.

Half-Castes.

Ricketts, 5886.

THERE are about 20,000 men, women, and children in Bengal ; two-thirds of them in Calcutta, and 10,000 more in Madras and Bombay. In Bengal, the greater part of the mothers of children by officers in the Company's service, are Mahomedans of respectable families, but in reduced circumstances. They are in many instances Moguls and Patams. There are some Hindoos, but the Mahomedans preponderate. The children generally follow the religion of their father, and are chiefly Protestants, but there are many Roman Catholics ; there may be some few instances of their being Mahomedans. They are in general educated to speak English, except in a few cases where they may have been neglected by their father. Those who have been educated, are entirely European in their habits, feeling, dress, language, and everything else. They habitually speak English among themselves. In Bengal there are about 500 who are qualified to hold situations of trust and importance, and 1,500 who may be considered capable of holding subordinate situations from their being able to read, write, and understand the English language. About 1,000 or more are actually employed. There are many instances of the marriage of the females with officers of high rank ; a large proportion of the officers of the army are married to such ; the children belong to the class of their

D^o 6072.

D^o 5893.

D^o 6060.

D^o 5900.



their father. If residing within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, they are subject to it; if not, they are tried by the mofussil courts, whose proceedings are regulated by the Mahomedan code, modified by the regulations of the Company, by which regulations much British law is now incorporated with the Mahomedan, but some of the modifications make it more severe on East Indians. They are tried by a judge without the intervention of a jury. If this has not been a grievance to them, it is owing to the correctness of their conduct. There is no code of civil law applicable to them in the mofussil; the Mahomedan bears an oppressive character to them as infidels; but there is no known instance of their having actually suffered in the bequest of their property, or in regard to marriages. They would, if Protestants, be married by a chaplain of the establishment. All persons, both British-born subjects and natives, if resident within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, are subject to it. British-born subjects resident in the mofussil are, to a certain extent, in civil cases, subject to the local judges, and also in criminal matters, not amounting to felony. They are not amenable to the Mahomedan law in any case, except in matters of debt to a limited amount, where they enter into a bond to abide by the adjudication of the local courts. The principal disadvantages under which the half-castes labour, are, that they are deprived of the protection of the habeas corpus, and liable to the summary jurisdiction of the provincial judges, who can fine, imprison, and corporally punish them, and that they are liable to trial, even for capital crimes, without the intervention of a jury. They are excluded from the regular service of the Company, civil and military; and none but the subordinate situations of clerks are open to them. By being employed as clerks to the Company's officers in the mofussil, they are not exempt from the jurisdiction of the mofussil, as the Company's regular servants are. The highest salary they obtain is 30*l.*, 40*l.*, or 50*l.* a month, with sometimes a personal allowance in addition, of 10*l.* The majority are employed at low salaries, from 5*l.* to 10*l.*; Europeans in the same situations would not receive more. The highest office they attain is that of registrar in the public offices. They are not received as privates in the army, and they are excluded from holding commissions in it, if they be the sons of a native Indian. The rule has been relaxed within the last two or three years, and is now confined to the immediate descendants of a native parent, on either side; but still their descendants in more remote degrees would be liable to all the legal disabilities. They are, either by usage or by the rules of the service, not considered eligible to hold the offices of moonsiffs, pundits, &c. Nor are Europeans eligible. If an East Indian would abjure Christianity, and become a Mahomedan, he would be eligible. The East Indians are subject to all the exclusions to which Europeans are subject, except with regard to the holding of land, and to all the exclusions to which natives are subject. They are not liable to any restrictions with regard to the holding of land, nor to deportation. Prior to 1791, the Company's service, civil and military, was open to the whole class of East Indians. General Jones, who commanded the Bombay army in 1803-5, was an East Indian; Colonel Stevenson, the present quartermaster-general, is also one; so are Major Hearsay, Captain Rutledge, Lieutenant Mullins, and a few others; Major Deane, in the King's army; and Colonel Skinner, in the irregular service. The last has commanded 8,000 or 10,000 men. These officers, as being in the Company's service, would be exempt from the local courts; but perhaps the Supreme Court would not recognise them as British subjects; so that they would have no law applicable to them. The wives, being East Indians, of Company's officers, would be subject to the jurisdiction of the local courts; but hitherto, public opinion, and their good conduct, have saved them from it. Drs. Lumsdaine and Briton, in the Company's service, are East Indians. Dr. Lycke, who made a fortune and came to this country, was an East Indian. There have been many other medical men of the same class. Their practice has been among Europeans. Perhaps they labour under disadvantage in so far as the civil service is concerned, as a preference would probably be given to surgeons in the regular service. Those East Indians who are not in the Company's service, are indigo planters (in which employment they have some advantages from being enabled to take farms and leases in their own names, and one of the largest concerns in India is held by a half-caste), schoolmasters, architects, printers, carvers and gilders, and undertakers; they follow various trades, and some of them are engaged in commercial pursuits. Mr. Bruce, an East Indian, is the head partner of a respectable firm in Calcutta, and Mr. Kyd, the master builder, is an East Indian. Some have been admitted in the Supreme Court as attorneys. The sons of private soldiers are employed as drummers and fifers, and apprenticed out to tradesmen at the expense of the Lower Orphan School, which is founded for the reception of such children exclusively. It was established by the army, not by the Company; only the children of native mothers are admitted. There are about 800 or 900 in the upper and lower schools; 150 or 200 in the upper, and 6 or 700 in the lower. In the upper are the children of officers, in the lower those of privates. There are other charitable institutions which educate the poorer classes: the Benevolent Institution, 300 or 400; the Free School, 500; the Parental Academic Institution, 130 or 140; Calcutta Grammar School, 50 or 60, and others; there are also private schools. The public institutions are chiefly confined to East Indians, but not entirely; there is no restriction nominally, but there are no natives among them. There are many instances of East Indians being sent to Europe for education; they are as well educated as the Company's servants. They would execute the office of judge or collector at one-third of the salary that an European receives; the East Indian's views are confined to the spot, and he has no idea of amassing a large fortune to be spent in another land, where he would be subject to various expenses from which he is exempt in India. There is a sufficient number who have received a good education, to fill the offices in the revenue and judicial line, and the work of education is going on rapidly amongst them, and if public employments were open to them, their qualifications for them would increase. If the natives saw that East

