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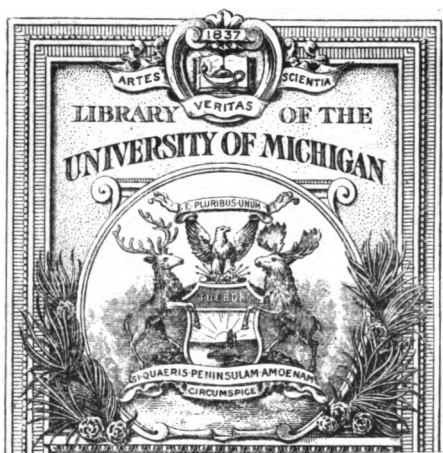
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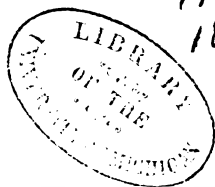
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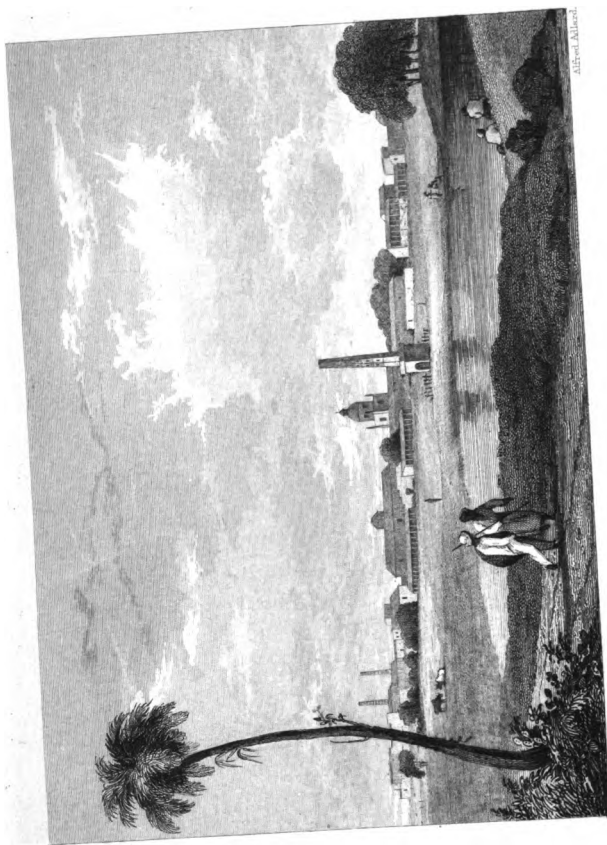
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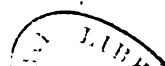
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HISTORY
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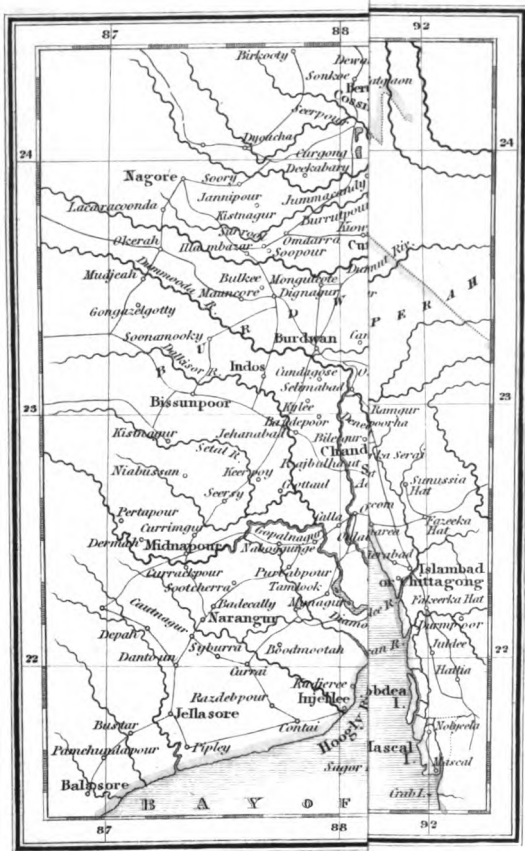
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EAST INDIES.

BOOK I.

BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY.

CHAPTER I.

GOVERNMENT (ENGLISH AND INDIAN) OF BENGAL, MADRAS, AGRA AND BOMBAY—THE COURTS OF DIRECTORS—AND PROPRIETORS—THEIR RELATIVE AUTHORITY—BOARD OF CONTROL—DUTIES OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS—LAW COURTS, &c. &c.

THE government of the British possessions on the continent of Asia, is vested at home in two powers with co-ordinate authority,—viz. the East India Company, and a Ministerial Board, termed Her Majesty's Commissioners for the affairs of India, the latter being devised by Mr. Pitt as a check upon the political proceedings of the former. A few words will be requisite to explain this complex authority.

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.—The more immediate governing power of British India, and consequently the patronage attached thereto, is vested in the Court

of Directors, or executive body of the East India Company. The capital stock of this company is 6,000,000*l.* sterling, which is divided according to a recent calculation, among 3,579 proprietors, of whom 53 have four votes¹; 54, three; 347, two; 1,454, one; and 221 hold only 500*l.* stock, and are not qualified to vote but merely to debate on any question; 396 proprietors hold stock under 500*l.* and are not qualified to vote or speak, and 220 have not held their stock a sufficient time to enable them to vote. The stock must be *bonâ fide* in the proprietor's possession for twelve months, to enable him or her to vote; a regulation adopted to prevent collusive transfers of stock for particular occasions. The total number of voters is estimated at 2,000, and of the votes about 1,500 are comprised within four miles of the General Post Office. Women as well as men, foreigners as well as Englishmen, if holding stock sufficient, are empowered to vote and debate. A late classification of the votes gave of gentry, bankers, merchants, traders, shipowners, shopkeepers, &c. 1836; of women (married, widows, and spinsters), 43; of officers in the Queen's and East India Company's army, 222; of the clergy, 86; of officers in the royal navy, 28; of medical men, 19; of the nobility, 20. The following is said to be the state of the votes of the Court of Proprietors in 1832:—Peers, 20; members of parliament, 10; directors, 50; clergymen, 86; medical men, 19; military officers,

¹ A proprietor of not less than 1000*l.* has one vote; of 3000*l.* two; of 6000*l.* three; and of 10,000*l.* and upwards, no more than four votes.

222; naval ditto, 28; minor, 1; other gentlemen, 1775; male votes, 2211; female ditto, 372; total, 2583. The proprietors meet as a court regularly every quarter, and especially when convened to discuss particular business. The number of quarterly and special courts held from 1814 to 1830-31 was 212. The powers vested in this Court are, the election of qualified proprietors as their delegates, or representatives, to form a Court of Directors; to frame bye-laws for the regulation of the Company—provided they do not interfere with acts of parliament; to control salaries, or pensions, exceeding 200*l.* a year, or gratuities above 600*l.* It may confer pecuniary rewards on any eastern statesman, or warrior, above the latter named sum, subject, however, to the confirmation of the Board of Control; it can demand copies of public documents to be laid before it for discussion and consideration, but it is prevented interfering with any order of the Court of Directors, after the same shall have received the approval of the Board of Control. The Court of Proprietors did interfere, and with effect, in the case of the maritime compensations, on the ground that their concurrence had not been obtained previously to the application of the Board. The chairman of the Court of Directors is *ex-officio* chairman of the Court of Proprietors;—debates are regulated as in the House of Commons,—and all questions and elections are decided by the ballot. Absent proprietors may vote at elections by power of attorney.

The Court of Directors, or Representatives of the foregoing body of Proprietors, consists of twenty-

four persons¹, qualified according to an act of parliament, which provides that each must be a natural born or naturalized subject of Great Britain : possessed of 2000*l.* stock, (no matter for what previous period) he must not be a Director of the Bank of England, or the South Sea Company ; and, by a bye-law of the Company, he shall be liable to be removed if he should promote his own, or the election of any other Director, by promises of reward, collusive transfer of stock, or payment of travelling expenses, or receive any pecuniary or other remuneration whatever, for any appointment in his gift or patronage as a Director. Six Directors retire annually by rotation, and are re-eligible after twelve months absence ; the Proprietors have a review of every Director in the course of four years, and can of course remove if they think fit such as they deem not fit for the duty which they ought to fulfil². The Court of Directors elect from their own body a Chairman and Deputy Chairman annually ; meet once a week ; not less than thirteen form a Court, and all questions are decided by ballot. The Court in general consists of men of various habits, views, and interests ; by a recent analysis there were ten retired civil and law officers of the Company ; four military ditto of ditto ; four maritime ditto of ditto ; three private Indian merchants ; and nine London

¹ There are thirty Directors on the list, but twenty-four form the Court : as six retire every year, and are re-elected after the expiration of a year.

² Nineteen contested elections for Directors took place from 1814 to 1831.

merchants and bankers; of these fifteen were under ten years standing from the first election; eleven from ten to twenty ditto; two from twenty to thirty, and two from thirty upwards. It is gratifying to observe that at all the recent elections, retired civil and military servants of the East India Company have been elected to the direction, and that the influence of London bankers &c., is on the wane. The Court of Directors enjoy full initiatory authority over all matters at home and abroad relating to the political, financial, judicial, and military affairs of the Company. But its proceedings are subject to certain acts of parliament; to the superintendence of the Board of Control, and in several matters to the approval of the Court of Proprietors.

For the despatch of business the Directors are divided into three committees; finance and home, eight directors; political and military, seven; revenue, judicial, and legislative, seven; the duty of each is partly defined by the title, but there is a committee of secrecy, forming the cabinet council of the Company, and consisting of the chairman, deputy ditto, and senior director; its functions are defined by parliament. In reference to the business done by the Court of Directors as compared with the Board of Control, the Select Committee of the House of Commons thus reports in 1832:—

As to the proportions of general administration resting on the Board of Control, and the East India Company, its courts and its officers respectively, it has been asserted, that, of all the reflections, suggestions and instructions bearing upon the policy

of the Indian Governments, contained in the public despatches, nine-tenths, if not a larger proportion, originate with the India House, though whatever regards the more important transactions with other states, and whatever is done in England, may be said to be mainly done by the Board of Commissioners. Considering the multifarious nature of the Company's relations and transactions, it is to be expected that the correspondence should be voluminous and complicated, comprehending, as it does, not only all that is originated in England, and transmitted to India, but the record of the proceedings and correspondence of all the boards at the several presidencies, with duplicates of the documents relating thereto in India, necessary to put the authorities at home in complete possession of all their acts. The correspondence comes home in despatches, and the explanatory matter in books or volumes. The total number of folio volumes received from 1793 to 1813, 21 years, was 9094; and from 1814 to 1829, a period of 16 years, 12,414.

From the establishment of the board in 1784 to 1814, the number of letters received from the Court by the Board of Commissioners was 1791; the number sent from them to the Court was 1195. From 1814 to 1831, 1967 letters have been written to, and 3642 received from the Board. The number of drafts sent up to the Board from 1793 to 1813, were 3958; from 1814 to 1833, 7962, making an increase of 4004; in addition, there have been references, connected with servants, civil and military, and others, in this country, amounting between the

years 1814 and 1830, to 50,146. Reports made to the Court by its committees, apart from details and researches made in framing such reports, 32,902. From 1813 to the present time, nearly 800 parliamentary orders have been served on the Court, requiring returns of vast extent.

By the new East India charter the Company have agreed to place their commercial rights in abeyance while they hold the political government and patronage of India, which is extended by charter to the 30th April, 1845, and in consideration of assigning over all their commercial assets (upwards of 21,000,000*l.* sterling) for the benefit of the Indian territory, the present dividend of ten and a half per cent. (630,000*l.*) on the Company's capital stock, is secured on the Indian revenue for forty years, at the expiration of which period the capital of 6,000,000*l.* will be paid off at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. As a guarantee fund for the proprietors in case of the surplus Indian revenues being unable in any one year to pay the dividends, and in order to provide for the ultimate liquidation of the principal, the sum of 2,000,000*l.* is to be set apart out of the commercial assets, to be invested in the three and a half per cents, there to accumulate as a security fund until it reaches the sum of 12,000,000*l.*

The business relating to the India government is transacted in England, between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, as follows ¹ :—

All communications of whatever nature, and

¹ Evidence before Parliament in 1832.

whether received from abroad or from parties in this country, come, in the first instance, to the Secretary's Office, at the East India house, and are laid by the chairman before the first court that meets after their receipt. Despatches of importance are generally read to the court at length. The despatches, when read or laid before the court, are considered under reference to the respective committees, and the officers whose duty it is to prepare answers take the directions of the chairs upon points connected with them; the draft is prepared upon an examination of all the documents to which the substance has reference, and submitted to the chairs; it is then brought before the committee, to whose province the subject more particularly relates, to be approved or altered by them, and, on being passed, is laid before the Court of Directors. After it has passed the Court of Directors, the draft goes to the Board of Control, who are empowered to make any alterations, but required to return it within a limited time, and with reasons assigned for the alterations they have made. Previously, however, to the draft being laid before either committee by the chairs, experience has suggested the convenience of submitting it to the President of the Board, in the shape of what is called a previous communication. This is done in communication between the president and the chairs, in which stage alterations, containing the original views of the president, are made. The draft being returned to the chairman, is laid by him, either with or without the alterations, as he may see fit, before the committee. The draft, when approved of by the

committee, is submitted to the Court, and there altered or approved, as the Court may see fit. It is then officially sent to the Board, who make such alterations as they judge expedient, and return it to the Court, with their reasons at large for the same. Against these alterations the Court may make a representation to the Board, who have not unfrequently modified the alterations on such representation; but if the Board decline to do so, they state the same to the Court, and desire the draft may be framed into a despatch, and sent out to India, agreeably to the terms of the act of parliament. In the event of a refusal, three judges of the Court of Queen's Bench finally decide as to the legality of the Board's order.

By the act of 1784 and of 1833, the Directors are charged with appointing a secret committee, whose province is to forward to India all despatches which, in the opinion of the Board of Control, should be secret, and the subject-matter of which can only be divulged by permission of the Board. The committee consists of three members of the Court of Directors, chosen by the Court generally, viz. the chairman, deputy chair, and most frequently senior member, who take the oath of secrecy, as prescribed by the act. Their officers are also sworn to secrecy; and no one is employed in transcribing secret despatches without the permission of the Board. The Board are empowered by law to issue, through the secret committee, orders and instructions on all matters relating to war, peace, or negotiations of treaties with the states of India, and the secret committee are bound to transmit such order to India without delay. The

secret committee have no legal power to remonstrate against such orders, provided they have no relation to the subjects above stated. The committee have had communication upon the matter stated in secret despatches, with the Board, and at their suggestions alterations have been made; but they have not the same power with regard to despatches sent down in the secret department that they have with regard to other despatches; they are not empowered to make representations thereon to the Board, whose orders are in fact conclusive on the committee. The signatures of the committee are necessary to ensure obedience to the orders conveyed by them to the Company's servants, with whom the Board of Commissioners have no direct correspondence.

It has been stated that there is another class of subjects not provided for in the act which establishes the secret committee, but which have been necessarily treated through the committee, and upon which its orders have been more punctually obeyed than in other cases, namely, negotiations with European states having settlements in India, and generally all matters connected with war in Europe, which can in any way affect our Indian interests. (Provided for by the Act of 1833, section xxxvi.)

When either war against a native state, or the carrying forward an expedition against any of the eastern islands, has been in contemplation, and the finances of India at these periods exceedingly pressed, or requiring aid from this country, the secret committee, in communication with the Board of Commissioners, have taken upon themselves to provide

the requisite funds, without intimating the same to the Court at the time. Thus despatches relating to subjects purely financial and commercial, such as the transmission of bullion, and the nature and amount of the Company's investments, have gone through the secret committee.

THE BOARD OF CONTROL.—The East India Company's Home Government, thus briefly described, has been controlled by a ministerial authority since 1784, which is termed the 'Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India,' or more generally the *Board of Control*; it consists of such members of the Privy Council as Her Majesty may be pleased to appoint, of whom the two principal secretaries of state and the Chancellor of the Exchequer shall always *ex officio* form three. The president is also nominated by the crown, is usually a cabinet minister, and in all changes of administration retires from office together with the salaried commissioners and secretary. The oath which the commissioners take imposes on them the responsible duty of governing India to the best of their ability and judgment, as much and as completely as if there were no executive court or administrative power. The *controlling* functions of the Board are exercised in revising all despatches prepared by the Court of Directors, and addressed to the governments in India; the *originating*, in requiring the Court to prepare despatches on any named subject, and in altering or revising such despatch as it may deem fit. The Board is divided into six departments, viz. Accounts, Revenue, Judicial, Mili-

tary, Secret and Political, and Foreign and Public; the duties of which are thus defined¹.

1. *The Accountant's Department*.—To examine the accounts of the finances at home and abroad: control the correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Indian Governments, in the departments of finance, and mints, and coinage: also, occasional correspondence in most of the other departments of the Company's affairs requiring calculation, or bearing a financial character.

2. *The Revenue Department*.—Principally revision of despatches proposed to be sent to the several governments of India, reviewing the detail proceedings of those governments, and of all the subordinate revenue authorities, in connexion with the adjustment of the land assessments, the realization of the revenue so assessed, and the general operation of the revenue regulations on the condition of the people, and the improvement of the country. Besides the land revenue, the detailed proceedings of the local authorities in the salt, opium, and custom departments, come under periodical revision.

3. *The Judicial Department*.—Examination of all correspondence between the Court of Directors and the local governments, on subjects connected with the administration of civil and criminal justice and police in the interior of India, such as, the constitution of the various courts, the state of business in them, the conduct and proceedings of the judges, and all proposals and suggestions which from time

¹ Evidence before Parliament in 1832.

to time come under discussion, with the view of applying remedies to acknowledged defects.

The King's Courts at the three presidencies, are not subject to the authority of the Court of Directors, or of the Board of Control; but, any correspondence which takes place in relation to the appointment or retirement of the judges of those courts, or to their proceedings (including papers sent home for submission to the King in council, recommendations of pardon, &c.), passes through this department.

4. *The Military Department*.—Attention to any alterations which may be made in the allowances, organization, or numbers of the Indian army at the three presidencies; to the rules and regulations affecting the different branches of the service; to the general staff, comprehending the adjutant and quartermaster general's department; the commissariat (both army and ordnance); the pay, building, surveying, and clothing departments; and, in fact, to every branch of Indian administration connected with the Company's army. It also embraces so much of the proceedings, with respect to the Queen's troops, as relate to the charge of their maintenance in India, recruiting them from this country, and the periodical reliefs of regiments.

5. *The Secret, Political, and Foreign Department*.—Examines all communications from or to the local governments, respecting their relations with the native chiefs or states of India, or with foreign Europeans, or Americans. It is divided into the following branches:—

I. The *Secret* department containing the corres-

pondence between the Indian Governments and the secret committee of the Court of Directors. Under the provisions of the act of Parliament, such confidential communications as, in the opinion of the local governments, require secrecy, are addressed by them to the secret committee. Any directions, also, to the local governments, relating to war or negotiation, which, in the judgment of the Board of Control, require secrecy, are signed by the secret committee; and the local governments are bound to obey those directions in the same manner as if they were signed by the whole body of Directors.

II. The *Political* department, comprising all correspondence not addressed to the secret committee, or sent through that committee to the local governments, respecting the native chiefs, or states, with whom those governments are in alliance or communication, or whose affairs are under their political superintendence, or who are in the receipt of pecuniary stipends in lieu of territory.

III. The *Foreign* department, including all correspondence relating to communications between the local governments and the several foreign Europeans who have settlements in India or the Eastern Islands; and embracing, in fact, all the proceedings of the local governments in relation to foreign Europeans or Americans, resorting to India.

The proceeding of the local governments, with respect to their residents and political agents, and to any other officers and their respective establishments, through whom communications with native states and chiefs, or with foreigners, may be main-

tained, are also reported in the several departments in which those officers are respectively employed.

6. *The Public Department.*—The business of this department comprises the examination of all despatches to and from India upon commercial or ecclesiastical subjects, and of those which, being of a miscellaneous character, are distinguished by the general appellation of "Public." The commercial and ecclesiastical despatches, which are considered as forming two branches of correspondence distinct from the "Public," are united with the latter in the same department, only on account of the convenience of that arrangement, with reference to the distribution of business in the establishment of the Board of Control.

The *Public* correspondence comprises all those despatches which do not belong specifically to any of the branches of correspondence hitherto enumerated. They relate to the education of the natives and of the civil servants; to the appointment of writers and of the civil service generally, and to their allowances; to the several compassionate funds; to the grant of licenses to reside in India; to the press; to public buildings; to the Indian navy and the marine department; to the affairs of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, Malacca, and St. Helena; and to various miscellaneous subjects. Some of these being closely connected with the business of other departments, are reported upon in them, although the whole pass through, and are recorded in, the public department.

The *Ecclesiastical* despatches contain every thing

relating to the appointment of chaplains, archdeacons, and bishops; to their allowances; to their conduct; to the building and repair of churches, or other places used for public worship; and to all questions respecting the affairs of the churches of England and Scotland in India, or that of Rome, so far as public provision is made for their maintenance.

Any papers treating of ecclesiastical or miscellaneous topics, though they are not despatches to or from India, are likewise recorded and reported upon in this department.

The cost of the Board of Control is about 30,000*l.* a year. The salary of the President of the Board is 3500*l.* per annum; of each of the paid Commissioners, 1200*l.*¹; and of the Secretary 1500*l.* to be raised to 1800*l.* after three years' service. The Charter of 1833 authorizes two secretaries for the Board.

THE FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, is divided into three Presidencies, viz. Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and a Lieutenancy at Agra, or rather at Allahabad; the chief at each presidency is assisted and partly controlled by a council of two of the Company's senior civil servants, and the Commander-in-Chief of the army. The government of Bengal is termed the Supreme Government, and the head thereof is styled the Governor General of India; he is necessarily possessed of much local independence, exercising some of the most important rights of sovereignty, such as declaring war, making peace,

¹ I believe there is now no Commissioner, the Board consisting of the President and Secretaries.—R. M. M., Aug. 1837.

framing treaties, to a certain extent forgiving criminals, and enacting laws. The Governor General's Council consists of five counsellors—three to be servants of the Company of ten years' standing, and to be appointed by the directors; the fourth to be appointed by the directors also, subject to the approbation of the King, but not from among the East India Company's servants, and with power to sit and vote in council only at meetings for making laws and regulations. The Commander-in-Chief forms the fifth member, with precedence after the Governor General.

On all questions of state policy, excepting in a judicial capacity, the Governor General is independent of his council; if the council are dissentient, the members record in their minutes the cause, which being submitted to the Governor General and he still remaining of his original opinion, the discussion is adjourned for forty-eight hours, when the Governor General may proceed to execution, first assigning his reasons for dissenting from the council. The whole of the documents relative to the difference are then instantly transmitted to the Court of Directors and Board of Control; and the Court have the power, should they deem fit, of appointing new members of council to succeed the dissentient ones, or of recalling the Governor General.

The Governor General, in virtue of his commission as Captain General¹, may head the military operations in any part of India. He has also the power

¹ This power was first granted to the Marquess Wellesley in 1802. See vol. ii. of his Lordship's despatches.

of suspending the governors of the other presidencies, or of proceeding thither and taking the supreme authority in their councils, in the execution of any of which acts he is subject to the vigilant supervision of the home authorities. The Governors of Madras and Bombay are in a similar manner independent of local control, but for the sake of obtaining unity in foreign transactions, on matters of general and internal policy, or in expending money, they are subject to the authority of the Governor General, who, on proceeding to either of the presidencies, may assemble his council there and sit as president.

Regulations for the good government of the British possessions in India are passed by the Governor General in council; they immediately become effective, but are transmitted home and subject to the revision of the Court of Directors and Board of Control; heretofore ordinances for the good government of the presidency capitals were not valid until publicly exposed for fourteen days, then registered by the Supreme (Queen's) Court; put in force, but subject to a further ordeal at home: by the new charter these checks on the Governor General are removed, and that authority in council can now make laws for the regulation of even her Majesty's supreme courts. Such is the legislative department of the government, the executive is generally exercised by means of Boards, of which in Bengal there are five¹, at Madras three², and at Bombay one. Any of these

¹ 1, Revenue; 2, Customs, salt and opium; 3, Trade; 4, Military; 5, Medical.

² 1, Revenue; 2, Military; 3, Medical.

boards make suggestions or present drafts of regulations in their respective departments to government ; the boards also receive from their subordinates suggestions, either for their own information or for transmission to the Governor General in Council ; by this means the local knowledge of the inferior officers is brought under the knowledge of the chief executive, and their talents and industry appreciated : indeed, a leading feature in the duties of the Indian Governments is that of noting down every transaction, whether as individual chiefs of departments or as Boards : thus habits of business are generated, combined with a moral check of supervision, no matter what distance a servant may be from the Presidency, or what period of time may elapse, should an enquiry be necessary. All minutes of the boards' proceedings are laid before the government monthly, and then transmitted home. The objection alleged to this is that it creates delay ; but as correctly observed by the Court of Directors in their letter to the Board of Control, 27th August, 1829, the Government of India may in one word be described as a Government of Checks. The Court thus judiciously remark—' Now whatever may be the advantage of checks, it must always be purchased at the expense of delay, and the amount of delay will generally be in proportion to the number and efficiency of checks.' The correspondence between the Court of Directors and the governments of India is conducted with a comprehensiveness and in a detail quite unexampled ; every, the minutest proceedings of the

local governments including the whole correspondence respecting it which passes between them and their subordinate functionaries, is placed on record, and complete copies of the Indian records are sent annually to England for the use of the home authorities. The despatches from India are indexes to those records, or what a table of contents is to a book, not merely communicating on matters of high interest, or soliciting instructions on important measures in contemplation, but containing summary narratives of all the proceedings of the respective governments, with particular references to the correspondence and consultations thereon, whether in the political, revenue, judicial, military, financial, ecclesiastical or miscellaneous departments. In the ordinary course of Indian administration much must always be left to the discretion of local governments; and unless upon questions of general policy and personal cases, it rarely occurs that instructions from hence can reach India before the time for acting upon them is gone by. This is a necessary consequence of the great distance between the two countries, the rapid succession of events in India, which are seldom long foreseen even by those who are on the spot, and the importance of the ruling authorities there acting with promptitude and decision, and adopting their measures, on their own responsibility, to the varying exigencies of the hour. These circumstances unavoidably regulate, but do not exclude, the controlling authority of the Court of Directors. Without defeating the intentions of Par-

liament, they point out the best and indeed the only mode in which these intentions can be practically fulfilled. Although, with the exceptions above adverted to, a specific line of conduct cannot often be prescribed to the Indian governments, yet it seems to indicate any other rather than a state of irresponsibility, that the proceedings of those governments are reported with fidelity, examined with care, and commented upon with freedom by the home authorities; nor can the judgments passed by the Court be deemed useless whilst, though they have immediate reference to past transactions, they serve ultimately as rules for the future guidance of their servants abroad. The knowledge, on the part of the local governments, that their proceedings will always undergo this revision, operates as a salutary check upon its conduct in India; and the practice of replying to letters from thence, paragraph by paragraph, is a security against habitual remissness or accidental oversight on the part of the Court, or their servants at home. From a perusal of the Indian records, the Court also obtain an insight into the conduct and qualifications of their servants, which enables them to judge of their respective merits, and to make a proper selection of members of council.'

The duties of the British functionaries in India may be gathered from the following detail of the chief stations and offices of the civil servants in Bengal¹. The duties of Territorial Secretary, in one

¹ Evidence before Parliament in 1832.

branch, correspond in a great measure with those of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this country; he manages the whole financial business of the government, in concert with the Accountant-general; but the Secretary is the chief officer of the government in that department; moreover, he has the management of the territorial revenue, and the revenue derived from salt and opium, and he conducts the correspondence of government with the three Boards of Revenue in the upper, lower, and central provinces respectively.

In relation to the Board of Revenue, he is merely the ministerial officer of the government; he is not a responsible officer, and has no direct power over the Board of Revenue,

If any increase of charge were proposed by any of the Boards of Revenue, or by any person acting under them, that proposal for increase is submitted to the Territorial Secretary before it is acquiesced in and sanctioned by government—he is the person always addressed. The Boards of Revenue have the power of writing directly to the Governor General in Council; but that is a mere matter of form, for such letter goes equally through the office of the Territorial Secretary, and is submitted by him to the Governor General in Council.

The Territorial Secretary offers his opinion upon the admissibility of any new charge proposed. He has no right or power to do so, but he is generally called upon to do so. The secretaries are in the habit of giving in papers called memoranda. As

the Governor General or Members of Council lay minutes before the Council Board, so the Secretaries, whenever they have any suggestion to make, submit what are called memoranda.

One of the members of the council is nominally President of the Board of Revenue, he performs no duties.

The duties of the territorial and judicial departments as regard the judicial department, are quite distinct departments. There are two secretaries; the Judicial Secretary is quite independent of the Territorial; he conducts the correspondence of the government with the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut; they are the chief criminal and civil courts.

The police is under his direction, at least all the correspondence of government on the subject of the police is conducted by him. Like the Territorial Secretary, he is not a substantive officer, only a ministerial functionary of the government. He writes always in the name of the government; his letters always begin with words to this effect, 'I am directed by the Governor General in Council to inform you : ' and this holds good with regard to all other secretaries.

The business of a Collector in the lower provinces is the receipt of revenue ; the conduct of public sales, in the event of any defalcation on the part of any landed proprietor who is responsible for any portion of the revenue.

There being a permanent settlement of the land revenue in those provinces, he has not much to do

directly with the collection of the revenue; but he has a great number of other duties, as the management of wards' estates (minors' estates); for the Board of Revenue is also a Court of Wards¹.

He exercises judicial functions in what are called summary suits, arising from disputes between landlord and tenant, between zemindar and ryot. That is, in disputes connected with the administration of the revenue. The suits are summary; they *are not conducted with the formality of regular suits*; they are instituted originally in the courts of law, and are referred by the judge to the collector for decision; that is, indirectly in the nature of a reference;—when there is a claim of the zemindar (landlord) on the ryot (tenant) for rent which the ryot disputes or denies, it is referred to the collector.

