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(not for publication)

INDIA AND BRITISH RULE

SOME DOCUMENTS ON THE MAKING OF POLICY

Vol VI

(Compiled : Dharampal)

1966-68

V.1

November 3, 1773

....The company has received some blows within the 12 month and is still upon the anvil to be hammered into nobody knows what. But I hope and believe that no harm will happen. I shall be sorry if anything be done to hinder the Company's servants from acquiring fortunes in an innocent way abroad for after all that has been said this I believe to be the likeliest way of bringing wealth from India to Europe. The state I hope will leave the Company in all matters to govern itself, and it will be wise in any minister to leave them accountable for what happens there but it will be allowable likewise to squeeze them to the last farthing they can pay

April 9, 1775

.... I am afraid that we never shall have genius enough to turn the great resources which are presented to us in the East or the West to account. I have heard of your intention to returne to Europe and likewise of the probability that Lord Pigot's appointment and arrival at Madras will detain you in India. In that I wish you to do what is best but can not help recommending to you to collect the fullest detail you can of every circumstance relating to the state and operation of policy in India and so equipped to be ready to present yourself here by the time Indian affairs again come under the review of Government, which cannot, by the term of the Charter, be very far off.....That you may the better apprehend what I mean by the detail I have mentioned on the last page, select some town and its district. Procure if possible an account of its extent and number of people. The different classes of that people, the occupations, the resources, the way of life of each. How they are related and their mutual dependencies. What contributions Government or subordinate masters draw from the labourer of any denomination and how it is drawn &c. But I beg pardon for saying so much of an object which you must know so much better than I do. The man who can bring light from India into this country and who has address to make his light be followed may in a few years hence make himself of great consequence and here I shall conclude my letter...

January 10, 1780

.... Fortune seems inclined to favour us, and the nation is in a condition to make great and I hope successful efforts... .. This cloud that is gathering in Yorkshire alarms me more. That county seems to be forming itself into a republic, with meetings continued by adjournment, different departments and an executive council. It should in appearance be taken very lightly by Government; but in reality or may be a very serious matter....

Edinburgh University: Ms. 1. 77: Letters from Prof Adam Ferguson to Sir John Macpherson: 1773-1808: 72 letters. The letter dated 10.1.1780 (extract above) is No 17; No 19 is dated 24.8.1780, then there is a gap of ten years, and the next letter No 20 is dated 31.7. 1790. After a three year interval No 21 is dated 25.9.1793.

VI.2

Edinburgh, 30th October 1783

Dear Sir

I deferred answering your letter till I should return the papers enclosed with it. Dr Carlyle gives me reason to believe that you have by this time recovered them. They lay so long by me for J. Humes coming to town that I was afraid you would think they were lost. The friends you mentioned have seen Mr Mopherson's letter and we are all much obliged to you. As for him, I am afraid we cannot all acquit him of partiality the we shall certainly not quarrel with him on that account. I certainly never suspected you of any hostility to him nor thought the (57b) proceedings of the Secret Committee at all directed by any such principle; but embarked as he was with Mr Hastings whatever affected the vessel seemed to be levelled at him. The aspect of affairs as he represents them is very agreeable and I hope will not seem underge any change. I have been long a politician in speculation and as ready as my neighbours to reform the state; but come to think it a fundamental rule, not to change what is doing well.

How far my friend Mr Mopherson's concern in the matter affects me I will not pretend to say, but certainly I wish this rule at present to be followed in respect to Indian affairs. There are many faults to be spyed, and there certainly never was a form of executive power less precise than the incorporated proprietors of India Stock. Yet under their management the factories or comp of Indestan have become a British (58a) empire in India. The French with all their decision and ability of council, the Dutch with all their mercantile skill and masterly plans of empire in Batavia, are beatn on that ground. We are so far from being qualified to ensure such effects by premeditated plans of government that when the thing happens we can scarcely explain it. One conjecture however appears to me not improbable that the general success of our affairs in India is owing to what appears a selectyon in the disposition we have made for the conducting of them, and proceeds from the mean character of a trading company considered as a pretender to empire. This does not hinder the servants who are formed in India from being fit for the greatest affairs. It encourages them on occasion to dispense with the orders of their masters when the service requires it, and if they sometimes abuse their discretionary powers, they know (58b) that not only they are accountable to their masters; but feel themselves master and servant together acting under the awe of parliament and lyable to be brought to a severe account by ministers who are little pleased to see so extensive a patronage in their hands. Reverse this and make the first powers in the state the immediate administrators for India and I am afraid you will reverse the fortunes of Great Britain in that country. Indestan certainly can not be governed by orders from Great Britain and if such discretionary power be necessary the more it feels itself under the awe of responsibility the better. I am with the greatest respect Dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant
(Adam Ferguson)

(59b) Letter from Sir Adam Ferguson to Mr Dundas, dated Edinburgh 30th October 1783, relative to the government of India &c &c

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/12

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We are to appearance more powerful in India now than ever were. Nevertheless our downfall may be short* work. When it commences it will probably be rapid: and the world will wonder more at the suddenness with which our immense Indian Empire may vanish, than it has done at the surprising consequent that we have achieved.

The cause of this precariousness is, that our power does not rest on actual strength, but on impression. Our whole real strength consists in the European Regiments, speaking comparatively, that are scattered singly over the vast space of subjugated India.** That is the only portion of our soldiery whose hearts are with us, and whose constancy can be relied on in the hour of trial. All our native establishments, military or civil, are the followers of fortune. They serve us for their livelihood and generally serve us well. From a sense of what is due to the hand that feeds them, which is one of

Public Record Office: PRO/30/9/4/Part II/2: Minute dated 11.10.1829 by C.J. Metcalfe (Also seems to be printed perhaps with some modifications, in Metcalfe Papers: pp.162 onwards: British Museum 8023 D 53) The present text which is from the Ellenborough Papers has some marginal notes which are probably in Ellenborough's own writing. These are given here as foot notes.

- * This is very true.
- ** Regretfully true. The disproportion between the European and Native army is quite unintelligible in point of policy. We have a much greater force of the latter than we want. For (?) our defence even if no increase of the former should take place. But supposing the native army to be reduced to the lowest requisite amount even then a portion of it might be.....
Thirty instead of 20000 Europeans would I think completely establish the security which under possible.....

the virtues that they must extol, they may often display fidelity under trying circumstances, but in their inward feelings they partake more or less* of the universal disaffection, which prevails against us, not from bad government, but from natural and irresistible antipathy; and were the wind to change to use a native expression, and set in steadily against us, we could not expect that their sense of honour, although there might be splendid instances of devotion, would keep the men on our side, in opposition to the common feeling, which, with one view, might for a time unite all India, from one end to the other.

Empires grow old, decay and perish. Ours in India can hardly be called old, but seems destined to be short lived. It appears to have passed the brilliancy and vigor of our youth, and it may be, that we have reached a premature old age. We have ceased to be the wonder that we were to the Natives, the charm which once encompassed us has been dissolved, and our subjects have had leisure to enquire why they have been subdued. The consequences of the enquiry may be seen hereafter.

If their speculations are not devoid of foundation, they are useful in directing our minds to the contemplation of the real nature of our power, and in preventing a delusive belief of its impregnability. Our greatest danger is not from a Russian invasion, but from the fading of the impression of an invincibility from the minds of the native inhabitants of India. The disaffection, which would willingly root us out, exists abundantly. The concurrence of circumstances sufficient to call it into general action may at any time happen.

* I fear there is truth in this remark.

The most obvious mode of strengthening our power in India would be by a large* increase of our European force, but as we could not find funds for the consequent expense, that measure is impracticable.**

Whither we maintain or lose India, does not depend on its being governed in the name of the King or in that of the Company. Our fate most probably will be the same either way. But as long as we retain possession, we are bound to do all the good in our power to our subjects. Although the hope of gaining their attachment be utterly vain, we may often mitigate and neutralise their disaffection; and by the longer continuance of our rule, that feeling may be less predominant as seems already to be the case in our oldest possessions, where the inhabitants have been habituated to our government for more than one generation. Even however under a certainty of permanent disaffection, our duty towards the governed is the same. We are bound to give them the best government in our power.*** Will India then be best governed by continuing the channel of the Company, or directly by the Ministers of the Crown.

* Certainly

** I am not of this opinion. The difference.....is not much more than 2 to 1. How much greater the comparative efficiency.

*** Excellent doctrine

As concerning the native population of India, it seems to be a matter of indifference, for whatever improvements can be introduced into one local administration, may be equally effected* in the one case or the other. Even now, India in all great questions is governed by the ^{Board of Control,} ~~British etc.~~ Any obvious improvement could be introduced, if it did not violate the Company's charter. And it would only be necessary, in the new charter, to take care that no stipulations were admitted, which might preclude the power of improvement.

Although it seems to be a matter of indifference to the Native population, whether India be governed through the Company, or directly by the Ministers of the Crown, it is not so to another class of subjects.

The Europeans, British, settled in India, and not in the Company's service, and to these might be added generally the European Indians of mixed breed, will never be satisfied with the Company's government. Well-founded, they will always attach to it the notion of monopoly and exclusion. They will consider themselves comparatively discountenanced and unfavoured, and will always look with desire to the substitution of King's government. For the contentment of this class, which for the benefit of India, and the security of our Indian Empire, ought greatly to increase in numbers and importance, the introduction of a King's Government is undoubtedly desirable.**

* (page 164 of the printed text)

** I think the opinion is well founded.

.....

On* the whole the King's government seems preferable; but whether the Government be King's or Company's, the prospect of improvement is not flattering.

The revenues of India are not equal to the support of its expenses, and judging from past experience are not likely to become so. We may and we must reduce our ordinary expenditure within our income, but we have a heavy debt to discharge, and we have no security against future wars, which must increase our financial difficulties. There is little hope of a permanent reduction of establishments. There is a continual tendency to increase. Some branches of revenue are likely to fall off. There is no satisfactory assurance of great increase in any others. The sea customs, now exceedingly low, are susceptible of improvement, but it can only be by levying higher duties on the trade with Europe, to which the merchants of England would object. There is indeed the remote prospect of increase of Revenue from the increased influx of Europeans; but this is, at present, speculative;** and whether an increase of revenue, or in consequence of more expensive establishments, an increase of expense will be the result of the extension of the European population is uncertain.

It is therefore to be apprehended, that the government will not possess the power of reducing taxation, as it will hardly have the means, with its present revenue, of supporting its expenses. The former may be the less regretted, as the effect of reducing taxation, in any shape in which it would have to be accomplished, is far from certain. The only branch of our taxation, that can be called excessive, is

* (4-5 para omitted in the printed text from middle of page 164. The following passage starts on page 166 in the printed text.)
** and, it may be added, distant.

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the land revenue, the chief resource that maintains the State. A reduction in this, justly apportioned, would contribute to the comfort of the mass of our subjects, the village population, but would not make them wealthy. If apportioned without great care, and strict regard to justice, it would not even promote their comfort, and might probably do them injury. That reduction, however, whatever would be its consequences, we are not in a condition to afford. Our government in India is not a national Government, that can rely on the affection of its subjects for defence against foreign invasion. It is the curse of a Government over a conquered country, that it cannot trust the people. Our subjects are internal enemies, ready at least for change, if not ripe for insurrection. The least affected are passive votaries of fate. We retain our dominion only by a large military establishment, and without a considerable force of British troops, the fidelity of our native soldiery would not be relied on.

It* would be difficult to calculate what force precisely is requisite. It is easy to see that for security we have not too much. It seems that we ought to maintain all that we can pay**; and to pay we require all the revenue that we can raise. A reduction of taxation for any beneficial consequence appears to be hopeless.

No Government perhaps ever made a greater reduction of taxation, or, in other words, a greater sacrifice of the right to acknowledged and usual public revenue, than did the Bengal Government, prospectively, in 1793, in what was termed the permanent settlement of the land revenue. But what was the consequence of this sacrifice? It did not benefit the majority of the population interested in land; on the contrary, it practically destroyed their rights. It only trans-

* (minor changes in the printed text)

**{I am not quite of this opinion}

ferred the Revenues of Government to some individuals, who had no title to it, without any beneficial effect/on the public interests, as far as perceptible to common observation."

If reduction of taxation and improvement as its consequence, are not to be expected, from what other quarter may improvement be looked for? From none suddenly. It is to be hoped that our government is gradually producing improvement; that we are progressively enlightening the minds of the natives; that security is promoting wealth; and it may reasonably be expected, that the increase of European settlers** will have very beneficial effects. But improvement can only be gradual.....

* {quite true}

** {Certainly}

VII.4

Walcot
7th November, 1772

Dear Strachey,

2nd para Lord North when I saw him seemed (industriously?) to avoid entering upon the subject of India affairs and I do really believe from sheer indolence of temper he wishes to leave everything to providence and the Directors and that he means nothing more by the meeting of parliament than to enable the Company to find money to discharge the demands that are at present made upon them.

However, it behoves me to be prepared for everything, for which purpose you will perhaps say I have been building castles in the air. Enclosed I send you a sketch of my ideas which I flatter myself might be carried into execution by an able steady and upright minister. I don't want to take you from your other business unnecessarily but I wish you would take this sketch in hand and methodise it. I would have you fully and strongly the present situation of our affairs in India and shew beyond a possibility of refutation the approaching ruin of our possessions in the East, if vigorous measures be not speedily pursued. Your own experience and knowledge added to any sentiments expressed both in my speech and in the political paper laid before Lord North will enable you to make a great progress in this matter and upon my arrival in town what is wanting may be supplied. I will not patiently stand by and see a great empire acquired by great abilities, perseverance and resolution, lost by ignorance and indolence. If administration should think proper to see our affairs abroad in the same light as I do its well if not I shall have done my duty. nay with vengeance be applied to the Court of Directors appointing M and five of their own Body Supervisors,.....

Dear Strachey Your affectionate friend
etc.....Clive

India Office Records: Letter from Robert Clive to Strachey: MSS EuropeanG/37/

V. 5

Heads of a Bill for regulating the Government of the East India Company's affairs both at Home and in India.

1. The Directors in future to be elected by proprietors of stock of the value of £1,000, of which they have been possessed 12 calendar months before the time of the election.

2. That no persons shall be capable of being elected a Director unless he is at the time of such election possessed of capital stock of value and it shall not be lawful for any Director during his continuance of his office to buy or sell India stock, or to furnish the Company with or enter into any contract for supplying them with any goods, provisions, ammunition or stores or merchandise whatsoever.

(Would it not be better to make the Directors consist of merchants of respectable character and fortunes that have left off trade, that eight should be named by the King and seven elected by ballot of the proprietors. Suppose the death of any, the King and Company to fill up alternately, but the company to fill the first vacancy.)

3. That no candidate for the office of Director be entitled to vote at the election of Directors.

4. That no persons who are owners or Husbands of ships employed in the trade of the Company or any who are possessed of share or inherent in such ships, who are employed as tradesmen in furnishing the said Company with goods or merchandise or shall have entered into any contract with the said Company or shall hold any office, place or employment in the appointment and service of the said Company, shall be capable of voting at the election of Director of the said Company.

Public Record Office: PRO/30/29/3: Heads of a Bill for regulating the Government of the East India Company's affairs both at home and in India: Granville Paper

5. Directors to continue in office four years; but one fourth of their number to be changed by rotation every year.

(How ought the Directors to be appointed in April next: whether by election restrained as aforesaid, or by the King empowered by the Bill to name them pro hac vice, or appointed by name in the Bill? At the end of 3 of 4 years, 4 to be withdrawn 2 by the King and 2 by the Company and 4 added in the same manner.)

6. Salary of the Directors to be increased and in such case their number to be reduced.

7. The Precedency of Bengal to be governed by a Governor General and four Councillors.

8. The King to be enabled by the Bill to name the first Governor General and Council who shall not be removeable during years without the consent of the King.

9. They are to have the whole civil and military Government of the Company's Presidency of Bengal and the management of the territorial revenues during such time as they remain in the possession of the Company and to have a superintending contrroll over the Government of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay so far forth as that hostilities shall not be commenced, war shall not be declared or carried on; peace concluded or treaties made with any Indian princes or powers without the consent and concurrence of the said to Governor and Council. *General*

(Whether the Governor General ought not to be invested with a power visiting the other Presidencies and of taking upon him the Government of such Presidencies respectively and of correcting abuses etc. during the time of his visitation, etc.)

10. The Governor General and Council to correspond with the Court of Directors, and to receive their orders from them, but this correspondence, as far as it relates to the civil and military government, to be laid from time to time regularly before one of His Majesty's principal Secretary of State, and as far as it relates to the management of the Revenue, before the Commissioner of the Treasury.

11. The Governor General and Council paid by certain established salaries and to be prohibited from any concern whatsoever in trade.

12. A new Court of Justice to be established at Calcutta upon the Plan of the Bill of last session.

13. The Court to consist of a Chief Justice and 3 Judges to be named and appointed from time to time by the King, and to be paid by established salaries and to be restrained from any concern or dealings in trade.

14. All European subjects of the King resident in the provinces of Bengal or Bahar to be amenable to this Court except the Governor General.

15. The Governor General to be liable to be indicted and tried in the Court of King's Bench Westminster for any crime or offence committed in India.

16. It shall not be lawful for the Governor General, the Council or any other, the servants of the Company to take presents from any of the princes or natives of India or others or to lend money at interest, or to lend money at any interest or on any term to foreign company or to traders being the subjects of foreign states, or to punish them with goods or merchandise for their investments.

No European to be allowed to be concerned in private inland trade, by himself or his agents within the Company's Presidencies in India, or within the limits of the territorial acquisitions in their possession.