Appendix (A.)

Ricketts, 6064.
D^o 6086.D^o 6047.
D^o 6024.
D^o 5910.D^o 6012.
D^o 6014.D^o 6088.
D^o 5917.D^o 5919.D^o 6020.
D^o 6035.D^o 5925.D^o 6041.
D^o 5933.
D^o 6043.
D^o 6074.
D^o 5934.
D^o 6068.D^o 5942.D^o 5949.Bracken, 160.
Ricketts, 5950.D^o 5953.D^o 6051. 6052.
D^o 5959.D^o 5965.D^o 5974.D^o 6055. 6085.

Ricketts, 5976.
D° 5977.

D° 6049.
D° 6053.

D° 6073.
D° 5984.

D° 6054.

D° 6057.
D° 6079.

Chaplin, 5436.

Bracken, 352.

Crawfurd, 1915.

Rickards, 2772.
D° 2773.

D° 2783.
and Gisborne, 1104.
Ritchie, 1445.
Rickards, 2788.
D° 2773.

Bracken, 106.

D° 112.

Rickards, 2791.

Bracken, 163.

Indians were eligible to the same situations as Europeans are, they would hold them in the same respect. There is no distinction made by the natives between East Indians and Europeans; the distinction emanates from the authorities in this country in excluding the East Indians from their service: the prejudices against them have diminished of late years. A more liberal policy towards them is adopted by the Dutch, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. They are held by the natives in equal respect with Europeans; the princes and nabobs visit them as they do Europeans, and treat them with equal respect. It would not excite dissatisfaction among the natives of rank, if East Indians were admitted to offices from which *such* natives are excluded. The feeling of the natives towards East Indians is not affected by the low caste of their mothers; they identify them with their fathers, and do not go out of their way to inquire who their mothers were. The East Indians are capable of holding lands; some are landholders to a considerable extent, and derive a profitable livelihood from their lands; they reside on them; sometimes they cultivate them, sometimes they farm them out; there are none in the condition of labourers; they possess equal advantages with the native proprietors, and if there is any difference it is in their favour, arising from their superior activity. They are in general far better acquainted with the vernacular languages of India than Europeans are. They have served on juries since 1827, in common with Europeans, and no inconvenience whatever has arisen from it. The condition of East Indians would be improved if they were placed upon the footing on which British-born subjects, who are not in the King's or Company's service, now stand. It would tend to the general improvement of society: the odious distinctions now made strike at the root of all civil and social improvement in India.