All the instances in which he exercises judicial power are referred to him by the court, as far as regards the summary suits referred to: but there are also investigations which partake largely of judicial inquiries, which he conducts independently of the courts, as, for instance, where landholders in coparceny have petitioned to have their estates divided, and to become separately responsible to government. Such divisions are called Butwarahs.

The revenue collected remains in the custody of a native treasurer, who gives heavy security, and who is to a great degree independent of the collector. Security is given to the government through the

¹ The admirable classification of the duties of the Indian government offices was first efficiently planned and adopted by the Marquess Wellesley.

collector ; but the Board of Revenue see that it is sufficient, and the collector is also responsible.

JUDICIAL.—The civil law is administered according to the religious code of the party, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan. A commission is now being issued to examine into the variety of the civil laws existing in the various provinces, and to endeavour to codify them into a general system.

The criminal law in India is the Mahomedan code, in which mutilations of the limbs and flagellations to death are not unfrequently ordained ; these are commuted by us for imprisonment, &c., and it will be seen in the chapter on education how crime has been diminished in India.

We may now proceed to examine briefly the mode in which the administration of justice is carried on ; in the Bengal Presidency, for instance, there is first a high court of Appeal, termed the 'Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut,' or chief Civil and Criminal Court. The functions of this court¹ are cognizance of civil, criminal, and police matters ; the remission or mitigation of punishment when the sentence of the law officers is unduly severe, co-revision previous to the execution of any sentence of death, transportation, or perpetual imprisonment, arbitration where the provincial judges differ from their law officers ; revisions of the proceedings of any of the courts, with power to suspend provincial judges ; it may direct suits for property exceeding 5000*l.* in value,

¹ A court of a similar nature has been established for the Western Provinces, under Lord William Bentinck's enlightened government.

to be originally tried before it ; it may admit second or special appeals from the inferior courts, and its construction of the government regulations is final. The Chief Judge has 6000*l.* a year, and the three Puisne Judges 5000*l.* each.

The second degree of courts are the Provincial Courts of appeal (of which there are six for Bengal) with a chief and Puisne Judge to each. They have no criminal jurisdiction ; try suits exceeding 5000 rupees in value, if the plaintiff desire their decision (he may prefer it before the Zillah Judge, if the value do not exceed 10,000 rupees) ; appeals lie from the Zillah Courts, and are final unless in cases of special appeal.

For the Bengal Presidency there are twenty Commissioners of Circuit who combine revenue with judicial functions. They hold sessions of gaol delivery at least twice in each year at the different Zillah and city stations. The direction and control of the magistrates, revenue officers and police, are vested in them. The salary of each commissioner is 4000*l.* a year.

The City or Zillah courts of Bengal amount to forty-nine ; some have a judge, magistrate, and registrar ; in others less extensive, the duties of judge and magistrate are conjoined, or the duties of magistrate and registrar. The population and extent of a Zillah are various ; in Bengal the average population is about 2,000,000. The total salaries of the European covenanted servants of a Zillah court range from 30,000 to 44,000 S. R. a year.

These courts have cognizance of affrays, thefts,

burglaries, &c., when not of an aggravated character, and power to the extent of two years' imprisonment; commit persons charged with heinous offences for trial before the commissioners of circuit; try original suits to the value of 20,000 rupees; decide appeals from registrars (*i. e.* causes not exceeding 500 rupees in value), Sudder Aumeens (native judges), and Moonsiffs; and by a regulation of 1832 (for the expedition of criminal justice), three Zillah judges may be invested with power by the Governor General to hold sessions and gaol delivery.

These courts have authority over the police, and the judges are enjoined to visit the gaols at least once a week.

Another and extensive set of Zillah and city courts have been established last year with native judges of every class, caste, or persuasion, found qualified for the duties enjoined them, to whom liberal salaries have been granted; and by a more recent regulation, native assessors sit on the bench with the European judges.

There are in the Company's Courts three grades of European judges, the district, the provincial, and the judges of the Sudder Court (there are also magistrates, who exercise civil jurisdiction under special appointments, and the registrars try and decide causes referred to them by the judge of the district). The native judges are divided into two classes: first, Moonsiffs, of whom there are several stationed in the interior of every district; and secondly, Sudder Aumeens, established at the same station with the European judge. Native judges of any sect can try

causes as far as 1000 rupees, and the amount may be increased at the recommendation of the European judge to 5000 rupees; this permission has been granted in very many cases, and the decisions have been extremely satisfactory. An appeal lies from the district native judges to the district European judge, from the latter to the high court of Sudder Adawlut at Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, and from thence to the Queen in council in England.

A plan of judicature, similar to the foregoing, is in force at Madras and Bombay, modified by local usages; in some parts there are Punchayets (native juries) of arbitration and of civil and criminal procedure; in others, native assessors in civil and criminal matters.

In the administration of civil justice the objects of the Company's government have been to render it pure in source, speedy in execution, and cheap in practice; in the administration of criminal justice the aim has been first to prevent crime, and secondly to promote the reformation of the offender. The judges are well paid, in order to secure the purity of justice; the courts are numerous, in order that it may be speedily rendered; and the authorized fees are light (particularly in trifling cases) for the cheap attainment of right. In criminal matters, offences are quickly punished,—the death sentences, (which are inflicted but for very few crimes) are almost sure to be carried into effect, and it is in evidence before parliament (in 1832) that prisoners are brought to trial without delay, that the punishments awarded are mild and well proportioned to the offence; that

abundant care is taken against unjust convictions, and that extraordinary care is paid to the health and comfort of the prisoners in the gaols ; the effect of the system is the extraordinary diminution of crime as will be seen in the Education Chapter of the preceding volume. Measures have been taken for the promulgation of a knowledge of the old as well as new laws.

Laws and Regulations.—In pursuance of the direction, and by virtue of the powers given by the 47th section of the Act of the 3rd and 4th William IV. chapter 85, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with the approbation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, ordain as follow :—

1. Copies of all laws and regulations shall be communicated to the several functionaries appointed to carry them into effect, and shall be preserved in all courts of justice, and there be open to the inspection of all persons.

2. All laws and regulations shall be translated into the several native languages most commonly spoken, and printed and sold at a low price.

3. The governments of the several Presidencies will make such a distribution of copies of the laws and regulations so to be sold as may bring them most conveniently within the reach of all persons, and will notify in a public manner where such copies may be procured.

4. The governments will likewise, on the passing of any law and regulation, publish the title of it, and an abstract of its contents in the gazettes and such other newspapers as are most generally circulated.

Authentication of Laws and Regulations.—1. The original copies of all laws and regulations shall be signed by the members of the Legislative Council by whom they shall be passed, and such copy shall be preserved in the archives of the Government of India.

2. Such copies only of the several laws and regulations hereafter passed as shall be printed at the government press shall be admitted as evidence in courts of justice.

Such copies so printed shall bear in the title page fac-similes of the signatures of the members of council by whom the several laws and regulations may have been respectively passed.

There is a Supreme, or Queen's Court at each Presidency, with a chief and two puisne judges ; a master in equity, registrar, an established number of attorneys, and barristers, at the discretion of the judges, and at Calcutta there is a Hindoo and a Mahomedan law officer attached to the court. The jurisdiction of this court extends over the local boundaries of the Presidency, with certain exceptions not well defined, and the courts claim jurisdiction in certain cases beyond the Presidency ; such claims have, however, been viewed with alarm, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the Queen's Court at the present period deprecated. The salaries and contingent expenses of the Supreme Court at Calcutta annually, are 879,000 rupees, and the emoluments of barristers and attorneys about 771,000 rupees. The same items at Madras and Bombay are—for the first, 650,000 rupees, and for the second, 950,000 rupees : total of

Supreme Courts, 3,250,000 rupees. The salaries of the Supreme Court Judges at the three Presidencies are, Bengal, Chief, 8000*l.*; Puisne, 6000*l.*; Madras, Chief, 60,000 rupees; Puisne, 50,000 rupees. Bombay, ditto, ditto. Since 1807, there have been six Chief Justices at Bengal, and since 1805, seven Puisne. At Madras since 1815, four Chief, and since 1809, ten Puisne; at Bombay since 1823, three Chief and five Puisne Judges. The fixed charges were, in 1829, as follow: Bengal, secca rupees, 383,120; Madras, 378,056; Bombay, 293,874; total, secca rupees, 955,050, being an excess over 1823 of secca rupees, 205,826. Trial by jury in criminal matters, not in civil; natives are eligible as petty and grand jurors; proceedings are in English, with the aid of interpreters, and in general the civil laws of England are applied. There are at Calcutta and Bombay Courts of Requests, for the recovery of small debts, the recorders of which are Europeans.

THE POLICE, in Bengal for instance, are divided into stations with a native officer, native registrar, petty officer, and from twenty to thirty policemen well armed. In each district there are from fifteen to twenty stations, making altogether in Lower Bengal about 500, and in the upper or western provinces 400. Every village has also its own watchman, armed and paid by the village, and as there are 163,673 villages in lower Bengal, there is a further force of 160,000 men added to the government establishment. In some provinces of central India, each village has also a petty officer, whose duty it is to track thieves, and when he traces them to a village,

to hand over the search to the trackers of that village.

The head officer at each station receives criminal charges, holds inquests, forwards accused persons with their prosecutors and witnesses to the Zillah magistrate, uses every exertion for the apprehension of criminals and the preservation of the peace in his district, and regularly reports all proceedings to the European magistrate from whom he receives orders. The village police, together with the village corporation officers (such as the barber, schoolmaster, accountant, waterman, measurer, &c.), land agents, zemindars, &c. are all required to give immediate information of crime committed within their limits and to aid in the apprehension of offenders. There is a mounted police officered by natives, and a river police conducted also by natives.

The police officers are furnished with precise and brief manuals of instructions, and the abuses which prevailed are being rapidly removed; what was good in the native laws has been retained, and what was evil obliterated, and an excellent system still open to improvement has been the result. The general system of police in India, and its gradations of ranks is thus detailed in the recent evidence before Parliament. The lowest police officer is the village watcher. There are several in a village who perform the lower offices. They are under the control of the head of the village; the head of the village is under the control of the Tehsildar, who is a native collector of revenue; the Tehsildar is under the magistrate, who is the collector. The village watchers are remuner-

ated by a small quantity of grain from the produce of the village, and from certain fees from the inhabitants; and the head of the village has also similar allowances, to a greater extent. The Tehsildar is a stipendary officer of the government, employed in the collection of the revenue. There are police officers appointed to towns, called Aumeems of police, who have a jurisdiction also beyond those towns; and there are officers called Cutwals, a kind of high constables, resident chiefly in market towns. There are, in some districts, paid police; and there were formerly various classes of native peons, under different denominations, many of whom have of late years been dismissed as unnecessary.*

The strength of the civil service at each presidency, according to the Bengal Finance Committee, is as follows:—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Senior Merchants*	272	133	56	461
Junior, ditto	25	11	26	62
Factors	41	16	30	87
Writers	177	34	36	247
Total...	515	194	148	857
Number of Annuitants retiring Annually.	9	4	3	16
Casualties at Two and a half per Cent ...	10	4	2	16
Annually Required	19	8	5	32

* The terms here given have been continued ever since the East India Company was a mere trading company, new designations are necessary.

See large edition of this work for a specification of the recent revision of allowances for the civil functionaries of Bengal.

The foregoing details will enable the general reader to form an accurate idea of the nature of the Anglo Indian government.

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS OF BENGAL, MADRAS AND BOMBAY—RISE AND PROGRESS, AND CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN ARMY;—THE MARINE, MEDICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS—THE PATRONAGE OF INDIA—ITS DISTRIBUTION, &c. &c.

THE Anglo Indian army, amounting to nearly 200,000 men, well deserves examination, whether in reference to numbers, discipline, gallantry in the field, fidelity to its government, or political importance :—

RISE, PROGRESS, AND CHARACTER OF THE NATIVE ARMY OF INDIA ¹.—Though Bombay was the first possession which the English obtained in the East, the establishment on that island was, for a very long period, on too limited a scale to obtain more than its European garrison, and a few companies of disciplined sepoys. On the coast of Coromandel, which became towards the middle of the last century a scene of warfare between the English and French, who mutually aided and received support from the princes of that quarter, the natives of India were instructed in European discipline. During the siege of Madras, which took place in A.D. 1746, a number of peons, a species of irregular infantry, armed with swords and

¹ Abstract of the late Sir John Malcolm's description as laid before Parliament.

spears, or matchlocks, were enlisted for the occasion ; to those some English officers were attached, among whom a young gentleman of the civil service, of the name of Haliburton, was the most distinguished. This gentleman, who had been rewarded with the commission of a lieutenant, was employed in the ensuing year in training a small corps of natives in the European manner ; he did not, however, live to perfect that system, which he appears to have introduced into the Madras service ¹.

It appears from other authorities, that the first sepoy who were raised by the English were either Mahomedans or Hindoos of very high caste, being chiefly Rajpoots. One of the first services on which the regular sepoy of Madras were employed was the defence of Arcot, A.D. 1751. The particulars of that siege, which forms a remarkable feature in the life of the celebrated Clive, have been given by an eloquent and faithful historian ² ; but he has not informed us of one occurrence that took place, and which, as it illustrates the character of the Indian soldiers, well merited to be preserved. When provisions were very low, the Hindoo sepoy entreated their commander to allow them to boil the rice (the only food left) for the whole garrison. ' Your English soldiers,' they said, ' can eat from our hands, though we cannot from theirs ; we

¹ ' It was by one of our own sepoy's' (the Council of Fort St. David observe, in a despatch dated 2nd September, 1748, in which they pass an eulogium on the character of Mr. Haliburton) ' that he had the misfortune to be killed, who shot him upon his reprimanding him for some offence ; the poor gentleman' (they add) ' died next day, and the villain did not live so long, for his comrades that stood by cut him to pieces immediately.' The name of Mr. Haliburton was long cherished by the Madras native troops, and about twenty years ago, on an examination of old grants, some veterans, wearing medals, appeared as claimants, who called themselves Haliburton Saheb Ka sepoy, or Haliburton's soldiers.

² Orme.

will allot as their share every grain of the rice, and subsist ourselves by drinking the water in which it has been boiled.' I state this remarkable anecdote from an authority I cannot doubt, as it refers to the most unexceptionable contemporary witnesses.

During all the wars of Clive, of Lawrence, of Smith, and of Coote, the sepoys of Madras continued to display the same valour and attachment. In the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, they suffered hardships of a nature almost unparalleled; there was hardly a corps that was not twenty months in arrears; they were supported, it is true, by a daily allowance of rice, but this was not enough to save many of their families from being the victims of that dreadful famine which during these years wasted the Company's dominions in India. Their fidelity never gave way in this hour of extreme trial, and they repaid with gratitude and attachment the kindness and consideration with which they were treated by their European officers, who, being few in number, but, generally speaking, very efficient, tried every means that could conciliate the regard, excite the pride, or stimulate the valour of those they commanded.

In the campaigns of 1790 and 1791 against Tippoo Sultaun, the sepoys of this establishment showed their usual zeal and courage; but the number of European troops which were now intermixed with them, lessened their opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and though improved in discipline, they perhaps fell in their own estimation. The native army in some degree became a secondary one, and the pride of those of whom it was composed was lowered. The campaigns of Lord Cornwallis and General Meadows were certainly not inferior, either in their operations or results, to those of Sir Eyre Coote; but every officer can tell how differently they are regarded by the sepoys who served in both; the latter may bring to their memory the distresses and hardships which they suffered, and perhaps the recollection of children who perished from famine, but it is associated with a sense of their own importance at that period to the government they served, with the pride of fidelity and patient valour. The pictures of these three distinguished leaders are in the great room of the

Exchange at Madras ; to that (I speak of ten years ago) when a battalion comes into garrison the old sepoys lead their families. Wallis and Meadows (these are the names by which the two first commanders are known to them) are pointed out as great and brave chiefs ; but it is to the image of their favourite, Coote, the pilgrimage is made, and the youngest of their children are taught to pay a respect bordering on devotion to this revered leader.

In the year 1796, new regulations were introduced into the Indian army, the whole form of which was in fact changed. Instead of single battalions of a thousand men, commanded by a captain, who was selected from the European corps in the Honourable Company's service, and a subaltern to each company, they were formed into regiments of two battalions, to which officers were appointed of the same rank, and nearly of the same number, as to a battalion in the service of Her Majesty.

The general history of the native army of Fort St. George is short. Sepoys were first disciplined, as has been stated, on that establishment in 1748 ; they were at that period, and for some time afterwards, in independent companies, under subadars or native captains. Mahomed Esof, one of the most distinguished of those officers, rose by his talents and courage to the general command of the whole ; and the name of this hero, for such he was, occurs almost as often in the page of the English historian ¹ of India as that of Lawrence and Clive. As the numbers of the native army increased, the form changed. In A.D. 1766, we find ten battalions of 1000 men each, and three European officers to each corps. In 1770, there were eighteen battalions of a similar strength ; and in 1784 the number of this army had increased to 2000 native cavalry and 28,000 infantry ; a considerable reduction was made at this period, but subsequent wars and conquests have caused a great increase.

A few remarks on the appearance and conduct of this army,

¹ Orme.

with some anecdotes of remarkable individuals, will fully illustrate its character, and convey a just idea of the elements of which it is composed.

The native cavalry of Madras was originally raised by the Nabob of the Carnatic. The first corps embodied into a regiment under the command of European officers, on the suggestion of General Joseph Smith, served in the campaign of 1768 in the Mysore. From 1771 to 1776, the cavalry force was greatly augmented, but then again declined both in numbers and efficiency. The proportion that was retained nominally in the service of the Nabob, but actually in that of the Company, served in the campaigns of 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783, and was formally transferred, with the European officers attached to it, to the Company's service in 1784. The prospect of fortune which the liberality of an Indian prince offered, attracted to this corps many active and enterprising European officers, and the favour which a Native Court extended to its choicest troops filled the ranks of its regiments of regular cavalry with the prime of the Mahomedan youth ¹ of the Carnatic. When this corps was in the service of the Nabob of the Carnatic, though it was often very highly distinguished, the intrigues of a venal court and irregular payments caused frequent mutinies. Since it has been transferred to the Company's establishment, a period of more than thirty years, its career has been one of faithful service and of brilliant achievement, unstained by any example, that I can recollect, of disaffection or of defeat. The two severest trials of the courage and discipline

¹ There cannot be men more suited from their frame and disposition, for the duty of light cavalry than those of which this corps is composed. They are, generally speaking, from five feet five to five feet ten inches in height, of light but active make. Their strength is preserved and improved by moderation in their diet, and by exercise common to the military tribes, and which are calculated to increase the muscular force.

of this corps were at Assaye and Vellore; in both these services they were associated with the 19th Dragoons.

The distinguished commander¹ of that gallant regiment had, from the day of its arrival in India, laboured to establish the ties of mutual and cordial regard between the European and native soldiers. His success was complete. His own fame while he remained in India was promoted by their combined efforts, and the friendship which he established, and which had continued for many years, was after his departure consummated upon the plains of Assaye. At the most critical moment of a battle which ranks amongst the hardest fought that have been gained by the illustrious Wellington, the British dragoons, when making their extremest efforts, saw their Asiatic fellow soldiers keep pace for pace, and give blow for blow. A more arduous task awaited the latter, when the battalions of native infantry, which formed the garrison of Vellore, were led by the infatuation of the moment to rise upon and murder the Europeans of that garrison. The fidelity of the native cavalry did not shrink from the severe trial, and after the gates of the fortress were blown open, their sabres were as deeply² stained as those of the English dragoons with the blood of their misguided and guilty countrymen.

But a few authentic anecdotes of some of the most distinguished individuals of the native cavalry of Madras, will show, better than volumes, the high spirit that pervades that corps.

In the campaign of 1791, when Secunder Beg, one of the oldest subadars of the native cavalry, was riding at a little distance on the flank of his troop, two or three horsemen of Tippoo's army, favoured by some brushwood, came suddenly upon him; the combat had hardly commenced when the son of the subadar, who was a havildar or serjeant in the same

¹ The late General Sir John Floyd, Bart., father-in-law of Sir R. Peel.

² This fact is stated upon the high authority of a respectable officer who belonged to the 19th Dragoons, and was with them on this memorable occasion.

regiment, flew to his father's aid and slew the foremost of his opponents; the others fled; but nothing could exceed the rage of the old man at his son's conduct; he put him instantly under a guard, and insisted upon his being brought to condign punishment for quitting his ranks without leave: It was with the greatest difficulty that Colonel Floyd, who commanded the force, could reconcile him to the disgrace he conceived he had suffered (to use his own expression) from his enemy 'being taken from him by a presumptuous boy in front of his regiment.'

Cawder Beg, late subadar of the fourth regiment, may be deemed throughout his life as one of the most distinguished officers of the native cavalry at Madras. In 1790, he was attached to Colonel Floyd as an orderly subadar, when that officer, who had been reconnoitering with a small detachment, was attacked by considerable body of the enemy's horse. Nothing but the greatest exertions of every individual could have saved the party from being cut off. Those of Cawder Beg were the most conspicuous, and they received a reward, of which he was proud to the last hour of his life: an English sabre was sent to him, with the name of Colonel Floyd upon it, and an inscription, stating that it was the reward of valour. But personal courage was the least quality of Cawder Beg: his talents eminently fitted him for the exercise of military command. During the campaign of 1799, it was essential to prevent the enemy's looties (a species of Cossack horse), from penetrating between the columns and the rear guard, and plundering any part of that immense train of provisions and luggage, which it was necessary to carry to Seringapatam. Cawder Beg, with two or three of his relations from the native cavalry and a select body of infantry, were placed under my orders. I was then political representative with the army of the subah of the Deckan, and commanded a considerable body of the troops of that prince. I had applied for Cawder Beg on account of his reputation, and prevailed upon Meer Allum, the leader of the subah's forces, to place a corps of 2000 men of his best regular horse under the subadar's orders. Two days after the corps was formed, an orderly trooper came to

tell me that Cawder Beg was engaged with some of the enemy's horsemen. I hastened to the spot with some alarm for the result, determined if Cawder Beg was victor, to reprove him most severely for a conduct so unsuited to the station in which he had been placed. The fears I entertained for his safety were soon dispelled, as I saw him advancing on foot with two swords in his hand, which he hastened to present to me, begging at the same time I would restrain my indignation at his apparent rashness till I heard his reasons; then speaking to me aside, he said 'Though the General of the Nizam's army was convinced by your statement of my competence to the command you have entrusted me with, I observed that the high-born and high-titled leaders of the horse he placed under my orders, looked at my close jacket¹, straight pantaloons, and European boots with contempt, and thought themselves disgraced by being told to obey me. I was, therefore, tempted, on seeing a well-mounted horseman of Tippoo's challenge their whole line, to accept a combat, which they declined. I promised not to use fire arms, and succeeded in cutting him down; a relation came to avenge his death; I wounded him, and have brought him prisoner. You will' (he added, smiling), 'hear a good report of me at the durbar (Court) of Meer Allum this evening, and the service will go on better for what has passed, and I promise most sacredly to fight no more single combats.'

When I went in the evening to visit the Meer Allum, I found at his tent a number of the principal chiefs, and among others those that had been with Cawder Beg, with whose praises I was assailed from every quarter. 'He was,' they said, 'a perfect hero, a Rustum²; it was an honour to be commanded by so great a leader.' The consequence was, as the subadar had anticipated, that the different chiefs who were

¹ The native troops in the English service wear a uniform very like that of Europeans.

² The Persian Hercules.

placed under him vied in respect and obedience; and so well were the incessant efforts of this body directed, that scarcely a load of grain was lost; hardly a day passed that the activity and stratagem of Cawder Beg did not delude some of the enemy's plunderers to their destruction.

It would fill a volume to give a minute account of the actions of this gallant officer; he was the native aide-de-camp of General Dugald Campbell, when that officer reduced the ceded districts¹; he attended Sir Arthur Wellesley (the present Duke of Wellington) in the campaign of 1803, and was employed by that officer in the most confidential manner. At the end of this campaign, during which he had several opportunities of distinguishing himself, Cawder Beg, who had received a pension from the English Government, and whose pride was flattered by being created an omrah² of the Deckan by the Nizam, retired; but he did not long enjoy the distinction he had obtained: he died in 1806, worn out with the excessive fatigue to which he had for many years exposed himself.

The body guard of the Governor of Madras has always been a very select corps, and the notice and attention with which both the native officers and men of the corps have invariably been treated, may be adduced as one of the causes which have led to its obtaining distinction in every service on which it has been employed.

On the 13th of May, 1791, Lord Cornwallis returned his thanks in the warmest manner to this corps and its gallant commanding officer, Captain Alexander Grant, for a charge upon the enemy. It obtained still further distinction under Captain James Grant, the brother of its former commander,

¹ These districts, which were ceded to the English Government by the treaty of Seringapattam in 1799, lie between Mysore Proper and the territories of the Subah of the Deckan.

² He received the title of Cawder Nuaz Khan, or Cawder the favoured Lord.

when employed, in the year 1801, against the Poligars, a race of warlike men who inhabit the southern part of the Madras territory. There are indeed few examples of a more desperate and successful charge than was made, during that service, by this small corps upon a phalanx of resolute pikemen, more than double its own numbers; and the behaviour of Shaikh Ibrahim, the senior subadar (a native captain), on that occasion, merits to be commemorated.

This officer, who was alike remarkable for his gallantry, and unrivalled skill as a horseman, anticipated, from his experience of the enemy, all that would happen. He told Captain Grant what he thought would be the fate of those who led the charge at the same moment that he urged it, and heard with animated delight, the resolution of his commander to attempt an exploit which was to reflect such glory on the corps. The leaders of the body guard and almost one-third of its number fell, as was expected; but the shock broke the order of their opponents, and they obtained a complete victory. Shaikh Ibrahim was pierced with several pikes, one was in the throat; he held his hand to this, as if eager to keep life till he asked the fate of Captain Grant. The man of whom he inquired pointed to that officer, who was lying on the ground and apparently dead, with a pike through his lungs; the subadar, with an expression of regret that he had disdained to show for his own fate, pulled the pike from the wound, and instantly expired. His character and his behaviour in the last moment of existence are fully described in the following general order, which was issued on this occasion by the Government of Fort St. George:—

‘A rare combination of talents has rendered the character of Shaikh Ibrahim familiar to the officers of the army; to cool decision and daring valour, he added that sober judgment, and those honourable sentiments that raised him far above the level of his rank in life. An exploit of uncommon energy and personal exertion terminated his career, and the last effort of his voice breathed honour, attachment, and fidelity.

‘The Governor in Council, desirous of showing to the army

his Lordship's¹ sense of the virtue and attainments which have rendered the death of this native officer a severe loss to the service, has been pleased to confer on his family a pension equal to the pay of a subadar of the body guard, being thirty pagodas a month. And his Lordship has further directed that a certificate to this effect, translated into Persian and Hindoostanee, may be presented to the family, as a record of the gift, and a tribute to the memory of the brave subadar Shaikh Ibrahim.'

The posthumous praise given to Shaikh Ibrahim appeared to have inspired others with a desire to share his fate, that they might attain his fame. A jemadar of the same corps, some days afterwards, being appointed with a few select men to watch a road, where it was thought the chief whom they were attacking might try to escape, with one or two followers, determined, when a whole column came out, to make an attempt against its leader, and such was the surprise at seeing five or six horsemen ride into a body of between 200 or 300 men, that he had cut down the chief before they had recovered from their astonishment; he succeeded in riding out of the column, but was soon afterwards shot. He had, when he meditated this attack, sent a person to inform Captain J. Grant (who had recovered of his wounds) of his intention. 'The captain will discover,' he observed, 'that there are more Shaikh Ibrahims than one in the body guard.' Captain Grant, when the service was over, erected tombs over these gallant officers; a constant lamp is kept at them, which is supported by a trifling monthly donation from every man in the body guard, and the noble spirit of the corps is perpetuated by the contemplation

¹ The Marquess Wellesley was at this period Governor General of India; and it is the testimony of all contemporary authorities (a similar remark applies to Earl Powis, then Lord Clive and Governor of Madras), that virtue, talent, or valour, either in European or native, were certain, under his administration, of attaining distinction and reward.

of these regimental shrines (for such they may be termed) of heroic valour.

Shaikh Moheedeem, a subadar of the body guard of Madras, who was one of the first officers appointed to the corps of native horse artillery, accompanied me to Persia, and was left with a detachment of his corps, under the command of Captain Lindsay, to aid in instructing the Persians in military tactics. This small body of men and their gallant European commander were engaged in several campaigns in Georgia, and his conduct has obtained not only for the subadar, but for all the men of his party, marked honours and reward, both from the Persian Government and their own. Their exertions received additional importance from the scene on which they acted, for it is not easy to calculate the future benefits which may result from the display of the superior courage and discipline of the native soldiers of India on the banks of the Araxes.

The native infantry of Madras is generally composed of Mahomedans and Hindoos of good caste : at its first establishment none were enlisted but men of high military tribes. In the progress of time a considerable change took place, and natives of every description were enrolled in the service. Though some corps that were almost entirely formed of the lowest and most despised races of men obtained considerable reputation, it was feared their encouragement might produce disgust, and particularly when they gained, as they frequently did, the rank of officers. Orders were in consequence given to recruit from none but the most respectable classes of society, and many consider the regular and orderly behaviour of these men as one of the benefits which have resulted from this system.

The infantry sepoy of Madras is rather a small man, but he is of an active make, and capable of undergoing great fatigue, upon a very slender diet. We find no man arrive at greater precision in all his military exercises ; his moderation, his sobriety, his patience, give him a steadiness that is almost unknown to Europeans ; but though there exists in this body of men a fitness to attain mechanical perfection as soldiers, there are no men whose minds it is of more consequence to study.

The most marked general feature of the character of the native of India is a proneness to obedience, accompanied by a great susceptibility of good or bad usage ; and there are few in that country who are more imbued with these feelings than the class of which we are now treating. The sepoy of Madras, when kindly treated, have invariably shown great attachment ¹ to the service ; and when we know that this class of men can be brought, without harshness or punishment, to the highest discipline, we neither can nor ought to have any toleration for those who pursue a different system ; and the commander-in-chief is unfit for his station who grants his applause to the mere martinet, and forgets in his intemperate zeal, that no perfection in appearance and discipline can make amends for the loss of the temper and attachment of the native soldiers under his command.