16. All Europeans subjects to His Majesty and all servants of the Company charged with any of the offences before mentioned or with the embezzlement of the Company's goods, stores, or effects in India or with extortion or with acts of cruelty or oppression committed against His Majesty's subjects or the natives of India shall, in every such case be deemed and adjudged to be guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor and as such shall and may be prosecuted for the same in the new court at Calcutta, or in the Court of King's Bench at Westminster and such person or persons, so offending being convicted shall be liable to be punished by imprisonment, Forfeiture of goods and chattels and to be rendered incapable of serving the Crown or the Company in any office civil or military.

17. In cases of indictments or informations found or exhibited in the Court of King's Bench, for ~~this~~ misdemeanors committed in India and also in ~~the~~ civil actions brought in the said Court or any other of His Majesty's Courts at Westminster against the servants of the Company where the cause of action arises in India, depositions of witnesses examined by virtue of commissions issued out of the Court or Courts at Westminster and taken in the presence of the Judges sitting in the new Court at Calcutta to be admitted as evidence in the trials of such indictments, informations of civil actions respectively.

5

*Vide Act 10th, Geo. 3rd, Ch. 47, S. 4

Such evidence so taken shall be as good and competent as if the witnesses had been examined or entries in the G. Court at the G. Trials.

18. No person having been employed in the Company's service in India to be capable of being elected a Director until he has been returned from there for three years.

19. Regulations to be made to prevent the restitution of servants who have been dismissed from the Company's service for misbehaviour.

The clause for obliging the Company to export goods or merchandise of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain to the amount of £80,000 per annum expires on 1st September 1773

This provision to be re-enacted, additional regulations proposed.

20. Such powers to be given to the Company for the better recruiting their forces as shall be found necessary for them and as shall be attended with the least inconvenience to the national recruiting service.

(might not the Com. have a resource for recruits from offenders under certain descriptions. Suppose persons deemed incorrigible rogues under the Vagrant Act, persons who make a practice in the night of stealing poultry, fish, game upon being convicted thereof by a Judge of Assize of quarter sessions to enlist in the service of the India Com. at the option of the Com. or others committing transportable offences.)

21. The Company to be enabled under certain territories to carry either from hence or directly from China tea to be sold in America.

22. The Company to be bound according to terms and conditions to be settled between the Lords of the Admiralty and the Court of Directors to victual and repair such of His Majesty's ships as shall in future be stationed in India, out of the revenues arising within the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras.

VII.6

Heads of a Bill for regulating the
East India Company's affairs both at
Home and Abroad.

Memorandum

Should the East India Bill pass the House of Lords, no man doubts of this consequence, that Ministers have a sure tenure in their power as long as they think proper. The specific evil then is, that they acquire an absolute certainty in their present situations. Opposition to them will in that case do much harm and no good, for their disjunction from the Crown, with a permanent influence, would be the worst of evils.

No possible event can be worse than that which will happen if their present attempt succeeds, viz. absolute and permanent power.

The only means of averting this, which will remain, if the majority of the House of Lords is found upon a division disposed to adopt the Bill, is a dissolution of Parliament and change of Ministers, before the Bill passes that House.

The measure which will be taken by Ministers to prevent the possibility of effectuating this, will be to cut the proceedings so short by dint of numbers in a Division, that there shall not be time to put it in execution; wherefore if such a stroke is ever intended, it cannot be too speedily determined upon and prepared for. The objections to such a measure can only arise either from the popularity of the Bill itself, or the general confidence of the public in those who propose it, or the singularity of displacing those who are supported by a majority in both Houses. As to the first, it is clear that the measure is unpopular without doors. As to the second, it is pretty clear that by reason of the coalition,

Public Record Office: PRO/30/29/3: Heads of a Bill
for Regulating the East India Company's affairs both
at Home and abroad. *Granville paper*

the nature of their taxes, and the many objections which every one has to Mr. Fox being absolute in this country, independent of this attack upon chartered rights, that the mover of this Bill is not so popular as he was when opposing the American War.

The last is that objection which is most to be attended to. The answer may be this. The Bill directly attacks the Royal Power, by raising up another power, which will render the former insignificant. A negative in form has never been put a Bill which has passed both Houses, since the time of Wm. the 3rd. This measure proposed will amount to that negative in another mode, viz. by preventing the Bill from passing both Houses, instead of giving the negative when it has passed.

The question then comes to this. Is there any possible case in which the King ought to hazard the exertion of his negative power? If there is none whatever, no more can be said. If there is any possible case, this is that case, and the mode of doing it by dissolution seems less violent than the absolute negative would be. The ground of this preventing the Bill from being completed is popular, viz. the destruction of chartered rights:- The assumption of absolute authority - the introduction of irresistible corruption: The annihilation of the true authority of the sovereign and sapping the foundation of every gentleman's interest and power in the Kingdom. The strong steps therefore of putting the King's negative in substance, tho' not exactly in point of form, seems to be justified by the occasion, and as favourably circumstanced as such a step can be, by the fortunate concurrence of a popular question, viz. the invasion of charters to a wanton degree, and the imprisonment of the King so long as Fox shall live, which will awaken the attention of the more sober part of mankind.

The dissolution of Parliament appears to be a bolder measure, than upon closer examination it may be thought. For first, it may be very

safely assumed, that neither the Ministers nor their Bill are at this moment in so great favour with the public as that the loss of them should induce men to exchange their present tranquillity for civil disturbance. Secondly, this Leader should be a man of gravity and experience, not engaged in faction; one whom the country gentlemen think honest and of a moderate disposition and temper. Such a one is absolutely necessary otherwise the whole may speedily relapse into the same hands as at present.

Sixthly should the measure proposed or any other fail of rescuing the nation from the designs of these men, things can be no worse in that case, than they will be if no such measure is tried.

VI.7

Public Record Office: PRO/SP/44/142:
(pp.440): Secretary Letter Book 1766-75
(No index).

no. 373

St. James
April 30, 1773

To

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman
of the East India Company.

Gentlemen

I have the Earl of Rochfords directions to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a letter from the Nabab of Arcot to Sir Robert Harland, and to acquaint you that his Lordship will be glad to receive your sentiments thereon and be enabled thereby to give an answer to Sir Robert Harland on the several points contained in it.

I am etc.
Stamier Porteir (?)

VI.8

PRO/T/1/506: Petition from East India Company regarding Judicial Courts at Fort William: Dated 15.3.1774 (3 pages): Extract.

.....Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant unto them.....all such fines, amerciments, forfeitures, penalties, sums and sums of money, as shall hereafter be charged, set or imposed upon any person or persons whatsoever, by the said Supreme Court of Judicature,.....as they are by the said act required to pay very large yearly salaries to the Chief Justice and three other judges of the Supreme Court, as well as the salaries of the several ministerial officers of the same, and moreover must sustain a very heavy expense in providing and maintaining a court house and other offices, for the business of the said new established court of Judicature.

Petition from the Company to the House of Commons
(Extract)

(p.263) May it therefore please this Hon'ble House to grant to your petitioners leave to withdraw their said former petition presented to this House on the 2nd March last and also their other petition presented on the 17th May last, which accompanied certain regulations proposed by themselves for the more advantageous management of their affairs and the due administration of justice in India, an indulgence, which they are the more earnest to obtain lest posterity reviewing the transactions of this period, should impute to your petitioners the having been accessory to measures which by vesting unnecessarily in the Crown the disposal of so many great and lucrative employments in India tend in your petitioners opinion not only to bring ruin upon this Company, but to destroy the just balance of this pure constitution.

Petition to the House of Lords (Extract)

(p.264) That the Bill which has lately passed the House of Commons and is depending in this Hon'ble House, will, if passed into a Law, be subversive of the most essential rights, interests (265) and credit of the East India Company.....by introducing a most immense and grievous load of expence upon your petitioners...../(266) That the most essential provision of all others to prevent oppressions, which were recommended by the East India Company, namely, that of the Habeas Corpus, whereby men may know of what crime they are accused, and by whom they are imprisoned, is omitted by which means of all the tyranny of a double government, without responsibility anywhere, is entailed on the inhabitants.....

India Office Records:

General Court 1770-1773: B/258: Petition from the Company to the House of Commons: 23-6-1773 (Extract) : Also Extract of Petition to the House of Lords.

VII 9

Instructions for the ~~same~~ Governor General and Council of Bengal* (Extract)

An Act having been passed in the last sessions of Parliament entitled "An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe". In consequence of the said Act, which we now transmit to you for your guidance, we proceed to give you the orders hereinafter contained, and have also anned copies of such other orders as we have framed for constituting a Council of Commerce, and a Board of Exchequer, for the better management of our affairs, to all which you will pay due obedience..... *lex-*

Section XXXI. We direct thhat you duly pay to the Governor General, to each of the Council, to the Chief Justice, and to each of the Judges, the several salaries established by the said Act; observing at the same time, that those ample salaries given to them by Parliament, are to be in lieu of all fees of office, perquisites, emoluments, or advantages whatsoever and therefore that we are not to be at any further expense on these accounts; and as the officers (thereof shall be hung up in the most public places, in the different languages of the country).

From General Court Minutes: 7-12-1773
(Draught of Section XXXI)

We direct that you duly pay to the Governor General, to each of the Council, to the Chief Justice, and to each of the Judges, the several salaries established by the said Act; and as the officers of the Court are to be allowed such salaries as should be approved by the Governor General in Council, we recommend the strickest frugality in that respect and direct that no greater allowances be made to any of them

Instructions for the Governor General and Council of Bengal (Printed): *British Museum: 8022h24 and draught on Para 31 as given in the General Court Minute dated 7-12-1773

∟than their respective stations shall require.

11, 10

Lord Shelbourne to George III: 29-5-1782
(Vo. I, pp. 260, No. 337)

..... I am ashamed of troubling your Majesty with so long a letter, and shall be very unhappy till I can return to the most acceptable duty of my office - that of attending your Majesty's person. In the meantime, I would wish your Majesty's permission to propose a meeting of your servants to Lord Rockingham upon East Indian matters, when I may be to propose Lord Cornwallis*, as I find the Resolutions against Mr. Hastings passed yesterday. I have mentioned Lord Cornwallis' name to none of the Cabinet except in very great confidence to Lord Ashburton.

George III to Lord Shelbourne: 29-5-1782
(Vol. I, pp. 260, No. 338)

..... The Meeting on East Indian Regulations cannot be too soon, and the appointment of Lord Cornwallis known, which must meet with universal applause.

Lord Shelbourne to George III:
(Vol. I, pp. 261-2, No. 340)

..... I am very much afraid your Majesty will be disappointed as to the effect of Lord Cornwallis' name towards settling East India controversy. Lord Rockingham first dwelt upon the right of the Treasury to recommend. Lord Cornwallis was afterwards personally objected to, on account of facility of temper, etc. Mr. Francis was much recommended by Mr. Fox. It is left to be further considered, and I have thought it indispensable to send Mr. Ord to acquaint Mr. Gregory

Papers of George III: November 1781 to December 1783:
*Hon'ble Frederick Cornwallis (1718-1783), Bishop of Lichfield 1749-1768, and Archbishop of Canterbury 1768 till his death; he was the Uncle of the Cornwallis, referred to.

the Chairman of the India Company of my most earnest wishes in regard to Lord Cornwallis, and of my having proposed him to the Cabinet. The rest of the time passed in altercation not worth troubling your Majesty with the particulars.

George III to Lord Shelbourne: 1-6-1782
(Vol. I, pp. 262, No. 341)

..... I own for the credit as well as good of the nomination, I am hurt any rule should be thrown in the way of appointing Lord Cornwallis, Chief of the Supreme Council in India; undoubtedly the Secretary of State for the Colonies and East India as well as Home Affairs, is the proper person to settle this, and not the head of the Board of Treasury, who is not responsible for that business; I am glad Lord Shelbourne has lost no time in sending Mr. Ord to convey to Mr. Gregory the having proposed Lord Cornwallis as the properest person to the Cabinet this day.

Lord Castlereagh

Downing Street
15th February 1808

I have communicated to the Chairman of the East India Company a copy of the letter which I received a few days ago by your Lordship's direction from Brig. General Stewart relative to a representation which had been made to the Commander in Chief for the purpose of inducing H. E. H. to replace the proportion of the Company's garrison at St. Helena, which had not returned to that place from the late expedition to south America.

Having recently learnt with regret that of the 1000 recruits which were to be supplied for the service of the Company's Artillery and to (591V) be conveyed to India by the ships of the present season, (the last of which it is intended to dispatch in the course of next month), there is little probability that more than 400 will be provided, there was no reason to suppose that according to the present mode of supplying recruits, the Commander in Chief would be enabled to make good the deficiency at St. Helena in addition to the proposed reinforcement of the Artillery.

Scottish Record Office: Letter to Lord Castlereagh as to completing the deficiencies and augmenting the establishment of the Company's Artillery. The Battalion to consist of 1,000 instead of 700 men - to do this would require 2570 men which number cannot be obtained by the ~~usual~~ usual mode of furnishing recruits therewith. It is proposed that the Company should be allowed to recruit for their Artillery on condition of reducing their Infantry and that the men comprising the latter be transferred to the former Corps and also the garrison of St. Helena, if that island is to be annexed to the crown, and that a portion of the Royal Artillery, Regular Infantry, militia drafts, etc. be permitted to volunteer for the Company's Artillery. An arrangement to be made for supplying the native Corps with non-commissioned officers. (GD 51/3/144/15, Original No. CD/20, dated 15th February 1808; Entered Miscells. Book p.60)

As not only the effective strength, but also the establishment of that description of force is extremely deficient when compared to the rest of the army in India, I feel it my indispensable duty (592R) to submit to your Lordship's serious consideration the necessity of speedily adopting measures to remedy the present evil as well as to prevent if possible its recurrence.

The establishment of European Artillery in India is six battalions of 700 each .. 4,200

Effective strength according to the last returns about	2,700
	<u>1,500</u>
Add $\frac{1}{10}$ of effective strength for casualties since the returns	.. 270
	<u>270</u>
Estimated present deficiency.	1,770
Recruits sent out last season	1,000
	<u>770</u>

It has been represented to me that if each Battalion were augmented to 1,000 men, making thus the total establishment 6,000 instead of 4,200, it would not be a greater number than the exigencies of the Service in India demand; but to accomplish that object, as well as complete the present deficiency, would of course require 2,570 men, of which number there is no immediate prospect of more than 400 being supplied. (592V)

Your Lordship is fully aware of the discussions which have at various times taken place on the subject of recruiting for the Company's European Corps. According to the present system, they are restricted from recruiting on their own account, but with the understanding that their demands are to be supplied from men raised for general service, - a resource which (593R) is totally inadequate to the purpose. The Court of Directors assert that if they were allowed to recruit for themselves, under whatever restrictions

might be thought necessary to prevent abuses, they would have no difficulty in procuring men for their Artillery, which is a popular service. They also insist however on keeping up their three European battalions which are totally inefficient and are not likely now to become more serviceable. I certainly do not perceive any reasonable objection against their proposal respecting the Artillery, because it is indispensibly necessary to keep that species of force on a respectable footing and the men raised for general service are frequently of a description totally unfit for that Corps; but on the (593V) other hand, I cannot possibly concur in their desire to keep up their European Battalions. If that service also is popular, it would interfere to a certain extent and without any adequate cause, with the general recruiting of the Army; and if men would not enter readily for those Battalions, they would still continue inefficient.

Having thus stated to your Lordship what occurs to me respecting the present system of supplying the Company's European Corps, (the inconvenience of which must continue to be felt in an increased degree), it is necessary to revert to the immediate object of this letter, - the most advisable and expeditious mode of completing and also of augmenting the Artillery (594V) in India. It is in vain to expect that the object can be accomplished by the ordinary supply of men raised in this country for general service, and if your Lordship concurs in the necessity of making now an extraordinary effort for the purpose, you must resort to other means.

If it shall be thought expedient to allow the Company to recruit for their Artillery under proper restrictions, provided they disband their three European Battalions, the men now belonging to the latter Corps, or at least as many as may be fit for it, may be transferred to the Artillery; their total number by the last returns was little more than 900 men.

Another resource may be found in the garrison of St. Helena if the suggestion of transferring that island (594V) to the Crown shall

be carried into effect; its total effective strength I believe at present is under 1,000 men. I am not aware of any other mode that can be speedily available except the allowing a portion of the Royal Artillery, or regular Infantry, Militia Draft, etc, to volunteer for the Artillery in India. There are unquestionably many objections to such an expedient, much of their weight must depend on the present strength of the royal Artillery or other Corps when compared to the services which may be immediately required of them, as well as on other circumstances of which I may not be apprized. I should not consider it by any means advisable to send a detachment of Artillery from England to India, (595R) on the same footing as other Regiments there not in the service of the Company.

It is only necessary for me to add that if the Company's European Battalions are disbanded, an arrangement must be adopted on the footing formerly suggested by the Commander in Chief for supplying the native Corps in India with Lieutenants, Major and Quarter Master Sergeants

L. Sergeant

I have the honour to be,

XI.12

Copy

Stable Yard
March 20th, 1808

My dear Lord,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 18th instant, inclosing a letter from Mr. Robert Dundas upon the subject of the Company's Artillery and European Force, proposing to augment the establishment of the former to six battalions of 1,000 men each, and to disband the latter upon condition that sufficient recruits are from (2) time to time furnished, to keep the Artillery of the Company compleat, and to furnish the necessary non commissioned officers to the native Corps in India.

This plan appears to me in every view most eligible, and I can only repeat the proposal which I have more than once made, that upon its being finally adopted, I shall think it my duty to recommend to His Majesty to allow a sufficient number of men from His Majesty's Regiments in India to volunteer annually (3) for the purposes above mentioned, whereby the Company will not only be secure of having their Artillery and European non commissioned officers constantly compleat, but also composed of a much superior description of men than they could possibly obtain by any other means.

I shall be happy to see your Lordship upon this subject upon the earliest convenient opportunity; as there are some details which it will be necessary to (4) determine for the more effectually carrying this plan into execution.

