

ALSO

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British
Settlers

No 88

Our
difficulties
increase
with
length of
possession,
p. 91
ostentatious
entertainment
of Europeans

p. 102

Expenditure on account of Troops is to be examined at the Presidency to which the Troops belong. It seems to be therefore infinitely preferable that the Paymaster should be an Officer of that Establishment should enter into securities there should furnish his Accounts there and proceed there for their final adjustment and save us from endless discussion with the Madras Auditor General. The Paymaster formerly was a Civil Servant of this Establishment unacquainted with the forms and Rules of the Troops retrenchments were made debited against the Government and several remains unsettled. In point of expense there is little difference for if we had not the Madras Paymaster we must pay one of our own. In respect to the Commissary of supplies it is not a new Office coming along with the Madras Troops but the substitution for the former Office of Civil Storekeeper held by a Civil Servant at 700 Rs. per Month. The duties are almost entirely Military and have been much better performed since the transfer. It is in fact entirely a local Appointment of old standing and which cannot be dispensed with.

Prince of Wales Island
16th March 1829. } 3

Signed P. Fullerton

Res. Com. 1. Sep. 1829
No. 2.

The sentiments expressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe have my entire concurrence. And, when we adopted the recent resolution to permit the occupancy of land by Europeans, it was by no means my intention to rest upon that measure as a final one; still less that the grounds assigned for its adoption should be regarded as embracing the general question of the policy to be observed in respect to British Settlers. Believing the diffusion of European Knowledge and Morals among the people of India to be essential to their well-being and convinced that the development of the natural resources of the Country depends mainly on the introduction of European Capital and Skill, it

it has always been my wish, and intention that the above ques-
 tion should be fully considered and discussed, and that the re-
 sult of our enquiries and deliberations should be submitted at
 an early period to the authorities at home. But the resolution
 referred to, did not seem to require that we should enter upon
 so wide a field. Our immediate purpose was merely to en-
 large the operation of certain rules already partially in force;
 and the effect of our determination will only be to permit
 that which is now done covertly, to be done openly. I feel
 however much indebted to Sir Charles Metcalfe for having
 thus brought the general subject before the Board; and I
 gladly seize the opportunity of recording the views and sen-
 timents with which I regard it.

We need not, I imagine, use any labored argu-
 ment to prove that it would be infinitely advantageous for
 India to borrow largely in Arts and Knowledge from England.
 The legislature has expressly declared the truth. Its acknow-
 ledgement is implied in the daily Acts and professions of Go-
 vernment and in all the efforts of humane individuals &
 societies for the education of the people. Nor will it, I conceive,
 be doubted that the diffusion of useful Knowledge and its ap-
 plication to the Arts and business of life, must be compa-
 ratively tardy, unless we add to precept the example of Euro-
 peans, mingling familiarly with the Natives in the course
 of their profession, and practically demonstrating by daily
 recurring evidence the nature and the value of the principles
 we desire to inculcate and of the plans we seek to have adopt-
 ed. It seems to be almost equally plain that independently
 of their influencing the native community in this way, various
 and important national advantages will result from there
 being a considerable body of our Countrymen, and their descen-
 dants settled in the country. To question it is to deny the Superi-
 ority which has gained us the dominion of India: It is to doubt
 whether national character has any effect on national wealth,
 strength

87

Strength and good Government: It is to shut our eyes to all the perils and difficulties of our situation: It is to hold as nothing community of language, sentiment and interest between the Government and the governed. It is to disregard the evidence afforded by every corner of the globe, in which the British flag is hoisted: It is to tell our Merchants and our manufacturers that the habits of a people go for nothing in creating a Market, and that enterprize, skill and capital and the credit which creates capital, are of no avail in the production of commodities—

It is possible, however, that the actual condition of things may be regarded by many as sufficiently satisfactory to render questionable the wisdom of any great change, of which the effects are not precisely anticipated. And probably the effects of the measure of giving increased facility to Europeans to settle in the interior, with permission to hold land, may be, more generally considered to involve so much hazard of evil as to counterbalance its admitted advantages. Now, what is the actual state of the Country? Is it not true that the great body of the people is wretchedly poor and ignorant? Do we not every day perceive how little our Officers possess the knowledge necessary to their good Government, and how much there is wanting between them that community of sentiment and purpose, without which there can be no good Government? Are not the files of our Civil Courts loaded with arrears of business? Does there not prevail so much lying and litigation as to prove either great defects in our tribunals or a lamentable demoralization in the people, or more truly, both? Is it not generally considered to be impossible without a burthenome stipendiary police (almost as strange to the people as ourselves) to contrive the means of preventing the organization of gangs of plunderers, such as once spread terror through many of our districts? Do not the Police Establishments, which