We discover in the pages of Orme many examples of that patient endurance of privations and fatigue, and that steady valour, which has since characterized the native infantry of Madras. Their conduct in the war against Hyder Ally in 1766, was such as justly to entitle them to admiration. In the battle of Trincomalee and Molwaggle they displayed all the qualifications of good and steady soldiers ; and it was during this war that the 5th battalion of native infantry, commanded by Captain Calvert, distinguished itself by the defence of Ambore, and obtained the honour of bearing a representation of that mountain fortress on one of its standards. To the campaigns of Sir Eyre Coote we have already alluded, and have spoken of the unshaken fidelity which the sepoy of Madras

¹ In old corps, that have been chiefly recruited within the territories which have been long in the possession of the Company, desertion is of very rare occurrence.

The first battalion of the 3rd native infantry marched, in 1803, from near Madura (of which district, and Trichinopoly, a great proportion of its men were natives), to the banks of the Taptee, a distance of above 1000 miles, without one desertion !

evinced at that trying juncture ; but if a moment was to be named when the existence of the British power depended upon its native troops, we should fix upon the battle of Portonovo. Driven to the seashore, attacked by an enemy exulting in recent success, confident in its numbers, and strong in the terror of his name, every circumstance combined that could dishearten the small body of men on whom the fate of the war depended ; not a heart shrunk from the trial. Of the European troops it is of course superfluous to speak ; but all the native battalions appear, from every account of the action, to have been entitled to equal praise on this memorable occasion ; and it is difficult to say whether they were most distinguished when suffering with a patient courage, under a heavy cannonade, when receiving and repulsing the shock of the flower of Hyder's cavalry, or when attacking in their turn the troops of that monarch, who, baffled in all his efforts, retreated from this field of anticipated conquest with the loss of his most celebrated commander and thousands of his bravest soldiers. The defeat of Colonel Baillie's detachment, which occurred at the commencement of this war, has been variously attributed to bad arrangements in the general plans of the campaign, to mismanagement on the part of the commanding officer, and to the misconduct of the native troops. It is probable all these causes combined to produce this great misfortune ; but we must recollect that the native battalions that were chiefly accused of bad behaviour on this occasion were raw levies, who had never before seen service, and most of whom had hardly been in the army a sufficient time to be disciplined. The men composing these corps had been hastily raised in the Circars, or northern possessions of Madras, and their conduct created a prejudice (which experience has since proved to be unjust) against recruits from this quarter.

I shall not dwell upon the different actions in the war against Tippoo and the Mahrattas, in which the Madras sepoy's signalized themselves, but merely state some anecdotes of corps and individuals which appear calculated to give a fair impression of the general character of this class of the defenders of our empire in India.

The natives of India have, generally speaking, a rooted dislike to the sea ; and when we consider the great privations and hardships to which Hindoos of high caste are subject on a long voyage, during which some of them, from prejudices of caste, subsist solely on parched grain, we feel less surprise at the occasional mutinies which have been caused by orders for their embarkation than at the zeal and attachment they have often shown upon such trying occasions.

A mutiny had occurred in the 9th battalion when ordered to embark for Bombay, in 1779 or 1780, which however had been quelled by the spirit and decision of its commandant, Captain Kelly. A more serious result had accompanied a similar order for the embarkation of some companies of a corps in the Northern Circars, who, when they came to Vizagapatam, the port where they were to take shipping, had risen upon their European officers, and in their violence shot all except one or two, who escaped on board the vessel appointed to carry their men.

These events rendered government averse to a repetition of experiments which had proved so dangerous ; but in the year 1795, when the island of Ceylon, and the possessions of the Dutch in the eastern seas were to be reduced, Lord Hobart, who was then Governor of Fort St. George, made a successful appeal to the zeal and attachment of the native troops, who volunteered in corps for foreign service. His Lordship (afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire), was very successful in inspiring zeal in every branch of the government under his charge, and his attention was peculiarly directed to the conciliation of the natives. The local information he acquired at this period was subsequently matured by a study of the general interests of the Indian empire ; and the life of this virtuous nobleman terminated at a moment when his services, from the high station he had attained of President of the Board of Control, were most valuable to his country.

A still greater call for men was necessary when an army was formed, in 1797, for the attack of Manilla, and many of the best battalions in the service showed a forwardness to be employed in this expedition. Among these, one of the most

remarkable for its appearance and discipline was a battalion of the 22d regiment. This fine corps was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Oram, an officer not more distinguished for his personal zeal and gallantry, than for a thorough knowledge of the men under his command, whose temper he had completely preserved, at the same time that he had imparted to them the highest perfection in their dress and discipline. When he proposed to his corps on parade, to volunteer for Manilla, they only requested to know whether Colonel Oram would go with them: the answer was, 'he would.' 'Will he stay with us?' was the second question. The reply was in the affirmative; the whole corps exclaimed 'to Europe, to Europe!' and the alacrity and spirit with which they subsequently embarked showed they would as readily have gone to the shores of the Atlantic as to an island of the Eastern Ocean. Not a man of the corps deserted from the period they volunteered for service till they embarked; and such was the contagion of their enthusiasm, that several sepoys who were missing from one of the battalions in garrison at Madras were found, when the expedition returned, to have deserted to join the 22d under Colonel Oram. This anecdote is stated with a full impression of the importance of the lesson it conveys. It is through their affections alone that such a class of men can be well commanded.

I find in the Madras native army many instances of unquerable attachment to the service to which they belong. Among these none can be more remarkable than that of Syud Ibrahim, commandant of the Tanjore cavalry, who was made prisoner by Tippoo Sultan in 1781. The character of this distinguished officer was well known to his enemy, and the highest rank and station were offered to tempt him to enter into the employment of the state of Mysore. His steady refusal occasioned his being treated with such rigour, and was attended, as his fellow-prisoners (who were British officers) thought, with such danger to his life, that they, from a generous feeling, contemplating his condition as a Mahomedan and a native of India as in some essential points different from their own, recommended him to accept the offers of the Sultan; but the

firm allegiance of Syud Ibrahim would admit of no compromise, and he treated every overture as an insult. His virtuous resolution provoked at last the personal resentment of Tippoo, and when the English prisoners were released in 1784, the commandant was removed to a dungeon in the mountain fortress of Couley Droog, where he terminated his existence. His sister, who had left her home, the Carnatic, to share the captivity of her brother, was subsequently wounded in the storming of Seringapatam. She, however, fortunately recovered, and the Government of Fort St. George granted her a pension of 52 pagodas and a half per month, or 250*l.* per annum, being the full pay of a native commandant of cavalry. A tomb was also erected at the place where Syud Ibrahim died; and Government endowed it with an establishment sufficient to maintain a fakeer or priest, and to keep two lamps continually burning at the shrine of this faithful soldier.

Among the many instances of the effect which pride in themselves, and the notice of their superiors, inspire in this class of troops, I may state the conduct of the first battalion of the eighth regiment of infantry, which became, at the commencement of his career in India, a favourite corps of the Duke of Wellington. They were with him on every service; and the men of his corps used often to call themselves 'Wellesley ka Pulten,' or Wellesley's battalion, and their conduct on every occasion was calculated to support the proud title they had assumed. This corps, some years before the period of which we are now speaking, attained very high reputation under Captain Dunwoody, an officer whose memory continues to be respected and cherished in the native army of Fort St. George. A staff officer, after the battle of Assaye, saw a number of the Mahomedans of this battalion assembled, apparently for a funeral; he asked whom they were about to inter: they mentioned the names of five commissioned and non-commissioned officers of a very distinguished family in the corps. 'We are going to put these brothers¹ into one

¹ The term 'brothers' extends in India to first cousins.

grave,' said one of the party. The officer, who was well acquainted with the individuals who had been slain, expressed his regret, and was about to offer some consolation to the survivors, but he was stopped by one of the men: 'There is no occasion,' he said, 'for such feelings or expressions; these men (pointing to the dead bodies) were sepoy (soldiers); they have died in the performance of their duties; the Government they served will protect their children, who will soon fill the ranks they lately occupied.' The respected and distinguished officer, the late Sir Robert Barclay, to whom we owe this and the following anecdote of the Madras troops, concludes a note he had been kind enough to write on the subject with the following remark:—'I have seen (he observes) the Madras sepoy engaged in great and trifling actions more than fifty times; I never knew them behave ill, or backward, but once, when two havildars (or serjeants) that were next to me, quitted their post, from seeing the fire chiefly directed to me; but it is (he adds) but justice to state that, on other occasions, I have owed my life to the gallantry of my covering havildar.'

Though sensible I have dwelt too long upon this part of my subject, I cannot forbear recording an example of that patience with which the native troops meet privation and distress. In 1804, the subsidiary force in the Deccan, commanded by Colonel Haliburton, was inclosed between two rivers, which became suddenly so swollen as to cut off their supplies of provisions. It was a period of general famine, and the communication was cut off with the grain dealers, from whom alone they could expect a supply. All the rice in camp was found to be barely sufficient for five days' allowance, at a very reduced rate, to the European part of the force. Issues to the sepoy were stopt, but while they were left to the scanty subsistence they might be able to procure for themselves, they were appointed the sole guards over that grain, from all share in which they were from necessity excluded. This duty was performed with the strictest care, and the most cheerful submission. Fortunately the waters subsided, and an ample supply prevented their feeling that extreme of famine, the prospect of which they had contemplated with an attention to discipline and a

composure of mind which even astonished those best acquainted with their habits of order and obedience.

Bombay Army.—It was at Bombay that the first native corps were disciplined by the English. Of the exact date I am ignorant, but regular sepoy are noticed in the account of the transactions of that part of India some time before they were embodied at either Madras or Bengal. A corps of 100 sepoy from Bombay, and 4000 from Tellicherry, is mentioned as having joined the army at Madras in A. D. 1747, and a company of Bombay sepoy, which had gone with troops from Madras to Bengal, were present at the victory of Plassey. The sepoy at Bombay continued long in independent companies, commanded by subadars or native captains. As the possessions and political relations of that settlement were enlarged, its army increased. The companies were formed into battalions under European officers; and during the war with the Mahrattas, A. D. 1780, we find the establishment consisting of fifteen battalions. These, at the termination of the war with Tippoo, 1783, were reduced to six, and one battalion of marines. In 1788, its numbers were augmented to twelve battalions. In 1796, it was reformed into an establishment of four regiments of two battalions each, from which it has been progressively raised, by the acquisition of territory and subsidiary alliances, to its present establishment.

The men of the native infantry of Bombay¹ are robust and hardy, and capable of enduring great fatigue upon very slender diet. This army has, from its origin to the present day, been indiscriminately composed of all classes, Mahomedans, Hindoos, Jews, and some few Christians. Among the Hindoos, those of the lowest tribes of Mahrattas and the Purwarrie, Soortee and Frost sects, are much more numerous than the Rajpoots and higher castes. The Purwarrie are generally from the southward of Bombay, the Frosts and Soortees from the

¹ Since this was written, a considerable change has taken place in the composition of the Bombay native army.

northward. These are men of what is termed very low caste, being hardly above what are called pariahs, on the coast of Coromandel. Jews have already been favourite soldiers in this army, and great numbers of them attain the rank of commissioned officers. An officer of rank and experience in the Bombay army, observes, 'the Jews are clean, obedient, and good soldiers, make excellent non-commissioned and commissioned officers, until they arrive at an advanced age, when they often fall off, and turn drunkards.' It is probably owing to the peculiar composition, and to the local situation of the territories in which they are employed, that the sepoys of Bombay have at all periods been found ready to embark on foreign service. They are, in fact, familiar to the sea, and only a small proportion of them are incommoded in a voyage by those privations to which others are subject from prejudices of caste. But this is only one of the merits of the Bombay native soldier: he is patient, faithful, and brave, and attached in a remarkable degree to his European officers. There cannot be a class of men more cheerful under privation and difficulties. I question, indeed, if any army can produce more extraordinary examples of attachment to the government it served and to its officers than that of Bombay.

Towards the close of the war with Tippoo, in 1782, the whole of the force under General Matthews were made prisoners. The Sultan, sensible of the advantages he might derive from the accession of a body of well-disciplined men, made every offer that he thought could tempt the English sepoys into his service, but in vain. He ordered them to work upon his fortifications, particularly Chittledroog, which was very unhealthy, upon a seer (two pounds) of raggy (a small grain like mustard seed) and a pice (about a halfpenny) per day. On this pittance they were rigidly kept at hard labour through the day, and in close confinement at night, subject to the continued insults of their guards; but neither insult, oppression, nor sickness, could subdue their fidelity; and at the peace in 1783, 1500 of the natives of India, who had been made prisoners near the mountains of the coast of Malabar, marched a distance of 500 miles to Madras to embark on a voyage of six or

eight weeks, to rejoin the army to which they belonged at Bombay. During the march from Mysore, the guards of the Sultan carefully separated those men, whenever they encamped, by a tank (a large reservoir) or some other supposed insurmountable obstacle, from the European prisoners, among whom were their officers. Not a night passed (I write from a paper of an officer of distinction who was a witness of what he states) that some of the sepoys did not elude the vigilance of their guards by swimming across the tank, or by passing the sentries, that they might see their officers, to whom they brought such small sums as they had saved from their pittance, begging they would condescend to accept the little all they had to give. 'We can live upon any thing (they used to say,) but you require mutton and beef.' A considerable number of the sepoys taken with General Matthews had, at the hazard of their lives, made their escape from the Sultan, and reached Bombay, through the Mahratta territories.

To the service in Egypt, in 1800, the Bombay troops proceeded with the same alacrity as to every other, and neither the new disorders (to them) of the ophthalmia or plague, from both of which they suffered, abated in the least degree their ardour. We can hardly contemplate an event in any history more calculated to inspire reflection on the character of that transcendent power which our country had attained, than the meeting of her European and Indian army on the shores of the Mediterranean.

During the progress of the war with France, subsequent to 1803, several parties of the Marine battalions of Bombay sepoys were captured on board of the Company's cruisers and carried to the Isle of France, where they were treated in a manner that reflects no credit upon the local government of the island, which probably expected that the hardships they endured would make them give way to the temptations continually held out, and induce them to take service; but in this they were disappointed: not one of those men could be persuaded to enter into the employment of the enemies of Great Britain; and when the Isle of France was captured, they met with that notice which they had so well merited. The Govern-

ment of Bombay granted to every individual who survived his captivity a silver medal, as a memorial of the sense which it entertained of his proved fidelity and attachment.

From the documents in my possession, many examples of individual heroism in the Bombay sepoy might be given, but I shall content myself with two, which will show in a very strong point of view the nature of their attachment to their European officers.

Four years ago, when the commanding officer (Lieutenant Colonel Hull) of a battalion on the Bombay establishment was proceeding along the banks of a ravine, with eight or ten men of his corps, to search for some lions, which had been seen near the cantonment of Kaira, in Guzerat, a royal tiger suddenly sprang upon him. The ground gave way, and the tiger and Major Hull rolled together to the bottom of the ravine. Though this fall prevented the latter from being killed by the first assault, still his fate seemed certain; and those who know from having witnessed it, the terror which the attack of this fierce animal inspires, can only appreciate the character of that feeling which led every sepoy who was with him to rush at once to his succour. The tiger fell under their bayonets, though not before it had wounded two of the assailants most desperately; one having lost his leg, and the other been so lacerated as to be rendered unfit for future service as a soldier. These wounds, however, were deemed trivial by those who sustained them, when they saw that the officer whom they loved had escaped unhurt from his perilous situation.

The second example of this strong feeling of duty is still more remarkable, as it was not merely encountering danger, but a devotion to certain death. I take the account of the transaction from a document¹ in which it was recorded at the period of its occurrence.

In 1797, Captain Pakenham, in His Majesty's ship *Resistance*, accompanied by some small vessels of war belonging

¹ Madras newspaper, 27th Sept. 1797.

to the Company, took possession of Copang, the chief Dutch settlement on the eastern Isle of Timor. Lieutenant Frost, of the Bombay marine, commander of the *Intrepid* cruiser, who was to be appointed Governor of Copang, had taken a house on shore, where he expected Captain Pakenham to meet the Dutch Governor, and make arrangements for the future administration of peace. The Malays had formed a plan, by which it was settled that the moment Captain Pakenham landed to attend this meeting, they were to rise and murder all the Englishmen on shore. Fortunately something occurred to induce Captain Pakenham to defer his visit; but he sent his boat, and its reaching the beach was a signal for the commencement of the massacre. Nearly twenty persons were slain. A large party had rushed to Lieutenant Frost's house. The head of his surgeon had been struck off, and his own destruction seemed inevitable, when two sepoys of the Bombay marine battalion, whom he had landed from his vessel, exclaimed to him, 'Save yourself by flight, we will fight and die;' at the same time exposing themselves to the fury of their assailants, and giving their commander time to escape to a boat. The sepoys, after a resistance as protracted as they could render it, were slain, and their heads exposed on pikes explained their fate to their lamenting companions on board the *Intrepid*. Captain Pakenham took prompt and ample vengeance of this treachery; he opened a heavy fire upon the place, under which he landed an efficient force, which defeated the Malays, who fled after losing 200 men.

BENGAL ARMY.—I shall not dwell on details connected with the progress of this army, from a few companies who landed with Lord Clive in 1756, to its present number, which is nearly 100,000 effective native soldiers, commanded by about 2248¹ European officers, but content myself with noticing

¹ This is independent of the officers of artillery and engineers, and of invalid corps. In 1760, the whole of the European officers in the service of the Company in Bengal amounted to eighteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns.

those facts which appear best calculated to illustrate the disposition and character of the materials of which it is composed.

The first battalion raised in Bengal were ten companies of 100 men each, commanded by a captain, with one lieutenant, one ensign and one or two serjeants. Each company had a standard of the same ground as the facings, with a different device (suited to its subadar, or native captain), of a sabre, a crescent, or a dagger. The Company's colours, with the union in one corner, were carried by the grenadiers. The first battalions were known by the name of the captain by whom they were commanded, and though, in 1764, 19 corps received a numerical rank, corresponding with the actual rank of their commandants at that period, this did not prevent them from continuing to be known under their former appellation, or from assuming the name of a favourite leader; the 15th battalion, was raised in Calcutta in 1757, and called the Matthews, from the name of its first commander. This corps was with Colonel Ford in 1759, when that able officer, with 346 Europeans and 1400 sepoy, besieged and took by storm the strong fortress of Masulipatam, making prisoners a French garrison, who, both in Europeans and natives, were nearly double his numbers. In this daring and arduous enterprise we are told by the historian of India that 'the sepoy (who lost in killed and wounded on the storm 200 men) behaved with equal gallantry as the Europeans, both in the real and false attacks¹.' In 1763, in the wars with the Vizier of Oude, the 'Matthews,' which was with the force under the command of Major Adams, is stated, when the Company's European regiment was broken by cavalry, to have nobly supported His Majesty's 84th regiment, whose courage restored the action. Major Adams died shortly afterwards, and a general mutiny of the whole force took place, in which the sepoy at first joined, but were soon after reclaimed to their duty. At the battle of

¹ Orme's History of India, vol. iii. p. 489.

Buxar, which was fought in 1764, all the native corps appear to have behaved well.

In 1782, 'the Matthews' was one of three Bengal corps who mutinied, under an apprehension of being embarked for foreign service; and though the conduct of those corps¹ was remarkable for the total absence of that spirit of general insubordination and disposition to outrage by which mutinies of soldiery are usually marked, they were in the ensuing year broken and drafted into some other battalions. 'Thus fell 'the Matthews' (says Captain Williams), a corps more highly spoken of during the twenty-six years it existed than any battalion in the service; and at this day (he adds), if you meet any of the old fellows who once belonged to it, and ask them what corps they came from, they will erect their heads and say, 'Matthews ka Pultan,' or 'Matthews' battalion.' I cannot refrain from giving the following account of this mutiny, which is written by an officer who witnessed it. It is very characteristic of the Bengal sepoys—'The mutiny (this officer observes), excepting a general spirit of murmur and discontent, was confined to the single instance of refusing the service, and whilst in that state, preventing the march of two companies which were ordered to protect stores, &c. prepared for the expedition. The men were guilty of no violence of any description, and treated their officers with the usual respect. The discipline of the corps was carried on as usual; and notwithstanding some of the native officers and men who had acted the most conspicuous part were confined in the quarter-guards of their respective regiments, no attempt was made to release them. After a lapse of several weeks, a general court-martial was held, and two subadars and one or two sepoys were sentenced to death, by being blown away from the mouth of the cannon. The sentence was carried into execution, in the presence of those troops which had mutinied; excepting one other regiment, which was at the station, without the smallest opposition or even murmur; and the troops were marched round the spot of execution, amidst the mangled remains of their fellow soldiers, without any other apparent feeling than the horror which such a scene was calculated to

excite, and pity for their fate.' (It was thus also at Barrackpore when the mutiny took place relative to proceeding to Rangoon.) The intended service was given up, and the regiments which had mutinied were pardoned in general orders; but on the return to the Bengal provinces of General Goddard's detachment, the officers and men of the regiments which had mutinied were drafted into those old battalions.

The present second battalion of the 12th regiment appears, from Captain Williams' account, to have been raised some months before 'the Matthews.' He indeed calls it the first raised battalion. This corps was at the battle of Plassey. It was named by the sepoys the La Pultan, or the Red¹ Battalion, and afterwards Gallis², from the name of one of the first captains. It was associated with the Matthews in all its early service, particularly at Masulipatam, Gheretty, &c.; but in 1764 it mutinied, on the pretext of some promises which were made to it having been broken. Having no apparent object, it was easily reduced to obedience; but Major Munro (afterwards Sir Hector Munro), who then commanded the army, thought a severe example necessary, and twenty-eight of the most guilty were tried by a drum-head court martial, and sentenced to death. Eight of these were directed to be immediately blown away from the guns of the force then at Choprah. As they were on the point of executing the sentence, three grenadiers, who happened to be amongst them, stepped forth, and claimed the privilege of being blown away from the right hand guns. 'They had always fought on the right (they said), and they hoped they would be permitted to die at that post of honour.' Their request was granted, and they were the first executed. 'I am sure (says Captain Williams, who then belonged to the Royal Marines employed in Bengal, and who was an

¹ Probably from its dress.

² The name of this officer was Galliez. The natives of India often corrupt English names in an extraordinary manner; Dalrymple is made into Dalduffle; Ochterlony, Lonyochter; Littlejohn, John Little; Shairp, Surrup, &c.

eye-witness of this remarkable scene) that there was not a dry eye among the marines, although they had been long accustomed to hard service, and two of them had actually been in the execution party which shot Admiral Byng in 1757.'

This corps subsequently distinguished itself in 1776 at the battle of Korah. It had been known originally as the first battalion. It was afterwards numbered the 9th, from the rank of its captain. In a new arrangement of the army it was made the 16th, then the 17th. By the regulations of 1796, it has become the 2d of the 12th regiment; and it has of late years, as we shall hereafter have occasion to mention, far outdone its former fame.

A detachment composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry, and a proportion of artillery, altogether amounting to 103 European officers, and 6624 native troops, was in 17— sent from Bengal to the relief of the settlement of Bombay. Its first rendezvous was at Calpee, a town on the right bank of the Jumna, near Cawnpore, whence it commenced its march on the 12th June 1778. It reached Rajgurh, a town in Bundelcund, on the 17th August, where it halted so much longer than Mr. Hastings thought necessary, that he removed Colonel Leslie, the commanding officer, and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard to that charge. Under this active and enterprising officer it continued its route through Malwa and Candeish to Surat, presenting the extraordinary spectacle of a corps of the natives of Hindostan, under the guidance of a few officers, marching from the banks of the Ganges to the westernmost shores of India. During the five years that they were absent from home, the men of this detachment conducted themselves in the most exemplary manner, and acquired distinction in every service in which they were employed. I shall not repeat the warm and animated eulogium which Mr. Hastings passed upon this corps in one of the last general orders he issued to the army in Bengal, but all must subscribe to the truth of his observation, that their conduct showed that 'there are no difficulties which the true spirit of military enterprise is not capable of surmounting.'

The force detached to the Carnatic in 1781 was com-

manded by Colonel Pearse. It consisted of five regiments, of two small battalions (500 men each) of native infantry, some native cavalry, and a proportion of artillery. This corps, which marched about 1100 miles along the sea-coast, through the province of Cuttack and the northern Circars to Madras, arrived at that Presidency at a most eventful period, and their services were eminently useful to the preservation of our power in that quarter. Among the many occasions which this detachment had of distinguishing itself, the attack on the French lines at Cuddalore in 1783 was the most remarkable. The Bengal sepoys that were engaged on that occasion behaved nobly. It was one of the first times that European troops and the disciplined natives of India had met at the bayonet. The high spirit and bodily vigour of the Rajpoots of the provinces of Behar and Benares (the class of which three-fourths of this army was then composed) proved fully equal to the contest. In a partial action, which took place in a sortie made by the French, the latter were defeated with severe loss; and the memory of this event continues to be cherished with just pride both by the officers and men of the Bengal native army. Had the result of this affair, and the character of these sepoys, been more generally known, some of our countrymen would have been freed from that excessive alarm which was entertained for the safety of our eastern possessions when the late despot of Continental Europe threatened them with invasion. I trust that every event that can seriously disturb the peace of our Indian empire is at a great distance; but if an European army had crossed the Indus, I should not tremble for its fate. I well know that the approach of such a force would strike no terror into the minds of the men of whom I am writing, and that acting with British troops, and led by British officers, they would advance with almost as assured a confidence of victory against a line of well-disciplined Europeans as against a rabble of their own untrained countrymen. They might fail; but they are too bold, and too conscious of their own courage and strength, ever to anticipate defeat.

I should feel hesitation in stating my sentiments so strongly on this subject, if I did not know them to be those which have

been entertained and avowed by many eminent commanders¹, who have had opportunities of forming a judgment upon this question. When Colonel Pearse's detachment, which had been reduced by service from 5000 to 2000 men, returned to Bengal after an absence of four years, the policy of Mr. Hastings heaped every distinction upon them that he thought calculated to reward their merits, or to stimulate others to future exertion of a similar nature. He visited this corps, and his personal conduct towards both the European officers and natives gave grace to his public measures. A lasting impression was made on the minds of all; and every favour was doubled by the manner in which it was conferred. An officer of rank and distinction (Major-General Sir Henry Worsley), who, when a young subaltern, was an eye-witness of this scene, observes, in a letter which he has written to me on the subject, 'Mr. Hastings, dressed in a plain blue coat, with his head uncovered, rode along the ranks. The troops had the most striking appearance of hardy veterans. They were all as black as ink, contrasted with the sleek olive skins of our own corps. The sight of that day (he concludes) and the feelings it excited, have never been absent from my mind; to it, and to the affecting orders (which Mr. Hastings issued), I am satisfied I, in a great degree, owe whatever of professional pride and emulation I have since possessed.'

The rebellion of Cheyt Singh, the Rajah of Benares, in 1781, must be familiar to all acquainted with Indian history. My purpose in mentioning it, is limited to the object of showing the conduct of the Bengal sepoys under one of the severest trials of fidelity to which they were ever exposed.

The numerous followers of the Rajah had risen upon

¹ I can particularly quote the late Lord Lake. No officer ever saw troops under more varied and severe trials than he did the Bengal sepoys. He never spoke of them but with admiration; and was forward to declare, that he considered them equal to a contest with any troops that could be brought against them.

two companies of sepoys appointed to guard the house in which he was placed under restraint, and killed and wounded the whole of them. The rashness of an European officer had led another party to slaughter in the streets of Ramnagur. Mr. Hastings, who was at Benares when these events occurred, had only a few companies of sepoys to guard his person, and even these he had no money to support. He summoned corps from different quarters to his aid; but when we reflect on the impression which the first success of Cheyt Singh had made, and consider that by far the greatest proportion of his troops, with whom Mr. Hastings had overcome the dangers with which he was surrounded were men of the same tribe and country as those against whom they were to act, and that the chief, who was declared a rebel, had long been considered by many of them as their legitimate prince, we must respect the mind that remained firm and unmoved at so alarming a crisis. The knowledge Mr. Hastings had of the sepoys led him to place implicit trust in them on this trying occasion, and his confidence was well rewarded. Their habits of discipline, and their attachment to their officers and the service, proved superior to the ties of caste and of kindred. Not an instance of defection occurred, and the public interests were preserved and restored by their zeal and valour.