Believe me ever, etc.

(Signed) Frederick

The Rt. Hon'ble
Lord Viscount Castlereagh

John Ryland's Library, Manchester: Eng Ms.675/397 a-D
Dated 20th March 1808 from His Royal Highness the
Commander in Chief to Lord Castlereagh.

VI. 13

Copy of letter from Dr. Milne (Surgeon on the Bombay Establishment) to the Court of Directors dated Aberdeen the 2 Nov 1809

Offering suggestions for ensuring the obedience of the native troops and for allaying the discontents of the Company's Officers on the Madras Establishment -

As the number of European officers does not bear a due proportion to the numbers of the sepoys under their command, the strength of the native Battalions should be reduced (during peace) from 12 ~~or~~ 1400 to 8 or 900. The different Corps to be kept as much as possible as under -

The subsidiary force at Hyderabad, to be relieved by that of Poonah - the latter of which is principally composed of Hindoos and belongs to the Bombay Establishment - thus a double check would be formed upon the Mahomedan Government of Hyderabad - upon that portion of the Madras army *land* which would be removed to Poonah.

A further check upon the Madras army would be formed by restoring Canara and Malabar to the Bombay Govt. and garrisoning the forts with Bombay troops.

The Madras army inferior in point of provision to any of the other establishments (S⁸¹⁴) they had formed an expectation that on the appointment of a Governor who had been at Bengal, their condition would have been assimilated to that of the Bengal army. Their dissatisfaction at the reductions introduced by Sir Geo. Barlow, aggravated by the disappointment of their hopes. They conceived that the Governor was sacrificing their interests in order to ingratiate himself with the Court of Directors - Tho' disgusted with his conduct, they are not deficient in zeal and attachment to the Company's interests. The allowances of the Madras army ought to be placed upon a better footing. If they were made equal to those of the Bengal army, the officers of the former would still be inferior in point of comfort to those of the latter any owing to the local disadvantages of the Madras territories.

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/465

Aberdeen

*Wardman - 8th Dec. 1809

"Fas est ab hoste discere"

It is said to be a maxim of Government & of rigid observance with the present Ruler of France to obtain the deposit of a sum of money proportionate to the magnitude of trust and to the importance of the situation, to which he may intend to appoint any Public Officer. He by this rule of policy receives their support, attachment and good conduct, for, should they by any mal-administration or manifestation of disaffection on their part lose his confidence, or should have failed in fulfilling the duties of their Office, the sum in deposit is appropriated to the use of the State. This precaution is no doubt very necessary on the part of a Government so recently established, and has originated in that consummated prudence ^{kmate} and wisdom, which mark almost all the acts of that uncommon Man. The British Government at home have no necessity for prosecuting such a measure; but they will evince their discernment in applying it with an appropriate modification to the regulation of some of their departments of Government in the East, where their authority is less stable.

Their native army on one of their establishments in India has given proofs, that it is not wholly and entirely deserving of confidence. On the contrary it has displayed its disaffection to rather ~~an~~ ^{an} alarming extent, in ^{law} defiance and in breach of every tie and engagement at present imposed or existing; and it behaves Government to ^{form} such measures and to ^{L (590v)} apply such a remedy, founded on the result of the wisdom and experience of a neighbouring though rival power, as encourage ~~and~~ ^{sting} a ^{stray} presumption, that both happy & beneficial effects and a greater degree of security will arise therefrom.

The native commissioned and sometimes the non-commissioned officers in India have great influence over the minds of the Men. It will, therefore, be prudent to adopt such precautions as promise to ~~receive~~ ^{secure} their attachment and ^{secure} fidelity and to direct such influence to the welfare and interest of the State. The arrangement, which I have to propose, carries with it so clear a conviction of mutual advantage and of the permanent establishment of good faith, as to inspire and promote reciprocal feelings and sentiments of attachment and of entire confidence.

 Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/466

The pay of the native army in India is now so regularly issued and so ample, that every officer and man has always enough, and has indeed for the most part a portion to spare, which he is very often at a loss, how to employ. He, under present circumstances, lends it at an interest of uncertain payment, sometimes to his companions in arms, who are less prudent or more dissipated than himself; and sometimes to individuals in the country, where he may happen to be stationed; he is frequently robbed of it, when the amount is such, as to prove a source of temptation, or he has it converted into ornaments for himself, for his wife, or for his children, where it remains unproductive to the possession or to the country, and in which state it is ^{his} property, which he can always dispose of (591R) and with which he can easily move off, if tired of the service. He thus finds himself at pleasure independent of his employers, who can join any party, ^{or he} who may tempt him by promises and prospects of greater advantage to espouse their cause.

But it will mark the wisdom of the British Government, and ought to be a primary aim of their policy, to concert such measures, as will secure and bring into their possession an object, which may at an untimely moment be converted to their injury; while by pursuing the plan, which I intend to propose, the Native Officer will have a source of convenience and of secure advantage opened to him; and will have a liberal provision in the store for himself and for his family, which will render his latter days easy, ~~ir~~respectable and comfortable, while the Government hold in their hand the pledge of his good faith and lasting services.

The Government in India have the strongest motives and most cogent reasons to urge them to the establishment of so material a point to their own stability, efficiency and power, and no less essential in promoting the convenience, respectability and allegiance of their native army; and I would beg to suggest, that every Native Officer, either prior to his receiving his commission, or within twelve months thereafter, should pay into a Fund, under the direction of Government, a deposit in loan, for which he should receive the Company's established interest, say, that a Subedar pays the sum of Two Hundred rupees, or (591V) such sum as he may be supposed without inconvenience to spare, and that he continue to pay the same sum annually, while he holds that rank and situation. That a Jamedar on receiving that commission, or within twelve months thereafter pay the sum of one hundred rupees, or such sum, as he may be supposed without

inconvenience to spare and that he also continue to pay the same sum annually, while he holds that rank and situation; and that a Havildar on promotion or within twelve months thereafter pay the sum of fifty rupees, or such sum as he may be supposed without inconvenience to spare, and that he continue to pay the same sum annually, while he holds that rank and situation. When those officers are permitted to retire from the service, that the amount, which may appear at their credit should be considered to be at their own disposal, or in case of their demise at the disposal of their families, either to be withdrawn for their use, or to remain at interest in the Company's funds.

Thus will the Government check and greatly prevent desertions, establish a source of convenience and of advantage to their native army, render their native officers respectable; secure their fidelity, attachment and cordial cooperation; check habits of usury, which often lead to quarrels, oppression and desertion, and lay the foundation of a comfortable and certain provision for the old age and for the families of their Indian Army.

John Milne, M.D.

VI. 14

To

N.B. Edmonston Esq.
Secretary to Government Secret Deptt.

Sir,

I am honoured with your letter of the 16th of May 1808, transmitting copy of a paragraph in one from the Hon'ble the Secret Committee dated the 24th September 1807, and signifying the request of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council that the Commander in Chief will be pleased to communicate to the Board his opinion on the question therein stated, viz. "what is the amount of the European force which it may be necessary to have in India at all times."

Before the Commander in Chief proceeds to a compliance with His Lordship's commands, His Excellency deems it right to remark in explanation of the delay which has attended his doing so, that, immediately on the receipt of your letter, he recommended (as will be in the recollection (2) of Government) that instructions should proceed from His Lordship in Council to the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay requesting the communication of their sentiments on the question from the Hon'ble Committee, as far as it applies to each of those Presidencies in order that His Excellency might be better prepared to frame a General report comprehending the whole of the Hon'ble Company's possessions in India.

The required information was received from Bombay in the month of December last through the Secret Department, and in my reply to your address of the 7th January following, I had the honour to remark that the Commander in Chief only waited the receipt of a similar report from the Madras Government, to submit his sentiments on the question of the Hon'ble Committee.

The latter report having been received with Mr. Lushington's letter to my address of the

National Library of Scotland: Minto Papers (M 175)

21st instant, I am now enabled to convey to you for the information of His Lordship in Council, the opinion required of His Excellency. (3)

The question of the Hon'ble Committee appearing to have no reference to the prospect of immediate invasion from Europe, but merely to the circumstances which distinguish the present time from the period (1801) when an Establishment of European troops was fixed for the service of India, the opinion of the Commander in Chief has been formed with reference to the extension of territory, increase of native force and the necessity of some degree of permanent preparation to encounter European invasion so far as it may be effected with a due regard to the finances of the Hon'ble Company, and the degree of force which Great Britain may be deemed capable of affording without too much impairing its means of action in other parts of the world.

On the premises, I am to observe that in the year 1801 when the European force was fixed at 24,000 men of every description, the native troops at the three Presidencies consisted of 108,000 men constituting a proportion of 1 European to $4\frac{1}{2}$ natives.

The effective force now in the country amounts to (in round numbers) (4) 23,000 Europeans (1000 less than were deemed necessary in 1801) and 138,000 natives - a proportion of 1 European to 6 natives.

Supposing therefore the question ~~stated~~ stated by the Hon'ble the Secret Committee to rest on the same data now, as influenced the decision formed in 1801, there will exist an actual deficiency of about 1,600 men to produce the proportion between the Europeans and natives established at that period, viz. 1 to $4\frac{1}{2}$.

If the apprehension of invasion from ~~the~~ Europe were to be entirely excluded from the consideration of this question, and supposing Government to repose perfect confidence in all the native troops, the Commander in Chief conceives that every call of service would be answered and the tranquility of the Hon'ble Company's dominions insured by an augmentation of 1,500 men to the present establishment of the Corps of Artillery only.

But, as invasion must be provided against to a certain degree, His Excellency, adverting to our wide extent of territory, to the restless and warlike people on the frontier most exposed to the (5) meditated attack, and to the possible defection of some portion of the native troops, does not perceive how he can consistently depart from the sentiments expressed in his minute laid before - Council on the 15th February 1808 recommending the proportion of 1 European to every 4 natives and which he has the satisfaction of observing may be effected without the necessity of sending out any more Regiments, consequently at the lowest possible expences that an accession of strength can be gained.

The Commander in Chief has too much confidence in the resources of this Empire to suppose that any invasion can be of serious danger which is not under taken by a strong and well organised Corps of Europeans, and it would ill accord with the accustomed policy of the French ruler were a deficiency of numbers, or of talent for the direction of their operations, to expose his ambitious designs to any risk of failure which might be prevented by the applications of force and science.

It must therefore be concluded that whenever the attack is made, the enemy will be so strong in Europeans (6) as to admit of his acting independent of the allies he may expect to join him in his progress to our frontier.

Under this impression, the Commander in Chief conceives that there should be in India at all times an European disposeable force of not less than 24,000 fighting men, for altho' no person can have greater confidence in the discipline and courage of the native Corps than His Excellency, he yet cannot suffer his judgement to be so far misled as to compare them to the armies of France; necessity therefore requires that European should be opposed to European to the greatest possible extent they can be collected, and their exertions will no doubt be ably seconded by the native sepoys.

The proportion of 1 European to 4 natives would not only produce this disposeable force,

but leave a sufficient number to act with the native troops for the preservation of internal tranquility and the protection of our principal settlements on the coast against any attack which the present state of the French Navy is likely to enable that power to undertake. (7)

Having stated the aggregate of the European force which in the opinion of the Commander in Chief ought to be maintained in India at all times, it remains to show how it should be constituted.

I am accordingly directed to submit the following proportion of each arm.

Artillery. The establishment of this Corps is now 4448 non commissioned officers and men the effective numbers - 3,900.

Adverting to the services required of this Corps at Fort William, Fort St. George, the Island of Bombay, and other important posts, as well as internal field duties now not unfrequent and which invasion would probably increase, one half of the numbers present would be the greatest proportion which could be allotted under any circumstances to the disposeable force and which the sick and (say one sixth) would reduce to about 1,600 fighting men. A proportion by far too inadequate to the force, European and native, which would be required in the field (8) to oppose an European invader and whose casualties there would be no means of replacing.

begs

The Commander in Chief/~~may~~ therefore to recommend in the most urgent terms that 1,500 men be immediately added to the establishment of the three Presidencies in the following proportions and that the whole be completed with the least possible delay, viz.-

Bengal	...	300
Madras	...	600
Bombay	...	600
Total		<u>1,500</u>

Of the above numbers, ~~this~~ His Excellency conceives that 3 Brigades at least of Horse Artillery

should be constantly maintained at this Presidency, the like number at Fort St. George and one Brigade at Bombay.

In respect to Cavalry, but little strength can be added to present numbers. The difficulty of

* Present Strength	Bengal	.. 950	} procuring suitable horses for Europeans being an unfortunate and insuperable obstacle to any great extension of an arm so necessary and formidable (9)
	Madras	..1300	
	Bombay	.. 620	
	<u>Total Cavalry .. 2870</u>		

in a country so generally well adapted to its operations. After completing the existing establishments of Corps, an augmentation of 100 men to each of the two Cavalry Regiments in Bengal would be perhaps the utmost that could be accomplished and this addition His Excellency is induced to recommend strongly for adoption.

Infantry must of course constitute the remainder of the force.

The amount of the European force necessary to have in India at all times would then consist of:

Hon'ble Company's Artillery	... 5,950
King's Cavalry	... 3,600
" Infantry	...21,400
Hon'ble Company's Infantry	... 3,470
<u>Total:-</u>	<u>...34,420</u>

To produce the numbers proposed with the least inconvenience to the public service and at the lowest possible expence to the Hon'ble Company, it would be necessary to compleat His Majesty's Regiments now wanting 4,500 rank and file to their respective establishments, and (10) by augmenting the Establishments of the 33rd, 65th, 80th and 86th Regiments to 1,000 R & File a further addition of 1,000 men would be gained, making, with the 200 for the Dragoons in Bengal and the 89th Regiment now at Ceylon under orders for this country, 6,500 men. These with what are wanting to complete the Hon'ble Company's European Artillery and Infantry, viz. 3,000 and the augmentation of 1,500 men to the former, would give the

proportion of 1 European to 4 natives and the disposable force recommended of 24,000 men.

By this arrangement the pay, etcl of the private men would be very nearly the whole of the charge bearing on the Company's finances, as the establishments of officers and non commissioned officers for the numbers proposed are already entertained with the exception of non commissioned officers for the augmentation suggested for the 33rd, 65th, 80th and 86th King's Regiments, and probably a few commissioned and non commissioned officers which the Artillery at Madras and Bombay might require to meet the augmentation recommended for those Presidencies.

His Lordship in Council will perceive the foregoing statement applies to India generally, and that with the exception of the Corps of Artillery the Commander in Chief has not proposed any (11) particular proportion of Europeans for the different Presidencies, it being obvious that their application must ever depend on contingencies which cannot be foreseen or controuled; it appears to be sufficient to provide the force that ought to be in the country, leaving the distribution of it to depend on circumstances of convenience and necessity as they arise, it will however appear on reference to the reports from the Government of Fort St. George and Bombay that the provision recommended by Lieutenant General Hewitt is in unison with the sentiments and opinions of those Governments.

The report of the Quarter Master General of the Coast Army, founded on the same views of pecuniary means on the part of the Company and of population on that of the mother country, provides for a disposable force of Europeans/ now at that Presidency/ consisting of 8,300 men and 2,200 men for internal duties making an aggregate of 10,500 men. Major General Jones's report does not discriminate between the force applicable to field operations (12) and that indispensable to the security of the interior, but it recommends a total of 10,400 men for Artillery and Infantry, which leaves 13,000 to complete the number recommended by the Commander in Chief. Lieutenant ~~xxxxxx~~ Colonel Monro however urges the expediency of adding 3 Battalions of

Europeans to the Fort St. George establishment which would then leave 10,000 men only for the service of Bengal.

From the above comparative statement the sentiments of His Excellency as conveyed in this letter will appear to correspond very nearly to those expressed in the reports received from the other two Presidencies: in artillery they accord strictly as the augmentation proposed demonstrates. On the subject of European Cavalry, the Madras and Bombay reports are silent; the latter however requiring 3 Regiments of Cavalry for the province of Guzerat, evinces the expediency of the arrangement which gave His Majesty's 17th Light Dragoons to that establishment, and the proportion of Infantry recommended by Major General Iones will as nearly as possible leave the force of Bengal as it will be when the establishment of Corps are completed. It seems therefore to be a just inference that large as the amount (13) of 34,000 Europeans appears to be, or a proportion of 1 to 4 natives according to the present numbers of the latter, it is no more than what the security of the Hon'ble Company's dominions demand, and which is nevertheless grounded on feelings of almost perfect confidence in the fidelity of our sepoys, for were general opinion to turn against us, the proportion of European physical strength would be totally inadequate to the maintenance of the ~~Rtixk~~ British authority over this extensive Empire.

The report received from the Government of St. Fort George, as it relates to arrangements of general defence and offensive operations, not having any immediate connection with the question from the Hon'ble Secret Committee, does not appear in this place to call for any particular observations from the Commander in Chief, whose sentiments indeed are already known to Government and the Hon'ble Committee. He cannot however but remark that Lieut. Col. Munro has treated the subject with great ability, and his report will be doubtless viewed by Government as a document of great importance. (14)

There are nevertheless a few distinct points to which His Excellency' begs to call the attention of the Governor General, as being of

high importance in themselves, and which are stated to be under the consideration of His Lordship. The first relates to the establishment of a commissariat department, to which Sir Geo: Barlow attaches considerable importance on account of its expected efficiency without entailing any additional expense on the Company. In the sentiments of the Governor of Fort St. George it is not necessary to express the Commander in Chief's entire concurrence, as His Excellency had before recommended the adoption of a similar system for this Presidency, on the conviction of its decided preference to any contract or agency system and His Excellency will rejoice when the benefit of a well organised Commissariat establishment is extended to the three Presidencies. For the more detailed sentiments of the Commander in Chief on this question, His Excellency begs to refer the Governor General to the letter he had the honour to address to His Lordship on the 16th of June last, as also the Adjutant General's letters of the 14th June and 26th July last to the Secretary to Government in the Military Department.