chiefly

chiefly from the want of courage and concord in our Native
 subjects, are thus thought necessary for the prevention of crime,
 hold it oppressively over the communities, of whom they ought to be
 the aids and instruments? Are not the Native Officers in
 all Departments alleged to be guilty of much extortion and
 corruption? Do not the Zemindars and Revenue farmers of-
 ten cruelly grind the Cultivators? Do not several revolting
 and brutalizing practices still prevail among the people?
 Is there any where the prospect of our obtaining in a season of
 exigency that cooperation which a community, not avowedly
 hostile, ought to afford to its rulers? Is it not rather true that we
 are the objects of dislike to the bulk of those classes who possess
 the influence, courage, and vigor of character which would en-
 able them to aid us? Do our institutions contain the seeds of
 self improvement? Has it not rather been found that our dif-
 ficulties increase with length of possession? In the midst of
 financial embarrassment are we not constantly called upon
 for new Establishments involving fresh burthens? Is not the
 Agriculture of the Country in most places, conducted with a
 beggarly stock and without skill or enterprise? Are not its
 manufacturers generally in a degraded condition? Is not com-
 mercial intercourse spiritless and ill informed? Is there a
 single article of produce, excepting those which Europeans
 have improved, that is not much inferior to the similar pro-
 ductions of other Countries, and can the difference be traced
 to circumstances of soil and climate? One great staple ma-
 nufacture being supplanted, is there not reasonable ground
 to apprehend a failure in the means of effecting the returns,
 without which no profitable trade can exist, especially in a Coun-
 try tributary to another, as India is to England? Do not the Cul-
 tivators, and Manufacturers, and Merchants alike labor under
 an oppressive rate of interest, which, with a languid condition of
 trade, unequivocally evinces poverty and want of credit? Is there
 not as indicated in Sir Chas. Metcalfe's Minute, imminent danger of

of our failing to realize the income, which is necessary to maintain the Establishments required for the protection and good Government of the Country: to say nothing of roads, Canals, Seminaries, and public improvements of every kind?

The answers to these questions must, I apprehend, be such as to imply, that the present condition of things is far from being that with which we could justifiably sit down, contented: They must equally, I am satisfied, if rendered in full sincerity and truth, evince that the required improvement can only be sought through the more extensive Settlement of European British subjects, and their free admission to the possession of landed property.

No stronger argument can be adduced, in favour of the present proposition, than is exhibited by the effects which European skill and machinery have produced against the prosperity of India. In the last dispatch, in the Commercial Department, from the India House, dated 3^d September 1820, the Court declare, that they are at last obliged to abandon the only remaining portion of the trade in Cotton manufactures, both in Bengal and Madras, because, thro' the intervention of power looms, the British goods have a decided advantage in quality and in price. Cotton Piece goods, for so many ages, the staple manufacture of India, seems thus forever lost. The Dacca Muslins, celebrated over the whole world for their beauty and fineness, are also annihilated from the same cause. Nor is the silk trade likely long to escape equal ruin. In the same dispatch, the Court describe the great depression of price, which this article has sustained in consequence of the diminished cost, of the raw material in England, and of the rivalry of British silk Handkerchiefs. The sympathy of the Court is deeply excited by the report of the Board of Trade, exhibiting the gloomy picture of the effects of a Commercial revolution productive of so much present suffering to numerous classes in India, and hardly to be paralleled in the history

MS 7903

"History of Commerce."