Before I make any remarks on the more recent parts of the history of the Bengal native infantry, I must offer some observations on the composition of the army of that presidency. The cavalry is comparatively young; its formation on the present establishment was only just completed when the Mahratta war of 1803 commenced. Their conduct, however, in the severe service that ensued has justly raised their reputation, and they at present form a most efficient and distinguished branch of the army to which they belong. It is only to peruse the despatches of the late Lord Lake to be sensible of the excellence this corps very early obtained. I know few military exploits of cavalry more extraordinary than that which he performed with a column of three regiments of British light dragoons and three of native cavalry, supported by some horse artillery and a small reserve of infantry. With

this corps his lordship pursued Jeswunt Row Holkar from Delhi, through the Doab, till he came up with and defeated him at Futtyghur. Lord Lake, in a despatch dated 18th November, in which he gives an account of this operation, observes, 'The troops have daily marched a distance of twenty-three or twenty-four miles. During the night and day previous to the action they marched fifty-eight miles, and from the distance to which they pursued the enemy, the space passed over, before they had taken up their ground, must have exceeded seventy miles.' The men are rather stouter than those in the same corps at Madras. The latter are almost all Mahomedans, and a considerable proportion of the Bengal cavalry are of the same race. The fact is, that with the exception of the Mahratta tribe, the Hindoos are not, generally speaking, so much disposed as the Mahomedans to the duties of a trooper; and though the Mahomedans may be more dissipated and less moral in their private conduct than the Hindoos, they are zealous and high-spirited soldiers, and it is excellent policy to have a considerable proportion of them in the service, to which experience has shown they often become very warmly attached. In the native infantry of Bengal the Hindoos are in the full proportion of three-fourths to the Mahomedans. They consist chiefly of Rajpoots, who are a distinguished race among the Khiteree or military tribe. We may judge of the size of these men when we are told that the standard below which no recruit is taken is five feet six inches. Before 1796 it was always five feet six inches and a half. By an order in 1809, men may be taken for light infantry corps as low as five feet five inches. The great proportion of the grenadiers are six feet and upwards. The Rajpoot is born a soldier. The mother speaks of nothing to her infant but deeds of arms, and every sentiment and action of the future man is marked by the first impressions that he has received. If he tills the ground (which is the common occupation of this class), his sword and shield are placed near the furrow, and moved as his labour advances. The frame of the Rajpoot is almost always improved (even if his pursuits are those of civil life) by martial exercises; he is from habit temperate in his

diet, of a generous, though warm temper, and of good moral conduct; he is, when well treated, obedient, zealous, and faithful. Neither the Hindoo nor the Mahomedan soldier of India can be termed revengeful, though both are prone to extreme violence in points which they deem their honour, of which they have a very nice sense. One instance is given in Captain Williams's narrative of the action of this violent spirit. In 1772, a sepoy of the now first battalion of the 10th regiment, who had suffered what he supposed an injury, fell out of the ranks when the corps was at exercise, and going up to Captain Ewens, the commanding officer, with recovered arms, as if to make some request, took a deliberate aim and shot him, then patiently awaited the death he had merited. I could give several examples of similar feeling; two will suffice. Captain Crook, formerly of the Madras cavalry, struck a sentry for allowing a bullock that brought water to his tent, to step over the threshold and dirty it. The man took no notice of what had occurred till relieved from his post: he then went to his lines, and a short time afterwards sought his captain, and taking deliberate aim at him, shot him dead upon the spot. He made no attempt to escape. He had avenged his honour from the blows he had received, and met with calmness and fortitude the death that was awarded as the punishment of his crime. An officer (still living) was provoked at some offence the man had committed to strike a Madras native trooper under his command. On the night of the same day, as he was sitting with another officer in his tent, the trooper came in, and, taking aim at him, fired; but, owing to the other officer striking his arm, the ball missed. As, however, he fell in the confusion, and the light was extinguished, his companion, who considered him killed, ran to obtain aid, and to seize the murderer, who had another pistol in his hand. The moment he was out of the tent, he heard the other pistol go off; and, on returning with a guard of men and some lights, he found that the trooper, conceiving that the first shot had taken effect, and that his honour was avenged by the death of the person who had insulted him, had, with the second pistol, shot himself through the head.

The Rajpoots sometimes want energy, but seldom, if ever, courage. It is remarkable in this class, that even when their animal spirits have been subdued so far as to cause a cessation of exertion, they show no fear of death, which they meet in every form it can present itself with surprising fortitude and resignation. Such is the general character of a race of men whose numbers in the army of Bengal amount to between 30,000 and 40,000, and of whom we can recruit in our provinces to any amount. But this instrument of power must be managed with care and wisdom, or that which is our strength may become our danger. It must always be recollected that minds of the caste we have described are alive to every impulse, and, from similarity of feeling, will all vibrate at the same touch. If we desire to preserve their attachment, we must continue to treat them with kindness, liberality, and justice; we must attend to the most trifling of their prejudices, and avoid rash innovations, but above all, those that are calculated to convey to their minds the most distant alarm in points connected with their usages or religion.

A detachment of Bengal native troops shared in the glory acquired by Lord Cornwallis in his war against Tippoo Sultan in 1790 and 1791. From that time till 1803, the only operation of any consequence in which they were engaged was a short campaign, in Rohilcund, in 1794. The rude and untrained, but fierce and hardy enemies against whom Sir R. Abercrombie had to act, were perhaps too much despised, and they took advantage of a confusion caused in his right wing, by the bad behaviour of the English commandant of a small body of half-disciplined cavalry, to make a furious charge, by which a most destructive impression was made on two battalions of sepoys and a regiment of Europeans.

Their desperate career was checked by the fire of the English artillery, by whose good conduct, and the steady valour of the other parts of the line, a victory was ultimately gained. The native troops never, perhaps, displayed more courage than on this trying occasion, and all regretted that the infamous¹

¹ The name of this officer was Ramsay. He escaped, by desertion, from the punishment he had so amply merited.

conduct of one man had caused such serious loss of officers and men in some of the most distinguished corps of the army. The corps on the right of the army was the 13th battalion, which had been eminently distinguished against the French at Cuddalore. It had earned more laurels under its well known commander, Captain Norman Macleod, in the campaigns of Lord Cornwallis. Captain Ramsay's cavalry rode unexpectedly over this fine battalion, and 5000 Rohillas charged it, before it could recover from the confusion into which it was thrown.

The campaigns of 1803 and 1804 present a series of actions and sieges, in every one of which the Bengal sepoys showed their accustomed valour. At the battles of Delhi and Laswarree they were as eminently distinguished as at the sieges of Agra and Deeg; and I may safely assert, that in the only two great reverses which occurred during the war, the retreat of Colonel Monson and the siege of Bhurtpore, the courage, firmness, and attachment of the native troops were more conspicuous than in its most brilliant periods. We know sufficient of the former operations to regret that no full and faithful account of them has yet been published; nor does Captain Williams's narrative supply this blank. I can only express my conviction, founded on a perusal of a private journal kept by an officer of the detachment, that in this disastrous retreat, the native troops (with the exception of a very few, who, after suffering almost unparalleled hardships, were deluded by the offers of the enemy to desert) behaved in the most noble manner. They endured the greatest privations and distresses, during the march from the banks of the Chumbul in Malwa, where the first retrograde movement was made, till their arrival at Agra, a distance of nearly 400 miles. They had at once to combat the elements (for it rained almost incessantly) and the enemy. At the Chumbullee Nullah, a rapid torrent, at which the elephants were employed to carry the troops over, the animals becoming wearied or impatient, shook off those on their backs, numbers of whom were drowned. But a still more horrid scene ensued. The fatigued elephants could not bring over the followers. The Bheels, a mountain banditti, encouraged by Holkar, came down upon the unprotected females and children, whom

they massacred in the most inhuman manner. It was on this extreme trial that some of the gallant fellows, who had before suffered every hardship with firmness, gave way to despair. Several of them, maddened with the screams of their wives and children, threw themselves, with their firelocks, into the rapid stream, and perished in a vain attempt to aid those they loved more than life. Scenes of horror occurred which were hardly ever surpassed; yet, though deprived of regular food and rest, and harassed with continued attacks, their spirit was unbroken. They maintained throughout the most severe discipline, and I am assured that on many occasions, when their European officers, worn down by the climate and fatigue, appeared faint and desponding, the men next them exclaimed, 'Keep up your heart, sir, we will take you in safety to Agra¹.' When in square, and sustaining charges from the enemy's horse, it more than once happened, when a musket was fired by a young soldier, that a veteran struck him with the butt end of his firelock, exclaiming, 'Are you mad, to destroy our discipline and make us like the rabble that are attacking us?'

The only serious impatience that the sepoys of this detachment showed was to be led against the enemy; and the manner in which they behaved on all occasions given them of signaling their valour showed that this feeling had its rise in no vain confidence. The flank companies, under Captain O'Donnell, were very successful in beating up the quarters of a considerable corps of the enemy on the 21st July. On the 24th of August, when all the detachment, which consisted of five battalions and six companies of sepoys, had been sent across the Bannas river, except the second battalion of the second regiment, and some piquets, Holkar brought up his infantry and guns to attack this corps, which not only defended its position, but advanced with the utmost gallantry and obtained possession of several pieces of the enemy's artillery. It could not, however, be supported by the other parts of the force, who

¹ I have been informed of this fact by officers to whom these expressions were used.

were divided from it by the river, and it was almost annihilated. Those who witnessed the attack which it made upon Holkar's line from the opposite bank of the Bannas, speak with admiration of the heroism of the European officers, and of the gallant men whom they led to a momentary but fatal victory. At the close of this affair they saw a jemandar (native lieutenant) retiring towards the river, pursued by five or six men. He held the standard of his battalion in one hand, and a sword, with which he defended himself, in the other. When arrived at the river he seemed to have attained his object of saving the colours of his corps, and, springing with them into the current, sunk to rise no more.

There have been few officers who better understood the character of soldiers than the late Lord Lake; he had early discovered that of the Bengal sepoys; he attended to their prejudices, flattered their pride, and praised their valour. They repaid his consideration of them with gratitude and affection, and during the whole of the late Mahratta war¹ their zeal and devotion to the public service was increased by the regard and attachment which they entertained for the commander-in-chief. Sufficient instances of this are recorded by Captain Williams. There is none, however, more remarkable than the conduct he pursued towards the shattered corps of Colonel Monson's detachment. He formed them into a reserve, and promised them every opportunity of signalizing themselves. No confidence was ever better repaid, and throughout the service that ensued these corps were uniformly distinguished.

The conduct of the second battalion of the twelfth regiment may be taken as an example of the spirit that animated the whole. This corps, which has been before noticed under its first name of 'Gallis,' or the Lal Pultan, had behaved with uncommon valour at the battle of Laswarree, where it had 100 men and three officers killed and wounded. It was associated on that occasion with his Majesty's seventy-sixth regiment, and shared in the praise which Lord Lake bestowed on 'the hand-

¹ The war of 1803-4.

ful of heroes,' as he emphatically termed those whose great exertions decided that battle. It was with Colonel Monson's detachment, and maintained its high character in the disastrous retreat we have alluded to. But all its former deeds were outdone at the siege of Bhurtpore. It appears by a printed memorial which we have before us of its European commanding officer, that on the first storm of that fortress this corps lost 150 officers and men, killed and wounded, and did not retire till the last. On the third attack, when joined with the first battalion of the same regiment (amounting together to 800 men,) it became the admiration of the whole army. The second battalion of the twelfth regiment on this occasion not only drove back the enemy who had made a sally to attack the trenches, but effected a lodgment, and planted its colours on one of the bastions of the fort. Unfortunately this work was cut off by a deep ditch from the body of the place; and after the attack had failed the twelfth regiment was ordered to retire, which they did reluctantly, with the loss of 7 officers and 350 men, killed and wounded, being nearly half the number they had carried into action.

Examples of equal valour might be given from many other corps during the war, and instances of individual valour might be noticed in any number, but more is not necessary to satisfy the reader of the just title of the Bengal sepoys to the high name which they have acquired; their conduct throughout the arduous service in Nepaul, where they had at once to contend with the natural obstacles of an almost impracticable country, and the desperate valour of a race of hardy mountaineers, has been worthy of their former fame. I know of few instances where more has been required from the zeal and valour of the native troops than in the late campaign against the Goorkhas. The great successes of Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony could only have been gained by the patience and courage of the troops being equal to the skill and decision of their commander, and in the spirited and able operations of Colonel Nicolls, quarter-master-general of his Majesty's troops in India, against Almorah, where 800 sepoys, aided by a few irregulars, were led against 3000 gallant mountaineers, who occupied that moun-

tain fortress, and the heights by which it was surrounded. Victory could only have been obtained by every sepoy partaking of the ardour and resolution of his gallant leader. Of their conduct on this occasion we may, indeed, judge by the admiration with which it inspired Colonel Nicolls, who gave vent to his feelings in an order that does honour to his character. Speaking of an attack made by a party of sepoy grenadiers, he observes, 'this was an exploit of which the best troops of any age might justly have been proud.' Since the conclusion of this war a small body of these troops has had an opportunity of exhibiting, in a most distinguished manner, that firmness, courage, and attachment to their officers and the service which have always characterised this army. We allude to a recent occurrence of a most serious sedition at Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkund. The introduction of a police-tax, intended to provide means for the security of life and property, had spread alarm and discontent among an ignorant population, whose prejudices in favour of their ancient usages are so strong as to lead them to regard any innovation (whatever be its character) with jealousy and indignation. Acting under these feelings, the Rohillas of Bareilly, who are alike remarkable for their strength of body and individual courage, rose in a body to oppose the orders of the civil magistrate. They were influenced by a priest upwards of ninety years of age, who dug his grave, to indicate his resolution to conquer or die, and at whose orders the green flag or standard of Mahomet was hoisted, that religious feelings might be excited to aid the efforts which they now proclaimed themselves determined to make to effect the downfall of their European tyrants. What rendered this revolt more alarming, was the knowledge that the cause of the insurgents was popular over the whole country, and a belief that their success would be the signal for a general rise in the neighbouring provinces. All the force that could be collected to suppress this revolt was a detachment of between 300 and 400 sepoys of the twenty-seventh regiment of native infantry, and part of a provincial battalion, under Captain Boscawen, with two guns, and a party of about 400 Rohilla horse belonging to a corps lately embodied under Captain Cunningham. The former re-

ceived, with undismayed courage, the charge of an undisciplined, but furious and desperate rabble, who, encouraged by their numbers, which exceeded 12,000 armed men, persevered in the attack till more than 2000 of them were slain; and the latter, though of the same class and religion as the insurgents, and probably related to many of them by the ties of kindred, proved equally firm as the sepoys to their duty. When their priest advanced and invoked them to join their natural friends, and to range themselves under the standard of their faith, only one man was found wanting in fidelity; he deserted, and was soon afterwards slain by his former comrades, who continued throughout to display prompt obedience, exemplary courage, and unshaken attachment to the officer by whom they were led.

However slight this affair may seem, I do not recollect any occurrence in the history of British India more calculated to show the dependence of our power on the fidelity of our native troops, and the absolute necessity of adopting every measure by which their attachment can be confirmed and approved.

It is by treating the sepoys with kindness and consideration, by stimulating their pride, and by attending, in the most minute manner, to their feelings and prejudices, that we can command, as has been well observed, 'their lives through the medium of their affections;' and so long as we can, by these means, preserve the fidelity and attachment of that proportion of the population of our immense possessions in the east, which we arm to defend the remainder, our empire may be considered as secure.

Subsequent to the date of this account, the native arms of India have fully maintained the high reputation they had achieved.

During the campaigns against the Mahrattas and Pindaries, in 1817 and 1818, that in the territories of Ava, and the siege of Bhurratpore, in 1826, these troops evinced all the military qualities of zeal, attachment to their colours, and gallantry, for which they had been so long distinguished.

Each presidency has its separate army, commander-in-chief, staff, &c.; but the commander-in-chief

of the supreme government has a general authority over all the presidencies. The total armed force in British India is about 194,000 men: it may be said to consist of three branches, viz. Queen's cavalry and infantry; East India Company's European engineers, artillery, and infantry; and the Company's native artillery, cavalry, and infantry.

The European officers serving in British India are at present in number and distribution as follows¹ :—

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Hon. Company's Engineers.....	56	37	42	135
Artillery... { European Horse.....	53	35	24	112
{ Ditto Foot	68	56	26	150
{ Native Horse	12	*	*	12
{ Ditto Foot.....	17	18	18	53
Cavalry ... { Her Majesty's Regiments ...	50	29	30	109
{ Hon. Company's Regulars ...	140	107	48	198
{ Ditto Irregulars	23	...	3	26
Infantry ... { Her Majesty's Regiments ...	223	229	135	587
{ Hon. Company's Euro. do.....	29	28	33	80
{ Do. Native Regulars.....	1070	692	425	2187
{ Do. Irregulars.....	35	...	...	35
Staff	94	94	80	198
Medical Department	194	128	72	394
Commissariat ditto	25	25	13	63
Pioneers' Corps†.....	—	—	—	—
Warrant Officers of Artillery	58	57	43	158
Total	2147	1535	992	4487

* Included in European horse artillery.
† There is now no separate Pioneer Corps. The pioneers and sappers and miners are embodied in one corps, called the Engineer Corps.

¹ I am indebted for these late returns of the Anglo-Indian army to Colonel Salmond, of the military department at the India House, who, with the permission of the Court of Directors, has furnished me with much valuable information.

The total number of European officers, it will be observed, is 4487, of whom 752 are in the Queen's military service. The complement of officers to each regiment is, of Europeans, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, eight lieutenants, four cornets or ensigns; of native commissioned officers there are a subadar and jemadar with each troop or company. The command of stations is given to brigadiers, of whom there are, in Bengal 16, in Madras 12, and in Bombay 7. The divisional commands, under general officers, are—Bengal, Queen's, 2; East India Company, 5; Madras, Queen's, 2; East India Company, 3; Bombay, Queen's, 1; East India Company, 2. Total, Queen's, 5; East India Company, 10.

On the Bengal establishment there are ninety-nine corps, namely—3 of horse artillery, 7 of foot artillery; a corps of engineers equal to 3 others in the strength of its officers; 10 of native cavalry; 2 of European infantry, and 74 of native infantry. In each of these the European commissioned officers consist of 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 8 lieutenants, and 4 second lieutenants, cornets, or ensigns. The total establishment thus, is 1980; or 99 colonels, the same of lieutenant-colonels, and of majors; 495 captains, 792 lieutenants, 396 ensigns, and about 180 supernumeraries of the junior rank, awaiting the process of absorption.

The average number of European officers in Bengal, annually for the last eighteen years, has been 1754; of casualties, 80, per annum, or 1 in 22; of deaths, 54, or 1 in 32; and of retirement, &c. 26, or 1 in

67. In Madras, total number of officers, 1346; of casualties, 75, or 1 in 18; of deaths, 52, or 1 in 26; and of retirements, &c. 23, or 1 in 58. In Bombay, total number of officers, 624; of casualties, 34, or 1 in 18; of deaths, 26, or 1 in 24; of retirements, &c. 8, or 1 in 78.

The total casualties of commissioned officers in the East India Company's army at the three Presidencies, from 1813 to 1833, has been yearly, 169, 154, 159, 143, 150, 203, 198, 167, 194, 164, 168, 260, 233, 244, 233, 163, 193, 204, 244, 227, 228.

In 1835, the number of high ranked officers of the East India Company's service attached to the Indian army establishment,

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Lieutenant-generals	6	10	0	16
Major-generals	9	9	3	21
Colonels	84	51	34	169
	99	70	37	206
In Europe	55	50	29	134
On service	44	20	8	72

The lieutenant-colonels at the same period amounted to 206, majors 206, captains 1030, and subalterns, 2472. In the Company's army there is no half-pay list, no sinecures, and no pensioners under 25 years' service; until that period is completed, European commissioned officers are not enabled to retire on the full pay of their rank, which is attained by seniority. A lieutenant-colonel, major, or captain, retires on the half-pay of his rank, if his health requires his

relinquishing the service, and a lieutenant having served 13, or an ensign 9 years (including 3 years for a furlough) may retire on ill-health certificates, on the half-pay of their rank. There are military funds to which liberal subscriptions are made by the Company's Government, but the charges are principally borne by the officers themselves. The general servitude of the officers in the Company's army is thus shown :—

The officers in the Company's service receive commissions from Her Majesty corresponding with those which they receive from the East India Company; but westward of the Cape of Good Hope, the Company's officers possess no rank when on service with the Queen's officers; eastward of it they take precedence according to date and rank of commission. It is but justice to state, that in no part of the globe can there be found a braver or more gentlemanly community than the officers in the Company's service. The officers for the East India Company's artillery and engineers are educated at Addiscomb College, near Croydon, in the oriental languages, as well as in military discipline. Each cadet pays 65*l.* the first year, and 50*l.* the second. The cadets are clad in uniform, and get their appointments as soon as qualified. The examination is very strict, and if a lad fails for the engineers or artillery, but evinces general talent and diligence, he is recommended for the infantry. The East India Company purchased Addiscomb College and grounds in 1810 for 17,251*l.*; the building cost 82,869*l.*; and the total expenditure from 1810 to 1830 was 366,154*l.* of which 37,136*l.* was for instructing the cadets in trigonometrical surveys and the art of sapping and mining, &c.; for books, stationery, and mathematical instruments, 18,752*l.*; and the rewards to cadets for industry and talent amounted in four years to 1,600*l.* The total number of cadets educated during the period has been two thousand and ninety; and to the excellence of the establishment, the success and extraordinary formation of the East India Company's fine

army is pre-eminently due, while the expenditure on each cadet has not averaged 98%.

The following table shows the number of European non-commissioned officers and rank and file in India, and the corps and presidencies to which they belong :—

Corps.		Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Hon. Company's Engineers		24*	23*	30*	77
Artillery	{ European Horse	998	458	471	1927
	{ Ditto Foot	2076	1431	847	4354
	{ Native Horse	6	12	...	18
Cavalry	{ Ditto Foot.....	8	2	2	12
	{ Her Majesty's Regiments ...	1202	659	664	2525
	{ Hon. Co.'s ditto	30	18	9	57
Infantry	{ H. M. European.....	6043	5135	2701	13879
	{ Hon. Co.'s ditto	933	756	782	2471
	{ Do. Native Regulars	146	104	11	261
{ Do. do. Irregulars		17	...	...	17
Staff		98	87	30	205
Invalids' ditto		177	266	32	475
Total.....		11758	8951	5649	26277

* This includes pioneers, as well as sappers and miners, which are now all embodied in one corps, called the Engineer Corps.

The total number of European troops in India (exclusive of commissioned officers) is 30,975, of whom 19,540 belong to Her Majesty's cavalry and infantry regiments. The number of Queen's troops serving in India from 1813 to 1830, has been annually as follows : 21,490, 20,049, 19,828, 20,432, 18,709, 20,110, 17,680, 16,743, 16,290, 15,876, 16,652, 16,395, 16,683, 16,832, 18,249, 19,612, 20,132, 20,292. The cost of these troops (*defrayed*

by the natives of India, not by the British public) varies from 800,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* a year, independent of charges at home—(viz. 60,000*l.* a year for half pay, &c.) The East India Company are authorized by Parliament to raise annually in the United Kingdom, a certain number of men for the supply of their Indian army; and in virtue of this authority, they have recruited and sent abroad during the last eleven years 17,000 men, of whom 800 were dispatched to St. Helena regiments. Their depôt is at Chatham, under the command of a few staff officers; the service is a favourite one with the public, and many of the finest young men in the country annually engage init; if steady and intelligent, they obtain rank as warrant officers, deputy commissaries, conductors of stores, &c.

Native commissioned officers in the Indian army according to the latest returns.

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Engineers	28*	13*	19*	40
Artillery { Horse	6	7	...	13
{ Foot	48	22	24	94
{ Irregulars	...	...	...	...
Cavalry { Regulars	130	121	53	304
{ Irregulars	130	...	10	140
Infantry { Regulars	1187	684	397	2268
{ Irregulars	165	...	12	177
Native Doctors.....	219	100	68	387
Total.....	1913	950	583	3416

* This includes pioneers, as well as sappers and miners, which are now all embodied in one corps, called the Pioneer Corps.

The native officers are in fair proportion to the Europeans. The total number of native officers is 3416, of whom 387 are native doctors, carefully educated in the European principles of medicine and chirurgery. The native officers are raised from the ranks according to their merit, and are a most exemplary body of men, grey in years and experience, they are well calculated to be the intermediate link between the European and the sepoy soldier. Their steadiness of character and dashing bravery in the field (whether Hindoo or Moslem) has been previously shown, and it is regretted that they are not enabled to attain a higher rank than subordinate to the youngest European Ensign. Killadars or Commandants of forts should be allotted for the veterans, and every general officer should have one or two native aide-de-camps.

The number of native non-commissioned officers and rank and file in India, and the corps to which they belong, are—

Corps.		Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Hon. Company's Engineers		1621*	1068*	809*	3498
Artillery	European Horse	...	...	100	100
	Ditto Foot	...	...	...	...
	Native Horse	344	478	†	822
	Ditto Foot Regulars	1917	643	601	3161
	Ditto Irregulars	...	...	...	...
	Gun Lascars	1248	532	851	2731
Cavalry...	Ordnance Drivers	755	637	...	1392
	Regulars	4980	3910	1355	10245
	Irregulars	3448	...	836	4284
Infantry	Regulars	54201	38238	18547	110986
	Irregulars	9593	...	912	10505
Invalids		...	1878	912	2790
Total.....		78107	47384	24923	150514

* This includes pioneers, as well as sappers and miners, which are now all embodied in one corps, called the Engineer Corps.
† No separate corps of horse artillery.

These troops are composed of Hindoos and Mussulmans, &c. mixed in every regiment, in a greater or less proportion; and in discipline, cleanliness, sobriety, and bravery, they are unsurpassed by any body of men. The native artillery make it a point of honour to be cut down at their guns rather than desert them, and wherever a British officer will lead it has rarely or never been found that his sepoy will not follow. The native cavalry are excellent and fearless riders, superior to Europeans, and good swordsmen; they are exceedingly fond of their horses, and take the best care of them: of the whole army it may be observed that no men are more alive to emulation; a medal is as highly prized by a sepoy

as by a British soldier, and hundreds of instances of heroism could be related of them which would do honour to Greek or Roman story. The Bengal army is considered to possess the highest caste men, being principally Rajpoots; the Bombay sepoy is more a man of all-work, and the Madrasites are, perhaps, the hardiest race, but all are extremely tenacious of their rights, and adhere punctiliously to the customs which their religion ordains; any violation of either, particularly of the latter, has ever been attended with serious consequences. If the native troops become averse, or unfaithful, to those whose salt they eat, all the European troops which England could raise would be insufficient for the preservation of India.

The distribution of the Indian army according to the latest returns.

BENGAL.			
Divisions of the Army.	Europ.	Natives.	Total.
Presidency (Calcutta)	3472	14448	17912
Dinapore.....	1164	4594	5758
Fortress of Buxar.....	51	...	51
Benares	932	4248	5180
Fortress of Allahabad	33	1500	1533
Cawnpore	2144	11837	13981
Meerut	3306	16105	19411
Sirhind	1407	6797	8204
Sangoor	198	6258	6456
Rajpootana Field Force	192	4375	4567
Meywar ditto	84	4395	4479
Malwa ditto	281	4124	4405
	13254	68673	90937

MADRAS.			
Divisions of the Army.	Europ.	Natives.	Total.
Centre Division.....	2394	8981	11375
Mysore Division	1766	8202	9968
Malabar and Kanara	764	2312	3076
Northern Division	510	7555	8065
Southern ditto	1026	5877	6903
Ceded Districts.....	981	1495	2476
Hyderabad Subsidiary Force	1080	5719	6799
Nagpore ditto	1139	3951	5090
Tennasserim Provinces	154	766	920
Prince of Wales Island and its Dependen- cies	87	1704	1791
	9901	46562	56493
BOMBAY.*			
Presidency Garrison	978	2896	3874
Southern Division	1080	5936	7016
Poonah ditto	3012	6559	6871
Northern ditto	1157	9760	10917
Sattarah Subsidiary	14	745	759
Asseergurh Fortress.....	11	742	753
	6252	26638	30190
* European Commissioned Officers on staff, employ, and leave, beyond the limits of this Presidency, not included; European and Native Veterans are included in European and Native Infantry.			

The establishment of Queen's regiments in India is —Bengal, cavalry, 2 ; infantry, 8. Madras, cavalry, 1 ; infantry, 8. Bombay, cavalry, 1 ; infantry, 4.

Grand total of Queen's and Company's military force.

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Engineers*	1729	1681	900	4310
Artillery	7614	4288	3090	14992
Cavalry	10133	4844	3008	17985
Infantry	73642	45866	23952	143460
Medical Department	413	228	140	781
Commissariat	25	25	13	63
Staff.....	192	181	110	483
Invalids	177	2144	944	3265
Total.....	93925	59257	32157	185339

* Including the united corps of sappers, miners, and pioneers.

The subsidiary Indian forces and contingents, where they are specified in treaties with the East India Company, are as follows :—Subsidiary. Oude not less than 10,000 men; the Nizam 2 regiments cavalry and 8 battalions of infantry; the Guicowar 2 regiments of cavalry and 4000 sepoys; Nagpore not stipulated; Mulhar Rao Holkar, the strength judged adequate by the British Government; Travancore, 3 battalions of infantry; Cochin, 1 battalion ditto, Mysore and Cutch not specified.—Contingents of native chiefs. The Nizam, 10 cavalry and 12,000 infantry; Guicowar, 3000 cavalry; Nagpore, 1000 ditto; Holkar, 3000 ditto; Mysore, 4000 ditto (Central India); Joudpore, 1500 ditto; Ghuffoorkan, 600 ditto; Bhopaul, 600 cavalry and 400 infantry; and Dowlah and Purtumbghur, 50 cavalry and 200 infantry; and Dewap, 100 cavalry and 100 infantry. The following chiefs, not included in the preceding

list, are pledged to bring forward troops to the extent of their means when required by the Company's Government :—Rajahs of Bhurtpore and Machery, most of the Boondela chiefs, chiefs of Rajpootana and Malwa not enumerated above, and the Rajah of Sattarah. The military force of the Rajpoot States is 7676 cavalry, and 27,788 infantry, of which Kotah alone has 20,700 infantry and 4200 cavalry. Sindia's army amounts to 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry; Holkar's force, 3456 cavalry and 2000 infantry; the Rajah of Sattarah has 300 cavalry and 5000 infantry; Runjeet Sing's formidable force, as given in the Meerut Observer, is thus detailed.

The Hydrabad subsidiary force, stationed in his Highness the Nizam's dominions, is furnished from the Madras presidency, and consists of the following troops :—One battalion foot artillery, two troops of horse artillery, a park of heavy guns, two regiments of native cavalry, one regiment of Europeans, and seven regiments of native infantry.

The Nizam's regular and irregular troops, under the command of British officers, are under the immediate controul of the supreme government, and consist as follows :—Four independent companies of artillery, with large establishments of field-pieces and heavy guns, one regiment of engineers, eight regiments of regular infantry, one garrison battalion, one invalid battalion, a body of invalids at Ellichapoor, and five regiments of irregular cavalry.

The payment of the Company's Hydrabad subsidiary force is provided for by treaty, and they are paid direct from the British treasuries through the

military paymaster. As to the Nizam's troops, they are paid direct by the Nizam's government, the total expense of which, it is said, amounts to about 42 or 43 lacs per annum.