There are very few half-castes in the Deccan, except those employed as clerks and copyists in the public departments. There are several departments in which they may be beneficially employed; but their employment in the revenue and judicial line is not, generally speaking, expedient, because the higher order of natives look upon them as an inferior class of persons. It is said that Mr. Sullivan had a native Christian employed under him in a high office.

They might be usefully employed in the higher branches of the government service; there are many most respectable gentlemen among them. Many of them are well qualified to hold situations in the commission of the peace; many of them are in respectable mercantile situations. Upon the whole they are an intelligent class of people, but as a body they have not had many advantages. There are individuals among them capable of holding any situation. They are at present prevented from being covenanted servants to the Company, and probably, from the want of encouragement, they are not so well qualified as others. In almost the whole of the offices in Calcutta the clerks are native born. They hold all the offices a British subject can hold, unless he be a covenanted servant; and they can hold land, which has given them great advantage. They are excluded from all offices of great responsibility and great emolument; they are in that respect in the same situation as natives.

They ought to be admitted to every privilege of British-born subjects; every situation ought to be as open to them as to British-born subjects or natives; all classes ought to be put on an equality. Their intelligence is equal to the education they receive; there are individuals among them equal to any European; for instance, Mr. Kyd, the master ship-builder, and Colonel Skinner.

European Residents.

THE restriction on persons proceeding to India is an impediment to trade. When the Court comply with the application of a person wishing to proceed to India, they require him to enter into a regular covenant, with a penalty bond and two sureties, for all of which payment is required. The covenant confines him to a particular town or presidency. The charge on a covenant is 12*l.*, of which 7*l.* is for stamps, which would not be required if a simple permission to reside were given. The Court are in the habit of refusing permission, unless the applicant can show an invitation from a settled house in India to join it, or some such cogent reason. For free merchants' indentures the charge is 27*l.* 10*s.*; free mariners' 9*l.* 10*s.*

No British subject can reside in India without a license from the East India Company; and no British subject, even with a license, can go beyond 10 miles of the Presidency without a new license. British subjects having licenses are liable to have them cancelled at the discretion of the different governments; and after two months' notice, to be deemed persons in India without a license. They must be furnished with a fresh license at every removal from district to district. There is no practical inconvenience in this, because the license is never refused; but there is some trouble, and a fee of 32 rupees is attached to each license.

According to the East India calendar, the number of private British settlers in India was,

	1813	1830
Bengal	1,225	1,707
Madras	187	134
Bombay	469	308
	1,881	2,149

Since 1821 the annual number of licenses is nearly doubled. No inconvenience has resulted from the increased number of British settlers.

The number of European settlers in Bengal has increased since the opening of the trade.



No inconvenience has thence resulted to the natives, but unquestionably benefit; for wherever there are Europeans they cause a demand for labour.

The number of considerable European mercantile establishments at Bombay has, since 1826, increased from 5 to 10 or 12. There are very few British settlers in Bombay. Ritchie, 1213.

Every facility is given by the Government to any attempts at improving the cultivation of the country. Within the last two years public intimation has been given that Europeans may hold leases of lands for 99 years; but, previously, individuals held lands for experiments. They now hold houses in perpetuity in Bombay, but the natives are the principal proprietors of real property there. Very great encouragement has been given at Bombay for individuals to take farms, and go into the interior. There is a disposition, certainly, to take advantage of that encouragement; but people are a good deal deterred from laying out their capital, by the want of success that attended the three or four establishments which were tried there long ago. D^o 1490.
D^o 1434.
D^o 1465.

Throughout the Madras provinces, there are about 20 British-born subjects not in the Company's service, chiefly shopkeepers. The reason why there are so many more in Bengal is, that the Supreme Government have systematically been favourable to interlopers. The laws against free settlement are more rigorously executed at Madras than Bengal, and still more so at Bombay. No country officer is allowed to sail out of Bombay without having free-mariner indentures; in Calcutta not one in a hundred has them. Regulations with respect to passports are very strict in the Madras territories. British subjects travelling without passports are considered as vagrants. Gordon, 645.

British residents are required by regulation to furnish themselves with passports on proceeding into the interior, but the regulation is by no means strictly attended to. Gisborne, 1123.

Persons do get out to India when refused a license by the Court, and reside unmolested. Ritchie, 1452.
Saunders, 2082.
There are many respectable and industrious British subjects now in India without license. Bracken, 112.
Many unlicensed persons reside undisturbed, though there are instances of their being disturbed. Ritchie, 1454.
D^o 1463.