If all the antient articles of the manufacturing produce of India are swept away, and no new ones created to supply this vacuum in the Exports, how will it be possible for Commerce to be carried on and how can any remittances on private or public account be made to Europe. If Bullion alone is to supply the balance, soon will the time arrive, when, under the increased value the scarcity must give to Money, it will no longer be possible to realize the Revenue at its present nominal Amount. It is therefore the bounden duty of Government to neglect no means, which may call forth the vast productive powers of the Country, now lying inert from the want of adequate encouragement. It may be confidently asked, whether to the Natives singly we may look for success, and whether any great improvement has been ever introduced not exclusively due to European Skill. To those, who so feelingly deplore the misery of the Indian manufacturer, it will be consolatory to know, that a prospect exists of better days with a hope also that her staple commodity, the Cotton manufacture, may still be rescued from annihilation. Mr. Patrick, an "Englishman", is at this moment erecting a very large Manufactory for the spinning of Cotton twist by Machinery to be moved by steam; and it is not irrelevant from the object of the present paper to observe, that these great works are erecting upon his own Estate, held in fee simple under a grant from Warren Hastings. - Hitherto the Bengal Cotton has been held unfit for Conversion into twist, but an improved kind has been lately cultivated, which it is supposed will be quite fit for the purpose. An improved species of Tobacco has also been grown bearing double the value of the Native Tobacco, and likely to vie with that of America, To whom again is the commerce of India indebted for these new resources in her commercial distress? To Englishmen only is the triumphant answer. Specimens of both these Articles have

have been sent to the Vice President of the Board of Trade.

It remains to enquire, whether the giving more facility to Europeans to settle in the interior, with the power of acquiring landed property, is likely to be attended with any and what hazard of evil. On this point, I confess my present sentiments differ considerably from those I once held. And the circumstance makes me with the more confidence oppose myself to opinions held by persons for whom I can not but entertain a sincere respect.

The apprehension of evil from the extensive settlement of British subjects, in the interior of the Country, seem to rest chiefly on the supposed character of the Natives, and on the assumed disposition and conduct of our Countrymen. It has been stated that the former are exceedingly jealous of any interference by strangers, and singularly averse to change. And it has thence been argued that the frequent resort of our Countrymen, while it would fail to produce any useful alteration in the habits and sentiments of the people, would almost certainly occasion alarm and discontent, if not disturbance.

The views of the Native Character, on which such references have been founded, must, I think, be now admitted to require considerable modifications. I shall not dwell on facts drawn from their history under the dominion of our predecessors, nor on the various changes, which Hindoo Communities appear to have undergone, independent of any impetus from without. Yet the facility with which they have submitted to the successive conquerors of the Country, the relation in which many of the most influential persons and classes among them have stood to foreign rulers. The habits which many of them have borrowed from the Moslems, the divisions existing among them, the rise of new sects in comparatively modern times, the frequent instances that are met with, by our Revenue Officers, of numerous Village Zemindars

Opasjang

professing the Moslim faith, tho' they distinctly trace their origin
 to a Hindoo Ancestor, and still retain the name and pride of high
 Caste, all these circumstances powerfully contradict the notion
 that there is something immutable in their sentiments and
 condition. Recent events and the occurrences now passing un-
 der our eyes, still more clearly justify the persuasion that
 whatever change would be beneficial for our Native subjects,
 we may hope to see adopted in part at least at no distant
 period, if adequate means and motives be presented. I need
 scarcely mention the increasing demand, which almost all,
 who possess the means, evince for various articles of conveni-
 ence and luxury purely European. It is in many cases very
 remarkable. Even in the celebration of their most sacred festi-
 vals, a great change is said to be perceptible in Calcutta. Much
 of what used, in old times, to be distributed among beggars &
 Brahmins is now in many instances devoted to the ostentatious
 entertainment of Europeans: and generally the amount
 expended in useless alms is stated to have been greatly curtailed.
 The complete and cordial cooperation of the Native gentry
 in promoting education and in furthering other objects of
 public utility, the astonishing progress, which a large body
 of Hindoo youth has made in the acquisition of the English
 language, literature, and science. The degree, in which they
 have conquered prejudices that might otherwise have been
 deemed the most inveterate, the Students in the Medical
 Class of the Hindoo College under Doct. Tytler as well as in the
 Medical Native School, under Doct. Pretor, in which there are
 pupils of the highest Castes, are said to dissect animals, and
 freely to handle the bones of a human skeleton, the freedom
 and the talent with which in many of the Essays, we lately
 had exhibited to us, old customs are discussed, the ancient
 quinced, at Dehlee, and at Agra, and elsewhere for the means
 of instruction in the English language, the readiness every
 where shown to profit by such means of instruction as we have
 afforded,

afforded, the facility with which the Natives have adapted themselves to new rules and institutions, the extent to which they have entered into new speculations after the example of our Countrymen, the spirit, with which many are said to be now prosecuting that branch of manufacture (Indigo) which has alone as yet been fully opened to British enterprise. The mutual confidence, which Europeans and Natives since in their transactions as Merchants and Bankers. These & other circumstances leave in my mind no doubt that our Native subjects would profit largely by a more general intercourse with intelligent and respectable Europeans, and would promptly recognize the advantage of it.