The Seick army of the Punjaub was, so late as the commencement of the current century, a mere military confederacy of predatory horse, and that gallant but unfortunate adventurer, George Thomas, considered them the most contemptible troops in Hindostan. The talent of Runjeet Sing has, within the last twenty-five years, established the military reputation of the Seicks, and this prince now possesses a regular army, accustomed to war, full of ardour, and jealous of renown. The Seicks possess many qualities which admirably fit them for a military life; they are individually brave and athletic, and are free from those prejudices of caste, which detract from the military classes of the native soldiery of British India. A Seick will eat of any thing but beef; his religion never requires him to undress at his meals, nor does it prescribe fasts, or inculcate any thing to interfere with the duties of a soldier; like the soldier of Europe, the Seicks are, however, not averse to the use of fermented liquors, and their sirdars are notoriously addicted to the vice of drunkenness.

The French legion of cavalry was formed by Monsieur Allard, senior; their uniform is blue with red facings; they are armed with the Polish lance, swords, and pistols; their system is that of the French lancers. The men of these corps are much attached to General Allard, and these troops only require a few

more European officers to be nearly on a par with our regular native cavalry.

The regular infantry, under General Ventura, are also disciplined in the French drill; the words of command are mostly French; they are armed with firelocks and bayonets; these troops are regularly paid and clothed. Runjeet Sing's own personal body-guard is a kind of legion of honour; these men are all arrayed in gorgeous dresses and rich armour, and compose the *elite* of the army. Their appearance in their red dresses with heron's plumes, and their martial aspect and blunt demeanor, is truly imposing; these men are all tried shots, and at eighty yards can generally hit a small brass pot every time with a matchlock.

The foreigners or Hindoostanies of the Seick army are men from the provinces of British India, and receive a stipulated monthly pay; many of the Seick soldiers receive rations of grain, besides their pay. The avarice of Runjeet Sing has sometimes occasioned mutiny amongst the regular infantry; in one instance, the Ghoorka battalion, on being deprived of a portion of their pay, refused to receive the residue, and as no attention was paid to their complaint, open revolt ensued. Runjeet Sing directed some cavalry to charge the mutineers: the Ghoorka battalion formed square and beat off the cavalry; the Maha Raja then became alarmed, and retired to the fort of Govind Gharra, when the French officers interposed, and induced the Ghoorkas to retire to their lines.

Monsieur Allard, the general of the regular cavalry,

was a distinguished officer in the imperial army of France, and is a man of high character and conciliatory manners; he adopts the Seick costume in allowing his beard to grow, and has married a native woman; this officer wishes to return to France, and has been endeavouring to induce the Maha Rajah to allow his younger brother to take charge of his command during his absence.

Monsieur Ventura, general of infantry, served under Eugene Beauharnois in Napoleon's Russian campaign; he is a brave and intelligent officer, but a violent man.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF THE SEICK ARMY.—Guns in different forts, 108; ditto horse artillery, 58; ditto foot artillery, 142; total guns, 308. Mortars, 6; jamboorans on camels, 305; cavalry regular, 5200; ditto, irregular, 43,300; total cavalry, 48,500. Infantry, regular, 6000; ditto, irregular, 17,000; total infantry, 23,000. Golundaze, 1500; grand total army, 73,000. The horse artillery of Runjeet's army consist of guns of small calibre, and their field equipment resemble that of our late foot batteries, and consequently such artillery would be utterly unable to cope with our horse artillery; still, as these guns are drawn by horses, their fire would be always available, which is not the case with bullock artillery.

In 1798, Tippoo Sultan's field army was estimated at 47,470 fighting men, and his revenues at one crore of rupees; Runjeet Sing's army amounts to 73,000 men, and his revenues to one crore and eighty lakhs of rupees.

MILITARY FORCE IN INDIA, EUROPEAN

FORCE EMPLOYED (Queen's and Company's).									
Year.	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.		All India.		
	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Both.
1793	5440	29492	9981	29914	3347	10265	18768	69661	88429
1794	5437	29555	9728	30798	3227	10214	18392	70597	89090
1795	5009	29304	8921	33277	2942	10271	16872	72852	89724
1796	4842	32104	10020	38474	3094	13654	17956	84232	102188
1797	7511	32812	13274	38910	3148	13346	23033	86068	109001
1798	7389	40105	11283	36501	3494	14541	22166	91147	113313
1799	7220	48540	11963	40503	4764	16399	23947	105542	129489
1800	7719	48322	10301	46050	4812	19928	22632	115300	138132
1801	7740	51169	13043	72653	2229	9042	23012	132864	155876
1802	7199	45257	13460	67587	3682	9662	24341	122506	146847
1803	7627	45226	12765	59513	4538	10472	24630	115211	140141
1804	7655	71088	12225	69682	3162	14401	23042	155671	178713
1805	7811	81257	12990	68942	4690	17575	24891	167674	192565
1806	8857	74305	11709	61292	5679	20817	26445	156421	182866
1807	8362	72257	12567	59572	5531	21794	24460	153623	180083
1808	9966	71409	12759	58474	7073	21237	29798	151120	180918
1809	10132	73468	13176	56766	8079	23883	31387	154117	185504
1810	10715	77125	16244	55211	4993	24926	31952	157262	189214
1811	11711	85342	18051	55873	4717	25450	34479	166665	201144
1812	15232	86387	13890	55463	4713	23772	33835	165622	199457
1813	15703	86062	13590	55847	4678	23991	34171	165900	200071
1814	12441	87334	14104	52285	5106	23168	31651	162787	194438
1815	12617	116925	13963	54741	5031	23906	31611	195572	227183
1816	13144	117791	14051	56947	5204	23746	32399	196484	230683
1817	12221	112310	13745	58381	5090	24443	31056	195134	226190
1818	11582	124546	13739	59778	6840	26755	32161	211079	243240
1819	11040	121306	12027	64475	6427	30097	29494	215878	245572
1820	11676	121238	11333	77097	5636	30315	28645	228650	257295
1821	11725	117262	11537	77181	5652	33925	28914	228068	259982
1822	11500	117739	11747	65917	5818	32519	29065	216175	245240
1823	13606	116228	11515	59908	5812	30663	30933	206799	237792
1824	13565	122531	11894	57562	5136	32749	30585	212942	249427
1825	14141	144471	10836	65586	5446	36068	30423	246125	276548
1826	13809	143752	10836	72993	6227	43528	30872	250273	291145
1827	14358	129943	11787	68260	6528	42739	32673	240942	273615
1828	15329	120481	12384	63089	6844	40901	34557	224471	259028
1829	17978	110564	13105	59698	6703	37400	35786	207632	249448
1830	15701	96897	12981	57749	7727	32421	36409	187067	223476
1831	14870	82382	11702	55945	8289	30480	34631	159107	203968
1832	14294	79127	11721	48798	6748	28122	32762	156047	188909
1833	13421	79567	11088	48279	6535	27227	31044	155074	186118
1834									

AND NATIVE, FOR FORTY YEARS.

Relative Proportion per Mille.				Appoint-ments.		King's and Com.'s	European Commissioned Company's Officers.					
Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay	India.	Cadets.	Assistant Surgeons.		Authorised Establishment.	Retired on Full and Half Pay.	On Furlough Pay.	Retired per Mille.	Charge, £.	
Both.	Both.	Both.	Natives.			Retired.					Furlough.	
394	451	153	3711	...	...							
394	454	151	3838	...	...							
382	469	145	4317	...	...							
361	474	163	4691	114	32			81			15641	
369	478	151	3554	132	29	2142	9	107	4.1	3129	20537	
419	421	159	4112	408	35	2306	22	115	9.5	6728	23860	
430	405	163	4406	219	27	2592	39	93	15.0	9656	21592	
412	407	179	5049	474	27	2859	51	95	17.8	17696	26183	
377	549	072	5773	43	28	3084	71	100	23.0	23452	27402	
357	551	090	5032	291	31	3174	78	116	24.5	21830	32447	
377	515	107	5022	492	28	3185	93	157	29.2	29040	42175	
444	458	101	6755	357	42	3378	131	177	38.7	39869	43104	
462	424	112	6735	439	51	3614	146	171	40.4	42671	52855	
454	399	145	5914	340	36	3393	157	238	42.4	46050	58919	
477	400	151	6280	281	48	3907	181	209	46.3	42053	52904	
449	393	156	5071	233	24	3907	220	276	56.4	58221	65326	
450	377	172	4910	114	28	3918	240	253	61.2	60515	62124	
464	377	158	4921	194	27	3951	260	229	65.8	67994	61859	
482	367	149	4833	113	14	3951	268	213	67.5	76301	60556	
509	347	142	4264	53	28	3951	298	227	75.4	77719	62781	
508	347	144	4854	52	55	3935	314	237	79.4	83374	65801	
513	341	145	5143	56	40	3935	323	254	82.0	81663	65454	
570	302	127	6186	26	33	6064	332	227	81.6	79968	64915	
567	307	125	6126	25	38	4120	341	234	82.7	83514	61209	
550	318	130	6283	86	29	3285	345	239	105.0	85271	65089	
559	302	138	6563	290	33	3490	353	295	101.1	83666	67085	
539	311	148	7319	409	46	4598	358	292	78.0	86169	75989	
516	343	139	7982	400	62	4628	373	296	86.0	83742	83354	
501	345	152	7880	417	66	4689	375	301	79.8	8309	86205	
526	316	156	7436	258	59	4689	377	340	80.4	82012	92268	
546	300	153	6685	207	48	4920	392	350	79.8	84594	101022	
559	285	155	6959	368	39	5011	402	351	80.2	82595	106104	
573	276	150	8090	367	53	5191	442	385	85.9	89800	115594	
541	287	170	8430	466	74	5356	447	417	83.4	94094	129212	
527	292	180	7374	358	61	5422	477	430	88.0	96069	135305	
524	291	183	6499	354	59	5430	491	492	90.4	101674	150350	
519	299	181	5800	209	57	4833	507	532	104.9	100741	164753	
503	316	179	5110	93	42	4833	520	598	107.5	107395	178005	
.....					61	49	4833	543	639	112.3	115798	179041
.....					21	6	4833					
.....					102	29	4833					
.....					146	22	4833					

Note.—This Return includes Provincial Corps; it omits Officers on Furlough to England. In the five years, 1801 until 1805, a portion of the Bombay army is returned as composing the Madras army, because it was employed in the Madras territory.

Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Army in 1813 and in 1830.

	In 1813.		In 1830.		Increase since 1813.		Decrease since 1813.	
	Europe.		Europe.		Europe.		Europe.	
	Natives.	Natives.	Natives.	Natives.	Natives.	Natives.	Natives.	Natives.
BENGAL TROOPS.								
Bengal, Bahar and Cutlack	2388	21622	5440	16776	3052	...	...	4846
Country between Bahar & Oude, including Ganges Posts	1494	5885	1362	4633	...	...	132	1252
Oude	155	6309	143	4809	...	...	12	1500
Dooab and Territory between Ganges and Jumna	4521	12975	4795	14124	274	1149	...	...
Rohilcund	47	1943	64	3863	17	1920	...	...
Acquisitions from Nepal	...	...	41	3552	41	3552	...	...
Country west of the Jumna and north-west of Chumbul	765	19688	2233	15987	1463	...	...	3071
Rajpootana	...	...	357	9102	357	9102	...	...
Ceded Districts in Nerbudda	...	...	246	6167	246	6167	...	...
Bundlecund	144	5488	97	3688	...	...	...	471800
Malwa	...	...	340	4693	340	4693	...	...
Assam, Sylhet, Chittagong, and Arracan	18	1103	84	4776	66	3673	...	...
Penang	21	1620	...	...	...	...	21	1620
Total...	9553	76633	15202	92170	5861	30256	212	14719
Excludes of Troops at Java, Fort Marlborough, Engineers, Artillery, Ordnance Drivers, Conductors, Staff, &c.								
	6150	9429	399	4727				
Grand Total...	15703	86062	15701	96897				

Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Army in 1813 and in 1830.

	In 1813.		In 1830.		Increase since 1813.		Decrease since 1813.	
	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.
MADRAS TROOPS.								
Nizam's Dominions	1136	8455	1347	6811	211	...	...	1644
Rajah of Berar's ditto	...	...	816	4001	816	4001	...	...
Northern Circars	594	4753	944	6714	350	1961	...	...
Ceded Districts	1002	7588	1069	4472	67	...	...	3116
Mysore	3403	3891	1779	5682	...	...	1624	3209
Carnatic	4961	12246	3841	19571	...	7325	1120	...
Portuguese Territories	464	2820	...	...	...	...	464	2820
Malabar and Canara	1130	3076	959	2491	...	...	171	585
Travancore	493	2909	169	2455	...	...	321	454
Malay Peninsula	37	18	1141	2772	1104	2754	...	...
Candeish and Surat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Poona	20	575	...	...	...	...	...	575
S. Mahratta Country	...	...	75	2456	75	2456	...	...
Total...	13240	51331	12140	57425	2623	18497	3723	12403
Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors of Ordnance, Native Invalids and Staff.								
Grand Total...	350	4516	841	324				
	13590	55847	12981	57749				

Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Army in 1813 and in 1830.

	In 1813.		In 1830.		Increase since 1813.		Decrease since 1813.	
	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.
BOMBAY TROOPS.								
Cutch	...	...	116	1135	116	1135	...	...
Kattywar	...	...	32	1208	32	1208	...	...
Guzerat	1053	5890	1260	7938	207	2048	...	...
Candesh and Surat	43	2205	108	5042	65	2837	...	...
Bombay Island	3383	6828	1446	3873	...	...	1937	2955
North and South Concan	24	1197	66	3997	42	2800	...	...
Poonah and Sattarah	253	7836	3580	7889	3327	53	...	...
South Mahratta Country	...	...	861	1196	861	1196	...	...
Malwah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	4756	33956	7469	32278	4650	11277	1937	2955
Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors, Staff, &c.								
Total of the three Presidencies.								
122		35	258	143				
4878		23991	7727	32421	13134		6872	
Grand Total					60030		30077	

EXPENSE OF ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY SINCE 1813. 95

The expense and strength of the Anglo-Indian army at each presidency, independent of Prince of Wales' Island, St. Helena, &c., from 1813, was—

Years.	NUMBERS.				EXPENSE.			
	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
					£	£	£	£
1813	101759	69437	28869	200065	3075942	3048292	1123583	7247817
1814	99769	66359	28274	194432	3203788	2942508	1144804	7291100
1815	129536	68704	28937	227177	3795483	3106202	1394362	8296047
1816	130929	70998	28950	230877	3996940	3372775	1622564	8992279
1817	124526	72126	29533	226185	3858570	3189079	1545285	8592934
1818	136122	73517	33595	243234	4489034	3392319	2038313	9920366
1819	132340	76502	36524	245366	4726407	3725226	1938916	10390549
1820	132909	88430	35951	257290	4321106	3734724	1792739	9848569
1821	128983	88718	39277	256978	4475387	3571142	2170047	10216576
1822	129333	77664	38337	245234	4247950	3261344	1846808	9356102
1823	129473	71423	36475	237371	4226636	3109709	1781222	9117567
1824	135735	69446	37885	243066	4613104	3059041	1704653	9376798
1825	158304	76422	41514	276240	6175912	3314779	1704653	11195344
1826	157250	83829	49755	290834	7113114	3375338	2355647	12824099
1827	144056	80047	49267	273370	6439617	3315920	2156862	11912399
1828	135801	75473	47745	259019	3805075	2856230	1614131	8275436
1829	126527	72803	44103	243433	3381789	2861748	1549615	7793152
1830	112583	70730	40148	223461	3353687	2572820	1507313	7433820
1831	97552	67669	38769	203990	3431378	2386130	1355675	7173183
1832	93421	60518	34880	188819	3653768	2332457	1268709	7254934
1833	92989	59367	33762	186118	3449085	2407880	1272431	7129396

Note.—From 1828-9 the conversion of the Indian money into sterling in the above account has been made according to the bullion value of the rupee, which causes an apparent diminution in the military charges, as compared with the charges in the years preceding 1828-9, of 16 per cent.

The annual charge of the army, in 1830, was :—

Corps.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
	£	£	£	£
Hon. Company's Engineers	23968	24022	35883	83874
{ European Horse	88058	50788	60295	199141
{ Ditto Foot	110512	84597	57234	252343
Artillery { Native Horse	27987	46252	...	74239
{ Ditto Foot	43718	32812	21175	97705
Golundauze	3035	...	...	3035
{ H. M.'s European regiments	81832	40803	49953	172588
{ Hon. Company's native regulars	290982	297316	130565	718853
Cavalry { Ditto ditto irregulars	130812	...	48581	179393
{ H. M.'s European regiments	240899	267159	120554	628612
{ Hon. Company's ditto	33018	42356	47026	122400
Infantry { Ditto native regulars	1433366	1146000	522989	3102355
{ Ditto ditto irregulars	245204	12980	12528	270712
Staff	174794	108501	145195	488490
Medical department	66672	35134	30952	132858
Pioneer corps	17312	35393	21806	74511
Commissariat department	382499	207346	24482	614327
Military charges not coming under the above heads ..	933769	724816	520302	2178887
Total	4328537	3216275	1849510	9394322

In the army estimates for 1835-6, the charge for, and numbers of, four regiments of dragoons and twenty battalions of infantry is thus specified :—*Cavalry*, horses, number 2804; officers, number 188; non-commissioned ditto and trumpeters, number

268; rank and file, 2700; total of all ranks, 3156; pay and allowances of ditto, 115,233*l.*; allowances to field-officers, &c. 4836*l.*; agency, 1409*l.*; clothing, 12,860*l.*; total for 365 days, 134,338*l.* Infantry, officers, number 1020; non-commissioned ditto and drummers, number 1200; rank and file, number 14,780; of all ranks, 17,000; pay and allowances, 495,283*l.*; allowances to field-officers, &c. 7928*l.*; agency, 5021*l.*; clothing, 46,499*l.*; total, for 365 days, 554,730*l.* Aggregate annual charges for cavalry and infantry (including 2835*l.* for depôts at Maidstone and Chatham), 691,904*l.* Of staff-officers belonging to the British army, there are in India 24 colonels (charge 16,000*l.*); 48,000 lieutenant-colonels (16,248*l.*); and 48 majors (14,970*l.*)

The INDIAN MARINE, although at one time very considerable, is of late dwindling away; it is attached to the Bombay presidency, and consists of 1 frigate, four 18-gun ships, six 10-gun corvettes and brigs, 2 armed steamers, and some surveying vessels. The number of officers may be stated at 12 captains, 14 commanders, 46 lieutenants, 71 junior officers, and about 500 European seamen, with a proportion of 4 warrant-officers to each vessel, and a complement of from 600 to 700 native seamen. The latest Parliamentary returns of the annual cost of the marine establishment at Bombay is:—Marine cruisers, &c. S. R. 1,194,573; marine office establishment, &c. 151,105; water, luggage, and ferry-boats, 25,831; dry docks, mooring chains, &c. 80,444*l.*; building vessels, purchase of timber, &c., 424,741*l.*; total, S. R. 1,876,894; or in sterling, 211,128*l.* During

the European wars, the Indian navy, on every occasion where an opportunity offered, have shown themselves in nowise inferior in naval tactics and bravery to her Majesty's service, while the extensive and valuable surveys which the officers have made of the islands, rivers, gulfs, and bays in the Indian and China seas, display their scientific acquirements in a pre-eminent degree, and entitle them to the gratitude of every nation trading to the east.

At Calcutta there is a marine establishment, which, though not of a warlike nature, is nevertheless of the utmost importance,—I allude to the pilot service, which has no equal in any country in Europe. The service consists of 12 strong, well-fitted, and quick-sailing vessels, of 200 tons burthen, schooner-rigged, and admirably adapted for withstanding the tempestuous weather from April to October, so frequent off the sand-heads at the mouths of the Ganges and Hooghly, where six or eight of the pilot vessels are constantly stationed, either at anchor or cruising about on the look-out for vessels coming up the Bay of Bengal; the moment a ship is seen, a pilot schooner makes towards her, puts a European pilot and a European leadsman on board, and then resumes her search for other ships approaching the port of Calcutta. It is projected to have a steam-vessel on the station to put the pilots on board.

The service is one of seniority, from leadsman or volunteers (the lowest) to branch pilot (the highest). The number of Europeans in the pilot service is about 130; they are intelligent, skilful, and gentlemanly men, well acquainted, from length of service, with the

difficult and dangerous navigation of the Hooghly. There are 12 branch pilots, 24 masters, 24 first mates, 24 second mates, and between 70 and 80 volunteers or leadsmen. The salary of a branch pilot is 70*l.* per month, of a master, 27*l.*, of a first mate, 15*l.*, and of a second mate and volunteer, 6*l.* per month. Each ship going up or coming down from Calcutta (a distance of 150 miles) gives a gratuity of about 100 rupees to the pilot and the leadsmen who have charge of the ship. The yearly cost, according to the latest return before Parliament is, in S. rupees, pilot schooners and buoy vessel, 368,585; steam vessels, 87,454; light-houses, &c. 108,505; master-attendant and establishment, 159,148; paymaster and storekeeper and establishment, 56,496; moorings, &c. 86,279; offices, establishments, &c. 68,309; buildings and repairs, 311,304; pensions, 80,266; total 1,326,346, or 153,856*l.* sterling. At Madras the marine is trifling, consisting of but 20 Europeans and 265 natives. The charges are for master-attendant, establishments, &c. at the presidency, S. R. 111,955; out-ports, 35,629; total, S. R. 147,584: or in sterling, 16,867*l.*

MEDICAL.—The physical or medical branch of the Anglo-Indian service, as regards the number employed in the army and marine, is as follows:—

Numbers and Expense of the Medical Officers (European and native doctors) employed at each Presidency, and at Penang and St. Helena, since 1813.—N.B. The civil surgeons in the East India Company's service not included.

Years.	NUMBERS.										EXPENSE.				
	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.		Penang, &c.		St. Helena.		Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	
	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.	Europ.	Natives.					
1813	156	144	137	176	92	8	4	2	7	1	727	34836	24843	19977	79656
1814	169	150	142	155	92	7	4	2	7	1	729	42766	25316	21120	89202
1815	156	181	143	145	95	7	4	2	6	1	740	8775	29438	21835	60048
1816	186	196	164	161	96	7	4	2	6	1	811	42132	30674	21601	94407
1817	162	188	152	160	94	6	3	2	6	1	774	42494	29993	21801	93878
1818	178	211	151	156	99	6	4	2	6	1	814	41858	29692	22387	93937
1819	165	228	146	154	93	16	4	2	5	1	814	52442	22723	23934	99099
1820	171	214	173	167	108	7	3	2	5	1	851	51954	22976	25331	100261
1821	164	207	174	191	107	8	3	1	7	1	863	57952	26367	22916	107235
1822	169	213	169	199	116	3	4	2	6	1	882	54968	27676	38903	121547
1823	173	203	192	185	114	62	4	2	6	1	942	58085	31234	40938	130257
1824	174	215	196	185	108	62	4	2	6	1	953	57034	29687	29059	115780
1825	183	242	185	206	108	80	4	7	6	1	1022	63443	31314	29059	123816
1826	192	258	179	227	110	86	3	5	6	1	1067	14225	28267	27217	69709
1827	198	241	196	222	123	97	4	5	6	1	1093	67015	29507	26355	122877
1828	239	236	195	269	109	87	3	6	7	1	1152	70442	35074	27318	133034
1829	235	251	210	236	158	114	5	10	7	1	1227	67538	29323	28493	125354
1830	222	235	212	282	156	136	5	10	7	1	1266	66772	35134	30952	132858
1831	234	287	140	231	119	122									
1832	241	306	...	...	118	145									
1833	256	306	149	233	125	147									

The range of professional talent is of the highest, and the valuable additions which the surgeons in the East India Company's service have made to our heretofore limited knowledge of the botany, zoology, geology, meteorology, &c. of the east, entitle them to the most honoured considerations. The medical societies and museums which have been established at each presidency have been the means of concentrating in a focus the invaluable local information which the different members of the service have an opportunity, while serving at distant stations, of acquiring; and the native medical schools in which the Hindoo and Mussulman youths are taught anatomy, the practice of physic, surgery, and chemistry, either to enable them to serve as doctors and assistant surgeons in the Company's army, or as private practitioners, are as creditable to the munificence of the Company, as to the talent and zeal which presides over them.

RETIRING FUNDS.—The military, medical, and civil services of the East India Company have established retiring funds, to which each member contributes a monthly sum from his pay.

ECCLESIASTICAL.—The British clerical establishment in India was stated before Parliament, in 1832, (by Mr. Lushington) to be adequate to its purposes; the European chaplains in 1817, were in number, thirty-nine; in 1827, fifty-one, and in 1831, they were increased to seventy-six, of whom thirty-eight were at Bengal, twenty-three at Madras, and fifteen at Bombay. The clergy are under the charge of diocesans at each presidency. The total charge of the establishment in 1827, was 66,943*l.* sterling. A

late return gives the number of chaplains, stations, and ecclesiastical charges, as follows :

Presidency.	Stations.	Chaplains.	Charge.
Bengal . . .	18	38	£40,625
Madras . . .	18	23	20,199
Bombay . .	12	15	6,119

In 1830-31, the salaries and allowances paid by the Indian government, at each presidency, for the support of the clergy and places of worship, was—Bengal Episcopal, sa. rs. 425,876; Scotch Church, 20,451; Roman Catholic, 4,000; total, 450,327. Madras Episcopal, Mad. rs. 206,976; Scotch Church, 11,760; Roman Catholic, 5,346; total, 224,082. Bombay Episcopal, Bomb. rs. 178,578; Scotch Church, 20,862; Roman Catholic, 820; total, 200,280. Grand total, 874,669 rupees, or about 85,000*l.* (See Chapter on *Religion*).

INDIAN PATRONAGE.—The Directors of the East India Company have the nomination of writers, cadets, and assistant-surgeons for the Indian service, this with a salary of 300*l.* a year is the sole reward which they receive for their services, for by their oath they are bound to accept no pecuniary consideration for any appointment whatever. The number of writers, cadets, and assistant-surgeons required for the year being made known, the number is divided into thirty shares, of which the chairman and deputy chairman have each two, the President of the Board of Control two, and each director one. Her Majesty's ministers, through the Board of Control, have the appointment of judges, bishops, officers of the Queen's army, and a negative on the Court of Direc-

tors' nomination of the governor general, governors, commanders-in-chief, and members of council.

The patronage of *appointment* rests only with the home authorities, that of *promotion* is thus managed. A writer on proving his qualifications in India is allowed to fix on any branch of the service, (revenue, judicial, or political), and the principle of succession to office is regulated partly by seniority, and partly by merit, blended so well together, as effectually to destroy favouritism, while a succession of offices is still left open for the encouragement of talent and industry. An Act of Parliament, providing that all situations exceeding in total value 500*l.* per annum, must be held by a civil servant of three years residence in India; ditto exceeding 1500*l.* a year, by one of six years standing; ditto, 3000*l.* by one of nine years, and of 4000*l.* and upwards by a servant of twelve years sojourn in the East. Thus, for vacancies under each classification, there are a certain number of candidates of the required local experience when the selection depends on the government, but every care is taken to make merit the sole ground for eligibility and success. The salaries of the whole civil service are now undergoing reduction and modifications, which it is thought will tend to stimulate the faculties of the functionaries employed.

The Company's civil servants are educated at the East India College of Haileybury, where each student must enter before he is twenty years of age, and pay 105*l.* per annum towards defraying the expensive and elaborate education which he receives in every essential branch of oriental and western literature,

philology and science, under the superintendence of a college council, and the most learned professors in England. The test of examinations for a writership is severe. The nominations during the last five years from the college consisted of sons of noblemen three; of baronets eight; of clergymen fourteen; of East India directors eight; of Company's civil servants thirty; of ditto, military ditto, twenty-two; of ditto, naval ditto, forty-two; of her Majesty's military and naval officers, twenty-seven; and of merchants, bankers, and private gentlemen, 110. The *net* expenditure of the College of Haileybury, from 1805 to 1830, was 363,427*l.*, of which 96,359*l.* was for the building; 33,553*l.* for books, and philosophical instruments, &c.: the salaries paid to professors, amount to 220,730*l.*, and the number of students educated was 1978.

The manner in which the patronage exercised in India is controlled by the Home Government of the East India Company, is as follows¹:

The records, as now sent home from India, contain the most minute description of the services, the character, and conduct of every individual in the civil establishment. Perhaps I may exemplify it by stating, that when members of council for India are appointed by the Court of Directors, a list of civil servants within a given period of the standing of those servants, from whence it is proposed to select members of council, is laid before the Court of Directors, which list contains a complete statement of the whole course of a servant's progress, from his arrival in India as a writer, to the date at which it is proposed to appoint him to a seat in coun-

¹ The late Secretary to the East India Company, P. Auber, Esq., gave in this valuable and lucid evidence on the subject.

cil. So it is with regard to every other civil servant in the establishment; and, if it would not be troubling the committee too much, I will take the liberty of reading a letter, which has particular reference to the course now observed with regard to the patronage in India, and the scrutiny which is exercised by the authorities here, or rather the knowledge which they possess of the course pursued by the government abroad. It is an extract of a letter from the chairman and deputy of the Court of Directors to Lord Ellenborough, dated November, 1829. 'The Legislature has placed the local governments in subordination to the government at home, it has exacted from them obedience to the orders issued by the constituted authorities in this country. The legislature has provided, that all the Company's servants in India, civil and military, under the rank of Governor-general and Governor, shall, in the first instance, receive their appointments from the Court of Directors; that the members of council shall, excepting in particular cases, be nominated by the court, and that the governor-general and governors shall likewise be appointed by the court, with the approbation of the Queen. The legislature has empowered the Court of Directors to recall the Governor-general and other governors, and to remove from office, or dismiss from their service, any of their servants, civil or military; and as a security against excessive lenity or undue indulgence on the part of the Court, it has conferred upon the crown the power, under her Majesty's sign manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners, of vacating appointments and commissions, and of recalling any of the Company's servants, civil or military, from the Governor-general downward. By these provisions, the fortune of every servant of the Company in India is made dependant on the home authorities; and as long as the powers with which the latter are thus entrusted continue to be properly and seasonably exercised, there appears to us to be little ground for apprehension that the Indian functionaries will forget they are accountable agents, and still less that this forgetfulness will be generated by so inadequate a cause as an occasional delay

here, not in issuing necessary instructions, nor in replying to special references, but in reviewing their past proceedings.