On the question of Horse Artillery (15) which the Quarter Master General states in his report to have been referred to the consideration of the Supreme Government, the Commander in Chief cannot better communicate his sentiments to Government on the utility of that description of force, than by referring His Lordship to the Adjutant General's letter and enclosures to the Secretary in the Military Department bearing date 29th February last, conveying His Excellency's recommendation of a very great extension of that branch of the Artillery Corps in Bengal for reasons which are no doubt equally applicable to the Madras Presidency, and on that principle, an augmentation has been proposed of 2 Brigades to the one now borne on that establishment, as the smallest extension which ought to take place.

On the subject of Light Troops, the sentiments of the Commander in Chief will be found detailed in His Excellency's memorandum which accompanies my letter to Mr. Secretary Thornhill under date 8th March 1808, and further arrangements connected with that subject were

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submitted to Government in my letter to your address of the 1st July following, which arrangements were honoured with the entire approbation of the Governor General in Council. His Excellency convinced of the advantages which the embodying (16) of the Light companies for field operations possesses over any other mode that can be resorted to in the Company's service, as affording the power of applying the elite of the army to the most active and arduous field duties, strongly recommends the adoption of a similar arrangement in the other Presidencies when circumstances shall appear to require a chosen body of troops for field operations and with a view of instructing the Light Infantry companies of the native Corps on the Coast in the exercise and movements of Light Troops, His Excellency conceives that the temporary measure acted upon at this Presidency during the last year of forming them into Corps for the purpose of being instructed by officers competent to the task, aided by the example of the Light companies of His Majesty's regiments, might also be adopted on the coast with very essential benefit to the service.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

Headquarters
Calcutta
the 30th November 1809

VI.15

Dear Sir,

The conversation which passed between us this morning has given me the greatest uneasiness; whilst I conceived that your resolution of going home was formed from the consideration of your health alone, although I felt the misfortune to the public and to myself, I could only lament the unhappy cause and submit. But to be told that I have sacrificed your services to such a man as Mr. Mackenzie*, touches me too sensibly. As there was no part of our former connection that gave me reason to apprehend that this would be the consequence of my opinion on the late altercations at the Board of Revenue, you will easily conceive that your declaration came very unexpectedly upon me. It will be a great ease to my mind to have another conversation with you on the subject, and I shall be glad to call on you for half an hour either this evening or tomorrow morning, whichever will be most convenient or agreeable to you.

(Cornwallis)

To

John Shore Esq.

Public Record Office: PRO/30/11/165;
 Letter from Cornwallis to John Shore:
 Sheet 90 (seems to be manuscript in own
 hand: Seems to refer to 88: April 25, 1789).

*Crossed out in original "whom I both hate
 and despise".

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VI. 16

Letter No. 66 dated 18th June 1792
(pp. 125-127 from Madras Vol. 151)

(126)....A man of upright intentions with ability in application that and undertake this Government for six or seven years might do great things for the public, and save a considerable fortune for himself....

Governor General.....which I hope never again to see in the hands of Company's servants.

Public Record Office: Cornwallis Papers: Extracts from letters of Cornwallis to Dundas.

Letter No.72, dated 7th March 1793
(pp.151-154 Vol.151)

(152)..... I have great regard for Shore and I admire many excellent qualities of his head and heart and I likewise give you great credit for your motives in making the appointment but still I cannot bring myself to consider him as a proper exception to the rule laid down in my letter dated 18th June and I should as a public man have been much better pleased to have delivered over my charge in August next to a stranger of a certain rank and character with very inferior talents.

It is needless, at present, to dwell on this subject, which I will explain more fully when we meet, but I shall in the meantime apply my earnest endeavours in my conversations with Shore to avert the apprehend, that I

Letter No.73, dated 24th March 1793
(pp.155-156, Vol.151)

(155)..... And induced me to hope that I shall have the grounds to retract the opinion I before gave and to admit me as an exception to the general rule. He did not appear to be the least disappointed.

Public Record Office: Cornwallis Papers: Extracts
from letters of Cornwallis to Dundas

Great George Street West
April 1795

Sir

I gladly avail myself of the assurance which Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Ross have repeatedly given me that notwithstanding the number and importance of your engagements, you will not decline the trouble of a correspondence which has the interest of India for its object.

It is not always from public dispatches, nor even from the consultations of Government, of which they are the abstract, that a just opinion can be formed, by persons at home, of the real state of the British Empire in India; and I find, by the alarm which you have felt on the perusal of Mr. Bruee's Publications, that the measures adopted in England, may be much misunderstood at Calcutta.

The letter which you have probably received from the Marquis, from General Ross; and the proofs which they have given me of confidence, by the communication of your correspondence with them, will account for the freedom with which I shall express my own sentiments and solicit (215v) a disclosure of yours. I need not add that my part of the correspondence is intended for yourself alone, and that yours (unless a different intention should at any time be expressed) will be communicated only to the Marquis to the General.

The publication of Mr. Bruee's Book appears to me to have originated in the desire which Mr. Dundas has constantly expressed, that the Legislature of the Public at large, should have the means of forming a competent judgement of the interests of their Eastern Empire and of the rectitude of the measures suggested for its Government. This confidence in the plan which he had prepared for the renewal of the Company's Charter and the regulation of its Political and Commercial concerns, did not diminish his solicitude to communicate such preliminary information as might facilitate a just comprehension of the subject. That information, I understood, at the time, was intended to consist of

1. A short historical view of the Mercantile and political transactions of the Company, from its first establishment to the period of its territorial acquisitions in Bengal. (216R)
2. An account of the proceedings of former administrations respecting the government of the British Empire in the East.

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/15/P.215-223V:
Letter dated 4-4-1795 from H. Beaufoy to Sir
George Barlow

- 31 A plain and perspicuous description of the measures which he had already adopted in England and in India; and of those which he meant to offer to the consideration of Parliament as the conditions on which the Charter should be renewed.
4. An account of the plans which different persons had formed for the conduct of India affairs.

The last division of the proposed work, was probably suggested, and its labour abridged by a valuable manuscript of the late Mr. Lind, who was employed at the requests of Lord North, in furnishing a comparative view of the sentiments of Mr. Hastings, Mr. Francis, and others on the principal points of India administration.

(216v) Mr. Bruce, to whom the materials and executions of the projected work were entrusted, was formally the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, which appointment he relinquished for the purpose of superintending the Education of Mr. Dundas's only son. He is a man of acknowledged talents; but the habits of his life have been chiefly collegiate, and tho' he never was in India, he seems to have no distrust of the accuracy of his information, or of the competency of his judgement. Before the Book was sent to the press, he desired me, as an old acquaintance, to read it with attention, and communicate my remarks. But finding my opinions, both as to principles and facts so very often at variance with his, that the discussion would be endless, I returned the manuscript with only such verbal comments, as were sufficient to show that I had given it a perusal. When the work appeared it was praised by the different Reviewers, the value of whose opinion, as well as the means of obtaining it, are well understood by the Writers of Dr. Robertson's school; and as those who speak (217r) of the performance to Mr. Dundas, mention it, for obvious reasons in terms of high commendation, I never heard him express any sort of dissatisfaction on the subject. One important advantage has certainly arisen from Mr. Bruce's numerous mistakes; for to them we are indebted for an invaluable discussion of the fundamental principles of the system which the Marquis's Government has established; and for the means of giving them in future, their full practical effect.

I have not the smallest reason to believe that any one of the provisions of the Act of 1793 originated with Mr. Bruce, or that the extravagant opinions which are expressed in particular passages of his Book, and which have occasioned such alarm, are likely, at any time, to be recommended to the Legislature; yet I am glad to possess on such authority as yours, so clear an exposition of the measures to be avoided, as well as so perspicuous a description of

the system to be (217v) upheld.

A letter which you wrote to Lord Cornwallis on the 10th of March 1794, expresses some apprehension that a future Act of Parliament may confer on the Armenians and Portuguese of Bengal, the same exemption from the authority of the Provincial Courts which British subjects enjoy. Of such a design there is no appearance at present; but the forcible arguments which you have urged against its adoption, have enabled me to inculcate, in the strongest manner the general maxim of the Marquis that except in an English town like that of Calcutta, none of the Natives, whether Hindoos, Musselmen or Christians, should be subject, as Defendants, to the authority of the Supreme Court, not even by their own Consent. The question has been canvassed of late, in consequence of the alledged expediency of new Charters of Justice for Madras and Bombay and of the still more important design of (218r) establishing on the Coast of Coromandel and in the Northern Circas, a similar system of judicial regulation for the Natives, to that which has proved so beneficial to Bengal. Both these objects have been strongly recommended to the consideration of the Court of Directors; but they are very incompetent Judges of the measures that are requisite for the internal policy of their Dominions; and they are also embarrassed by the operation of one of their Bye laws, which prohibits the establishment of such new offices as require a salary of £200, except with the previous consent and sanction of the Proprietors.

Fortunately, however, the same insufficiency of knowledge, which often prevents the adoption of a projected measure, equally restrains them from the rejection of such measures of presumed expediency, as their Governments have already embraced; and to these the restraint of the Bye Laws is not supposed to apply. This distinction will be found of importance to the prosperity of the British Empire in the East. (218v) A question of more difficult discussion is that of the degree of Legislative Power that should be vested in the Governor General ^{by} Council. It is ^{hard} a question on which, as far as my information extends, the Minister for India has never declared, nor probably ever formed, a decided opinion. A Power of provisional Legislation, restricted as to its objects and subject to the double control of his Majesty in Council and of Parliament itself may be conferred in two different way, viz.

By a positive statute expressly creating it. Or by that sort of sanction which is given to the exercise of a subordinate Legislative Power, when certain acts, implying the execution of such powers, ~~when certain acts, implying this~~ are brought under the notice of Parliament, and are either tacitly acquiesced in, or directly recognised.

In the first mode the extent of the Power and the objects to which it is applicable, would be defined by the statute which creates it; but the difficulty of so (219r) defining it as to render it efficient without being dangerous, appears to be extremely great.

In the second mode the extent of the Power and the purposes for which it is given, can only be collected from the Precedents which the Legislature shall have sanctioned.

By the former of these ways, I am not aware that Legislative authority has ever been conferred on the Governor General in Council; for the Power which Parliament has expressly given them is only a Power to regulate. But by the latter of the two modes, the existence of a Legislative Power in the Bengal Government, appears to have been clearly recognised; for the powers which soon after the acquisition of the Dewanny, were exercised by the Government of Bengal, with respect to the Courts of Dewanny adawlut, are known to have greatly exceeded the limits of mere Regulation; yet Parliament, who were duly informed by the Reports of their (219v) Committees, of the exercise of those Powers, acquiesced in, and consequently sanctioned their ~~existence~~ existence.

But on whatever grounds the Legislative authority of the Bengal Government may rest in future; or whatever may be esteemed its limits, the great fundamental principles of Lord Cornwallis's system should be placed beyond its reach. The best mode of obtaining this desirable object, is perhaps not easily determined; but the best mode which occurs to me, is that of Parliament's distinctly enumerating and expressly approving in the Preamble of the first Act on India Affairs, which may afford a fit opportunity, those great fundamental regulations which are described in your letter of the 10th May 1794, as constituting the principles of Lord Cornwallis's system. Thus the Constitution of the India Government, will rest upon a basis which those who are entrusted with that Government, will have no power to change; at the same time that their right to exercise (220r) for the obvious benefit of the countries over which they preside certain degrees of Legislative authority, will be virtually confirmed; but without the smallest diminution of the responsibility by which it now is and ever ought to be accompanied.

It is with much satisfaction that I observe from your letter of 10th May, how nearly the selection which had made in the Revenue letter that I wrote a few days before that time, at Lord Cornwallis's request, of those great points of his

system on which the direct approbation of the Directors appeared to me to be particularly desirable, corresponds with the enumeration you have given of the characteristic regulations and chief governing provisions of the Code.

I do not mean that the points which are mentioned in the Revenue Dispatch, are selected with as much judgement as those which (220v) are specified in your letter of the 10th of May; for independently of other obvious reasons of the difference, the information before me at the time was very imperfect. But in considering the entire and perpetual separation of the Office of Tax gatherer, from those of Magistrate and of Judge, as the basis of the new system; as well as in considering the regular publication of all such Rules and Orders (together with the reasons on which they are founded) as shall be issued by Government in its Legislative capacity, as one of the principal supports of most essential securities of that system, I am happy to find myself entirely in unison with the sentiments expressed in your letters to the Marquis.

On the subject of a Parliamentary sanction to the fundamental principles of Lord Cornwallis's system of Government, I hope to have the pleasure of receiving a farther communication of your sentiments (221r). In the present ~~situation~~ ^{session} there seems to be no probability that such a measure will be taken into consideration.

Having mentioned that the Revenue Dispatch of 30th April 1794 was written by myself, you may perhaps be desirous of knowing in what manner the correspondence to India is conducted. In general the business of preparing all dispatches, those in the commercial department excepted, is assigned by the Directors to Mr. Johnson, a Gentleman of very considerable talents and of great experience in their service. Two assistants are allowed him, whose principal duty, when a letter is to be answered, consists in examining the consultations, together with the proceedings of the subordinate Boards, and in marking all such passages as furnish, in detail, the information which that letter professes to convey.

These passages are afterwards extracted (221v) by the numerous writers at the India House; and enable Mr. Johnson to form his own opinion on the facts related and the sentiments expressed, in the letter to which he replies.

The process is laborious, but on the whole is easiest and the best. As soon as the Directors have read and approved the intended dispatch, their Secretary sends it to the office of the Commissioners for India Affairs; and ^{care} leave is taken that the private copy for my own use, shall be accompanied by the volumes of extracts (often amounting to many thousand pages) on the authority of which the Dispatch was formed. If doubts arise upon any point, as to the fairness of the extract, recourse is had to the original record; but no instance in my time of intentional omission, has ever yet occurred. The labour of reading these extracts falls, of course, upon the Secretary, but this is the lightest of his (222r) employments; for as Mr. Dundas is seldom present at the Board and afterwards requires at very uncertain times, and often at the shortest notice, complete information on such points in the Dispatch, as engage his particular attention, it becomes necessary, to form a written abridgement of these bulky materials. This the custom of writing short hand enables me to do.

Before the Act of 1793, the Board of Commissioners for India Affairs was little more than ~~nominal~~ ^{nominal}, except as the term applies to the principal Commissioner; for as the papers which required their ~~lagi~~ signature were usually sent in circulation, they seldom were convened; and I who had been invited to the office as to a situation in which my services were particularly wanted, was surprised to find that it not only had been a sinecure in the hands of my predecessor; but that no active duties, (the labour (222v) of writing reports on points of extensive discussion excepted) appeared to belong to the appointment.

Fortunately, however, the Act of 1793 relived me from the embarrassment, by declaring that the sentiments of the Board of Commissioners for India Affairs upon any proposed dispatch transmitted to them by the Directors, shall be certified under the hand of their chief Secretary by order of the Board. The consequences of the Regulation is; that no Public Dispatch can be transmitted to India without a previous meeting of the Commissioners; that information is expected from the Secretary on all the principal points of every such letter; and that his Office is become efficient and important. Still, however, the writing of Dispatches, (except in certain cases of disagreement between the Directors and the Board), is not within the general-line of his (223r) employment. But as the Revenue Letter of the last year was

considered as the sequel of that which confirmed the Decennial Settlement, and which was written (principally I believe by Mr. Pitt) Particular parts of this letter are said to have been written by Mr. Dundas, and some by Mr. C. Grant) on the plan of a report prepared by the Secretary from the original records, Mr. Johnson willingly left to me this small portion of the business of his Department.

No inconvenience, I hope, will follow from that part of the Revenue Dispatch of 1794, which enables the Government to subject to the authority of the new civil courts, such of the Company covenanted servants as reside at a distance from Calcutta. I observe from your letter, that the expediency of an actual extension of the power of such Courts to persons of this description, may be justly questioned.

The object which most engaged at present, the attention of the Minister for India is the new military arrangement; and I have great pleasure in observing that the chief obstacles to a general union of all equitable claims and of all honourable interests appears to be very much diminished. (223V)

I have written this letter in the midst of interruptions and under the pressure of much business; but I hope it will enable you to give me instruction on many important points in the policy of British India. At any rate it enables me to assure you that I am with very great esteem,

Sir,

Yours faithful and obedient servant

(signed) H. Beaufoy

Great George Street West

4th April 1795.

VI. 18

Calcutta, 24th October 1795

My Lord

Since my address to your Lordship of the 20th August last by the Mary Packet, I received, by the Company's ship the Thurlow a letter from Mr. Beaufoy dated the 20th April last. It was with much concern I read the account of his sudden demise which was brought by the same ship, for from his letter to me, he appears to have interested himself deeply in the affairs of India, and to have formed very just ideas respecting them.

2. Mr. Beaufoy desired my sentiments on two very important points, which he observed might possibly come under the consideration of Ministry next year. First. The degree of legislative power which should be vested in the Governor General in Council, (and I presume he meant to imply) the Governor in Council at Madras, and at Bombay. Secondly, The expediency of giving a Parliamentary (335v) sanction to the fundamental principles of the constitution of the internal Government which your Lordship has established in the British Dominions in Bengal, consisting of the four provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Benaras.

3. As Mr. Beaufoy might not have had an opportunity of communicating to you what he wrote to me on these subjects, I enclose extracts of the parts of his letter which relate to them.

4. On the first point I offered my sentiments at some length, in my letter to you of the 10th March 1794, by the Lansdown and I still retain the same sentiments with regard to the degree of Legislative power which should be vested in the Government at each Presidency.