As to the practical effect, much must of course depend, on the circumstances, character and conduct of the persons, who might settle in the Country. Let us then consider how far on this head there is any just ground of apprehension. It has been supposed that many of the Indigo planters, resident in the interior, have misconducted themselves, acting oppressively towards the Natives, and with violence and outrage towards each other. Had the case been so, I must still have thought it just to make large allowances for the peculiar position in which they stand. They have been denied permission to hold lands in their own names. They have been driven to evasion, which has rendered it difficult for them to establish their just claims by legal means, or they have had to procure the plant required by them through a System of advances, which, in all branches of trade, is known to occasion much embarrassment and to lead to much fraud. They have possessed no sufficient means of preventing the encroachment of rival establishments, still less of recovering their dues from needy and improvident Pyots. Further, we must not forget that the restrictions imposed upon the resort of Europeans to this Country have operated to Compel the houses of business often to employ persons in the management of their concerns

471 48-2

concerns in the interior, whom they would not have employed if they had had a wider scope of choice: It would not be wonderful if abuses should be found to have prevailed under such circumstances, or if the weakness of the law should have sometimes led to violence in the assertion of real, or supposed rights. But under all the above circumstances of disadvantage, the result of my enquiries is a firm persuasion, contrary to the conclusions I had previously been disposed to draw, that the occasional misconduct of the planters is as nothing, when contrasted with the sum of good they have diffused around them. In this, as in other cases, the exceptions have so attracted attention as to be mistaken for a fair index of the general course of things. Breaches of the peace being necessarily brought to public notice, the individual instances of misconduct appear under the most aggravated Colors, but the numerous nameless acts, by which the prudent and orderly, while quietly pursuing their own interests, have contributed to the national wealth and to the comfort of those around them, are unnoticed or unknown. I am assured that much of the agricultural improvement, which many of our districts exhibit, may be directly traced to the Indigo planters therein settled. And that as a general truth it may be stated (with the exceptions which, in morals, all general truths require to be made,) that every Factory is in its degree the centre of a circle of improvement, raising the persons employed in it and the inhabitants of the immediate vicinity above the general level. The benefit in the individual cases may not be considerable but it seems to be sufficient to shew what might be hoped from a more liberal and enlightened system.

It is imagined, however, that British subjects if admitted freely to resort to India and to occupy land, would colonize in great numbers, that becoming too strong for the Government, they would violently invade the rights of the people, and at no distant period throw off their allegiance. It is supposed

95

in short, that we should have exhibited here results similar to those which occurred in the Americas, that the original inhabitants of the Country would be subjected to violence and oppression, and that the Colonists, if not swept away by insurrections of their own, creating, would soon claim independence and assume an attitude of hostility to England.

Now, without presuming to pronounce what the course of centuries may produce under the great changes which British India is I trust destined to undergo, we may I think, confidently assert that there is no analogy to support the above anticipation of the effects which will flow from an increased facility to Europeans to settle in the interior of the Country.

In respect to climate, India may be described as a tropical Country, in which the European cannot safely labour in the field, excepting at particular times, and, in which the Northern races, appear after a few generations to lose much of their physical hardihood. The mountainous tracts, in which a more congenial climate is to be found, present no surface to support any large population: It is already in all the districts that would invite the adventurer, a densely peopled Country. The land is in most places distinctly appropriated by Individuals. The rights of private property are recognized not less clearly than in Europe. And the modes of transfer not less fully defined. Its inhabitants are industrious, accustomed to all kinds of severe toil, readily turning their hands to new arts, frugal in their habits, patient of exertion in the pursuit of gain. Living and rearing families upon little, in a climate suitable to their constitutions, they present to the manufacturer and the agriculturist, a singularly cheap supply of labor. They seem to have a peculiar aptitude in accommodating themselves to the various tempers of their Masters, and fidelity to their trust is generally held to distinguish them, even when otherwise ranking low in the scale