‘The legislature having thus provided sufficient sureties against the independence and irresponsibility of the governments in India, has with a just appreciation of the distance and all the extraordinary circumstances attending the connexion between the two countries, not only left to the governments there the distribution and disposal of all the Company’s establishments, civil and military, and the power of suspending from the service such individuals as may be guilty of misconduct, but has delegated to them powers of legislation, and to the Governor-general, individually and temporally, some of the most important rights of sovereignty, such as declaring war, making peace, and concluding treaties with foreign states; and while it has enacted, that the wilful disobeying, or the wilful omitting, forbearing or neglecting to execute the orders of the Court of Directors by the local functionaries, shall be deemed a misdemeanor at law, and made it punishable as such, the enactment is qualified with the exception of cases of necessity, the burthen of the proof of which necessity lies on the party so disobeying, &c.

‘Nor do the powers thus conferred (large as they are) exceed the exigencies of the case. It would be superfluous in addressing your lordship to enlarge on the magnitude of the trust reposed in the local governments, and the difficulties with which it is encompassed, difficulties so many and so great, as to be almost insuperable, if experience had not shown that to a great extent at least they may be surmounted. The imposition of the various checks with which the system abounds presupposes the grant of a liberal confidence in those to whom power is delegated. The individuals selected for members of the different councils of government are usually men of mature experience, who have distinguished themselves in the several gradations of the service. At the head of the two subordinate governments are generally placed persons who have recommended themselves to the home authorities by their eminent attainments, extensive local knowledge, tried habits of business, and useful services in India, or persons sent from this

country, who, without exactly the same recommendations, are on other grounds supposed to possess equal qualifications. The office of Governor-general has usually been filled by noblemen of elevated rank and character, who in some instances have held high offices of state in England, and who in going to India with the qualities of British statesmen, have there the means of acquiring a personal knowledge of the country and the people whom they are sent to govern; and the allowances of the Governor-general, other governors and members, as well of the supreme as of the subordinate governments, are fixed on a more liberal scale, suitable not to the character of mere executive agents, but to the greatness of discretionary trusts and the weight of their responsibility.

‘ It is by no means our intention, in submitting the foregoing considerations, to apologize for any want of promptitude or regularity on the part of the local governments in reporting their proceedings to the Court, or to absolve the Court from the obligation of carefully revising those proceedings, and communicating their sentiments thereupon within a reasonable time, and above all of enforcing strict obedience to their orders where no sufficient reason is given for suspending or modifying them: all that we mean to infer is, that when the relative characters, position and powers of the constituted authorities at home and abroad are duly considered, a minute interference in the details of Indian administration was not contemplated by the legislature, and that as long as a general supervision is watchfully exercised, and no proceedings of importance are kept back from observation, overlooked, or neglected, its intentions are not necessarily defeated by an arrear of correspondence on matters of minor moment.

‘ It is doubtless indispensable that the home authorities shall exercise the utmost caution and circumspection in the selection of their Indian governors, and in the choice of fit persons for the councils of government; that they shall constantly and vigilantly inspect the proceedings of those governments, as they may affect the interests of the state as well as the characters and prospects of individuals: that commendation and censure be impartially distributed, and that in cases of mani-

fest incompetence or gross misconduct, the extreme measure of removal from office be resorted to. It is incumbent on them to take care that, in our political relations with foreign powers, justice and moderation are uniformly observed, that the discipline and general efficiency of the army are maintained, and that in the business of internal administration, the welfare of the native population is sedulously consulted. It is obligatory on them narrowly to scrutinize and control the public expenditure, to keep a watchful eye over all their servants, to see that distinguished merit is adequately encouraged and rewarded, that the undeserving are not promoted by favour, and that evil doers are not improperly shielded from the punishment due to delinquency. It is also within their province to convey to the local governments such instructions as may from time to time be deemed expedient with a view to these or other objects, and to enforce obedience to their orders when transgressed or imperfectly executed without valid reason.'

Your answer went in the first instance to show the existence of a control and vigilant scrutiny exercised by the home authorities over the patronage of the Governor-general in India, and which control you consider would cease to exist in the event of the substitution of some other public organ for the Court of Directors at home; and you have instanced this by the care that is taken to ascertain the character and qualifications of individuals selected to be members of councils in India; are not the members of council nominated at present by the Court of Directors, and not by the Governor-general? —What I wished to exemplify to the committee was, the minute knowledge that the Court of Directors possessed of all nominations made to India, of the progress of their servants, and of their appointment from one station to another, and of the duties they performed. At the present moment there is, I conceive, a check both on the part of the Board of Control and on the part of the Court of Directors in the exercise by the Governor-general of his patronage, which patronage is made by selecting civil servants according to their seniority, as prescribed by the Act of Parliament, unless there is any reason for a different course of proceeding; and whilst it is true

that the Governor-general selects from the military service military men for civil stations, it is a practice objected to, and for which he is obliged to assign reasons. Unless some strict provision or check shall exist in future as now does exist, the Governor-general will of course be at liberty to exercise his patronage as he might see fit, without any control.

In point of fact, is it your belief that any real control is exercised over the appointments in India of the commissioners, judges of circuit, members of the courts of revenue, and of other Boards; in short, of the detail of the patronage in that country? —I conceive that the patronage in that country is carried on as prescribed in the manner I have already stated, by the regulations, and if there were not the check that now exists, which I conceive the Governor-general is perfectly aware of, he might exercise it to a large and imperious extent.

The government of the Anglo-Indian empire is one founded on an opinion arising out of our moral rectitude as well as physical force, and whatever weakens it, tends therefore to the diminution of our power in the East; in the preceding sketch may be perceived, the existence of present benefit, as well as future advantages, and the positive danger to both countries by rash and crude plans of fancied perfection being urged for adoption at this eventful crisis. Unlike European governments, the East India Company's administration has been in general in advance of the intelligence of the people; the increasing vigilant control of Parliament, the fast-growing influence of public opinion in England and in India, and the omnipotence of the press in both countries, will from time to time suggest, and enable the authorities to carry into effect, such improvements as may be safely, and with a prospect of permanent benefit enacted,

remembering always that governments are not like a forge nail, struck out at a single heat of the iron, but like the oak tree, which grows from year to year, while the more extended its age, the deeper and deeper become its roots. To the corporation of the East India Company, headed and directed by such statesmen as Wellesley, Clive, and Hastings, we are indebted for the acquisition and present progressive state of India, and to the adoption of sound and comprehensive measures, the good and the wise still look for the amelioration of Hindostan, and the preservation of the ministerial balance of power in Britain.

CHAPTER III.

THE FINANCIAL AND MONETARY SYSTEM OF BRITISH INDIA ;
PRODUCE FOR SEVERAL YEARS OF THE OPIUM, SALT, AND
LAND REVENUE ; DIFFERENT SYSTEMS OF LAND REVENUE,
AND AGGREGATE TAXATION ; EXPENDITURE AND DEBT OF
THE THREE PRESIDENCIES, WITH THE SURPLUS, OR DEFICIT
REVENUE OF EACH SINCE 1814 ; THE BANK OF BENGAL ;
INDIAN DEBT ; PROPORTION HELD BY EUROPEANS AND
NATIVES, &c.

THE prosperity of a nation is materially dependent on a just system of finance, the leading principles of which are, that every individual shall contribute to the maintenance of a government in proportion to the property he possesses, in order to protect him from domestic tyranny or foreign aggression, and

that every individual contributing a quota shall have a voice in regulating its disbursement. As the comparative advantages of direct and indirect taxation are now deservedly engrossing a large share of public attention, and the financial system of Great Britain and of our possessions in India is materially different, it will be necessary to enter into some detail, in order that the Indian mode of finance may be more thoroughly understood and appreciated.

The history of most ancient states show that direct taxation, or in other words, taxation on property, has been the foundation and main stay of their revenue systems; in England the principle has been progressively departed from since the reign of William III. until now, out of nearly 50,000,000*l.* taxes levied annually in the United Kingdom, almost 40,000,000*l.*¹ are raised on the consumption of the necessities and comforts of life. In India the ancient system of direct taxation has not been changed, the land continuing, as it has been from time immemorial, the grand fund of supply to the government, as will be seen by the proportions of the Indian revenue derived from different sources in 1831-32, the latest year in which the returns have been laid before Parliament complete :—

¹ The volume which I have written on the 'Taxation of the British Empire' will show the effects of high taxes on articles of general consumption; especially in connection with the contraction of the currency, which took place in 1819.

DIRECT TAXATION.

Land Revenue	£10,750,218
House Tax	40,000
Tax on Professions	116,830
Tolls on Ferries	96,242
Territories on Nerbudda	239,347
Burmese Cessions	87,266
Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin.	342,776
Nagpore Subsidiary	77,743
Bhurt pore	24,881
Nizams and Rajpoot Tribute . .	78,938
Cutch Subsidiary	13,332
Miscellaneous	17,996
	<hr/>
	£11,885,560
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INDIRECT TAXATION.

Salt Sale and Licences	£2,314,982
Customs (Sea and Land)	1,380,099
Opium	1,442,570
Post Office	103,501
Tobacco	63,048
Mint Receipts	60,518
Stamps	328,300
Judicial Fees and Fines	70,469
Sayer and Abkaree	764,759
Marine and Pilotage	45,974
Excise (in Calcutta)	19,106
	<hr/>
	£6,593,326
	<hr/>

Now, in making this division, I have given in the second column several items, which will detract from its amount when examined. The tax levied upon opium is paid indirectly, it is true, by the Chinamen who consume it in the celestial empire, but in reality

the tax falls on the land which grows the poppy, for were there no tax levied, the amount now paid by the Chinamen would go into the pockets of the Hindoo landed proprietors, thus we reduce the 6,600,000*l.* to 5,200,000*l.*; and when we consider how nearly salt, stamps, judicial, mint, and post-office receipts are direct taxes, the large proportion of the latter will be apparent. The gross revenues of the Three Presidencies during the fifteen years, ending 1828-29, were as follows:—

Bengal, 196,121,983*l.*; Madras, 82,042,967*l.*; Bombay, 30,986,970*l.*—Total, 309,151,920*l.*

Revenue and Charges of British India for 1831-2.—(Latest account.*)

GROSS REVENUE.

Items.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total in sterling money.
	Sa. Rups.	Rupees.	Rupees.	£
Land-tax	62588291	30519174	13394717	10750218
Custom, town, and transit dues	6527911	4853086	4044678	1380099
Salt sale tax	19158084	3789438	202303	2314982
Opium sale	12256637	...	2169063	1442570
Stamp duties	2466864	417863	398279	328300
Post-office ditto	634771	279020	121220	103501
Mint duties	426354	12879	165948	60518
Marine and pilotage	282538	66259	110951	45974
Tobacco sale	...	630489	...	63048
House-tax (Madras and Bombay) {	284256	} 110991	...	58631
Excise ditto	191067			
Judicial fees and fine	468777	139745	96168	70469

(Continued.)

* I have prepared this table from the accounts laid before Parliament in May, 1834, in order to show, in a connected view, the sources of revenue in British India, and the mode in which it is expended. The table being prepared from different returns, I should state that the Bengal revenue is in sicca rupees, being in the proportion of 100 to 106½ of the Madras and Bombay rupees: in the total column I have converted the whole into sterling at 2·7 rupees, which is nearly the bullion value and rate of exchange of the coin.

Items.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total in sterling money.
	Sa. Rups.	Rupees.	Rupees.	£
Toll on ferries	962424	...	...	96242
Sayer and abkaree	4153890	2022176	1471525	764759
Civil, miscellaneous	385006	7166	17872	41004
Revenue, ditto	1205735	183904	...	138963
Moturpha or profession tax	...	1168308	...	116830
Ceded territory on Nerbuddah	2393478	...	...	239347
Ditto by the Burmese	872660	...	...	87266
Nagpore subsidy	777437	...	...	77743
Nizam's and Rajpoot tribute	789388	...	...	78938
Bhurtpore on account of war	248811	...	...	24881
Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin } subsidies	...	3427769	...	342776
Ditto, from Cutch government	...	...	133333	13332
Penang, Mal. and Sincapore	375615	...	...	37561
Total in rupees.....	118449994	47628276	22326057	18677952
CHARGES (in India only).				
Collecting land-tax sayer and ab- karee	8706175	4472283	2263095	1544155
Ditto customs	1144055	409721	254166	180794
Ditto salt (including French and Danish supplies).....	4887186	741604	...	562879
Opium	2790018	...	26537	281655
Stamp duties	474982	80306	154835	71012
Post-office ditto	781156	259429	136660	117724
Mint ditto	280598	116687	129171	52645
Marine and pilot establishment.....	1376032	162302	1485711	302404
Tobacco ditto	...	233092	...	23093
Military charges	33500430	25275721	14246512	7302266
Ditto buildings	813352	136570	191430	114135
Civil and political establishments ...	7981801	2953754	3022058	1395761
Sudder, provincial and zillah courts	7623026	2013448	1799595	1143696
Queen's supreme court, &c.....	793736	486278	449407	172742
Provincial police	2023773	651273	...	267504
Buildings, roads, &c.....	1135529	106407	248823	149075
Nerbuddah territory charges	741154	...	...	74115
Burmese ceded ditto.....	870523	...	...	87053
Penang, Mal. and Sincapore	612946	...	...	61294
Interest on debt	17825682	2015523	234941	2007614
Pensions, assignments, and allows.	5706742	6310310	4697914	1671406
Total charges	100068876	46424708	29340855	17583132
Surplus revenues	18381118	1203568	...	...
Deficient ditto.....	...	...	7014798	...

LAND REVENUE OF INDIA.—The land-tax of British India is entitled to priority of consideration, no less on account of its financial importance as to amount, than of its influence over the rights and interests of the native inhabitants of the country, and over the general prosperity of the empire. There are three different modes of assessing land in India, and as each has its advocates and are essentially different in operation, the fairest plan which the author can adopt in laying a detail of them before the public, will be to give a very brief abstract of the evidence on the subject as laid before Parliament, during the recent discussion on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter; thus no favour to any system will be shown, and the public will be better enabled to form a comparative judgment on their respective merits ¹.

PRINCIPLES OF THE LAND-TAX.—Three different modes of assessing the land-tax prevail in British India—Ist, a *perpetual* settlement with the proprietors of the land;—2nd, a *temporary* settlement with the heads of villages or townships; and 3rd, a definite settlement with each individual occupant or cultivator of the soil (1832, C. P. 2²), but the acknowledged basis of every land revenue settlement in India, is the right of a government to a certain share of the gross produce of every inch of cultivated land; the share may be alienated entirely or partially, or it may be diminished by grants from

¹ The source whence each paragraph is derived verbatim, is also given; I have only added copulative conjunctions or articles for the purpose of 'dovetailing,' as it were, the sentiments scattered through a vast mass of evidence.

² C. P. in Commons' Paper; Lords' is signified by L.; the figure refers to the number of the paper or question.

government : it may be commuted for a money payment under engagements more or less extended for a series of years, or even for perpetuity, but the ground works of the land revenue in India, is the right of government to a share of the gross produce of all cultivation (1832, C. P. 29). Land is assessed with reference to the payments of former years, and to the actual state of the cultivation, and of the season ; if the cultivation have been increased the revenue is increased ; if land have been thrown up it is diminished ; if it be a bad season allowances are made for it (1830, L. 2,285) ; and in case of complaint of over-assessment it is rectified (1830, L. 1,565), as it is well understood that nothing contributes so essentially to secure the public tranquillity as a low assessment (1831, C. 5,250).

The peculiarity of India in deriving a large proportion of its revenue from the land, is in fact a very great advantage ; nine-tenths probably of the revenue of the government is derived from the rent of land never appropriated to individuals, and always considered to have been the property of government : this is one of the most fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country, because in consequence of this the wants of the state are supplied really and truly without taxation : the wants of government are supplied without any drain, either upon the produce of the man's labour, or the produce of any man's capital (1831, C. 3,134). But the great difficulty in raising a revenue from the land in India, is the difficulty of ascertaining correctly the value of the land ; approximation is all that can be obtained (1831, C. 3,162) ; the general proportion taken is extremely uncertain (1830, L. 2,537) ; because no portion of the gross produce of the land can ever be taken as the standard for assessment, for various proportions of the gross produce go as rent, according to all the various qualities of the soil, some lands yielding no rent, others a fourth, others a third, and other portions of the soil of a still more valuable quality, yielding half or more than half of the gross produce as rent (1831, C. 3,886) ; that is, a surplus of the produce of the soil after a full remuneration to the cultivator for his labour and stock (do. 3884). The instruction for many years sent from

home, and impressed upon the governments of India is, that in no case can more be taken than the rent of the land, without both injustice and permanent injury to the country, not only injury to the individual cultivators, but injury to the government itself; and in all doubtful cases, the instruction has been to take special care to err on the side of lenity rather than on the side of severity; to take less than the rent rather than more (1831, C. 3,162).

The consent of government is not required for the cultivation of any new land; government are happy that people should come and take up their abode; they make no inquiry, if there be no objection made by the neighbouring villagers; that is to say, that they do not occupy the land that others are in the possession of; the right of possession remaining, unless disturbed by other claimants, which rarely or never occurs (1830, L. 542 and 543).

THE ZEMINDARY OR PERPETUAL SETTLEMENT OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—One of the most material points for consideration, in respect to the land-tax, is the different modes of levying the assessment now in force (1832, C. R. P. 2). To begin with the *Zemindary* Settlement, the most obvious feature of advantage in which is the facility of collection, as it is a much more simple thing to obtain the revenue of a large district from a certain moderate number of Zemindars or contributors, than it is to perform the collection in detail by the officers of government themselves, and another advantage undoubtedly is the greater degree of certainty in the result (1831, C. 3,339); the main difference in the mode of collecting the land revenue in different parts of British India, consisting chiefly in the different degrees of summariness, or detail adopted in the collection of the revenue, from the great mass of cultivators who hold land generally in small portions, and who have a right to the perpetual hereditary occupancy of the soil, so long as they continue to pay the revenue demanded by government.

When the East India Company came into possession of the revenues of the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, they found the land revenue collected in the most summary method

by the intervention of officers under the Mahomedan government, who had charge of districts sometimes of more, sometimes of less extent, with various titles, such as Zemindars, and Talookdars, and who paid the revenue into the treasury in one sum, for which they were rewarded by the government, generally, with a per centage on their collections: in fact, Zemindars were found managing considerable districts whose obligations consisted in paying a certain annual amount to the government; many of them held their districts or estates under this condition hereditarily. (1831, C. 3,114, 3,115, 3,215).

On the East India Company becoming possessed of the Bengal territory, great abuses were found to prevail, and to be practised by the different sorts of people employed in the collection of the revenue. The detail of the business was so great that it frightened Lord Cornwallis and the government of the day, and they conceived that no better method for the protection of the Ryots or small cultivators could be invented than to create a species of landlords, from whom they expected much benefit to arise. The ground upon which their reasoning principally went was this, that those Zemindars, having a permanent interest in the land assigned to them, would feel an interest in the prosperity of the Ryots, in the same manner as a landlord in England feels an interest in the prosperity of his tenants. This was expected to produce two good effects, to create a landed aristocracy in the country, and above all to afford protection to the Ryots or small cultivators, from the kind of paternal feeling that was expected to pervade the Zemindars (1831, C. 3,136). With a view to the protection of the whole mass of the agricultural population, and with the best of motives, the Zemindars in 1793, whether cultivators or officers in actual charge of districts, hereditarily or by special appointment, were created landholders of the country, by which a property in the soil was vested in them, in nearly as full a sense as it is to the holder of a fee-simple in England; the sum which a Zemindar had been in the habit of paying was ascertained by the observation of a few prior years, the assessment or tax was fixed for ever, and an engagement was made that this amount of land re-

venue should never be raised on him ; such is the nature of the settlement known by the name of ' the ZEMINDARY or PERMANENT SETTLEMENT ' (1831, C. 3115, 3116, 3136, 3215 ; 1832, R. C. P. 21). The countries settled on the permanent Zemindary tenure include, under the Bengal presidency, an extent of 149,782 square miles, embracing the whole of Bengal, Bahar, Benares, and Orissa (Cuttack alone excepted), with a population, exclusive of the Benares province, of 35,518,645, assessed in 1829-30 at a permanent jumma, or revenue of 32,470,858 sicca rupees. Under the Madras presidency, the Zemindary settlement includes nearly the whole of the five northern circars lying immediately adjacent to the Bengal frontier ; rather more than one-third of the Salem, and about one-third of the Chingleput districts included under the head of Madura ; and a small portion of the southern division of Arcot, consisting of some of the East India Company's ancient lands near Cuddalore : these countries include a territory of 49,607 square miles, with a population of 3,941,021, assessed in 1829-30 at 8,511,009 sicca rupees. The permanent, or Zemindary settlement, has never extended to any portion of the provinces under the Bombay presidency, which contain 59,438 square miles, with a population estimated at 6,251,546, and 5500 square miles in the northern Concan, of which the population is unknown. Far the greater part of the Madras territories, to the extent of 92,316 square miles, with a population of 9,567,514, has also been exempted from it ; as has also been the case in the province of Cuttack, under the Bengal Government, containing 9040 square miles, and a population of 1,984,620 ; neither has the permanent settlement been extended to the upper or western provinces under the supreme government, embracing 66,510 square miles, and a population of 32,206,806 ; nor to the districts ceded on the Nerbudda, and by the Rajah of Berar, in 1826, containing 85,700 square miles, of which the population is unknown : thus of the British territorial possessions on the continent of Asia, including an area of 512,878 square miles, the permanent or Zemindary settlement extends over but 199,389 square miles (1832, R. C. P. 21). We may now proceed to the consideration of the VILLAGE SYSTEM.

VILLAGE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM.—The landed property in Upper India may be said to belong to the community of a village, each village having head men, leaders, or principals, called *Mocuddims*, or *Potails*, who either by descent, or sometimes by their personal influence, obtain a superiority in the village, and the management of its affairs; they are selected by the villagers, and removable at their pleasure.

The lands are let out to men sometimes in the same village, sometimes in the neighbouring village, while certain portions, and certain rights are possessed by the different craftsmen or artizans of the village, such as the schoolmaster, the washerman, the barber, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the watchman, the village accountant, &c., who have each a right to a certain share in the produce of the soil, of which there is also a certain portion set aside for certain recognised expenses of the village, and for defraying its hospitality towards strangers (1830, L. 398, 399, 405, 406, 529). These village communities are little republics, having nearly every thing that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds to revolution, Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Seik, English, are all masters in turn, but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; an hostile army passes through the country; the village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance; but when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the village cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives: a generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return; the sons will take the place of their fathers, the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated, and it is not a trifling matter that will

drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great proportion of freedom and independence (1832, Commons' Rev. Committee, p. 29).

It is difficult to state the proportion of the produce of the village paid to Government; the authorities know little of the precise property of any of the proprietors; it is not the interest or the wish of the village that the Government should scrutinize and know their possessions; therefore, if any one of the brotherhood fails to pay his proportion, that is a matter for the village at large to settle; they will often come forward to pay it for him, but those are all private arrangements kept to themselves, and the *mocuddim* has no power from the Government to enforce the assessment; what each man in the village has to pay is an internal arrangement, which it is desirable for the Government not to interfere in, the villagers settling among themselves what each has to pay, the total assessment being calculated after inquiry into the state of prosperity in the village; what it has hitherto paid; what it is capable of paying; the state of the village lands, and what assessments they ought to bear with reference to the produce; and if the villagers are dissatisfied with their *mocuddim*, or head man, they turn him out (1830, L. 401, 402, 404, 528, 583, 584). Surveys of considerable expense have been made by Government, a minute account taken of the state of the land in each village, the fields examined in the presence of a surveying officer, with all the assistance he can procure, not only from his own servants, but from the village communities, the people themselves interested, and also the *ryots* and people of the neighbouring villages, who are invited to attend. The exact limits of the village are put down, and even the detail of land within the village, the productions, houses, fruit-bearing trees, and so on: the assessment

is grounded upon these particulars (1831, C. 3492). The Upper or Western Provinces of Bengal, the greater part of the Bombay territories, the ceded territories on the Nerbuddah and the province of Tanjore are all assessed by villages (1831, C. 3119, 3123, 3129, 3130).

THE RYOTWAR SYSTEM.—The peculiar principle of the third sort of assessment, termed *Ryotwar*, is to fix a maximum of assessment upon all the lands of the country in perpetuity (1831, C. 4565). The money rent of each individual cultivator for the fields in his occupation is defined with as much permanency as possible, the aggregate of such rents making the total assessment, which varies each year with the increase or decrease of cultivation. Another main principle of the ryotwar system is to protect the rights of all ryots or cultivators, as they now exist in every village, from infringement, and to prevent all encroachment upon those rights (1831, C. 5156). Thus, in the ryotwar system, the details of the interest of the respective ryots are known completely, and not at all in the zemindary system; and the former effectually does what the latter professes to do, but never has done, and never can do, that is, fix an assessment upon all the lands in the country. Under the ryotwar system, the assessment goes from detail to the aggregate; it respects property of every class, that of the largest landholder, and that of the smallest; it measures and assesses every portion of an estate, and thus facilitates the transfer of landed property, as the first question, when taken into the market is, what is the amount of public demand upon the land? (1831, C. 4565, 4567, 4568). The ryotwar system deals with the proprietor; if the Rajah be the complete proprietor, he is the person with whom the Government deals; it does not profess to interfere between him and his tenants, but in order to ascertain what the Rajah is to pay, his lands are first assessed in detail, and then in the aggregate (1831, C. 4570). The ryotwar settlement is applicable, it is said, in every state of things; where there are proprietors it may be entered into with proprietors; where there are no proprietors it may be concluded with farmers or cultivators; it may be equally made for the largest or for the smallest quantity of land; for millions

of acres, or for only a few. The owner of a single field may make his terms directly with the Government, and turn to his cultivation, knowing that he cannot be called on to pay more than a certain sum. The proprietor of the largest district may do the same; for, although the cess under this system varies according to the value of the land, difference of soil, population, situation, and other localities, and although inferior land, paying the lower cess, becomes liable when sufficiently improved to pay the higher cess, there is, nevertheless, a maximum for the best land, beyond which all produce is for the benefit of the landholder, and there are remissions in cases of urgent distress (1832, C. R. P. No. 29.)

Another advantage which the ryotwar system possesses over the zemindary, is in the creation of a great body of independent proprietors, instead of a few who are proprietors only in name; and there is an advantage to the revenue inasmuch as all the fruits of industry accumulate for the great mass of the people, but in the case of the zemindary they accumulate for the benefit of the few, while the ryotwar system tends also in a considerable degree to the accumulation of capital (1831, C. 4577, 4578, 4579).

Each of these systems (as detailed in the analysis of the evidence before Parliament just given) find special and powerful advocates and arguments for the adoption of uniformity throughout India; but into this question it is not the author's province to enter; suffice it to say that the main points for consideration in any system of land assessment is the *low amount of the tax*¹, and the preservation of the manorial rights

¹ A Parliamentary document gives the amount of the land-tax per head in Bengal, in 1827, at 22 pence yearly, in Madras 52 pence, and in Bombay 60 pence; and per square mile, Bengal 23 pence, Madras 17 pence, and Bombay 19 pence; the population per square mile in each presidency being, for Bengal 244, Madras 77, and Bombay 76. Land in Bengal is valued at 67 years' purchase.

of the ryots or cultivators. Adam Smith admits that a land-tax so managed as to give not only no discouragement, but, on the contrary, some encouragement to the improvement of land ; which rises and falls with general not partial prosperity ; that makes it the paramount benefit of the government to preserve peace foreign and domestic ; to augment by every possible means the quality and quantity of territorial produce : to provide easy, cheap, and expeditious transit by land and water to the most profitable markets ;—a land-tax thus managed, pressing fairly and lightly on each individual, and influenced by fixed and comprehensive principles of general utility, most beneficially unites the governed and the governor by the least dissoluble ties of mutual self-interest.

By Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement in Lower Bengal much good was effected, accompanied, however, with no small portion of evil. The *fixing for ever* the assessment on the land was admirable in principle and highly beneficial to the proprietors, but the government lost the advantage of increased prosperity in the country in consequence of the tax being fixed at a *money* instead of a *corn* rent : had the latter been adopted the tenant could not complain, and the resources of the state would not have suffered. The next evil arose from considering the zemindars as landed proprietors instead of what they generally were, mere collectors or farmers of the revenue : the interests and rights of the ryots or cultivating tenants of the soil were thus entirely lost sight of, and no measure has since been devised which would restore them without the allegation being raised of our in-

fringing the solemn compact of the permanent or zemindary settlement.

With reference to extending the system of the last named settlements to the upper provinces of Bengal, it seems neither prudent nor practicable so to do on account of the village corporations or communities described at p. 120-1.

This much, however, might be accomplished,—the fixing of the government assessment every ten, twenty, or thirty years, at a corn rent. The settlements might be made with each village, leaving to the latter the choice of a longer or shorter lease. This plan might also be extended to the south of India, where the ryotwar system is in force; its advantages would be, that a stimulus would be given to cultivation and improvement for ten, twenty, or thirty years without the government, like the tithe owner in England, stepping forth to reap the reward of skill and industry. The assessment being at a corn rent, the government would not have a revenue fluctuating according to the rise or fall in the prices of gold or silver, and the rights of individual cultivators, as under the Madras presidency, or of village communities, as under the Bombay territories, would be preserved, while the necessity for annual scrutiny and continual vexatious interference of the government with the farmers would be happily annulled.

Land Revenue in British India, at five intervals, to show its progress.