The inconveniences and obstacles to which the European cultivator in India is subject are many; the prohibition to hold lands, the power of deportation vested in the Government, the state of the administration of justice, and the condition of the police. None can engage in the inland trade of salt, betel nut, tobacco, or rice, except on account of the Company; and British subjects are not permitted to hold lands in property, lease, or mortgage. The regulations about salt and betel-nut, and the holding of lands, were originally directed against the Company's servants. Europeans are now allowed to purchase salt at the Calcutta sales, and trade in it, but not to interfere in its manufacture; and in February 1829 there was an order, founded upon the same basis as a previous order, respecting holding lands for the purpose of the cultivation of coffee. Europeans hold houses in Calcutta. There is one estate held by an European altogether in his own name, almost a single instance throughout India. It consists of about 800 acres, 15 miles from Calcutta. It was granted by Mr. Hastings. The ryots are anxious to become tenants on it. Houses are held by British subjects under the Madras Presidency, but lands cannot be held. If permission were given to hold lands, capital would not under the existing revenue system be invested in land; capital has no more business at Madras than it has at Morocco. Crawford, 1908.

It is essential to the conduct of commercial speculations that individuals should have free access to the parts of the country where either their goods are to be sold or purchases are to be made, as the wants of the people may thereby be more correctly ascertained. Bracken, 106.
D^o 125. 130.
D^o 106.

The difference of rate of interest (5 per cent.) at which Government borrow money, from that (8, 9 or 10) which respectable firms pay, arises from Europeans not being allowed to purchase land, and therefore they have it not to deposit, but can only bring into the market personal security. If the capitalist were enabled to purchase lands, it would have the effect of reducing the rate of interest. D^o 186.
D^o 234.
Zemindars, from having landed property, have been able to mortgage it to Europeans, at 8 or 10 per cent. D^o 777.
D^o 112.
D^o 175.

The prohibition on the part of Europeans to hold lands, considerably affects the Indian trade. By the more extensive application of British capital, India is capable of producing coal, iron ore, in great abundance, and potash. If the cultivation of the products of India was more extensively in the hands of Europeans, they would be very materially improved. D^o 198.
The improvement of the quality of the Indian articles cannot be effected by any other means than by the employment of European skill and capital. The exclusion of British enterprise and capital must tend to enhance the price to the consumer, and diminish the trade which might be conducted if no such restraint existed. D^o 470.
D^o 300.

There is no great difficulty in obtaining access to India on the part of Europeans from this country; at the same time all restrictions should be removed, consistently with a due regard to the welfare of the native population and the safety of the government. Any obstruction whatever must in a certain degree operate against the extension of trade. There are no doubt productions in India which would be worked and brought into action if the settlement of Europeans was allowed. There is no objection to the settlement of Europeans of a certain description. It would be as well not to throw open the sluice altogether, although even that would be attended with little or no inconvenience; but still such a measure should be adopted with great precaution, because India is already fully peopled. The natives would not like the unrestrained admission of Europeans into the interior, but no such concourse of people would resort to India as is generally supposed. The number would be very limited; it is a long and expensive voyage; very few, comparatively speaking, would be able to find their
Gisborne, 1085.*
D^o 1179.
Bracken, 127.
Forbes, 2440.

* See also the heads "Indigo," "Silk," "Sugar," "India Trade," in "Evidence given in Commons' Reports on Commercial Subjects."



I.
PUBLIC.

Appendix (A.)

Sullivan, 4983.

D^o 5037.
Gordon, 565.
D^o 2153.

Sinclair, 4384.
& Sullivan, 4728.
Ricketts, 6084.

Rickards, 2819.
Bracken, 324.

D^o 280.

Willey, 2300.

Crawford,	1849.
D ^o	1879.
D ^o	1909.
D ^o	1910.

D^o 1925.
& Colebrook, 1931.
Crawford, 1916.

D^o 1932.D^o 1936.

D°	1938.
D°	1939.

Gordon, 722.

D^o 784.

Rickards, 2795.
D^o 2796.

D° 2800.

their way there, except men of capital and respectability, from whom no danger or inconvenience could arise. Great benefit would accrue from the introduction of European skill: the native capital is considerable, if there was encouragement to apply it.

The permission to Europeans to hold land might be the means of considerably augmenting the prosperity of India in improving the produce for the market, and in affording to the ryots various means of improving their cultivation, and in introducing better machinery for the irrigation of land.