scale of morals. In the more warlike classes, there is presented to the Government, the means of maintaining a large force of excellent soldiers. In almost all classes, excepting the lowest it may find able instruments of Civil Government. With strong local attachments, there is no feeling of patriotism to excite their enmity to strangers, or to bind them together in one common enterprise. Their paternal Village is dear to them. The name of Country, in a large sense is unknown. Their religion, (I speak of the Hindoos) is even more a cause of division among themselves, than of separation from others. Rival sects may contend, but undisturbed; they will never apparently find cause of hostility in the religious practices of those who profess a different creed. The spirit of Hindoicism is exclusive, not offensive. These last mentioned circumstances, which have in all ages rendered it comparatively easy to subjugate India, seem calculated to facilitate the settlement of our Countrymen among them; But they must, at the same time, operate to prevent such settlement from assuming the shape ordinarily exhibited on the introduction of a new race into a Country. While the Hindoo religion is maintained, there can be no mingling of races, such as has occurred in other Countries; and the line of separation would probably long survive after the original cause had ceased. The Christian Rajput is not more likely to forget his Origin than those who are now found professing the religion of Mahummed. And all the circumstances above enumerated appear to render it in the highest degree unlikely that Europeans would fill India in such numbers as to Colonize in the ordinary sense of the word, or as to acquire the power of setting Government at defiance. Nor, is it more probable, that the habits and pursuits of the settlers would incline them to violence.

Without adverting to the difficulty of transporting any large number of labourers to so distant a Country, India, I may remark, offers no advantage to the European, who has only

97

his labor to bring to Market, In providing himself with the comforts necessary to his existence, he must here expend a sum that would much more than purchase an equivalent of Native labor, and the Comparative value of the latter must increase with improved skill and Knowledge. In agriculture, the Chief branch of national industry, and that on which the population mainly depends, it is impossible to economise labor to the same extent, as in manufacturers, especially where a tropic sun and periodical rains exert so powerful an effect on the vegetable world. And, the climate must in almost all our districts confine the European husbandman to the work of general superintendence. In all branches of Industry, indeed, it is European Capital, Skill, and example which India requires, and for which she offers a Market. European labor is not wanted, and could not be maintained. The settlers therefore must be men of capital and Skill. They must consequently be few in number contrasted with the population of the Country. A laboring class who should attempt to settle, would perish. There is no scope for wild adventure. The acquisitions of the settlers must be made in the face of an established Government, and under fixed laws. Wealth can be found only by industry, working with superior Skill, or superior Credit.

So far indeed from fearing too great an influx of Europeans, I confess my apprehension, is that no encouragement we can hold out will induce them to resort to India in the number that seems to be desirable. Nor does there seem to be any sufficient reason to suppose that, even if much more numerous than I conceive possible, they would be disposed, or if disposed, able to resist the Government and oppress the people. He who looks to derive an income from such speculations as would occupy them, is not likely to find his advantage in scenes of violence and Civil Commotion. Excepting to the wild tribes who

who can bear the climate of unhealthy fastnesses, there is no Country in the world perhaps that presents fewer facilities to those, who would enter upon a contest with the established Government, even tho' Commanding the Active cooperation of a considerable proportion of the People. And such cooperation could scarcely be looked for by those who had raised themselves by oppressive means. Ages indeed must elapse before the descendants of Europeans, can be so numerous as to be formidable to a Government that consults the interests, and professes the attachment of its subjects, even supposing them to retain the vigor and distinctive Characteristics of their ancestors. While they are few in Number, no one seems to deny that they must side with the Government; and the argument, I am contesting, seems to admit that the Natives will suffer from injustice only, when the new settlers, and their children are strong enough to set them, and the Government, at defiance.

But, is there in truth any reason for considering the interests of the two parties distinct. Have we not hitherto found that where the field has been equally open, the accumulation of wealth by the Natives has fully kept pace with that of our Countrymen, nay, that the former, as being the most necessary to their joint concerns and the most keenly alive to the means of forwarding his private interests, has generally had the advantage? Is it not extravagant to suppose, that within any period of time, on which it would be reasonable to speculate in prospective legislation, the Natives, can be superseded by Europeans, or their Cooperation slighted.

The whole indeed of the objections to the settlement of our Countrymen, which I have been now considering, rest on a train of Argument, in meeting which the Chief Difficulty is that of so stating it as to bear the semblance of sound reason. If an enemy to our faith and nation were to urge it, starting

with

with the assumption that the Government would league with the settlers in a scheme of injustice and spoliation, one could easily imagine that he might find materials of plausible and insidious declamation. But it does seem to be strangely paradoxical, when the same conclusion is drawn by an Englishman loving his Country and justly proud of it.