LAND REVENUES.	1789-90.	1799-1800.	1809-1810.	1819-1820.	1829-1830*
<i>Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.</i>					
Revenues, current, S. Rs.	25606200	23367056	26082136	27199825	26635715
Balances Do.	967989	3182947	1145267	2271617	2049358
Not in Jumma Do.	119021	213589	39267	437171	437411
Miscellaneous Do.	142296	38422	84645	136059	860698
Total	26836206	26801994	27351275	30044072	30853182
<i>Benares.</i>					
Revenues, current, S. Rs.	3624823	3263420	3744142	4380451	4485725
Balances Do.	304241	422227	127108	36058	334236
Not in Jumma Do.	---	45138	59271	39207	55401
Total	4019064	3736845	3930521	4455716	4875422
<i>Ceded and Conquered Provinces under Bengal.</i>					
Revenues, cur., Ceded provinces, S. Rs.	---	---	14027596	18223863	12612876
Do. Conquered do. Do.	---	---	9083338	11451287	15879898
Balances, Ceded do. Do.	---	---	1438854	722104	360807
Do. Conquered do. Do.	---	---	1070981	621800	916868
Not in Jumma, Ceded do. Do.	---	---	41503	184081	144712
Do. Conquered do. Do.	---	---	102941	137184	471730
Miscellaneous, Ceded do. Do.	---	---	46704	131216	76257
Do. Conquered do. Do.	---	---	217582	65738	84771
Total	---	---	26029499	31537273	30577919
<i>Ancient Possessions.</i>					
Revenues, current, Pagodas	1274477	1558812	1629562	1994857	1967513
Arrears of do. Do.	299625	556788	501410	235024	182184
Total	1574102	2117600	2130972	2219881	2149697
<i>Ceded and Conquered Provinces.</i>					
Revenues, current, Pagodas	---	2025093	7563033	7121258	6519888
Arrears of do. Do.	---	198658	598564	484965	422856
Total	---	2223751	8191597	7606223	6942744
<i>Bombay.—Ancient Possessions.</i>					
Revenues, current, Rupees	---	270465	396853	307043	1428249
<i>Ceded and Conquered Provinces.</i>					
Revenues, current, Rupees	---	1906304	3053010	13024793	12129050
Total	---	2176769	3449863	13331836	13557299

* For Bengal the return is 1828-1829.

SALT.—The next main item of revenue in Bengal is derived from the manufacture and sale of salt by government, the average annual produce of which is about 1,800,000/. a-year. It is in evidence before

Parliament that the people are abundantly supplied with salt, and the tax is less than four farthings a month on each individual. Efforts have been made to authorise the Cheshire salt-makers to furnish the Bengalese with salt. When the English Parliament remits or even lessens the duty levied on the Hindoo's sugar being imported into Great Britain, then the Hindoos may receive English salt. Upper Bengal is supplied with salt partly from the lower province, and partly from salt mines in Western India. Madras exports salt to Bengal, prepared by solar evaporation, in exchange for rice and other provisions, and Bombay makes salt enough for its own use. The revenue in Bombay and Madras is trifling in amount compared with Bengal, being in the latter about 300,000*l.*, and in the former not 20,000*l.* a-year. Mr. St. George Tucker, lately chairman of the East India Company, thus details the salt revenue for 1827, which he states to be a fair year for judging of the average revenue.

Population of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, computed at ¹	30,000,000
Quantity of salt consumed by this population, supplied from our sales, maunds	4,500,000
Gross sale, at about 390 rupees per 100 maunds.....	S. rupees 17,500,000
Deduct cost and charges, which constitute no part of the tax.....	5,000,000
Net revenue or monopoly profit.....	rupees 12,500,000
At 2 <i>s.</i> per sicca rupee	£ sterl. 1,250,000
Medium consumption of each individual, per annum	6 seers = 12 lbs.
Rate of contribution or poll-tax, yearly.....	10 pence

The charges on the salt revenue amounted in Ben-

¹ It is now upwards of 40,000,000, which would, of course decrease the amount of the tax paid by each individual.

gal, in 1828, to S. R. 7,121,183, or 826,057*l.*, viz. advances to manufacturers, S. R. 4,291,768; convention with the French government to prevent any interference with the East India Company's revenue, 400,000; ditto with the Danish government, 15,000; salaries, commission to agents on manufacture, rent, establishments, and contingencies, 2,261,527; buildings, &c. 152,888. At Madras, the charge on the salt revenue for the same year was 85,495*l.*, or S. R. 752,021; of which the manufacturers' share was S. R. 250,542; the advances, 100,843; the compensations, 25,842; and Moyen Zabita and other charges, 374,794.

OPIMUM.—The revenue derived from opium, which is only second in importance to salt, is obtained in Bengal by government receiving the prepared juice direct from the cultivators, and offering it for sale at public auction to the exporter. No opium is allowed to be grown in Bengal but by the cultivators who are under engagements and advances with government; and in Bombay a transit duty is charged on the shipment of the drug to China, the opium being grown and prepared in allied states, Malwa, for instance. Under the head of commerce further particulars will be found; it is here sufficient to say, that the incidence of this tax is difficult of ascertainment: on first view it appears to fall on the consumers in China, or other foreigners in the east archipelago; but on a second view of the question, it is evident, that if the British government did not levy the tax, the Bengal producer of the opium would be at liberty to realize, if possible, the present price, and pocket

himself the difference which now goes into the Indian treasury. The charges in Bengal on the opium revenue for 1827-8, the latest year laid before Parliament, was 658,254*l.*, or S. R. 5,674,606; of which the manufacturers received in advance S. R. 3,879,974; and the salaries, agency establishments, and contingencies, were 726,024; and there was also a compensation to purchasers of inferior Bahar opium, in 1824-5 of S. R. 1,068,608. It may here be observed, that a chest or bale of the East India Company's opium is instantly purchased by a Chinese customer without any other examination than that of the Company's mark. The total number of chests of Indian opium imported into China (vide Commerce chapter) was in 1833, chests, 23,692, the value of which was Sp. dol. 15,352,429.

Customs, whether derived by transit or other duties on land, or from goods exported or imported by sea, form the next item, and are yearly increasing. The collection of *inland* or turnpike-like duties is in course of final abolition (in Bombay totally abrogated); and the duties levied on sea goods very light in amount, and unaccompanied by vexatious restrictions.

Stamps are an increasing source of revenue since their establishment in Bengal in 1797, and in Calcutta city in 1828. The instruments liable to the duty in Bengal are contracts, deeds, conveyances, leases, powers of attorney, policies of insurance, promissory notes, receipts, bail bonds, and legal proceedings generally; bills of exchange under twenty-five rupees, and receipts under fifty rupees, are alone exempt. In Madras stamped paper was first introduced in 1808,

chiefly on legal proceedings; and in 1816 the duties were extended to bonds, deeds, leases, mortgages, bills of exchange, and receipts. In Bombay the tax was first introduced in 1815; Delhi and some other territories are not yet subjected to this duty, from the operation of which the small dealer and poor farmer is exempt, while the large capitalist or inveterate litigist is made to pay a portion of the government expenses, the most productive stamps in India being those on money dealing and miscellaneous law papers. The charge on stamps for 1827-8, was, in Bengal, 71,431*l.* or S. R. 615,782, viz. fees to native commissioners in Mofussil courts, S. R. 227,370; purchase of paper, 48,704; commission, salary, establishment, and contingency, 339,708; for Madras the total charge was 9437*l.*

The *sayer* and *abkaree* taxes include a variety of items, in some places being irregular collections by provincial officers; in others licenses on professions or on manufactures, such as the distillation of spirits, which latter is collected by a *still-head* duty, manufactured after the English fashion, at the rate of six annas, or six sixteenths of a rupee per gallon, London proof. There is a tobacco monopoly in some places, and extra cesses in others; but these and other unstatesman-like sources of revenue are all in course of abolition.

The *Mint revenue* is collected by a seignorage for coining of two per cent. on the produce, after allowing for the difference of standard and deducting the charges of refining when such are chargeable; that is, when the silver is below the dollar standard, which

is five or six times worse than the present rupee. Copper coinage also yields to the government a large profit, the copper money being issued at the rate of 64 (weighing 6400 grains) for the rupee, which is about 100 per cent. above the value of the copper. The charges on the mint revenue of Bengal was, in 1827, 43,838*l.* or S. R. 377,867, viz. salaries, establishments, and contingencies, 201,080; loss of weight in melting the precious metals, 176,787; for Madras, 20,406*l.*; and Bombay, 3637*l.*

The post-office tax is light in amount, and increasing as fast as can be expected from a post conveyed by runners on foot. The charges under this head of revenue were, for Bengal, salaries and establishments, S. R. 125,594; Dawk establishment, 642,293; total, S. R. 767,887, or 89,075*l.* Madras, salaries and establishments, &c. S. R. 64,973; Tappal establishment, 191,744; total, S. R. 256,717, or 29,339*l.* Bombay, 18,148*l.*

The charges for transmission of letters through the government post-offices of British India are—

In Bengal, a letter is forwarded 1000 miles for 12 annas, or 1*s.* 6*d.*; in Bombay, ditto 1000 ditto for 15 ditto, or 1*s.* 10½*d.*; in Madras, ditto 1000 ditto for 17 ditto or 2*s.* 1½*d.*

Judicial revenue is raised on stamps requisite in causes of different amount in order to defray legal charges and discourage litigation, to which the wealthier Hindoos are much prone. In suits for sums not exceeding 16 rupees, the plaint or petition must be written on paper bearing a stamp of 1 rupee. If the suit exceed 16 rupees, and do not exceed 32

rupees, a stamp of 2 rupees is required. Above 32 rupees, and not exceeding 64, the stamp is 4 rupees. Above 64 rupees, and not exceeding 150, 8 rupees. Above 150 rupees, and not exceeding 300, 16 rupees. Above 300 rupees, and not exceeding 800, 32 rupees. Above 800 rupees, and not exceeding 1600, 50 rupees. Above 1600 rupees, and not exceeding 3000, 100 rupees. Above 3000 rupees, and not exceeding 5000, 150 rupees. Above 5000 rupees, and not exceeding 10,000, 250 rupees. Above 10,000 rupees, and not exceeding 15,000, 350 rupees. Above 15,000 rupees, and not exceeding 25,000, 500 rupees. Above 25,000 rupees, and not exceeding 50,000, 750 rupees. Above 50,000 rupees, and not exceeding 100,000, 1000 rupees. Above 100,000 rupees, 2000 rupees. The other stamp duties to which the parties are subject, besides the institution stamp, are, all exhibits filed in court are required to be accompanied with an application praying the admission of the same, and that application must be written on stamped paper. If in the Zillah court, the stamp is one rupee; in the provincial court and the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, two rupees. So also no summons is issued for the attendance of any witness without an application in writing, praying the attendance of such person, which application must be written on stamped paper, similar to that prescribed in the case of filing exhibits. Further answers, replications, rejoinders, supplemental pleadings, and all agreements of compromise and petitions, are required to be written on stamps of one rupee in the Zillah court, and four rupees in the provincial court in the Sudder Dewanny. Miscellaneous peti-

tions and applications preferred to public authorities, either revenue or judicial, are required to be written on stamps of eight annas, if preferred to a Zillah judge or magistrate or collector; of one rupee, if to a court of appeal or circuit, and of two rupees if to the Sudder Dewanny or Nizamut Adawlut, or to the board of revenue. The appointment of the vakeels to act in each case is made by an instrument bearing a similar stamp. Copies of decrees also are required to be stamped. In the Zillah court the stamp is one rupee, in the provincial court two rupees, in the Sudder four rupees, and all proceedings of the Sudder prepared for transmission to the Queen in council must be transcribed on paper bearing a stamp of two rupees. Copies of miscellaneous papers are required to be written on a stamp of eight annas, or half rupee.

The judicial charges are exceedingly heavy, viz. in Bengal, the Supreme Court, sicca rupees, 432,337; justices of the peace and diet of the prisoners at Calcutta, 251,693; Court of Requests, 98,605; Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, 638,869; provincial Courts of Appeal and Zillah Adawluts, 6,269,040; provincial Police, 1,789,377; extra and contingent charges, 370,318; Pensions, 38,455. Total sicca rupees, 98,991,694 or sterling 1,147,436*l*. In Madras, Supreme Court, sicca rupees, 308,700; Police charges in town of Madras, 133,040; Court of Sudder and Fouzdary Adawlut, 253,557; Provincial Courts, 2,597,490; Pensions, &c. 7,342. Total, sicca rupees, 3,300,129 or 377,158*l*. In Bombay, Supreme Court, sicca rupees, 368,400; Police charges

at Bombay Presidency, 127,540; Court of Sudder and Fouzdary Adawlut, 262,891; Provincial Courts, 1,939,774; Buildings, &c. 76,701. Total, sicca rupees, 2,775,306, or 312,222*l.* The grand total for the three presidencies being 1,186,816*l.* sterling.

The Marine revenue arises from port and anchorage dues, &c. in order to keep up the useful establishments at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in particular at the former port.

The foregoing items are the principal, if not the sole, sources of the government revenue of 18 to 20,000,000*l.* a year, and they offer a strong contrast to the manner in which 50,000,000*l.* a year is raised in Great Britain chiefly on the necessities of life, or on the comforts and industry of the people.

MONETARY SYSTEM.—The bank of Bengal, (the only chartered bank in our Eastern possessions) established in 1809, by a charter from the Governor-General in council, under Act of Parliament, is partly a private, partly a government bank, regulated as a bank of discounts and deposits, on the principle of the Bank of England, and confined in its accounts and transactions to Calcutta. The shares are in value 1000*l.* each, and in number 500; the government hold 100, with power to nominate three directors, while the proprietors elect six; the president is elected by the directors, and the proprietors can vote by proxy. Natives may become directors if chosen by the proprietors. The average amount of dividend of late years has been nine to ten per cent., and the shares were worth 5,500 to 5,600 rupees premium. The accounts are public, and regularly laid before

government twice a year, and of a *paid-up* capital of 5,000,000 rupees, part is vested in government securities, and the remainder employed in the trade of banking. It issues notes which vary in amount from ten rupees to 20,000 rupees, there being no maximum or minimum limitation. The largest proportion is in notes of 100 rupees upwards: the average amount of its paper in circulation is 800,000*l.* which is all payable on demand at sight. The notes circulate among the natives as far as Bahar, or wherever they are received in the government treasuries in receipt for revenue, &c. There are two restrictions upon the issue of paper money, the first practical, namely a reservation of cash equivalent to a fourth of its engagements payable on demand, and the second, that the circulation of notes shall not exceed 2,000,000*l.* but there has scarcely ever been a demand for notes to half that extent. The bank of Bengal has no monopoly, it is however the only chartered bank, *i. e.* it is a corporation, can sue and be sued under its common seal, and individual proprietors are not liable beyond the amount of their subscription; its other exclusive advantage consists in government receiving its notes solely. I would here again strenuously urge the formation of an Anglo-Indian Bank, on a plan similar to the Provincial Bank of Ireland, as established by my able and philanthropic friend William Medley, Esq. The following is the latest return shewing the balance of the bank of Bengal, 29th June, 1833 :—

Dr.	S. Rups.	Cr.	S. Rups.
Cash, government securities, loans on deposits of govern- ment securities, &c., and bills on government dis- counted	12595498	Bank notes and post bills out- standing and claims payable on demand	12105443
Private bills discounted	3918589	Net stock	5248066
Doubtful debts	719158		
Advance for legal proceed- ings	3235		
Dead stock.....	117029		
Total.....	17353509	Total.....	17353509

Rates of business, on this date 6 per cent. for private bill discounts, and 4 per cent. for deposit loan ; on the 12th March, 1836, the rate of interest was 5 per cent. on loans of government paper,—discount on government bills and salary 4 per cent., discount on private bills, 7 per cent. The bank issues are twelve million rupees,—a sum more than 50 per cent. in excess of the minimum of 1827, in which year the whole amount of bank notes, including those of the three private banks then in existence, was not greater than the present joint circulation of the bank of Bengal and the Union bank. The bank has lost considerably by bad debts and by forgeries, at which latter the natives are extremely expert. There is an establishment termed the UNION BANK at Calcutta which I took an active part in conjunction with the liberal Dwarkanaut Tagore in forming ; it is supported by the principal merchants, and quite unconnected with government. The shares are now worth 600 to 700 rupees premium. Madras has no bank precisely similar to that of Bengal, and Bombay has not, I believe, any European bank issuing money.

There can now scarcely be said to be any gold coin in circulation in Bengal, and the highest silver denomination is rupees, viz. those of Calcutta and Furruckabad. The Furruckabad rupee weighs 180·234 grains, troy; Calcutta rupee 191·916 grains, troy. For practical purposes the Calcutta rupee may be valued as weighing 192 grains, troy, with 176 of silver, and the Furruckabad 180 grains, with 165 of pure metal. The Madras rupee, as established in 1818, consists of 180 grains, and contains 165 grains of pure silver, and 15 grains of alloy. The gold coinage is of the same weight and fineness as the silver, but the ratio between gold and silver is liable to be varied from time to time by government proclamation. Bengal, Madras, and Bombay have each a mint, at which are coined rupees agreeing in standard and weight with the Furruckabad rupees, and the rupees of the three presidencies are issued to the army at a nominal value, termed a Sonaut rupee. The gold coins that issued from the mint can scarcely be reckoned among the currencies, because the market value of gold having risen considerably above the mint value, it has ceased to circulate at the prescribed, or at any fixed rate. The gold mohur of Bengal weighs 204·710 grains, of which the fine gold is 187·651 grains; the Madras gold rupee is of the same weight and standard with the silver, viz. 180 grains; and at both presidencies the relative value of gold to silver is fifteen to one, the Bengal mohur being reckoned equal to sixteen rupees. A copper coin, weighing 100 grains is current through the Bengal territories at the rate of sixty-four to

seven rupees, but it is a legal tender only for the fractional parts of the rupee; cowries or sea shells still circulate, and to a considerable extent in some provinces, but they are disappearing with the prosperity of the country.

A new copper coinage was declared by legislative enactment at Fort William, 22nd December 1835, consisting of a *pie* weighing $33\frac{1}{2}$ grains troy, and nearly corresponding to the piece of five cash or one pice of the Madras currency;—a *pice* weighing 100 grains troy, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ doodee; fifteen cash or $\frac{1}{4}$ anna;—a double *pice* weighing 200 grains troy, thirty cash three doodies or half an anna. It is provided by the same enactment, that “no copper coin shall be a legal tender in any part of the Company’s territories except for the fractional part of a rupee.”

A large mint has been established at Bombay for an uniform coinage, as there are a great number of different rupees current in the Deckhan, coined in different years, and having a marketable value, according to their value. The rates of exchange vary not only between Bombay and Poonah, but between district and district. Gold is not current in the Deckhan; there is no paper circulation; but native ‘*hoondees*,’ or small bills of exchange, are numerous. The circulating medium is silver and copper, the relative value altering in favour of the latter; all their gold has been exported to England years ago. Ordinary interest of money with the natives, nine, and with the European mercantile houses, five per cent. At Calcutta from six to twelve per cent.

The total coinage of the four mints (Calcutta, Be-

nares, Furruckabad, and Sagur) for the period of thirty-one years, has been 53,322,600. The bullion importation *vid* Calcutta, from 1813-14 to 1831-32 is valued at sicca rupees, 355,837,644; from which, deducting the exports of bullion for the same period, 65,396,544, leave bullion disposed of in the country, sicca rupees, 295,446,100. The coinage of the several mints for the above term of eighteen years was—Calcutta, sicca rupees, 203,615,962; Benares, sicca rupees, 81,236,359; Furruckabad, 47,252,843; Sagur, 4,324,779. Making a total of sicca rupees, 343,522,940, being an excess of one-fifth above the imports, or sicca rupees, 53,076,840. The coinage of the native mints is estimated at one half of our own, which will give a total of 30,293,578, or three crores per annum for the Bengal presidency, being 150,000 per diem for 200 working days.

The total coinage of copper pice since 1801, bears a value in silver of $50\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of sicca rupees, which in tale is $32\frac{1}{3}$ crores for thirty-one years—or one crore per annum; thus adding 50,000 pieces to the daily work as above mentioned.

By a financial regulation of the Bengal government (13th May, 1833,) it is enacted that, the weight and standard of the Calcutta sicca rupee and its subdivisions, and of the Furruckabad rupee, shall be as follows:—

	Weight. Grains.	Fine. Grains.	Alloy. Grains.
Calcutta Sicca Rupee.....	192.....	176.....	16
Ditto half.....	96.....	88.....	8
Ditto quarter	48.....	44.....	4
Furruckabad Rupee	180.....	165.....	15

and its fractions in proportion being 1-12th alloy.

The use of the sicca weight of 179·666 grains hitherto employed for the receipt of bullion at the Mint, being in fact the weight of the Moorshedabad rupee of the old standard, which was assumed as the sicca currency of the Honourable Company's provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shall be discontinued, and in its place the following unit, to be called the tola, shall be introduced, which from its immediate connexion with the rupee of the Upper Provinces, and of the Madras and Bombay, will easily and speedily become universal throughout the British territories.

The tola or sicca weight to be equal to 180 grains troy, and the other denominations of weight to be derived from this unit, according to the following scale :—

8 Ruttees—1 Musha—15 Troy grains.

12 Mushas—1 Tola—180 ditto.

80 Tolas (or sicca weight)—1 seer—2½ lbs. ditto.

40 Seers—1 Mun, or Bazar Maund—100 lbs. Troy.

At Calcutta the monies of account are as follows :

Four cowries¹=1 gunda=16 annas=1 sicca rupee (20 gundas—1 punn—4 punns—1 anna) 16 sicca rupees—1 gold mohur. The usual accounts are 4 punns or 12 pice=1 anna—16 annas=1 sicca rupee—16 S. sicca rupees=1 gold mohur.

At Madras there is a considerable variety of coins in circulation; accounts are kept thus 80 cash=1 fanam; 12 fanams=1 rupee, and 42 fanams=1 pa-

¹ Cowries are a small shell, plentiful on Eastern shores, particularly those of Africa; they are, however, fast disappearing from commercial transactions at the presidencies.

goda, star or current pagoda worth 7s. 5½*d.*, commonly valued at 8s. The gold rupee, new coinage, 1*l.* 9s. 2½*d.*, according to the mint price of gold in England. Arcot rupee (silver) and new ditto, 1s. 11¼*d.* and 1s. 11½*d.* Copper pieces coined in England of 20 cash, called pice, and of 10 and 5 cash, called dodees and half dodees, are also current.

Bombay rupee divided into four quarters, each quarter being 100 reas; there are two reas in an urdee, four in a doogany or single pice, six reas in a doreea, eight reas in a fuddea or double pice, fifty pice or sixteen annas in the rupee, five rupees in a paunchca, and fifteen rupees in a gold mohur. The annas and reas are imaginary coins; the double and single pice, the urdeea and the doreea, are copper coins, with a mixture of tin and lead; the others are the gold mohur and silver rupee, with their divisions. The following is the assay and sterling value of the principal gold and silver coinage of Calcutta and Bombay.

		Gross Weight.	Pure Metal.	Sterling Value.		
		Grs.	Grs.	£	s.	d.
Calcutta	{ Gold Mohur.....	204.710	187.651	1	13	2½ 2.25
	{ Sicca Rupees	191.916	175.923	0	2	0½ 6.25
	{ Furrackabad.....	180.234	165.215	0	1	11½ 8.25
Bombay	{ Gold Mohur	179.0	164.68	1	9	0
	{ Silver Rupee	179.0	164.68	0	2	0
Madras...	Rupee	180.0	165.0			

A new bank has been established at Agra, and savings' banks are to be set on foot under the sanction and superintendence of government; and I would

urgently recommend attention to Mr. Howell's plan for an Indian bank in London.

For a long period the flow of the precious metals was towards India; the current has now, however, changed, and the exportations from India to Europe of gold and silver has been yearly augmenting. For a complete view of the importations and exportations of bullion at each presidency see Appendix.

The treasure held in the several treasuries of the Company, under the Bengal presidency amounts generally to 3,000,000*l.*, and under the subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the amount fluctuates from 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* sterling. Before the breaking out of the Burmese war, from 10,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* sterling, was collected by the Marquis of Hastings in Bengal, for the purpose of paying off the debt. The accumulation of such large balances in the hands of government has justly been objected to, as causing sudden and excessive fluctuations in the currency of the country. The amount of remittances from India to England is very great; being, first, the sum requisite to pay territorial charges in England, about 3,000,000*l.*; second, a demand for remittance of private savings and family expenses, estimated at 1,500,000*l.*; and third, a return for the outward trade, 3,000,000*l.*: total, 7,500,000*l.*¹

¹ The annual drain on India in remittances to England on account of government, is thought by Mr. Mills, of the Auditor-general's department, to average 3,000,000*l.* a year for the last thirty years, I have in the second large edition shewn what this sum amounts to at compound interest for that period.

These returns are made through the commerce of India and China, or of bullion from both countries.

The territorial charges of India, payable in England, consist of payments on account of passage of military (68,000*l.*), pay to officers, including off reckonings, (120,000*l.*); political freight and demurrage, (134,000*l.*); war office demand for Queen's troops serving in India, (220,000*l.*); retiring pay, pensions, &c. to Queen's troops, (60,000*l.*); political charges general (including the political charge for the establishments at the India House, 100,000*l.*); the Board of Control, (30,000*l.*); Haileybury, Addiscomb, (22,000*l.*); Chatham and recruiting, &c. (44,000*l.*); miscellaneous expenses on account of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, &c. (140,000*l.*); charges of the Tanjore Commission, (4000*l.*); absentee allowance, &c. to civil service, (30,000*l.*); territorial stores, (500,000*l.*); St. Helena charges (now terminating) (120,000*l.*); Lord Clive's fund, (33,000*l.*); political annuitants and pensioners, (58,000*l.*), &c. &c.

A brief view of the Indian debt will next be requisite. In the early period of British connexion with India, the territorial revenues of the country probably aided commerce, in the latter period commerce undoubtedly aided territory, and for fifteen years the presidencies of Madras and Bombay have had an annual deficit of the sum requisite to meet political charges. The Indian government was therefore obliged to have recourse to borrow a sufficiency to meet the deficit which the commercial profits of the tea trade failed to supply; and the terri-

torial debt of India was, at four different periods, thus—

Years.	Debt at Interest.*	Floating Ditto.†	Total.
1792	£7129934	£2012786	£9142720
1809	27089831	3722810	30812441
1814	26970786	3948844	30919620
1829	39377880	7874494	47255374
1833	35300000	9300000	44800000

* Principally composed of the loans and treasury notes.

† Not bearing interest, and consisting for the greater part of arrears of salaries and allowances due to civil officers; of pay due to the military, who in Bengal are kept two months in arrear always, and of deposits.

Of this Indian debt that of Bengal is the principal, the fixed or registered debt of which, with the relative proportion held by Europeans and natives was, in 1830 and in 1833—

Date of Loan.	Sicca Rupees. Held by Europeans.		Sicca Rupees. By Natives.		Total. Sicca Rupees.	
	1830.	1833.	1830.	1833.	1830.	1833.
Six per cent. Loan 1822	70343500	70494500	4368700	4244200	74712200	74738700
Five ditto 31st March 1823	70987800	47854100	20639700	14207900	91627500	62062900
Five ditto of 1825-6	53274800	62679800	40879500	25955300	94154300	88635100
Five ditto of 1829-30	1951700	7196000	701300	9773000	2653000	16969000
Four ditto of 1824-5	313000	322100	586200	899500	899200	1221600
Four ditto of 1828-9	663600	287400	584100	244200	1247700	531600
Four ditto 1st May 1832	..	15961700	..	12048300	..	28010000
Total	197434400	204795600	67759500	67372400	205293900	272168000

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Of the first or six per cent. remittable loan, the principal when repaid, is demandable in bills on England at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* the sicca rupee, the interest being intermediately payable half yearly, either in cash in India, or if the proprietors reside in Europe, and demand it in that form, by bills at the rate of 2*s.* 1*d.* Of the whole interest of the Indian debt, 927,000*l.* is subject to the option of having the interest payable in England, and in 1830 the sum of 450,000*l.* was actually demanded in England : the average rate of interest was six per cent. in 1814, and five per cent. in 1828. The other loans, both principal and interest, are demandable only in India ; but to the holders of the second (five per cent. of 1823) an option was given of receiving their interest, (which is payable half yearly), in bills at the rate of 2*s.* 1*d.*, (subsequently reduced to 1*s.* 11*d.*) during the pleasure of the home authorities : the third and fourth loans have the interest thereon paid quarterly to all holders wheresoever resident, either in cash or in bills, at the rate of 2*s.*, during the pleasure of the home authorities. The five per cent. loan of 1823 is repayable only by annual instalments of one and half crore of rupees ; the notes first entered in the register having the advantage of being least liable to discharge. The whole debt is now fully recognized by the legislature, and the remittable loan paper bears a premium in the Indian market of from thirty to forty per cent., and consists solely of the debt of 1822, viz. 74,738,700 rupees.

The following is a detailed comparative statement of the Indian debt in 1809 and in 1827 :—

Debt in Sicca Rupees on the 30th April, 1899.

	10 per Cent.	9 per Cent.	8 per Cent.	6 per Cent.	Total of Debt at Interest.	Debt not at Interest.	Total of Debt.
Bengal	8584500	..	169159028	2424065	180167593	23034123	203201716
Madr...s	2968235	..	51480766	5046834	59515885	5147124	64663009
Bombay	797036	2325169	29775696	166341	33064242	3627834	36692076
	12369821	2325169	250415490	7637240	272747720	31809081	304556811
Deduct Sinking Fund	..	..	29617500	..	29417500	..	26417500
	12369821	2325169	220997990	7637240	243330220	31809081	275139301
Interest	1236982	209265	17679839	458234	Total	19584320	

Debt, S. Rupees, 30th April, 1927.