5. But, on consideration, it appears to me that to frame an act to define that degree of Legislative power, might be attended with considerable (336r) embarrassment. As Mr. Beaufoy observes, it would be difficult to define the power, so as to render it efficient without making it dangerous.

6. A system of Government like that which your Lordship left to our Bengal dominions, formed on general principles of Government, combined with a variety of local circumstances and considerations, arising out of our extraordinary political situation, whilst it is competent to all the purposes of internal prosperity and security, had better perhaps be left

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/57/3/P.335-341R;
Letter dated 24-10-1795 from Sir George Barlow
to Lord Cornwallis (Extract)

to perfect itself by the operation of the principles on which it is formed. The limited legislative power which the Governor General in Council in Bengal now exercises under the denomination of a regulating power, is just what should be vested in it; but were any definition of this power to be attempted with that (336v) precision which would be necessary were it to be made the subject of all Act of Parliament, there would be a danger of giving too much or too little, and a certainty of creating much embarrassment here. The letter of the Act, to which it would be necessary to conform, might often be construed to impose restrictions in matters respecting which none might have been intended to be made, or justify the exercise of powers with which the Government might otherwise never have considered themselves vested.

7. Suppose for instance, that in respect to the Mahomedan or Hindoo law, the act were to run in general terms, that the Legislative power of the Governor General in Council should not extend to passing any Regulation which may be repugnant to those laws. Such a restriction would be highly embarrassing, for but a small proportion of the Mahomedan or Hindoo law is actually ~~in~~ (337r) in force, and the remainder is little more than dead letter; and it will no doubt be found necessary to pass a variety of regulations, which altho they may not be strictly consistent with Mahomedan or Hindoo Law, yet may be highly beneficial to the people, and warranted by the ancient usages and practice of the country and the powers uniformly exercised by the native administrations.

8. On the other hand, supposing an Act were to vest the Governor General in Council with a general power to deviate from the Hindoo or Mahomedan Law in cases in which he might deem it essentially necessary for the good of the country as he would be ~~make~~ the judge of that necessity; under this general sanction, he might with the best intentions, on the ground of received maxims of policy amongst us, make innovations in the parts of those laws to which the people are particularly attached, to the entire disgust of these two great classes of our subjects. (337v)

9. Again, were the Parliament to attempt to take a middle course; and to specify to what points or matters the Legislative power of each Government should and should not extend, it would lead them into an ~~attempt~~ endless labyrinth of detail and discussion; and from their distance from the spot, their want of a competent knowledge of the customs of the country,

the habits of the people, and the Laws and Regulations by which they are governed, the result would probably be as unsatisfactory to themselves as to people here.

10. An Act of Parliament ^{explicitly} defining the degree of this Legislative power, is rendered still less necessary by the 41st Regulation of 1793, passed by your Lordship, (provided it be strictly adhered to in Bengal, and extended to the other two Presidencies) as whilst the (338r) Governments abroad continue to print and publish every legislative act in the ~~mode~~ prescribed in that ^{measure} Regulation, with the reasons on which it is grounded prefixed, Parliament, and the authorities at home, will at once be able to check any exercise of that power which in its nature or extent may differ from what they have already ~~been~~ tacitly sanctioned, or which they may deem inconsistent with good policy, either as it may have reference to our Constitution at home, or our possessions abroad.

11. It appears to me therefore that it will be more advisable to leave each of ^{the} three Govern- ^{ments} to exercise the Legislative authority they have hitherto done, calling their Acts, (altho' to all intents and purposes Legislative Acts,) Regulations, Parliament, and the authorities at home, always attending to the several Regulations as they are (338v) published, that they may interfere should any power be exercised inconsistent with the British Constitution or the prosperity of our Indian territories. Under such an arrangement the three Governments will continue to pass Regulations as circumstances may require, and (what must be a necessary consequence of the exercise of such a power under sufferance and tacit sanction,) always looking to precedents for their guidance both as to the nature of their Acts, and the extent of the power which they may take upon them to exercise, as being the only ground of their justification. Things will consequently always keep in the same direction that they have taken and which is best suited to them; and generally the Governments will never venture to exercise a more extensive Legislative authority than circumstances may require, and what (339r) the example of former administrations, added to the antient usages of the country, and the practice of the native rulers, will fully justify.

12. The second question stated by Mr. Beaufoy viz. the expediency of giving a Parliamentary sanction to the fundamental principles of the Constitution which your Lordship has established

in Bengal, and which I conceive, (as I believe you intended to suggest,) should be introduced at the two other Presidencies, appears to me of the least importance to the prosperity of the British territories in the East, and to the permanence of our dominion.

13. By the fundamental principles of this Constitution, I mean the distribution of the Legislative, executive, and Judicial powers, which, wherever lodged, or under whatever (339v) restrictions or denominations exercised, may be said to form the elements of every Government of a populous and extensive country, whether independent or otherwise; and on the proper distribution of which must depend the enactment of good laws, and the due administration of them, and consequently security of private rights and property, and, the necessary result of that security, public prosperity.

14. These first principles, I conceive, should never be lost sight of in any arrangement; because their operation is known, and the results of the variety of experiments and theories that have been adopted in the East and the West, ~~arrive~~ evince that every system of internal polity which is not governed by a due distribution and regulation of the three powers abovementioned, is delusive, and inefficient, and incompetent to counteract the ~~vices~~ and passions of mankind; ^{and vices} and because it is easy to ingraft and combine with them, the various restrictions and (340r) modifications which the nature of our political situation and Government in this country require without ~~depriving~~ ^{depriving} the people of their beneficial ^{law} influence, and thereby what appears to me indeed to be the only sound and just policy to unify the security of our dominion, and our national interests on the prosperity of the conquered country, and the happiness of its numerous inhabitants. I shall here add, (although perhaps it may be superfluous), that there is no Hindoo or Mahomedan Law which enjoins ~~on~~ or prohibits the union or separation of the Legislative, executive or judicial powers in the same or different hands, or prescribes under what restrictions either of these powers shall be exercised, or what Courts of Judicature shall be established for the administration of the laws, or by whom they shall be superintended or what taxes (340v) or duties shall be imposed.

These are points wholly unconnected with that part of the Laws of the Hindoos or Mahomedans which is actually in force, and which under the native administrations depended on the will of the immediate Ruler of the country. There consequently can be no objection to our regulating them in such manner as we may think best calculated to promote our own interests, and the happiness of the people.

15. The following are the fundam^ental principles to which I have above alluded, as being the main Pillars of the Constitution, and requiring the sanction of Parliament, and which the Government abroad in their Legis-lative capacity should not have the power to alter. I have subjoined remarks to each principle for the more full elucidation of it.

16. First. The Governor General in Council and the Governors in Council at Madras and ^{Bombay} ~~Bengal~~ to print and publish in the manner ⁽³⁴²⁾ prescribed in the 41st Regulation 1793 for Bengal ^{of} all rules and orders which they may pass in any respect affecting the rights, persons or property of the native inhabitants of their respective territories, or other persons who may be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of Judicature, with a preamble to each Regulation stating the reasons for the exaction of it (See Regulation XLI, 1793).

17. I have already said much on the subject of this Regulation in my former letters, and particularly, in my letter to Mr. Beaufoy, dated the 3rd June last. From the importance of the subject, however, I shall not hesitate to subjoin the following repetitions.

18. Were the territories under each Presidency independent states, it would be impossible to form a good

VI.19

Mr. Russell begs leave to acquaint Mr. Dundas, that he has assisted the two Mr. Beaufoys at their late brothers' house in George Street, in collecting together and examining all manuscript books and papers to be ~~found~~ found there relating to the affairs of India; and that those gentlemen have readily permitted all such of them as appeared to Mr. Russell to be of any value, to be removed to Whitehall, excepting only about 18 folio volumes of abridgments of letters to and from the Governments abroad, and of military and political consultations on select subjects and copies of reports, all which are within the period of the first creation of the India Board. These Books according to Mr. Lewis's information were partly written by Mr. B. and transcribed by Mr. Lewis, or were of Mr. B's dictation to him. They are interspersed with a variety of remarks and comments which it seems Mr. Beaufoy both before and after he quitted London, mentioned as reasons for the great anxiety he had expressed that they might be destroyed in case of his death; and his brother Mr. John Beaufoy very earnestly hopes he may be permitted to fulfil his solemn promise made to his brother in his last moments in that respect. Mr. Lewis is possessed of the original drafts of these volumes and has promised to bring them to George Street tomorrow morning that they may attend the fate of the fair copy. ~~The opinion~~ Mr. Russell the whole were done at Mr. Beaufoy's private cost, and for his own private use and they are lettered on their backs, "Mr. Beaufoy's private m.s.s." to distinguish them from the others. Altho' these collections must have taken great time and (462) labour in the compilation, Mr. Russell on the cursory inspection he had of them, is persuaded they would afford, by the acquisition of them, little use at the office, where the precis and abridgements are more perfect. It would at the same time be highly improper they should pass into other hands. If Mr. Dundas will consent to their

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Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/635: sometime during 1795 or 1796. Memorandum by Mr. Russell for the attention of Mr. Dundas on Mr. Beaufoy's papers.

being destroyed, then Mr. Beaufoy will have it done in the presence of some of the Board's officers. It is a point they do not seem disposed to give up, and Mr. Russell really thinks it may be conceded to them without the smallest injury or inconvenience. All the rest of the books and papers have been removed, excepting some pocket memorandum and papers chiefly in short hand, of Mr. Beaufoy's own writing, which are destroyed as useless.

Sunday Night

VI, 20

Kilkenny, August 13th 1797

Dear Sir

I have the honour of your letter of the 7th from Walmer Castle. It is unnecessary for me to say what you will readily conceive, that the favourable sentiments which his Majesty is pleased to express of me gave me real pleasure, and that I feel myself exceedingly flattered and gratified by them. It will be an additional obligation conferred on me if you will be so good as to offer to his Majesty my humble acknowledgements on that account. If any thing could induce me to undertake the office which his Majesty has thought of for me, it would be the consideration of the proposition having originated with himself. But many reasons concur to make it impossible for me to think of it. How far I should, at any time, have been able to acquit myself with honour, in a situation (527b) in which so many have failed, I can not say. But my time of life is alone an objection insurmountable. A man of sixty-four must be an indifferent calculator who proposes to pass some years in India, with a view of spending the remainder of his life more comfortably at home. I hope therefore I shall not forfeit any part of his Majesty's good opinion if I beg leave to decline the honour he is so good as to intend for me. I am abundantly grateful with his having thought me worthy of it. I will add no more but that I am with sincere regard, Dear Sir

your most faithful and
obedient servant
(Ad Fergusen)

R. H. Henry Dundas

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/1/ 527: ff527. (Kilkenny 13 Aug 1797 Sir A. Fergusen Bt). Note: The age indicated above seems to be off by ten years, Adam Fergusen having been born in 1743 (DNB). Adam Fergusen was also not titled though his son Alexander Fergusen was awarded a knighthood.

59.21

WELLSLEY ESTIMATE OF LORD CLIVE

...It is with the utmost real concern that after a (162b) full and impartial enquiry, I am compelled to declare to you, that I believe Lord Clive is not equal to his situation either in points of talents or of knowledge. His intentions are however so indisputably pure and honourable, and he has shown so much desire to act cordially with me, that I should be quite certain of his becoming an useful support, if he were not so much in the hands of Mr Webb. With a full knowledge of my opinion of that gentleman, Lord Clive has been so deceived as to request from me a discretionary power of (163a) imparting to Mr Webb my private and confidential communications to his Lordship. If Mr Petrie were in the council I entertain a hope that Mr Webb would lose his ascendancy in some degree; but as the matter now stands, I am seriously apprehensive for the safety of our possessions in the Carnatic, the care of which requires a considerable degree both of ability and vigour.

Nov 13th

However my accounts of this day from Madras give me more hopes; they had just received the news of my bloodless victory at Hyderabad; which has considerably raised the spirits of Lord (163b) Clive and General Harris, and I hope depressed those of the faction in an equal proportion. I have endeavoured on this occasion to apply ~~sixmas~~ to Lord Clive's constitution; I enclose /a tonic a copy of it, and I entertain a sanguine hope that it may prove useful.

My earnest request to you is that you will, by the earliest possible opportunity, overland and by sea convey to India through the Secret Committee a most pointed censure of the letters of the 10th of July, and of the 3rd of August from Fort St George.

(164a) From the censure you will exempt General Harris, and direct your thunder against the subordinate officers of government. That you will also censure the Political and Secret letters of the 15th of October, and remark the gross misrepresentation of my measures, as well as the inconsistencies which these letters contain.

From this censure you will except Lord Clive, and refer to my Secret letter in council, and to my separate letter to the Court of Directors to shew the cordial union which subsists between us; expressing a confidence, that Lord Clive will not suffer the arts of any (164b) faction to interrupt our mutual harmony.

If you will immediately send out censures to this effect, I trust my authority will stand on a firm basis, but if any disposition to balance or compromise between me and the authors of the letters in question should appear in your despatches, it will become quite impossible

Scottish Record Office; GD 51/3/2/13-31; Secret and Confidential No 3, Fort William Nov 12, 1798; Wellesley to Dundas: ff 157-168.

for me to hold the charge of the Government General with any hope of enforcing due respect or prompt obedience to my orders in any part of India, I think you ought also to direct me (through the Government of Fort St George) to remove from (165a) their offices any persons whom I believe to have been concerned in the late factious proceedings at Madras. No Government can proceed with safety against such a new and dangerous species of secret influence; by which these who ought to obey now govern without responsibility and without the possibility of control. If Mr Webbe's libels of the 15th of October, or any other from the same manufactory should make any unfavourable impression of my conduct, I trust to my friends for my defence in the publication of my several minutes and letters. You will decide upon the reports which you (165b) will receive from this country, and upon your own judgement and knowledge of the interests of India, whether my conduct has corresponded with the exigencies of my duty. That the crisis has been most arduous and difficult cannot be denied, and it is equally unquestionable that the part which I have acted has been strong and decided. It is therefore evident that my measures have been either very proper or very much otherwise. ...

Wellesley to Lord Clive: 14.11.1798 (ff 186-8)

(ff 187a) ... I am most happy to learn that your battling train is in such forwardness, and if the same spirit of alacrity and dispatch can (through your Lordship's means) be infused into all the departments of your Government, you will hereafter have the satisfaction to reflect that you have contributed most effectually to the preservation of that empire, which was acquired by the tenor of our arms, and must be maintained by the same means....
 (ff 187b) Nor can I conceive a more firm foundation or a more honorable of friendship, than a common share in the labours, difficulties, and honour of defending and saving so valuable a part of the British Empire. This is the nature of the connection which I seek with your Lordship; and these are the sentiments which render me so averse to those men appear so negligent, or reluctant, or irresolute in a conjuncture, which ought to extinguish all partialities, all private resentments and affections, and unite all talents and exertions in one common cause. ...

The above volume also gives Wellesley's letters to Dundas of May 16, 1799 (ff 215-9) and January 25, 1800 (ff 225-31) the first on 'Clive' and the second on 'Webbe'.

In the John Rylands Library there is another letter from Wellesley to Dundas dated Fort St George July 31, 1799 on the same subject (Pitt Papers: E 907:ne 22). It gives sketches of the 'leading characters of this place', mentions that 'Petrie is a black sheep' and states: 'with respect to Fallefield, he is a true Indian councillor whom you may dismiss or retain according to your caprice. He does nothing, says nothing, and writes nothing. You may dispose of him as you will.' The letter is marked 'Duplicate'.

II. 22

Dunira 16 May 1808

My dear Madam,

I have received your letter with its enclosure. I had ~~been~~ heard, when in London, that your brother had expressed some ideas similar to those contained in your letter from him. I confess to you I did not give credit to the report. Although general, the Commander in Chief has been a Member of Council, it has not been uniformly so, and always with the reluctance of the Court of Directors, and a degree of management necessary to effectuate it; and when the authority of the Board of Controul was such as it was while I was there, it was not very difficult to accomplish. But your brother has been long abroad, and does not know that the authority of Government in Leadenhall Street was let very loose for several years, and it will require time and management to restore it to where it was, and when that is the case, the Government will probably have (S14V) influence sufficient to ~~the~~ procure the re-appointment to the Council of the Commander in Chief, who is generally a King's officer, and on that account the reluctance of the East India Company and their service to the distinction of the Commander in Chief being in Council, is certainly not diminished. But independent of the policy and expediency of the measure, which is a question solely between the Government and the East India Company, there are not rational grounds for the Commander in Chief taking up the question in the light your brother does. If the seat in Council had been in the gift of the Crown or the Commander in Chief, there might be room for his exercising any military feelings and points of honour on the subject, if he was appointed by his sovereign to a situation deprived of any of the distinctions usually belonging to it; but what right has he to resign a command to which the King has appointed him; because the East India Company decline, upon grounds of expediency, no matter whether right or wrong, of which (S15R) by law they are Judges, to appoint him to another civil situation which exclusively belongs to them. It was in ~~this~~ their power to have

: GD 51/3/454/4

even appointed another person to be Commander of their troops and there would have been something of consistency though not of sense, if he had declined any Military emoluments from them, because they did not at the same time accompany it with a distinction usually going along with it; but if your brother in the smallest degree acts by his reason, in place of surrendering his reason to his passion and a mistaken point of honour, he must feel that there is an absurdity in resigning a command, conferred upon him by the King; because the East India Company have given a civil employment in their gift to a civil servant of their own. Depend upon it, the matter cannot bear a serious argument. The East India Company will thank him for his feelings, because it will immediately open to them the means of contending that an officer of their own should be the Commander in Chief: ^{L(SISV)} a question which they and their military servants never fail to contend when it is in their power to do so; and they would consider the opening made by your brother and the grounds of it as affording them a strong ground for appointing a military servant of their own, who will not fail to accept of it, without encroaching on the expectation and views of the civil servants of the Company, whose rights to seats in the Supreme Councils of the different Presidencies, is expressly declared by Act of Parliament, with the single exception of the Commander in Chief being second in Council, if the East India Company think it expedient to appoint him to it. I have sent your letter to my son where it ought to be. He will of course, on grounds of public expediency, fight the battle with the Court when a fair opportunity occurs; but the resignation of your brother would not strengthen his hands for the combat. Altho' I can do nothing effectual in the business, unless by using the authority of my name and example (S16R) in the dispute, he can fortify himself in the exertions he will make to restore things to their former course. In the mean time I felt it due to you, in a matter where you are of course deeply interested, to explain to you fully the light in which the matter casts up to me; and I shall be truly sorry on all your accounts, if your brother, should persevere in the course he mentions, which as he truly states, would be an end of his military

pursuits, which are fair ones, and in my judgement could not fail to proceed successfully, if by his own intemperance and impatience, he does not frustrate them.