In the event of Europeans being permitted to settle freely in India, and to introduce capital,* banking establishments would be among their first undertakings; and such establishments would be extremely beneficial to agriculture, manufactures and commerce. The general permission to Europeans to reside in India might lead to the establishment of banks, where they are at present much wanted.

The law which prevents Europeans from holding lands in India, is a bad law; it is injurious to the commercial and agricultural interests of India.

The present improved state of the natives is to be attributed principally to the opening of the trade. The condition of the country in Burdwan, in the neighbourhood of the coal mines owned by Europeans, is unquestionably improved. The impulse was certainly given by Europeans to natives to unite in the Saugor society; there are now 7,000 or 8,000 inhabitants on the island.

Cutch presents a fine field for British emigration and capital. The introduction of capital would be of great importance to the country. The climate is particularly fine. In every part of India the introduction of capital, and the settlement of Europeans, would be productive of advantage.

For the increase and improvement of the products of India, the application of European skill and capital, under proper protection, is necessary. If the restrictions on the residence of Europeans were removed, capital would be extensively applied. Colonization is necessary to the good government of India, to the stability of the British power, and to the improvement of the country generally. Any one ought to be allowed to go that chooses, provided the laws are sufficiently good and equal to all parties. The persons who would avail themselves of the permission would be persons of some property, and artisans. Labourers would not go to any extent; but a labourer in this country, if of any intelligence, would soon become something more than a labourer there. The obstacles to labourers going are,—the market for ordinary labour being already stocked; the climate, and the expense of the voyage. A good class generally would go there, but their continuing respectable or being otherwise, would depend upon the administration of justice and the state of society. The number of colonists would not become a source of danger; on the contrary, they would add greatly to the strength of the British Government in India. Both natives and Europeans should be placed under the same system of law, if the laws be good; and should be admitted to the same privileges and employments. The law would be better and more cheaply administered, and the police of the country would be better, if there were an intelligent class of British proprietors and settlers in the provinces. If they had been admitted long ago, it would have been a better ordered country, and a wealthier than it now is. It would have been easier to carry good plans into effect; it would not have been so easy to impose heavy taxation; the improvement of the soil and manufactures would have been promoted.

It will be necessary that the same laws should be administered to all parties. At present there is, in the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, an administration of English law, the Hindoos and Mahomedans having their own law of inheritance. In the provinces there is a superstructure of the Company's Regulations on the Hindoo and Mahomedan laws, the Hindoo and Mahomedan laws of inheritance being generally observed. The criminal law is the Mahomedan law modified by the Regulations: Europeans are not subject to it; their case is provided for by Act of Parliament. If British subjects were allowed to reside in India, they ought to be subject to local courts, but not to the Company's courts; to King's courts, established in every zillah. The Government ought not to have the power of deportation and imprisonment without habeas corpus. Such powers are a great bar to colonization.

The persons most likely to proceed to India under present circumstances would be capitalists of large or small amount, or persons of talent or knowledge, calculated to be useful in some industrious pursuit; emigration would not extend to persons of a lower class. European labourers could hardly find employment in a climate like that of India. India would derive great advantage from men of talent and science proceeding to India more numerously than they now do; various new branches of industry and many new productions would naturally spring up.

No danger would arise from the most complete liberty allowed to British subjects to settle and trade in India, provided the laws in force, and the administration of them, gave complete protection to the natives, whose security and comforts ought to be a primary consideration. It is monstrous that the Government should be vested with the arbitrary power of removing British-born subjects from India, without being responsible for the exercise of such power; it will naturally deter many respectable individuals of talent and capital from extending their operations in India so far as they otherwise would. There are many instances where gentlemen have resided in India perfectly unmolested without a Company's license; there are also some of persons having been sent home for not possessing the license. Provided the natives were fully protected against violence and wrong, they would be benefited by the expenditure among them of European capital, by social intercourse with Europeans, by acquiring their arts and skilful practices, and by imbibing their knowledge, and consequently by a more extensive



extensive cultivation of their own moral powers; but to overrun India with Europeans before a better system of protection shall have been provided, would be to mingle a race of overbearing conquerors with submissive slaves, and oppression and injustice would be the inevitable result.