But it may be said that the danger lies in the union of the British settlers with the Natives of the Country, and this is a more intelligible ground of argument. Had, indeed, however, a vast change to have occurred, in the frame of society, such as can scarcely be looked for in centuries to come. I might almost say a vast improvement, which would imply that the time had arrived when it would be wise in England to leave India to govern itself. For assuredly, if we suppose the distinctions of tribe and Caste to have ceased, and conceive these rich and extensive regions to be filled with a united people, capable of appreciating and asserting political freedom, we must complete the picture by imagining that England has (voluntarily or involuntarily) ceased to withhold privileges she has taught them to exercise. So long however as our Countrymen and their Christian descendants are few in number, and that must be for Centuries, they must cling to the Government, even supposing, what is not likely, that they have no closer connections with England. Nay even community of faith and language, or of language alone, will I conceive, tend to bind the professors of it to our interests, (if we do not utterly neglect theirs) by a tie stronger than that which connects the Hindoos of different castes and sects, and will, if they be numerous, greatly strengthen our hold of the Country. The British settlers and their descendants, at least the more wealthy of them, will probably maintain a very close connection with the Mother Country. Some will reside in it, many will visit it. Many will send thither their children to be educated. Many will look to it as the place of retirement from Active life.

K. 11 1903

All will depend upon it for much of their comfort and wealth -
 Their relation to the Government will be proportionally close, and
 that the residence, in the interior of the Country, of any considerable
 number of such persons, in the capacity of Landholders and Mer-
 chants would add to the efficiency and strength of our Go-
 vernment seems to me to be certain. They would open to us
 much useful information now difficult of attainment; the
 complaints of mismanagement on the part of the local au-
 thorities would be made with comparative freedom. The
 growth of discontent might thus be nipped in the bud; Pro-
 jects of disturbance would be more readily discovered: the
 local influence of our Countrymen and the sentiments of those
 who had acquired from them, our habits, our language, our
 Knowledge or our Creed, would operate to break the current
 of any general feeling adverse to our rule. In each individual
 we should on the occurrence of any emergency have an
 active and well informed Agent for local purposes. Their
 Number, tho' altogether feeble when opposed to the Arms and
 aided by the resources of the state, might powerfully rein-
 force our means of putting down internal, or resisting
 external hostility. In the Civil branch of Government, they
 would present a cheap and excellent substitute for much
 of the existing expensive and inefficient establishment. Our
 police might then really be founded on the only good foun-
 dation, the influence and authority of local residents. In our
 Courts of Judicature, we might then hope to introduce, with com-
 parative facility the best institutions of our Country, can we
 doubt that they would add largely to the wealth of the Country
 and greatly facilitate the realization of the revenue necessary
 to its security and good Government, or can we imagine that
 they would not powerfully contribute to the diffusion of know-
 ledge, which would raise the moral and intellectual condi-
 tion of our Native subjects, and to the introduction of arts,
 machinery and works of skill, calculated to enlarge the pro-
 ductive

productive powers and correct the physical disadvantages of the Country?

I have not particularly adverted to the Mussulman portion of our subjects, because I do not imagine that any stress has ever been laid upon this class in the present argument, because it appears to me to be self-evident that an increase in the number of British or Christian Inhabitants must diminish the risk of danger and trouble from them, and because I believe that so long as they profess the intolerant doctrines of their prophets and remember the station they once held, their hostility can only be neutralized by their interests and their fears and by their knowledge of our power.

I do not of course overlook the circumstance that in proportion as Europeans resort to the Country in greater numbers, the increase of the mixed race must be accelerated. But this, I by no means regard as a source of danger. Quite the contrary. The race in question must necessarily be much more closely connected with the nation of their fathers, by community of language, habits and religion, than with the people to whom their Mothers may have belonged, among whom, if Hindoos, they must hold the lowest rank, and by whom, if Moslems, they are little likely to be respected. It is indeed from association with the governing class that they must chiefly look for station, wealth, and influence, within any period to which we can reasonably extend our speculations.