We all here (Lady Melville, Miss Gordon, Miss Wortley and myself) are perfectly well, enjoying most delightful weather, and enchanted by everything around us, which is in great beauty. Remember us kindly to Lord Hermand, and I remain
My dear Madam,

Yours truly

(Signed) Melville

Mrs. Ferguson

V. 23

The Principles of Money
 applied to the
 Present state of the Coin
 of
 Bengal: Being an Inquiry
 into the methods to be used for correcting the defects
 of the present currency; for stopping the Drains
 which carry off the coin; and for extending
 circulation by the means of
 Paper Credit.

Composed for the use of the Hon'ble E. I. Company*

pp. 8 The Princes of Hindostan have in all ages considered the coining of money as an appendage of sovereignty as well as a branch of revenue.

The practice of giving arbitrary denomination to certain coins, beyond the proportion of their intrinsic value with respect to others, is an abuse of very old standing; and nothing can be more contrary to convey principle, by which the precious metals have been adopted, as a measure for ascertaining the worth, and as a medium of commerce, or an equivalent for all commodities.

From the most early accounts, we have of the mercantile transactions of mankind, we find silver and gold, and even baser metals, made use of as equivalents () for the purchase of goods. The proportion of the value of the equivalent was reckoned by the purity of the metal and ~~max~~ which ^{having} mass it contained. It was not till in modern times, that princes attempted to set an arbitrary value or

By Sir James Steuart Bart, Published MDCCLXXII (1772)
 pp. 91: British Museum No. 141. d. 6 (Extract)

denomination upon coins, in consequence of the impression struck upon them. This impression was originally intended to ascertain the fineness of the coin, as the balance ascertained its weight; and it certainly must have appeared exceedingly absurd at first, to find the weight of coins curtailed, while they continued to carry the very denomination of the standard weights of the country where they circulated.

To reduce the contents of a drinking glass, and to call a glass of wine, is not more absurd, than to call by the term pound, what does not contain one ounce. From this abuse has been introduced the confusion which prevails everywhere in questions concerning money. From being the plainest of all regulations, money is become an almost inextricable science. The purity of the nature of the precious metals, the permanency of their weight, and the great divisibility of their substance, were the original inducements which mankind had for using them as money. These three great and peculiar qualities inherent in their nature, have been totally defeated, by mixing them with alloy, by giving denominations to their weight which have no relation to weight; and by dividing the same into different masses of the same value, as well as into equal masses of different values. In a word, it has required both art and ingenuity to deprive the metals of those advantages, which simple nature had endowed them with for the convenience of mankind.

Let us therefore explode this crafty contrivance; let us restore to the metals their primitive functions, and the subject of money will become, once more, both simple and easy to be comprehended (end 4)

pp.8 It has been long the custom in India to coin gold and silver into pieces of the same weight, and the same fineness. Let me call, for sake of an example, these gold and silver coins by the name of rupees; and let me suppose, that the gold rupees pass in circulation for 14

silver rupees, or that the proportion of the metals is as 14 is to 1.

(complexity of problem, dispute arise of price of gold pp.8-10).

pp.14 The standard of the Bengal money has been silver, gold has been occasionally coined, as we shall have occasion to observe; but the great bulk of the currency has been silver. (15) The most common silver coin is the rupee of one sicca, or ten massa weight, and of the fineness of 98/100 or 11(02)15(dwts)4(gr).8(dec.troy). The sicca weight is equal to 7 dwts. 11gr. and .5511 decimen of a grain, or, as other people call it, 7 dwts. 11gr. 2/3: The difference is inconsiderable. The sicca weight is thus divided; One sicca equal to 16 annas, or 179 grains⁵⁵¹¹ dec. tray weight. One anna equal to 12 pice, or to 11. grs. 22194 dec. tray. And one pice is equal to .93516 decimal parts of a troy grain.

These siccas, annas, and pices are denominations of real weight; and it is for this reason that I have converted them into troy weight, taking the denomination of the grain troy, and decimal parts of it, in order to avoid the perplexity, which the reckoning by the two denominations of penny weights and grains would involve our calculations.

The principal rupees in coin in Bengal, and those which are carried by the best regs. of weight and fineness, are those of Madras, Bombay Surat and the siccas of Bengal.

The standard weight of all is the same, viz. 16 annas, or 10 massa weight; and the fineness ought to be the same, viz. 98/100 fine; but the denomination is very different. This is occasioned by the battas. Here then occurs the first and radical defect of the Bengal currency.

I hope from the principles laid down, that it appears evident, that pices of the same weight and fineness, ought either to carry the

same denominations (16) of money, or then denominations cannot bear a regular proportion of value to the coin which carries them. This principle is so palpable, that it has required a little but to throw dust in the eyes of the people, in order to prevent their being shocked with it.

For this purpose, has been introduced a set of denominations of money, carrying the same names with the weights mentioned; above namely, annas and pice. A current rupee is said to contain 16 annas; every anna, 12 pice.

When a rupee comes from the mint of Bengal, it is called with propriety a sicca rupee; because it is of the weight of 1 sicca, or 16 annas, or 10 massa weight, as has been said.

The coin carries upon it the year of the King's reign, and is called a rupee of as many sums as the King has reigned years. Thus the rupee coined in 1770 are called rupees of the 11th sum, because the King began to reign in 1760. During the first year's currency, these rupees are worth 16% better than current rupees: During the second year's currency, they are worth no more than 13% above current: During the third year's currency, and even after, they are reduced to 11% above current, and are then called Sumat. There are, however, many rupees as good as these sunats, which are rated at 10% only above current; so the sunats have an arbitrary batta of 1% allowed to them above their real value in proportion to the general currency of the country.

The next defect of the Bengal currency is with respect to the accuracy of its fabrication.

(17) There are various mints established by ancient custom, where the regs., both as to the fineness, and the weight of the coins, are different, though their denominations be the same. From this and from punching out holes, and filling up these holes with base metal, as well as wilfully diminishing the weight of the coin, after coming from the mint, the currencies of rupees of different provinces are of different values.

This defect has introduced a general and unsupportable abuse, namely, that of shroffage.

The Shroffs are a sort of bankers, or money changers, whose business it is to set a value upon these different currencies, according to every circumstance, either in their favour, or to their prejudice.

When a sum of rupees is brought to a Shroff, he examines ~~their prices~~ them piece by piece, ranges them according to their fineness, then by their weight. Then he allows for the different legal battas upon siccas and sunats; and this done, he values in gross by the rupee current, what the whole quantity is worth.

This rupee current therefore is the only thing fixed, by which coin is at present valued; and the reason is, because it is not a coin itself and therefore can never be falsified or worn. One principal reg. therefore which is wanting, is to determine the value of the rupee current, and not to suffer it to be debared in its value by the debasement of the coin, which is at present the case.

I have already observed in general that the coin of Bengal has been unfaithfully made, both as to its weight and fineness; I am now to show as well as I can, the extent of their deviations from perfect exactness (17) ends. (Tables pp.18-21)

Foot note pp.89-90 Since printing the above, I have examined with more attention, some of Mr. Hort's calculations, contained in the Miscellaneous now collecting, which relate to the prices of gold and silver in the market of Madras. In these I find the value of 100 ounces of gold, Bri. standard, regularly stated at 1026 Pagodas 8 fanams and 75 cash. The silver varies constantly. Now 100 ounces Br. standard gold, contains 44,000 troy grains fine; which divided by 1026 pagodas 8 fanams, 75 cash, give for the contents of one Pagoda, 42.874 grains fine.

But upon Mr. Hort's authority, page 13 of the Miscellanies, where he gives the express weight and fineness of the pagoda, upon which I relied; I stated its value in the new regulations at about 45½ grains of fine gold. This is 6¼% difference; which is certainly too much for coinage, unless he charges it on the gold and deduct it from the silver.... (ends page 91).

VI.24

My Lord,

The statement which I have now the honour to send your Lordship has been formed by the materials furnished by the Company to the Committee of the House of Commons. It is designed to show in what proportion the public revenue of England, the Navigation and the General Industry of the Kingdom are interested in the Commerce with this part of India, as well as to ascertain the nett profits which it has yielded to the Company in a given period.

The abstract subjoined to the statement will show that these proportions upon a capital of £760,764 invested in India were a duty to Government of £662,508 a sum of £230,290 paid (S^{IV}) to the owners of ships or expended in the detail of charges all tending to the encouragement of the Industry and Commerce of the nation, and that the nett profit to the Company was but £287,026 or nearly in the proportion of one fourth of the general gain to the Nation: the total of which upon the capital abovementioned of £760,764 amounted to £1,179,824.

It will necessarily follow that the ~~axakaraki~~ declension of this commerce must be felt in the same proportion; and as it is to be apprehended that the exports of the Company from Madras for the four succeeding years cannot be made to exceed half the amount of the exports in the four years from which the statement has been formed; the nation may be supposed to lose in that time, a revenue of £331,254 and the Industry of the nation to lose the circulation of £115,145 which in (S^{IK}) addition to the reduction in the Company's nett receipt of £143,513 will make the sum of £589,912.

The plan of a private investment has for its object not only to prevent the loss of so considerable a sum to the English public, but to add to the receipts calculated in the statement, for it supposes that a private investment equal to

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/499/4 (Folio 511)2)

the amount of the statement will be exported in addition to what the Company may send to England and it proposes a duty of 7 per cent on the invoices of this private investment or £63,904 to be paid to the Company over and above the customs and freight, etc. as estimated in the statement, so that the statement from Jan. 1785 to Jan. 1789, as far as it respects the Nation at large, would be found to exceed the former statement of four years by a sum equal to the whole of the receipts on the Company's supposed imports in the four succeeding years.

From whence it follows that the (S¹²V) Nation would avoid a loss of £589,912 in the first instance and secure an absolute gain of the same amount, or in other words the difference to the Nation in the adoption or rejection of this measure would be £1,179,824 in the course of 4 years independently of the loss it might sustain in its general commerce by the passage of so large a portion of the India trade in the hands of foreigners.

Many others and not unimportant advantages may be drawn from this plan, but I have already trespassed so long on your Lordship's time, that I will now only add the assurance of the respect with which I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's
faithful humble servant

16th Nov 1784

VI.23

..... subject now under consideration. Such a measure could not in our opinion fail to diminish the remittances of your servants through foreigners and it would realise to the Company from the consumption of Indian commodities in France receipts to a large amount in England, during the period in which such heavy demands will be made on your Treasury at home.

You will have observed that in stating the estimates of these two points of Imports from India, and of sales of Indian goods in England, and in discussing the consequences resulting from them, we have assumed that which forms the result of our third head of enquiry, namely, that the surplus arising in England from sales to the amount before stated, added to the profit of their China trade, will not be more than ought to be provided for the payment of the Demands on the Company in England, previous to March 1790 (311V)

We proceed to state this more particularly and with a view to show what will be the operation of this plan before and after that period, and what would be its effects compared with a plan of payment in India.

The amount of Indian goods to be annually sold by the Company was taken as above at £2,400,000.

The prime cost of these was also stated as above at £1,500,000 being more than sufficient to provide an investment, which would sell at £2,400,000 after reducing the prices 12½ per cent below those of the last sales. In this prime cost is included a sum of £300,000 arising from Certificates 15 ships 75,000 and Exports to India about 225,000 (Total 300,000). There would remain therefore to be supplied from the revenues in India £1,200,000, making in all 1,500,000, being the amount of prime cost. From the sale amount

Vide D2

E 1
E 2

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/195/1: Extract: September 10, 1785: Draft Letter from Board of Control to Court of Directors on transfer of the Company's debt from India to England; with relative notes (by H. Dundas)

being 2,400,000 must be deducted the following charges, viz.- (312R)

		£2,400,000
Vide D2	Freight 15 ships at 22,000	£330,000
Vide D	Customs about...	560,000
	Exports and Certi- ficates as above	<u>300,000</u> <u>1,190,000</u>
	Leaving a surplus from) the India Trade of about)	£ 1,210,000

The value of the Company's China trade depends on the quantity and prices of tea which they can sell, compared with the prime cost and charges.

Vide Members papers
Supposing in the first place, with which supposition our opinion certainly concurs, that 16,000,000 of pounds may be sold.

If this were calculated upon the assessment and prices of the last 12 months sales, the accounts would stand nearly as follows, supposing the funds for purchase to be provided from home, 16,000,000 lb of tea at 3/4 per lb. would sell for £2,400,000.,

F.1
which at the same assortment and at the last China prices would cost..... £1,171,367

G
Add silk, etc... 200,000
£1,371,367

This cost must be supplied (312V) either by Silver or other exports sent out from hence or by Certificates, or by Bills drawn from China.

If £700,000 of Silver is supposed to be exported, it will yield a profit of £200,000 nearly, which is assumed on the following grounds.

The price of silver being 4 Sh. 11 d per oz., the cost of a Dollar sent to China would be

as follows:-

	S	d
Price of a Dollar) at 4 Sh. 11d per oz.)	4-1-	$\frac{88}{100}$
Freight.... suppose...	0-0-	$\frac{4}{100}$
	4-1-	$\frac{92}{100}$

The rate of Exchange in China is 5Sh/6 d the Dollar, and the difference between these sums is 1Sh. 4d $\frac{8}{100}$ per Dollar, or about 33 per cent profit; which amounts on £700,000 to £220,000. But as it is understood that the Chinese deduct 2 per cent from the (313R) price of our Dollar, this sum would be reduced to £198,900; which gives nearly the result before stated. It may perhaps, be necessary to add that no allowance is here made for Risk or Insurance. If it should be thought right to include it, a proportionate reduction must be made in this profit, and an addition in consequence to the Bills necessary for completing the investment. No charge is made for interest on the silver sent out, because the sum of £700,000 necessary for purchasing it, is made a charge upon every year's estimate from March 1790 (313V). The other exports are taken at £230,000, and a profit is calculated on them of £30,000 more.

The Certificates of 25 ships amount to £125,000.

These sums therefore stand as follows:-

Vide E1	(Silver	...	700,000
	(Profit (on it)	...	200,000
	H (Exports	...	300,000
	(Profits on Exports.		30,000
	(Certificates on "		<u>125,000</u>
			1,355,000

leaving a balance to be supplied by Bills of £16,367.

The charges at home will be; (314R)

Certificates	...	125,000
Freight and Demurage	...	600,000
Customs on China Goods	...	40,000
Exports	...	300,000
Silver	...	700,000
Bills as above	...	16,367
		£ 1,781,367

Which being deducted from
the sale amount above stated
at £ 2,400,000
1,781,367

Leaves a surplus from
the China Trade of about.. 618,633

Add sale of silk, etc.... 200,000
£ 818,633

The whole surplus would then stand thus:

India Trade...	1,210,000
China Trade...	<u>818,633</u>
£	<u>2,028,633</u>

K1 From this sum must be)
deducted the Company's) 280,000
charges of Merchandize)
on their whole trade about)

K2 And the balance of interest)
on their Bond, etc. beyond) 320,000
what they receive from)
Government, amounting to)
£ 600,000

Balance being the surplus
remaining at home..... 1,428,633

K3 Add profit on private Trade 40,000

Total £ 1,468,633

K4

(314V) Doubts having however been stated with respect to the future amount and prices of Teas to be sold we think it right to state the difference which may arise in this surplus from those circumstances.

If the amount of the sale should be 16 millions of Pound, but the prices be reduced to those stated by your Deputy Chairman in his papers on this subject, the difference would be:-

	£	133,000	
If the amount sold were only 12 millions of Pounds but at the present prices the difference would be....	£	150,000	
But if 12 millions only are sold and at the reduced prices, the difference will be.....	£	250,000	
So that the surplus would vary according to these suppositions from about.....	£	1,460,000	
to about..	£	1,330,000	
or to about..	£	1,310,000	
or lastly to about..	£	1,210,000	(315R)

V.26

Observations respecting the participation of Government with the Company, submitted to the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman.

By the Act of the 33rd, Geo 3rd, Cap. 52, Clause 107.- It is enacted that the arising from the territorial acquisition and revenues in India, after defraying the expenses of collecting the same, shall be disposed of. In the first place in defraying the charges and expenses of raising and maintaining the forces there as well European and as native, military and marine, etc. etc. Secondly, in payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing or which may be hereafter incurred, by the said Company in India. Thirdly in defraying the Civil and Commercial establishments at their several settlements there. Fourthly that there shall be issued to the respective Commercial Boards in India, a sum of not less than one crore of current rupees in every year, to be applied in the provision of the Company's investment for goods in India and in remittances to China.