The restrictions under which Europeans labour do not encourage natives to litigate with them, but they have a certain degree of prejudicial influence against Europeans. A man's success in life depends upon his conciliatory conduct towards the natives, and a contrary conduct has generally produced a detrimental effect; the influence of self-interest would be sufficient to induce him, if engaged in commercial pursuits, to treat the natives well. Bracken, 134.
D° 150.

The Government ought not to be allowed to deport under any circumstance; it is an arbitrary power, destructive of all enterprise and security. Such a power has the effect of making Europeans in India the enemies of the Government. Crawford, 1930.

The Company's Government having the power of deportation, affords them the means of supporting their authority. It would not be advisable that that power should be withdrawn. The power is decidedly necessary: it has very rarely been abused, though there have been instances of harshness. The possession by the Government of the power of expulsion would not be an objection to an individual's investing a large capital in cultivation, if he were determined to carry it on properly and quietly; but if he were expelled, there would be great risk of his capital being lost. If the regulations were withdrawn, and all individuals had the power to settle in India, the worst, and a very improper and dangerous class to the peace of the country might go there. If totally unrestricted, the measure of allowing Europeans to reside in India would be an extremely dangerous one, and would eventually shake the whole fabric of our government. Everybody is aware of the tenacity with which Hindoos adhere to their customs and prejudices; and if Europeans of the lower, or even middling order were unrestrictedly allowed to reside in the interior, those prejudices and customs would be constantly liable to be invaded. Such is stated to have been the effect of Europeans residing in Bengal in the earlier periods of our administration, when great abuses took place; probably many of those Europeans were the agents of the Company's servants. Interference with the native prejudices would lead to popular tumults, and eventually perhaps to insurrections, in which the native troops would join. The lower orders would go under very great disadvantages, for labour is so cheap that they could not find employment to any extent. They never have been employed as agricultural labourers; the climate will not permit it; the expense of the passage would also be a bar. Persons sent out by merchants to conduct commercial affairs, are not of a class to be prohibited. If they were restricted in numbers and under control, the country might derive considerable advantage from the application of the skill and capital of Europeans; and, under restriction, the system of licenses might be extended. A magisterial power would be required in every village; Europeans ought to be subject to all the laws that are in force in the interior, and they ought to be under the complete control of Government, with all the power it at present possesses of sending them out of the country, if they deviate from the rules laid down for their guidance. The most complete control on the part of Government is essentially necessary, and the power should be exactly defined by the legislature; for, unless this be done, the Government will be constantly involved in litigation with the Supreme Court, and there will be frequent collision between them, which always tends to degrade the dignity of the Government, and to destroy the respect entertained for the Court itself. It is not probable that the power of deportation would prevent commercial enterprise, as the Government, subject to the control of public opinion, would not use that extreme authority unless individuals so misconducted themselves as to endanger the security of the Government. It would be extremely difficult to devise any medium system between a total want of control and the present arbitrary power of licences. Disturbances have arisen from the conduct of public servants. It would be the interest of the persons who go out to be on good terms with the natives. Ritchie, 1478.
Chaplin, 5302.

In the Ceded and Conquered Districts, and in the Deccan, there are scarcely any Europeans. No doubt a vast improvement has taken place in Calcutta and Bombay from the settlement of Europeans, and great advantage would arise from extended intercourse with Europeans in the interior, if due control were maintained over them. If they were subject to the laws of the country, there would be no objection to their going out for the purposes of commerce and manufactures. The better orders of European settlers would undoubtedly be useful. Those who now go out, go without any capital at all. They go as adventurers, borrow money of an agency house in Calcutta, and settle in the interior. There is no doubt that if Europeans having capital at the Presidency, had the means of employing that capital in the interior, under the agency of persons on whom they could depend, benefit would arise from the promotion of commerce. Government has of late years afforded much facility to Europeans to settle in the interior. D° 5307.

There is a native party in Calcutta hostile to colonization; the same party is opposed to all enlightened views. There are wealthy people among them. Their objections apply to innovation of any sort, and do not arise from any feeling of dislike to the English government. The greater number of the natives, perhaps, are not favourable to the permanent residence of Europeans in India, but the most intelligent among them are. The residence of Europeans would occasion an improvement in the mode of agriculture and more active habits of industry, the example of Europeans being in general useful. Crawford, 1921.
Bracken, 166.

Government have begun to place confidence in private Europeans, and to employ them as agents in minors' estates. The Company's registered debt is chiefly held by Europeans. It is said that not more than one-tenth is held by natives. Bracken, 351.
D° 192.
Gordon, 2210.