	10 per Cent.	8 per Cent.	6 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	4 per Cent.	2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ Price per Diem.	Total.
Bengal	20607	...	93492482	168964720	2357400	10700	264845909
Madras	...	151724	25823810	1112932	197898	...	27286364
Bombay	...	1869278	2376028	...	1160450	...	5405756
	20607	2021002	121692320	170977652	3715748	10700	297538029
Interest	2060	161680	7301538	8503882	148630	500	16118290

	Debt at Interest 30th April, 1927.	Debt not bearing Interest, 30th April.	Total bearing and not bearing.
Bengal	264845909	86866994	351712903
Madras	27286364	8386464	35672828
Bombay	5405756	4873298	10279054
	297538029	100126756	397664785

**Public Debt, bearing Interest outstanding at the several
Presidencies on the 30th April, 1832.**

Registered Debt.	Debts.	Rate of Interest.	Annual amount of Interest.
Bengal—			
Loans Sicca Rupees	86359092	6 per cent.	5181546
Do. do.	202481699	5 ditto.	10124085
Do. do.	13584179	4 ditto.	543367
	302424970		15848998
Loan transferred from Fort } Marbogh, do. }	18505	10 ditto.	1850
Treasury notes do.	4928600	Various.	243720
Civil and military funds do....	9155802	6 & 8 per cent.	610618
Miscellaneous deposits do. ...	194396	6 ditto.	11664
Total, S. R.	316722273		16716850
Madras—			
Carnatic fund, rupees.....	23990057	5 per cent.	1199503
Loans, &c. do.	1273861	6 & 4 ditto.	69091
Civil and military funds do. ...	6660330	8, 6, & 4 ditto.	489165
Miscellaneous deposits do.....	366259	8, 6, & 5 ditto.	25086
Total, rupees	32290507		1782845
In sicca rupees	30319725		1674033
Bombay—			
Civil and military funds, rps.	5034638	8 & 6 per cent.	347169
Miscellaneous deposits do.....	1635083	6 & 4 ditto.	71802
Rupees	6669721		418971
In sicca rupees.....	6262649		393400
Grand total	353304647		18784283
In sterling	£35330465		£1878428

The debts of India in 1833 were as follow :—Debts *bearing interest*—Bengal, about 32,000,000*l.*; Madras 3,000,000*l.*; Bombay, 630,000*l.*; *not bearing interest*—Bengal, 8,000,000*l.*; Madras, 700,000*l.*; Bombay, 300,000*l.* The five per cent. loan is the

principal debt, it amounts, in Bengal to 18,000,000*l.*; and in Madras, to 2,500,000*l.*; in Bombay none. The treasury notes issued by the Bengal government amount to 700,000*l.*

The *home bond debt* of the East India Company, amounting to 3,400,000*l.* is composed of securities issued by the Company under their common seal, Parliament having authorized their borrowing money to a certain extent, and limiting its subsequent reduction to 3,000,000*l.*; the rate of interest paid in 1831 on this debt was two and a half per cent.

It only remains to be added, that by the new East India charter the Company's trade is placed in abeyance, and their whole assets, amounting to upwards of 21,000,000*l.* sterling, appropriated to the India territory, excepting 2,000,000*l.* to be invested as a sinking fund for the redemption of the capital stock of the East India Company proprietors (6,000,000*l.*) on the termination of forty years, at the rate of 5*l.* 5*s.* for every 100*l.* stock; the remainder of the assets, as soon as realized, is to be appropriated, after payment of pensions and other charges arising out of the new arrangement, towards the liquidation of the six per cent. remittable loan, which amounts to about 9,000,000*l.* sterling.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMERCE OF INDIA, &c.—STAPLES OF HINDOSTAN, AND
SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT AND DEVELOP-
MENT.

THE commerce between Europe and India has ever been considered one of the most important subjects which could engage the attention of a mercantile statesman; and the fertile regions of the eastern hemisphere are now anxiously looked forward to as a rich field for the enjoyment of British capital, industry and skill; the result depends on the justice of England towards Hindostan. No two countries could be better adapted by Providence for the blessings of commerce than the parent (or governing) and dependent state; *the one* a small and insulated kingdom in the western ocean, teeming with a hardy, industrious and ingenious population, two-thirds of whom are engaged in manipulating and vending the produce of more genial climes; and from their numbers, compared with the area of habitation, pressing close on national subsistence, while peace and foreign competition are daily excluding them from the monopolized commerce heretofore possessed;—*the other* an almost illimitable territory in the eastern world, connected, though separated by the navigable ocean, rich to overflowing with every bounty with which nature has enriched the earth, and peculiarly so in those agricultural products necessary to the manufactures, comforts, and luxuries of the more civilized nation. Heretofore the incalculable blessings to be

derived from two countries thus favourably situate, have been wantonly or wickedly or inadvertently neglected; let me hope that a better era is now dawning for England as well as for India,—that the former has now begun to perceive the injustice and folly of beggaring the latter,—the temporary advantages of which are as nought compared with the permanent injury received as well as inflicted; and that the merciful dispensations of an all and ever-wise Being who has made the interchange of superfluous or indigenous commodities one of the most powerful instruments for exciting and sharpening the inventive industry of man, and uniting the whole human race in bonds of fraternal connection and Christian charity, will no longer be spurned with an apathy or impiety which sooner or later will receive its merited punishment.

STAPLES OF BRITISH INDIA.—The products of Hindostan are as various as they are valuable; I begin with one of its principal staples.

Indigo, from time immemorial, has been cultivated and manufactured in Hindostan, and in 1665 it was one of the exports from India to England; the East India Company's servants turned their attention to it about forty years ago, and its successful prosecution has been principally owing (after the circumstance of the destruction of St. Domingo, which, previous to its revolution, supplied nearly the whole world) to the small duty levied on its importation into England, the duty at first being little more than nominal: in 1812, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.; in 1814, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$; and in 1832, $3d.$ per lb. Its importance to India may be judged of

from the fact that in the Bengal presidency the cultivation of indigo is carried on from Dacca to Delhi, occupying upwards of 1,000,000 statute acres, yielding an annual produce worth from 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* sterling, whereof one-half, or perhaps more, is expended in India for rent, stock, wages, interest on capital, &c. There are from three to four hundred factories in Bengal, chiefly in Jessore, Kishnagur and Tirhoot. The factories are principally held by Europeans, but many natives have factories of their own, and in several instances produce indigo equal to any manufactured by Europeans. The low price which indigo now brings in Europe is diminishing the quantity produced. the exportation some years being 9,000,000 lbs.; the recent failures in India will tend to bring the trade within more profitable limits. The cultivation of indigo in Madras is trifling, —there is little or none prepared in the Bombay presidency. The indigo produced annually in the East Indies from 1811 was :—

Years.	Chests.	Years.	Chests.	Years.	Chests.	Years.	Chests.
1811	21000	1816	25000	1821	21100	1826	28000
1812	23500	1817	20500	1822	25700	1827	45300
1813	22800	1818	19100	1823	29800	1828	30000
1814	28500	1819	20700	1824	24100	1829	43200
1815	30500	1820	27200	1825	43500	1830	32100

The price of indigo per chest in London was in 1824, 111*l.*; in 1825, 140*l.*; and in 1831 but 45*l.*; the supply now exceeds the demand, at least in Eng-

land ; but the consumption of Bengal indigo is fast augmenting in France, Holland, Germany, &c.

Silk forms the next most important staple of India, and in conjunction with the former, its production in our own territories is of essential advantage to silk and tabbinet manufacturers in England. The total quantity of raw silk imported into England for 1834 was 3,693,512 lbs. ; and the quantity furnished by British India alone to England in the same year was 1,203,658 lbs.

Three species of mulberry trees are cultivated in India, and two species of silk worm (the country worm, and the annular Italian, or Chinese worm) ; the latter feeds also on the castor oil plant leaf. The silk is produced in cocoons by the ryots or small cultivators, to whom the East India Company's agents make advances, and the Company have eleven or twelve filatures or large factories for reeling it with machinery on the simple Italian principle. The Gonatea is the best, the Bauleah the worst. The price of silk has risen in India with the wages of labour, and some manufacturers say the quality has deteriorated; probably *quantity* has been more attended to than quality. The silk districts of Bengal are, Radnagore, Hurripaul, Santipore, Cossimbuzar, Bauleah, Comercolly, Sardah, Jungypore, Mauldah, Rungpoor, Sunna-Meekhi and Gonnatea, all between the parallels of latitude 22° and 26° , and longitude 86° to 90° ¹.

The superior quality of Italian silk does not de-

¹ The Company's factories are now, we believe, being sold to private speculators.

monstrate natural inferiority in that of India, for bales of East India to which attention has been paid have sold equally well with Italian silk. Efforts are now making in the Bombay presidency to extend the production of raw silk, and the commencement promises success; we may therefore look forward to a period when we shall be totally independent of every other country for the raw staple of this essential and beautiful branch of our national manufactures.

Cotton, a staple of Indian agriculture and of British manufactures, well deserve attention, were it only for the important circumstance that our chief branch of trade is almost totally dependent on a rival, (and with little provocation) perhaps a hostile state. The importation of American cotton into England is nearly 300,000,000 lbs. yearly, that of India not the one-twentieth part of British consumption. If we can be made independent of France and America for indigo and silk, so can we become also of cotton, India producing in itself every variety; the justly celebrated sea island cotton is actually in cultivation in several parts of India, but owing to neglect it degenerates into an annual, whereas in America it is carefully cultivated as a triennial plant. The Dacca muslins, so celebrated all over the globe, (and of which the manufacture is now lost, owing to the inundation of Manchester goods), were made from India cotton, and if the late duty had been kept on American raw cotton, sufficient encouragement would have been given to the Hindoos to attend to its cultivation; as it is we have not only ruined the Indian

manufacturer, but in return we have offered no encouragement to the raw producer.

As the surest means of inducing a more careful attention to India cotton, both in the cultivation¹, cleaning and packing, a removal of the entire duty on importation into England would be most effectual, coupled with an absence of all transit dues in the east.

OPIMUM is the next important staple deserving consideration, the value of which will be most readily appreciated, by looking at the quantity annually exported from India to China for fifteen years.

Here we observe a trade in a prohibited article, (opium is smuggled into China) to the amount of upwards of 3,000,000*l.* a year, and which promises yet further increase!

The quantity of opium shipped from Calcutta in 1795-6, was 1070 chests, and in 1829-30, 7443 chests. The total quantity of opium exported from Calcutta during the former year was 5183 chests, and during the latter 9678 chests; the grand total exported during the whole thirty-five years, was 162,273 chests, which, at the average rate at which it sold, 1200 dollars a chest, would give a trade in this stimulating drug of nearly *two hundred million Spanish dollars*!

Malwa opium is considered by the Chinese as having a higher touch, but not so mellow, nor so pleasant in flavour as the Patna opium. The smokeable extract which each quality of opium contains is

¹ Indian cultivators of cotton would do well to remark that the cotton of Egypt is *sown in drills*, as is the custom in America.

thus intimated by the Chinese,—(who use opium as we do wine or spirits) Patna and Benares opium 45 to 50 touch; average 48; Malwa 70 to 75; average 72½; Turkey 53 to 57; average touch 55. The cultivation of opium in India, as explained under the chapter in revenue, is a monopoly as regards Patna and Benares in the hands of government; and a revenue is derived from the Malwa opium by a system of passes on shipment from Bombay.

Sugar may be cultivated and manufactured to an extent in India sufficient to supply the whole world; its production at present is immense, as it forms an ingredient in almost every article of food or drink used by the Hindoos, and where the manufacture is attended to as at Benares, the grain is large and sparkling and pure as the best Mauritius or Demerara sugar. The soil and climate of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay are peculiarly suited to the production of this essential nourishment to man; every village has its patch of cane, and a rough manufacture named Jaghery is extracted from the Palmyra and cocoa-nut tree. It is in evidence before Parliament that the sugar-cane of Bengal is as good as any of the West Indies, and some of a superior quality has been produced.

The great secret of improving and extending the cultivation of sugar in India, is the reduction of the duty levied on it in England; the coarsest kinds of Bengal sugar now pay a tax in Great Britain of 120 per cent. on the gross price, which, after deducting freight and charges, is equal to 200 per cent. on the proceeds in England!

The small quantity of sugar which British India now sends to England, notwithstanding that in the former place it is exceeded only by rice in consumption, will be seen by the following recent return of sugar imported into the United Kingdom.

Year 1834.

British Plantation	3,844,243 cwts.
Foreign Plantation	202,030
Mauritius	555,860
East India British Possess.	76,617
———— Foreign ditto..	64,663

The quantity of sugar consumed in the United Kingdom, averaged so high as 4,000,000 cwts. would for a population of 24,000,000 (leaving aside 1,000,000 for young infants, many of whom, however, also consume sugar) give only 18lbs. a year, or 5oz. a week, for each individual; now, it is well known, that a child of one year old would consume more than 5 oz. a week; that the workhouse allowance is frequently 34lbs. a year, and the lowest domestic servant, 1lb. a week, or 52lbs. a year. We might, therefore, fairly conclude that, if the duties on all our colonial sugars were reduced and placed on a level, the consumption and revenue would be thus increased:—

	Consumption.	Revenue.
West India Plantation Sugar ..	Cwts. 4,000,000	
Tax at 1 <i>l</i> . (now 1 <i>l</i> . 4 <i>s</i> .) per cwt.		£4,000,000
Mauritius Sugar.....	500,000	
Tax at 1 <i>l</i> . (now 1 <i>l</i> . 4 <i>s</i> .) per cwt.		500,000
East India Possessions' Sugar	2,000,000	
Tax at 1 <i>l</i> . (now 1 <i>l</i> . 12 <i>s</i> .) per cwt.....		2,000,000
Foreign Sugar	500,000	
Tax at 2 <i>l</i> . (now 3 <i>l</i> . 3 <i>s</i> .) per cwt.		1,000,000
Total.. Cwts.	<u>7,000,000</u>	<u>£7,500,000</u>

Here we observe that, even at the moderate rate of consumption of 32lbs. a year, or only 9 oz. per week, of sugar for each individual, the revenue would be augmented by 2,500,000*l.* and the commerce, health, and manufactures of the empire wonderfully increased.

There can even be no doubt, that if the duty were reduced to 12*s.* on West India, and to 16*s.* on East India sugars, similar favourable results would ensue ; for a few years (say two or three) the revenue would suffer, but a reduction and equalization to 20*s.* would instantly increase the revenue, while a prospect of eventual further diminution would prepare the way for greater national benefits.

Coffee next deserves consideration as an Indian staple, and which, like the last article, only requires just treatment in England to become one of the most valuable exports. In Malabar, Coimbatore, &c. the cultivation is extensive, and the berry of the finest flavour when attended to in the drying. Upper Bengal and the territories acquired from the Burmese are peculiarly adapted for the growth of coffee, and if the duty be reduced on it in England to 6*d.* while the West India is reduced to 4*d.*, the commerce of England and the morals of the people will be sensibly improved.

The following returns show the quantity of coffee imported from the East Indies into Great Britain,—re-exported and retained, for home use for fifteen years ; the return includes Ceylon, avg. 2,824,998 lbs. Singapore, 3,611,456 lbs. Mauritius, 26,646 lbs. &c. From Bengal, Madras, and Bombay alone for 1831—2,780,668 lbs.

**East India Coffee Imported into the United Kingdom
from 1820 to 1834.**

Years.	Imported.	Re-exported.	Home use.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
1820	5497721	4307370	285945
1821	1904021	3526566	206177
1822	4487859	3599814	171717
1823	4114289	2129111	235697
1824	5760912	4718389	313513
1825	4513290	2678930	457745
1826	5520354	5670077	791570
1827	5872511	4655104	888198
1828	7380492	5084916	973410
1829	6335647	7474169	974576
1830	7066199	5187866	989585
1831	7691390	6525417	1234721
1832	10727026	9715234	1970635
1833	6218299	3996097	1801506
1834	9951141	6303562	1560098

It will be perceived by the foregoing that of late years the importation of East India coffee is on the increase; still there is a great defalcation compared with 1815 and 1816, when the importation of coffee by the private trade amounted in two years to 43,381,478 lbs !

Pepper is another valuable Indian staple, but its import from the East has considerably fallen off, the importations of 1815 and 1816 being 17,863,847lbs. and in 1827 and 1828 but 14,045,868 lbs., being a decrease of nearly 4,000,000 lbs. weight. The duty on it in England is still too high; a reduction of it would be beneficial to all classes.

Saltpetre is yielded by the Indian soil in greater abundance than any other country, its importation into England by the East India Company in 1814, was 146,000 cwt., but the continuance of peace has

much lessened both the price and consumption ; both are now again on the rise, but the price is still so low that the saltpetre collected in the East is now being brought to fertilize the fields of Albion. The import of late years of saltpetre from Bengal has been about 100,000 bags, but the total quantity exported from Calcutta has averaged 170,000 bags, while in the year 1795, it did not amount to more than 13,000 bags. The total quantity exported from Calcutta during the thirty-five years ending 1829, 1830, was 2,202,465 bags, of which the United Kingdom received 1,523,655 bags ; North America 278,895 bags ; France 101,237 bags, and China 133,615 bags. Quantities of nitrate of soda have recently been imported into England and France from South America, and the commodity is becoming an object of attention ; it is said not to answer so well as saltpetre (nitrate of potash) for making gunpowder, but to be equally applicable to the uses of most of the manufacturers and for the curers of provisions ; it is also stated to afford a greater proportion of nitric acid than saltpetre.

The tobacco of Masulipatam, made into snuff, is much prized in England ; the quantity of tobacco grown in India is enormous ; every class, high and low, use it, and if the duty were reduced in England, the variety of soils in India would afford an infinite variety of that fascinating weed for the British market. Very rich lands produce about 160 lbs. per acre of green leaf ; excellent Havannah tobacco is grown in Guzerat, Boglipoor, Bundlecund, &c., and some from the Irrawaddy territories has been reported by the

brokers in London as equal to the best American. The want of proper attention in the curing has been a great obstacle to its arriving in a marketable state in England after a long East Indian voyage. Tobacco, like hay, must undergo a heating to be fit for use, and the slightest particle of green vegetable matter left in the tobacco heats on the voyage, destroys the delicate flavour of the leaf, and even rots it. Experiments are now making at Bombay in the curing process¹.

Grain is one of the staples of Bengal; the total quantity of grain exported from Calcutta to countries beyond the three Presidencies amounted, during the thirty-five years, ending 1829-30, to 12,366,571 bags; for the latter years the export has been on the increase, averaging 600,000 bags a year, and of this quantity Mauritius has of late taken nearly one-half, for instance in 1828-29, 332,756 bags. Great Britain has received, during the whole thirty-five years, 1,730,998 bags; and the export to France is yearly increasing.

It would be tedious to particularize all the varied and valuable products of India, whether in reference to ginger, cardamoms, lacdyes, camphor, drugs, oils—essential and non-essential—timber, hemp, grain, &c. &c., all of which form important items in the trade of England; suffice it to say, that nature's choicest treasures are lavished in superabundance on the British possessions in Asia; and if man remains in

¹ The duty on East India tobacco might, without loss to the revenue, be reduced from 2s. 9d. to 2s. at least.

poverty and destitution, while the riches of the earth are at his feet, and require only to be gathered, he has no right to arraign the wisdom and beneficence of his Creator. When we reflect that there are the almost innumerable multitude of 100,000,000 British subjects ready and eager to receive our manufactures if we will only receive their produce, whether cotton, sugar, coffee, tobacco, saltpetre, &c., it seems almost insanity to think that we only carry on a commerce of 5,000,000*l.* value with such a vast, rich, and civilized territory. Under a just system the British Commerce with India ought to be 50,000,000*l.* a year, yielding employment, wealth, and happiness to myriads upon myriads of the human race, making the trackless ocean a connecting link instead of a separating boundary between both hemispheres, and giving unto maritime trade that steadiness and permanence which it is always void of when cramped and checked by fiscal laws and exactions.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESS—EUROPEAN AND INDIAN—CIRCULATION OF THE JOURNALS—STATE OF EDUCATION AT BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY—NUMBER OF COLLEGES—SCHOOLS AND PUPILS, &c.

THE PRESS.—The mighty engine which has effected such an extraordinary revolution among the inhabitants of the earth, and which by its powerful operation and almost unseen influence prevents any just parallel being drawn between ancient and modern nations, is being extended with sure and certain steps in British India, unshackled by stamp duties, undepressed by taxes on paper or on advertisements, and unimpeded by penalty bonds and securities, devoid of all censorship, and practically free for every legitimate purpose which a good citizen can require. The state of the press will be seen by the following authentic and official returns.

BENGAL.—In 1814, there existed but the Calcutta Government Gazette. In 1820, there were in addition to the foregoing, the Bengal Hurkaru, (Messenger) the Indian Gazette; the Calcutta Journal; and the Monthly Journal. The following was the return for the year 1830.

CALCUTTA PRESS (ENGLISH) DAILY, WEEKLY, &c. 165

1. Calcutta Gov. Gazette.	18. Columbian Press.
2. Bengal Hurkaru.	19. Bengal Chronicle.
3. Indian Gazette.	20. Oriental Observer.
4. Calcutta Monthly Journal.	21. Indian Magazine.
5. John Bull.	22. Literary Gazette.
6. Asiatic Observer.	23. Calcutta Chronicle.
7. Quarterly Oriental Review.	24. Gospel Investigator.
8. B. Indian Mil. Repository.	25. Commercial Chronicle.
9. Unit. & Christ. Miscellany.	26. Bengal Herald (4 lang.)
10. Trifler.	27. Calcutta Gazette.
11. Oriental Mercury.	28. Kaleidoscope.
12. Calcutta Monthly Miscel.	29. Calcutta Register.
13. Bengal Directory.	30. Mirror of the Press.
14. Spy.	31. Annual Keepsake.
15. Bengal.	32. Calcutta Magazine.
16. Weekly Gleaner.	33. Commercial Guide.
17. Scotsman in the East.	

By a recent calculation the following is the number and circulating state of the Calcutta press.

ENGLISH DAILY NEWSPAPERS.

<i>Political.</i>	<i>Circulation.</i>	<i>Commercial.</i>	<i>Circulation.</i>
Bengal Hurkaru	726	Exchange Gazette.....	Unknown.
India Gazette	378	Daily Advertiser	
John Bull (now English- man)	306	Tulloh's Do.	
Calcutta Courier	175	Loll Bazar Do.	

<i>Three times a week.</i>		<i>Twice a week.</i>
Bengal Chronicle 208	{ all three Political }	Calcutta Courier 222
Indian Gazette.. 195		

WEEKLY.

<i>Political.</i>		<i>Commercial.</i>	
Bengal Herald	242	Commercial Price Current	Unknown.
Reformer	400	Calcutta Exchange Do. ..	
Inquirer	200	Domestic retail Do.	
Indian Registrar	200	Exports and Imports Do.	
		<i>Literary.</i>	
<i>Official</i>		Calcutta Literary Gazette	338
Calcutta Gazette (Unknown.)		Oriental Observer	230

MONTHLY.

Bengal Registrar		Asiatic Society Journal..	200
Sporting Magazine	270	Calcutta Christian Observ.	380
Monthly Journal		E. I. United Serv. Journal	130

QUARTERLY.

Calcutta Quarterly Review	200	Quarterly Register	
Bengal Army List	250	_____	(name unknown.)

ANNUAL VOLUMES.

Bengal Annual	350	Calcutta Directory	1200
Oriental Pearl		Bengal Do. & Almanack	1200
Bengal Souvenir			

Proportions of Classes who subscribe to the daily papers at Calcutta.

	Civil.	Military.	Medical.	Mercantile.	Legal.	Clerical.	Miscellaneous.	Gratis and Exchange.	Total.
Hurkaru and Chronicle	136	308	51	206	24	3	154	52	934
India Gazette.....	103	123	40	79	...	5	172	46	568
Calcutta Courier	69	122	15	121	...	11	4	55	397
John Bull (now Englishman)	104	81	9	—	13	14	60	25	306
Total	412	634	115	406	37	33	390	178	2205

In addition to the foregoing, several English newspapers and journals have been established in the provinces,—viz. the Meerut Observer, Meerut Universal Magazine; Cawnpore Examiner, Cawnpore Omnibus, Cawnpore Free Press, Central India Free Press, the Delhi Gazette, the Agra Acbar; the Mofussil Acbar, &c. &c.

Of the daily English newspapers, the Bengal Hurkaru may be taken as an example; it is as large

as the London Morning Post, circulates now more than a thousand copies, has generally a page, if not more, of well paying advertisements, and its cost (independent of postage,) is twenty rupees a quarter¹.

The Bengal, or rather properly speaking, the Calcutta Native Press². was in—

1814, Nil. ————— 1820, Nil.

In 1834.

Sumachur Durpun, (Bengallee with English, translations).

Bunga doot, or Bengal Herald, (Bengallee, Persian and Hindostanee). [Established by the Author.]

Britant Bauhak, (published at Bowanipoor) English and Bengallee.

Jami Jhan Numa, Persian ; Gyananneshun and Urmoobadika, Bengallee ; Sumachur Chundrika, do. ; Oodunt Martund, ditto ; Sumbad Coomuddy, do. ; Rutnebuli, do. ; Subha Rajendra, Persian ; Shumsul Acbar, Bengallee ; Subha Rajendra, do. ; Sumbad Soodbaker, do. ; Sungbad Tumul Nausack, do. ; Sungbad Sarsungroho, Bengallee and English.

Of these papers some are published twice or thrice a week, (one, I believe daily) and the remainder weekly. Before leaving India, arrangements were put in progress by the Author for the establishment of a Scientific and Literary Monthly Magazine in the native languages.

¹ The Bengal postage of a newspaper if sent to any place within 500 miles is about 1½d., and from 500 to 1000 miles 3d.

² There are a great variety of Acbars or newspapers throughout the provinces, at the different courts, of which we do not know even the names.

It should be observed that two of the newspapers given in the English list, (the Reformer and Inquirer) are the property of and conducted by natives themselves with extraordinary ability. The general tone of the English press, as also that of the Native journals, is liberal, but some of the Bengallee newspapers are of a high orthodox nature; their prejudices are, however, ably met by their own countrymen in the *Sungbad Coomuddy*, (or *Moon of Intelligence*) and other Hindoo journals. The Reformer is, it is said, under the management of a distinguished, wealthy, and highly talented Hindoo, *Prussunu Coomar Tagore*. But to no individuals is the Indian press under greater obligations than to the late *Rammohun Roy*, and the munificent *Dwarkanaut Tagore*.

The Madras and Bombay press is less extensive than that of Bengal, and it has been shifting so much that we possess less accurate details of its actual state.

MADRAS.—English Periodicals—*Gazette*, *Courier*, *Times*, *Standard*, *Conservative*, *Hurkaru*, *Advertiser*, *The Plain Man's Friendly Visitor*, *Carnatic Chronicle*, *Literary Gazette*, *The Seventh Day*, *Commercial Circular*, *Oriental Magazine*, *Army List*, *Register*, *Almanack*, and the *Mirat Ulkhbar* in English and Hindostanee.

BOMBAY.—English Periodicals.—*Gazette*, *Courier*, *Iris*, *Guide*, *Commercial Advertiser*, *Oriental Christian Spectator*, *Sporting Magazine*, *Price Current*, *Calendar*, *Registrar and Directory*. Native Periodicals—*Na Sumachur*, *Persian Huckba*, *Manibujeka Hurkaru*, *Chabrook Guzarattee*, (*Commercial Journal*). One Newspaper is in Mahratta and English, one is

issued daily, and arrangements are in progress for publishing new papers at Bombay as well as at the other Presidencies.

As before observed, there is no stamp duty on the newspaper press of India, and it is but justice to add, that when the East India government recently and very properly extended the stamp laws from the Mofussil into Calcutta, they did not put any stamp on newspapers. The censorship throughout India has been finally abolished, and the enactments on establishing a new journal are—the name and residence of the proprietor, &c. to be registered, and the following regulation complied with—‘The editors of the newspapers or other periodical works in the English language are required to lodge one copy of every newspaper, regular or extra, and of every other periodical work published by them respectively, in the office of the chief secretary to the government; and the editors of newspapers, or other periodical works in the languages of the country, are in like manner required to lodge one copy of every newspaper or other periodical work published by them, in the office of the Persian secretary to the government. For these copies they receive payment at the usual rate paid by regular subscribers for such publications respectively.’

The number of printing offices in different parts of India is considerable, but they are difficult to enumerate, a great many of them being managed entirely by natives. The noble establishment of Mr. Samuel Smith, at Calcutta, is a fine specimen of how much may be accomplished by the spirit and talent of a

single individual: this gentleman's subscription library and reading rooms are more spacious, and enriched with a more numerous and valuable collection of books, &c. than any circulating library in this splendid metropolis; indeed, I may venture to say that it is superior to Ebers', Bull and Churton's, and Saunders' and Otley's combined. The library also of Messrs. Thacker and Co. is only inferior to Mr. Smith's in size, the collection of books being exceedingly valuable.

In the native as well as in the English journals, a free discussion of the measures of government takes place, and the improvements suggested by the press, or the complaints made through its columns, receive the ready attention of the government, which seeks or wishes for no disguise. If no injudicious effort be made to obtain premature circulation for any speculative journal, the press of India will become as useful to the rulers as to the ruled; and if kept free from licentiousness, and private malice or scandal, it will indeed be a boon and blessing to the natives of the eastern hemisphere¹, into every part of which, from Persia to China², it is now slowly but surely

¹ Lithography, so admirably suited for the Oriental characters, has come to the aid of its elder sister typography; there are several establishments in Calcutta; one at Cawnpore even, and, I believe, one has recently been set up in Persia itself.

² There are two English newspapers, a monthly journal, and, I believe, a quarterly, and two annual periodicals published in China, at Canton and Macao!

finding a footing, and paving the way for the final dissolution of uncontrolled despotism.

EDUCATION.—Let us now turn to the important subject of education ; and although the proofs of its progress may not be so easy of demonstration as that of the public press, yet it would be unnatural to suppose that such distinguished Anglo-Indian literati as Verelst, Vansittart, Hastings, Orme, Halhed, Gladwin, Wilkins, Law, Paterson, Jones, Harrington, Wilford, Hunter, Colebrooke, Leyden, Scott, Baillie, Ross, Ellis, Franklin, Erskine, Roebuck, Lumsden, Gilchrist, Malcolm, Marsden, Elphinstone, Babington, Carey, Vans, Kennedy, Parker, Macnaghten, Marshman, Wilson, Herbert, Prinsep, Tod, Mackintosh, and a host of others whom it would be tedious to mention, would not make every possible exertion for the diffusion of that knowledge of which many were, and many still are, the richest possessors. It was stipulated at the last renewal of the charter, that 10,000*l.* should be annually devoted from the surplus territorial revenue of India, to the purpose of education ; by the following extract from a parliamentary return in 1832, it will be seen that the Company have doubled, and in some years trebled the amount laid down in the Act, although there was no surplus revenue in India :—

1824	£21,884	1828	£35,841
1825	66,563	1829	38,076
1826	27,412	1830	44,330
1827	45,313		

As an instance of the efforts making for the dif-