By the 111 th Clause, it is enacted, that during the continuance of the exclusive trade of the East India Company the nett proceeds of their sales of goods at home with the duties and allowances arising by private trade, and all other profits of the said Company in Great Britain, after providing for the payment of Bills of Exchange, already accepted by the said Company as the same shall become due, and for the current payments of other debts, interests and other outgoings, charges and expences of the said Company (Their Bond Debt always excepted) shall be applied and disposed of in the following manner (that is to say) first in payment of a dividend after the rate of ten pounds per centum per annum on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said Company. Secondly in payment of

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/299

£ 500,000 per annum, the same to be set apart on the 1st March and the 1st September, half-yearly, in equal proportions and applied in the discharge of Bills of Exchange drawn or to be drawn in India, for the transfer or remittance of the Debts of the said Company from thence to Great Britain for the diminution of such Debts, until the same shall be reduced to Two Crores of current rupees: Thirdly in payment of a sum not exceeding £ 500,000 in every year into the receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, etc., etc. for the use of the Public.

By the first of these clauses it is directed that the nett revenues in India shall furnish annually the sum of () one crore of current rupees, towards the provision of the investment for England, and by the other the nett balance of the Company's cash in England, after making the appropriations and reservations mentioned, is made subject, if equal thereto, to the payment of £ 500,000 per annum to the public. As both these stipulations are contained in the same Act of Parliament, it is reasonable to suppose, when the revenues in India are unequal to the supply mentioned for the purchase of cargoes for Europe, that the annual payment to the Public should also cease, even should the ^{funds} ~~trends~~ in England according to the Account under which Government may claim the same, show a sum that may warrant such claim.

The account directed by the said Act to be made up in England annually, under which the right of participation of Government, with the Company is founded, being merely a cash Account, without any reference to the existing Debts of the Company either in England, or in India, at the period of its being balanced, it must necessarily be seen, that a Loan in India applied to the purchase of investment for Europe, will operate in the same manner, upon this cash Account in England, as if a sum to a like amount, had been supplied by the surplus revenues of India, and show a balance which Government would have an undoubted right to claim; if the letter of the Act, should be construed to have been the

intention of the Legislature, at the time it was passed into a Law, but it never can be contended, that a principle so unjust, could be intended to be sanctioned by Parliamentary Authority, it therefore appears evident that the right of participation, was intended to be founded, in the first instance upon the stipulated supply of a crore of rupees annually from the revenues of India, being so applied, and in the second, upon the balance of cash in England, resulting therefrom, showing a surplus after paying £ 500,000 per annum towards the reduction of the Debts in India etc., etc. So long as the Company benefited by the revenues of India, to the amount of £ 500,000 per annum, beyond the sum they were directed to pay in England, towards the liquidation of the Debts in India, it was reasonable that the Public should participate in this benefit, as soon as the Funds in England warranted such participation () and perhaps the Account in question was a proper criterion, to determine the capability of the Company upon this point, but when the situation of the Funds in India was changed and money was borrowed for the purchase of the investments for Europe, the surplus funds in England as shown in the said Cash Account, ought not to be ~~abt~~ claimed by Government, but should be appropriated to extinguish those Debts in India from which the said funds in England originated.

In my opinion, therefore, if any doubt remains as to the propriety of the preceding construction of these clauses of this Act of Parliament, a Bill should be brought in to prevent any claim of the Public, upon the surplus Funds of the Company in England, until the sums owing by the Company in England, ~~until~~ for Bills of Exchange and the Debts in India bearing interest shall be reduced to the amount owing at the time of passing the said Act of the 33rd, 3rd Geo, Chapt 52 (say £ 9,400,000) and until a surplus revenue in India shall be applied to the purchase of Investment for Europe to the amount of £ 500,000 per annum, beyond the sum to be paid in England, towards the liquidation of the Debts in India.

(VI.27)

Dear Sir,

It has often occurred to me in looking over the Indian Accounts that the Debt appears to have increased more rapidly than was consistent with the annual statements of revenue and charge and my surprise on this subject has increased since I have found it maintained on the part of the Company, that more value has been sent to India since 1793 than has been received from thence in the shape of investment during the same period.

I cannot but think that if this assertion is correct, there must be some falacy in these annual statements, considered with reference to the debt; a circumstance deserving investigation, since, if the debt shall now materially differ from the amount of the sum which ought to be owing, according to the annual accounts of revenue and charge, all calculations on the probable state of the Company's affairs at any future day, founded on the basis of such accounts, must obviously be illusory.

The whole of the money borrowed in India () must have been applied either in defraying the excesses of the charges (including the interest payable in each year on the debt then existing) above the revenue, or in investment; or it must remain in some shape or other as assets in the hands of the Indian Government; or it must have been applied in payments not included in the annual statements of charge.

The sum thus to be accounted for *between the 30th April 1793 and the 30th April 1806 amounts to £ 23,543,830**

The deficiency of the Indian revenue to meet the charges during the same period, including interest, amounts by the annual accounts to £ 2,831,665***

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- * This sum includes the sum purchased by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, which is also included in the Assets.
- ** See Appendix 'A'
- *** See Appendix 'B'

It being maintained on the part of the Company that India has received supplies since 1793 which more than cover the Advances made there for investment since that year, I shall consider the Balance between the two countries as even from 1793 to 1806, and take no credit for investment as forming any part of the debt of which we are now speaking.

The increase of assets on the 30th () of April 1806 from 1793 appears to be £ 11,682,155* making with the deficiency of revenue already stated, the sum of £ 14,513,820**

If we take this sum from the increased debt £ 23,543,830, there will remain to be accounted for £ 9,030,010@.-

** £	2,831,665
	<u>11,682,165</u>
	<u>14,513,820</u>

@ £	23,543,830
	<u>14,513,820</u>
	<u>9,030,010</u>

Not having the Budget accounts from 1793 at hand to refer to, I cannot state the amount of the "Commercial charges not added to the Invoices"; ***but taken at £ 200,000 per annum, a high average, they would amount to £ 2,600,000 for the 13 years.

*** Note.- I take the Commercial Charges into account here as having contributed to the Debt, as I do not apprehend it to be contended on the part of the Company that the remittances to India were sufficient to cover these as well as the investment. I conceive credit to have been taken for the Military Payments made at home, in (the account framed for the purpose of stating the balance between (England and India.

* See Appendix 'C'

It appears by Lord Castlereagh's speech of 19th July 1804, that one payment of £ 500,000 has been made to the Public and that an old incumbrance on the Carnatic of £ 1,200,000 has been paid off since 1793, which must therefore be deducted from the apparent increase of Debt, not having been, I presume, included in the amount of Debt stated as existing in 1793*.

Credit being given for these three sums, the Balance unaccounted for will be £ 4,730,010**

£ 2,600,000
500,000
1,200,000
<hr/>
£ 4,300,000
£ 9,030,010
4,300,000
<hr/>
£ 4,730,010

and by this sum, as appears to me, (if the investments and supplies from England are taken to have balanced each () other) any calculation that could have been made in 1793 of the future state of the Company's affairs in 1806 by a person who could have foreseen to a rupee the revenue and charge of every intermediate year must have proved erroneous.

I am, Yours (Signed) G. Holdford
Ryde, Nov. 4, 1808

* But queere, whether the payments composing this sum of £ 1,200,000 have not formed part of the charge stated in the years in which they were respectively made - in this case they are included in the excess of charge already stated. (They have not)

Appendix 'A'

Increase of Debt in India from 30th April 1793
to 30th April 1806

Debt in April 1806	..£	31,515,495	
In April 1793	..	7,971,665	
Increase of Debt in 1806		<u>23,543,830</u>	()

Appendix 'B'

Comparison between the Annual Revenue and the Annual
Charge in India (including the Interest payable in
each Year) from 1793/4 to 1805/6.

1793	..	£ 1,652,819	
1794	..	1,396,305	
1795	..	872,943	
1796	..	406,943	
1797	..	..	.. £ 118,746
1798	..	..	.. 607,998
1799	..	..	.. 390,081
1800	..	..	.. 1,139,451
1801	..	..	.. 487,676
1802	..	940,809	
1803	..	..	.. 1,428,076
1804	..	..	.. 1,537,951
1805	..	..	.. 2,391,505
		<u>5,269,819</u>	<u>8,101,484</u>
			<u>5,269,819</u>
		Balance.....	<u>2,831,665</u>

Appendix 'C'

Increase of Assets in India between 30th April
1793 and 30th April 1806

Assets on 30th April 1806	£	20,021,517
on 30th April 1793		<u>8,339,362</u>
		<u>11,682,155</u>

The article of Assets in 1806 is taken from Appendix No.21 to the Accounts laid before the House of Commons in July 1807. The Debt redeemed by the Sinking Fund is included in these Assets. I observe however that it will not appear by reference to No.16 of those Accounts to be exactly the same sum with that mentioned in the printed statements drawn up by Mr. W. nor do the sums of the Debt in Account 16 exactly agree with that statement. *Query* the reason of the difference.

The Assets of 1793 are taken from Lord Castlereagh's printed speech of July 1804.

(Accounted for by a difference of exchange)

V.28

.... Trade and the ships fitted out by the English at Ostend, the difference is not above two per cent in favour of the Americans, vide No.4*

No insurances however made in this country on those Cladestine ships are recoverable in our Courts of Law, which is a disadvantage. They also until lately found great difficulty in procuring good seamen, but as our English seamen** go wherever they are best paid and sure of continued employ, Ostend is now become well peopled with that most useful set of men, and this is one of the worse of the many bad effects which England suffers by this Trade (and the seamen with it) being transferred to Ostend.

This Clandestine Trade will no doubt continue its progress in the same proportion at least as the consumption of European Exports increases in India*** unless our Government use measures to bring it into Britain, which they certainly may do completely if they see it proper. These Exports@ being composed principally of Military and Marine Stores are also low priced, and exceed those of the Foreign Companies in value merely on account of the larger quantity of Copper, Woollens, etc. English Exports.

Private Trade

By the most correct calculation that has as yet been found of the Private Exports (vide Appendix 5 and 6)% it appears that the Adventures

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*

** British seamen by this Trade transferred to Ostend.

*** The whole of this increasing Trade could with ease be brought to Britain.

xxx @ Quality of these exports

% Amount of the private adventures carried out in our ships.

on each ship for the last ten years ending in 1790 for India exclusive of China, must have amounted on the respective voyages as follows:-

To India voyage undefined	..£	24,000
Coast and Bay	..	24,000
Bombay	..	20,000
Bombay and Bencoolen	..	20,000
St. Helena and Bencoolen	..	18,000
Coast and China	..	14,000
Bombay and China	..	12,000
St. Helena, Bencoolen and China	..	8,000
St. Helena and China	..	5,000

VI.29

Estimate of the future Produce of the Trade and Revenues of the East India Company

The revenues of Bengal on an average of the last three years have amounted to £ 5,560,586; but by the estimate for the year ending in April last (on account of the expected decrease in the Revenue from salt, etc.) they are supposed to amount only to ..£ 5,055,640

The land revenues of Madras including the Guntoor Circar, have not hitherto produced 22 Lacs of Pagodas; in 1789/90 K Ps. 21,46,845; in 1790/91, Ps. 20,57,793 They are estimated for 1791/2 at Ps. 26,57,989; But the revenue estimates at Madras have always been too high. I shall take the amount at Lacs...22 Subsidy from the Nabob..... 9 Rajah..... 4 Pagodas Lacs - 35 or 1,400,000

The revenues of Bombay on an average of 3 years, have amounted to..... 151,764 £ 6,607,404

Districts ceded by Tippoo to the British Government Pags. 13,16,765..... 526,706

Annual Revenues. 7,134,110

Charges

The charges of the Bengal Government in 1788/9 amounted to £ 3,183,250. But as the sales of salt are taken at so low a sum in the above estimate the charges or rather the advances for the manufacture, should be taken at a less sum. The Bengal estimate for 1791/2, including the pay of (186)

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Army on its present Establishment of 10 Companies to a native Battalion instead of 8, the Peace Establishment gives the charges for the year £ 3,011,637, But there are some charges which I apprehend must be stated too low. On a Peace Establishment therefore, the expences may be supposed to amount to.....

..£ 3,000,000

At Madras the charges have always hitherto exceeded the revenues, and the accounts are not sufficiently clear to ascertain the actual expense of any one year; as near as I can estimate, the charges appear to have been from 36 to 37 Lacs per annum, or thereabouts. I shall therefore suppose them to amount to 37½ Lacs, or.....

.. 1,500,000

The Bombay Government had not completed their Military Peace Establishment before the commencement of the War, and then they exceeded it. The additional expense, however, incurred in 1789/90, was not great, as they had no intimation of the War before the 14th April 1790, and therefore could not have made much preparation previous to 30th of that month. I shall for that reason take the expenses of that year as the probable future charges.....

.. 557,100

Bencoolen and Pinang about ..

50,000

Charges ..£ 5,107,110

Revenues as before stated..... ..

7,134,110

Surplus Revenue:-

2,027,000

This computation leaves therefore a surplus of £ 2,027,000; but in this, no payment is included from the Rajah of Travancore, as his present subsidy is only settled to continue during the War. On the other hand, the newly acquired countries are (187

supposed to produce the sums at which, they are stated in the treaty, and no allowance is made for the expenses of their Civil Government and the collection of the revenues, which will certainly increase the general total of charges in some degree, if the Military Establishment should not be necessarily increased on account of those territories.

Taking however the nett revenues at....£ 2,000,000
at

There will be to be deducted from them, the interest of the Debts which on 30th April 1791 amounted to £ 529,624, and as more money has been borrowed, will in the course of the year, not fall short of £ 600,000-- The Debt bearing interest on 30th April 1791 was.. 6,325,444 and may probably on 30th April amount to £ 7,000,000. If this sum should be funded at 8 per cent, the interest would be.....£ 560,000
at 7 per cent..... 490,000
at 6 per cent..... 420,000

But as it can scarcely be expected that a reduction to so large an extent as from 9-1/8 at Bombay, and 8 at Bengal, and Madras to 6 per cent since money has been borrowed in 1791/2 at 12 per cent can be made immediately or at least until the country has remained in quiet for two or three years. I take the largest amount in taking this estimate .. 560,000

There will remain for investment, payment of Commercial charges, etc. ..£ 1,440,000

The sales of imports in India have not hitherto amounted to £ 300,000 per annum, exceptin the last year 1790/91, and then a considerable quantity of stores expended for the use of the Army is included.

The general average for
some years past is about
£ 250,000 or £ 280,000, suppose ..£ 280,000

There would be for the invest-
ment and to pay off debts .. 1,720,000

(188) The greatest quantity of
goods shipped from India in any
one year for the last five years
was in 1790/91, and amounted to
£ 1,211,602; But in this year
there was no charge from Bencoolen
for which about £ 10,000 or
£ 15,000 should perhaps be
added. It appears however that
this prime cost of goods would
be sufficient for an annual sale
amounting to £ 2,500,000. To
which the India goods in the two
last years have nearly amounted
(viz. in 1790 £ 2,403,684, and
1791 £ 2,441,994). The prime
cost of the goods so sold in
1790 is stated by Mr. Richardson
at £ 1,111,552, and in 1791 at
£ 1,077,601

Taking therefore the prime cost
of goods from India to be
annually, shipped for Europe at... 1,200,000
and the commercial charges at..... 120,000 1,320,000

There would then remain to pay
off Debts, or to answer
contingencies if any should
arise which are not allowed
for, or if any defalcation
should take place in the revenues .. 400,000

In taking the investment at .. 1,320,000

and the sales of Europe goods at .. 280,000

There is supposed to be supplied
from the revenues to Commercial
purposes .. £ 1,040,000

State of the Trade

The disadvantageous terms at which the goods in India were purchased and the high rate of freight for several years after the conclusion of the War in 1784, reduced the profits on India goods to little or nothing; and it is only during the years 1790 and 1791, that the profits have been considerable.

In 1790, the India goods
sold amounted to..... ..£ 2,403,684
prime
Their prime cost £ 1,111,552

Charges of Customs,
freight & merchan-
dising..... .. 968,102
2,079,654

Profit on goods sold in 1790..... .. 324,030

In 1791, the goods sold amounted
to..... ..2,441,994

Prime Cost..... 1,077,601

Charges of custom
freight and
merchandise 952,767 2,030,368

Profit on goods sold in 1791..... .. 411,626

Two years: £ 735,656

Average: £ 367,827

The China goods)
sold in 1790) 2,687,571
amounted to)

Their prime)
cost & charges)
of customs,) 2,114,866
freight &)
merchandise to) _____

Profit on China Goods
in 1790..... .. 572,705

China goods) 2,699,539
sold in 1791)

Their prime)
cost and charges)
of customs,) 2,144,795
freight and)
merchandise) _____

Profit on China Goods
in 1791..... 554,753
1,127,458

Average.... 563,729

Profit on an average of two years 931,557

(190) Besides this, the profit on
goods and bullion exported to China
may be expected to produce £ 100,000
or £ 150,000 per annum, but as the
rate of exchange at which the value
of the cargos from China is stated
decreases, the apparent profit on
exports will also decrease,
taking it at.....

.. 1 00,000
£ 1,031,557

Besides this, the profit on private
trade at home amounts to £ 60,000
or £ 70,000 per annum.....

.. 60,000
£ 1,091,557

Out of this would be to be
paid dividends on stock
8 per cent on 5 millions
400,000

If 2 millionsof Bonds
could be kept in
the market at 3%..... 60,000

And 2 millions of
the other debts
funded at 3½% 70,000 130,000 530,000

Of this I have supposed to be left in India to answer contingencies, and pay of such floating debts as may be necessary ..	400,000
To be realised at home..£	<u>1,284,557</u>

Of which from the revenues of India, £ 1,040,000 or deducting £ 170,000 for expenses of recruits, etc. incurred at home.....	.. 870,000
Net revenue proceeds of Trade ..	<u>414,557</u>
	1,284,557

(192)*

(193)

Remarks on Mr. Smith's Letter of 27th April 1792 and on Mr. Baring's Statements.

Mr. Smith's observation that not more than 120 Lacs of rupees had been applied to Investment in one year in India agrees with my statement.