I am aware that there exists in many quarters an uneasy feeling in respect to the East Indians. It seems to me to be greatly misplaced. Their number is inconsiderable. The evident disposition of all who raise themselves to opulence and consideration, is to take their place with Englishmen according to their rank. The lower classes are not politically to be distinguished from Natives, excepting that as Christians, they are of course nearly allied to us. That many Individuals of the class are discontented and unhappy is

Children of Europeans and Indian mothers must look up to the governing class



MS 1902

I fear true. Their condition is in several respects an unhappy one. Their education has not, I believe, been hitherto, generally speaking, judicious. There has been little opening for their enterprise, and they have not shewn much enterprise in using the opportunities afforded them. There are some striking exceptions, but these are themselves the first to admit the general truth. I should greatly rejoice to see a wider field opened for the industry and skill of the class in question. And such will, I think, be one of the happy effects of affording a greater facility to Europeans to settle in the interior, and to occupy lands. Fathers will thus have the means of giving useful and profitable employment to their Children, to a much greater extent than they now have. And the wants of European settlers and their families will soon create various demands now unknown to the Country, in supplying which, the industry of all classes will find a ready market.

On whatever side therefore the subject is considered, the more does it present the prospect of advantage from the free resort of Englishmen to India. On one supposition only can I entertain the apprehension of danger, and that is the presence of our Countrymen, and the knowledge which they are likely to diffuse, will render the people more conscious of their rights and better able to understand the duties of their governors. Were it our purpose, to pursue a course of injustice, to withhold from the people the privileges they may fairly claim & could advantageously exercise, to sport with their lives, their properties or their feelings by arbitrary acts, by grinding extortion, by capricious innovation, we should act most unwisely in permitting one British subject to enter the Country, excepting as an accomplice in the scheme, we should be acting madly in spreading abroad the lights of knowledge. But our design being benevolent towards India, let us not withhold what best would serve her. Our duty being to maintain the Dominion of England, let us not reject the best means of confirming it. Our
care

care being equally the interests of both Countries, let us not exclude those who would best promote and combine them.

With the above sentiments, I must of course feel most anxious that the state of the law should be so amended as to oppose no obstacle to the settlement of British subjects in the interior. It is clear that if any large number of that class become proprietors of land, or reside for other purposes at a distance from the Presidency, many serious inconveniences may be experienced, unless they be subject with the rest of the Inhabitants to the authority of the local Courts. The defects in the legislative provisions relative to Civil suits, must therefore be amended. The jurisdiction of the Criminal tribunals now confined to trespass and assault, must be extended. The doubts that attach to both branches must be removed. It would be the height of absurdity to argue, from the inefficiency of our existing Institutions, against the admission of Europeans. The remedy, it is clear is not the exclusion of these, but the reformation of our system.

Further, it appears to be no less evident that the authority to be exercised by the Supreme Court should be better defined, and its process regulated. How this can best be done, I do not now propose to discuss. Before leaving Bengal, I desired the Secretary to prepare materials for our deliberation, and I hope soon to learn that considerable progress has been made in the work. My present impression is that the Supreme Court, instead of standing isolated from the Government and from the local tribunals, should be rendered a component part of our judicial Establishments, the whole being remodelled with many alterations into one harmonious System. And that the Government (in conjunction possibly with one or more of the King's judges) should be vested with power to legislate equally for all classes, European and Native. By such a plan, all difficulties might easily be conquered, and all the doubts and embarrassments now incident to the acts of a

Legislature.

legislative body separated by half the globe would be obviated. But even should Parliament in its wisdom reserve to itself the power of legislating for India, (the local legislature would in any event remain subject to the control of the home authorities) there may not I trust be any serious difficulty in obtaining the enactment of such laws as may afford to all classes equal protection and as may secure for all the cheap and prompt administration of justice by able and independent Judges, adequately controlled.

May 30th, 1829. /signed/ W. C. Bentinck

Res. Com. 16. Sept. 1829. p. 3.

It being desirable that a Member of the Sudder Board, should accompany the Government, in its approaching visit to the Upper Provinces, I beg to propose that the Officiating Member, Mr. Bird, be vested with the separate control and superintendence of the several Divisions, comprising that portion of the Board's jurisdiction, in which the Settlement is not permanent, with exception to Cuttack and Midnapore, &c. exercising at the same time, the powers hitherto delegated to him, under the provisions of Regulation I, 1821.

* to be inclusive

Should the Board concur in this arrangement, I beg further to propose that Mr. Bird be directed to hold himself in readiness to proceed with the Governor accompanied by the Board's Senior Secretary, and such part of the Establishment as may be necessary, arrangements being made for supplying these gentlemen, and their Establishment, with Tents, Carriage &c. in the same manner and principle, as that adopted in regard to the Government Secretariat.

/signed/ W. C. Bentinck