He observes that China Goods are not to be purchased much if at all under $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling reckoning the Fall at 7 Sh. 3d. The average of 1790/91 given in my statement is prime cost £ 1,447,144, being £ 52,856 less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ million (Mr. Baring estimates £ 1,400,000).

Mr. Smith observes that the sale of piece goods may decrease whenever Foreign Agents relax in their purchases. This has already been the case in the late sales occasioned by the troubles on the Continent.

Mr. Smith supposes that not more than goods to the amount of £ 4,800,000 or 4,900,000 per annum

*Page 192 blank

by such supplies from India as it may be found practicable to send thither.

Mr. Smith supposes		Mr. Baring supposes	
goods stores & bullion ..	1,500,000	goods	
Bills....	<u>700,000</u>	exported...	855,000
	<u>2,200,000</u>	Bullion....	<u>400,000</u>
			1,255,000
	Bills & Certificates:		<u>475,000</u>
	To India & China £		<u>1,730,000</u>

Mr. Smith supposes that not more than 60 Lacs can be conveniently spared from the revenues of India for the purposes of Investment. This must of course depend on the success of the arrangements respecting the Debts in India, and the sum it will be necessary to apply annually in liquidation of those Debts in India. Mr. Baring leaves 81 Lacs to be supplied from revenues besides 13 Lacs for commercial charges.

With regard to the Debts at home on the 1st September, 1792, by Mr. Smith's statement they were ..	5,972,000
Floating Debt ..	<u>2,500,000</u>
	8,472,000
On the 1st March 1792 these amounted to	<u>8,258,878</u>
Difference being an increase	<u>213,122</u>

which probably arises from the Transfer of part of the India Debt.

(1130)

Dear Sir,

I send you a few observations on the alteration which has taken place since 1792 in India in the proportion borne by our income to the charges affecting it, for the purpose of bringing under your consideration the expediency of endeavouring (with a view to the investigation of the causes of this unfavourable change) to examine the growth of the Military expences more in detail than is done in the printed statements now prepared.

It appears that the incompetency of the whole annual receipt in India to meet the expenditure, does not arise from any decay or falling off in any of our former sources of Income, (which are on the contrary much improved) but from an increase of Civil and Military charges, which, with the interest of a large Debt contracted within the period to which the printed statements relate, has changed the Balance of the Company's annual accounts from a surplus of above a million sterling in to a deficiency of more than that sum.

() The revenue of the possessions held by the Company in 1792 appear to have been augmented since that time from £ 6,300,699(A) (the average of the 4 first years of the period commencing with 1792) to the sum of £ 8,399,871 (the estimated produce of 1807) being an increase of £ 2,099,172(B).-

(A) Revenue of Company's former possessions:

1792/3	..£	5,985,026
1793/4	..	6,359,466
1794/5	..	6,538,628
1795/6	..	6,319,679
		25,202,799
4.		£ 6,300,699

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(B)	£	8,399,871
		<u>6,300,699</u>
	£	<u>2,099,172</u>

The Civil and Marine charges during the same period have grown from £ 2,454,268 (C) to £ 3,711,415 being an increase of £ 1,257,147 (D)..-

(C) Civil and Marine Charges:

1792/3	..£	2,386,773
1793/4	..	2,412,545
1794/5	..	2,400,913
1795/6	..	2,616,842
	4.	<u>9,817,073</u>
		<u>2,454,268</u>

(D). Estimate Civil & Marine charges for 1807/8:-

£	3,711,415
	<u>2,454,268</u>
	<u>1,257,147</u>

The increase of Revenue therefore exceeds the increase of Civil and Marine Charge by £ 842,025 (E) and by this sum the annual surplus of the territorial revenue in India would have been augmented if the Military expenses had remained stationary.-

(E)	..£	2,099,172
		<u>1,257,147</u>
		<u>842,025</u>

This latter branch of the expenditure has however grown so enormously during the period under consideration as to exceed in its increase the net increase of the sums annually received from subsidies and conquered countries by above a million. ()

The increase of the Military expenses in 1807/8 beyond the average expenses of 1792/3

and the three succeeding years, as no less a sum than £ 4,139,987 (A) while the addition to our annual receipt from subsidiary payments and conquered countries at the end of the same period as is only £ 3,036,481 (B). The excess therefore of the increase in the annual Military charge is £ 1,103,506*.-

(A) Military Charges

1792/3	..£	3,480,586
1793/4	..	3,361,837
1794/5	..	3,409,598
1795/6	..	3,622,546
4.		<u>13,874,567</u>
		<u>3,468,641</u>

Estimated charge of 1807/8	£7,608,628
	<u>3,468,641</u>

Increase of Military Expen.	<u>4,139,987</u>
-----------------------------	------------------

(B) Receipts from Subsidy, etc.

1792/3	..£	1,718,670
1793/4	..	1,348,126
1794/5	..	1,351,712
1795/6	..	1,410,068
4.		<u>5,828,576</u>
		<u>1,457,144</u>

Estimated Receipts from subsidy, etc. in 1807/8	4,493,625
	<u>1,457,144</u>

Increase of Susidy, etc.	<u>3,036,481</u>
--------------------------	------------------

	4,139,987
--	-----------

	<u>3,036,481</u>
--	------------------

	<u>1,103,506</u>
--	------------------

* There is also an excess in the annual expenditure for Buildings and Fortifications in 1807 over the average of 4 years beginning with 1792/3 of about £ 90,000.

Upon the first view of this statement, a suspicion naturally arises that we have made improvident arrangements as to the terms on which we have engaged to furnish subsidiary troops or have added territories to our dominions the protection of which occasions a Military charge exceeding the net income received from them. It is however without evident that the increased Military expence is not wholly referable to the changes which have taken place in our relations with the Native Powers since 1792, for an increase to the amount of £ 638,416 (A) above the average of the 4 years on which the calculations in this paper are made, appears in 1796/7, a period at which I do not find any material alteration () since 1792, either in our subsidiary engagements or in the *extent* of our territory; and a further increase of £ 399,400 appears in the next year 1797/8, making an excess in the Military expenditure of that year over and above the average already alluded to of £ 1,037,813 (B).-

(A) The Military charge
of 1796/7 was £ 4,107,057

Average of Military charge for 4 years as stated before....	<u>3,468,641</u>
	<u>638,416</u>

(B) The Military Charge
of 1797/8 was..... £ 4,506,454

Average as above...	<u>3,468,641</u>
	<u>1,037,813</u>

It is possible that some addition to the Military Establishment may have been in progress towards the end of the year 1797/8, in consequence of the additional subsidy to be paid to the Company from Oude under Lord Teignmouth's Treaty; and some expence was probably incurred in that year by precautionary measures and movements of troops on our part connected with the dangers to be apprehended from Vizier Ally and Zemaun Shah; but

the operation of these causes must have been confined to Bengal, whereas a very large proportion of the increased expence appears in the Madras Accounts. It might be useful, in tracing the causes of the magnitude of our military expences, to distinguish how much of the increase of charge in these two years was owing to movements of troops or other measures of a temporary and () occasional nature; and how k much arose either from an addition to our establishment or from an increased expence on account of the same establishment.

It seems indeed impossible to draw any material conclusions from a comparison of the whole amount of the Military Charge in different years either as to the cause of increase, or as to the prospect of reduction; but it would in my judgment throw considerable light upon these subjects if we could separate the expences of military movements, of increased allowances, of the first levy of Corps, the extraordinary expenditure of stores, and all other expences arising out of wars or rumours of wars, from the ordinary pay and expences of the Army. On comparing the amount of these articles as now estimated with the average Military charge for the 4 years mentioned above, adverting at the same time to the increase of our Military establishment since that period, we should discover what portion of the increased expence may have arisen from a more expensive system in the constitution of the Army, and what from actual additions () to the quantum of force; and should we proceed to consider and decide what portion of the additional force must be kept in a peace establishment, a calculation might be formed of the reduction* which may eventually be expected to take place in that branch of expence, whenever the present alarm of the invasion of India by the French shall have subsided.

* It cannot be expected that the whole of this reduction can take place as soon as the alarm of external danger shall have subjected; since considerable difficulties and delays will be occasioned in the details of this reduction by the manner in which the Army is constituted.

ksided

We should also be enabled to see how much of the increased permanent Military charge will have grown out of the increase of subsidiary payments, or of territory accruing to the Company within the last 8 or 9 years.

I am however very doubtful whether any approach can be made to the separation which I am suggesting from the accounts in this country, nor do I write this with much confidence in the correctness of my view of the subject; until therefore we have an opportunity of conferring personally upon these points, I remain,

Yours truly,

(Signed) G. Holford

Ryde,
October 26th 1808

(11.31)

Dear Sir,

Since I wrote last I have been looking into that part of the printed statement which relates to the Civil Expenditure in the Company's old possessions, and it does not appear to me that the expences of that description afford any ground on which an expectation of material reduction can reasonably be founded, or that they furnish much matter of surprise or complaint.

I stated in my former letter that the increase of Civil and Marine Charge in the Estimate of 1807/8 over the average of the four years commencing with 1792/3 amounted to £ 1,257,147, which sum is composed of the following excesses at the several Presidencies:-

At Bengal	.. £	429,310
at Madras	..	647,233
at Bombay	..	<u>180,604</u>
		<u>1,257,147</u>

The excess of £ 429,310 at Bengal is the difference between the aggregate of the charges in the estimate for 1807, and that of the average for the four years, but as some of the heads of charge in the estimate are lower than they are in the average, the excess in those articles in which an increase of expence has occurred, taken by themselves, amounts to a larger sum, viz., £ 611,860 of which the particulars are as follows:-

* Post Office	..	£ 13,164
** Benares	..	112,028
*** Civil Charges	..	178,368
% @ Adawluts and Police	..	207,048
/ Marine	..	7,261
\ Customs	..	16,440 7
(X) Salt	..	66,440
(X-X) Stamps	..	<u>10,904</u>
		<u>611,860</u>

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***Post Office**

1792/3	..	£ 18,307
1792/4	..	18,199
1794/5	..	19,305
1795/6	..	21,453
4.		<u>77,264</u>
		<u>19,310</u>

Estimate for 1807/8	..	£ 32,480
Deduct average as above..		<u>19,316</u>
Post Office increase..		<u>13,164</u>

****Benaras**

1792/3	..	£ 42,940
1793/4	..	35,763
1794/5	..	32,892
1795/6	..	49,274
4.		<u>160,869</u>
		<u>40,217</u>

Estimate for 1807/8	..	£152,245
Deduct average	..	<u>40,217</u>
Benaras Increase..		<u>112,028</u>

*****Civil Charges**

1792	..	£284,637
1793	..	261,294
1794	..	266,097
1795	..	331,429
4.		<u>1,143,457</u>
		<u>285,864</u>

Estimate for 1807	..	£464,232
Deduct average	..	<u>285,864</u>
Increase..		<u>178,368</u>

@Adawluts and Police

1792	..	--
1793	..	£314,766
1794	..	360,418
1795	..	390,183
1796	..	
4.		<u>1,065,367</u>
		<u>266,341</u>

Estimate for 1807	..	£473,389
Deduct average	..	<u>266,341</u>
Increase..		<u>207,048</u>

%See however an observation farther on upon this head, by which it will appear that the excess on Adawlut and Police should be taken on an average of 4 years commencing with 1793, there having been no expence incurred on that head in 1792 - in that case the excess will be reduced by above £ 100,000.

(£) Marine

1792	.. £	60,959
1793	..	63,965
1794	..	67,128
1795	..	<u>61,109</u>
4.		<u>253,161</u>
		<u>63,290</u>

Estimate for 1807	..£	70,551
Deduct average	..	<u>63,290</u>
Increase..		<u>7,261</u>

(&) Customs

1792	..£	12,663
1793	..	10,851
1794	..	10,984
1795	..	<u>8,650</u>
4.		<u>43,148</u>
		<u>10,787</u>

Estimate for 1807	..£	27,434
Deduct average	..	<u>10,787</u>
Increase		<u>16,647</u>

(*) Salt

1792	..£	340,162
1793	..	328,483
1794	..	344,264
1795	..	<u>354,612</u>
4.		<u>1,367,521</u>
		<u>341,880</u>

Estimate for 1807	..£	408,320
Deduct average	..	<u>341,880</u>
Increase..		<u>66,440</u>

() Stamps**

Estimate for 1807	..£	<u>10,904</u>
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Of these the increase in the Post Office Department is so small that it does not require any observation, especially as there is an increase in the receipt under that head to a much larger amount. The increase also in the Benares Charge is probably capable of explanation as a very large augmentation appears to have taken place in the revenue derived from that quarter. I observe that the receipt under () the head Benares for 1807 is estimated at £ 106,038 above that of the preceding year.

The excess in Civil Charges is very large, but this expence must be expected to be in some degree affected by the general enlargement of the Empire and by the extension of our foreign relations. There are probably some new Residencies since 1792. This Head of Expence must also from the number of charges which it embraces be subject to great fluctuations. A Mission to a quarter where we have no regular representative on a particular occasion (such for instance as an Embassy to Persia or Ava) or the reception of an Ambassador will raise it many thousand pounds. The Head of Civil Charges ought however to be regularly and minutely examined* in this country as it includes the only branch of expence, which cannot be effectually checked and controuled in India, viz. the Durbar Charges: every occasional expence of any magnitude should be noticed in the dispatches home, and full reasons should be given for every material addition to the charge of the ordinary parts of the Establishment. ()

* Perhaps an annual investigation by a Committee of the Directors on the subject of Durbar Charges and a report of observations thereupon, would be the most effectual way of keeping these accounts and expences on a satisfactory footing. It is surprising that no annual examination of the Indian Accounts appears to be gone into at the India House with a view to the transmission to the different Presidencies abroad of the opinions and remarks of the Court of Directors on the different heads of charge in each year; the expence of particular articles is observed upon occasionally in the Letters which relate to those articles, but no general view of any head of charge is taken.

The apparent magnitude of the increase in the estimate of 1807 under the head "Adawluts and Police" is partly owing to the circumstances of there having been no such head of charge in the first year of the series, on which the averages in this paper have been drawn. If we take for our comparison the average of the 4 first years in which this expence existed, beginning with 1793/4 instead of 1792/3, the excess of 1807/8 will only amount to £ 101,425 (instead of £ 207,048) an addition which will probably be accounted for by new Police Establishments.-

1793	..£	314,766
1794	..	360,418
1795	..	390,183
1796	..	422,491
4.		<u>1,487,858</u>
		<u>371,964</u>

Estimate for 1807	.. £	473,389
Deduct	..	371,964
Corrected Exceeds	..	<u>101,425</u>
Excess as first stated	..	207,048
As corrected	..	<u>101,425</u>
Difference	..	<u>105,623</u>

The addition under the head "Marine" is too trifling to deserve notice; and that on the "Customs" is accompanied by a large increase of revenue, and is probably therefore occasioned by an increase of actual business. A similar observation applies to the "Charges and Advances on Salt", which, must, I presume, be expected to grow with the magnitude of the salt concern.

The "Stamps" are a new head of Charge since the years on which the averages were taken, and have a corresponding receipts. ()

It seems therefore to be unreasonable to expect reductions to any former standards in the aggregate charge. The whole increase, etc. after deducting the excess of the expences of

the Post Office, Customs, Salt, and Stamps, and adjusting that under the head Adawluts, by comparing it with the average of the first years in which the charge occurs, instead of beginning with 1792, amounts to no more than £399,042*; and reasons may be stated to account for at least a part of the additional expence in regard to each of the articles on which taken together, this sum has arisen. It should be remembered in respect to the Bengal charges that considerable retrenchments have been already made at that Presidency to bring the expences down to their present level.

*Post Office	..	£	13,164
Customs	..		16,647
Salt	..		66,440
Stamps	..		10,904

Difference between excess above stated under Head "Adawluts and Police" and the excess taken on the corrected average.....	105,623
	<u>212,778</u>
	611,860
	<u>212,778</u>
	<u>£ 399,042</u>

The increase of charge on the Madras Establishment taken on the same comparison with that adapted in respect to Bengal amounts to (*)£ 647,234, under the following heads:

**Post Office	...	£	13,595
***Civil and Judicial	...		441,128
@Revenue	...		184,772
(£) Dutch Settlements	...		7,789
			<u>647,234</u>

(*) Madras whole charge

1792	.. £	418,191
1793	..	304,345
1794	..	301,924
1795	..	<u>479,953</u>
4.		<u>1,594,413</u>
		<u>398,603</u>

Estimate for 1807	..	£1,045,836
Deduct	..	<u>398,603</u>
Increase of charge		<u>647,233</u>

** Post Office

1792	.. £	8,347
1793	..	8,499
1794	..	9,401
1795	..	<u>11,511</u>
4.		<u>37,758</u>
		<u>9,439</u>

Estimate for 1807	..	£ 23,034
Deduct	..	<u>9,439</u>
Excess in Post Office	..	<u>13,595</u>

*** Civil and Judicial

1792	.. £	137,409
1793	..	120,870
1794	..	128,284
1795	..	<u>126,318</u>
4.		<u>512,881</u>
		<u>128,220</u>

Estimate for 1807	..	£ 569,348
Deduct	..	<u>128,220</u>
Excess	..	<u>441,128</u>

@ Revenue

1792	..£	272,435
1793	..	264,976
1794	..	164,239
1795	..	<u>342,124</u>
4.		<u>1,043,774</u>
		<u>260,943</u>

Estimate for 1807	..	£ 445,715
Deduct	..	<u>260,943</u>
Excess	..	<u>184,772</u>

(£) Dutch Settlements

Estimate of charge on
account of Dutch
Settlements in 1807 ..£ 7,739 ()

Of these the increase under the first head is subject to the same observations as those made on the corresponding head in the Bengal Accounts.

The Civil and Judicial charges are not distinguished*, but as the whole system of Adawluts and Police has arisen in this Presidency since the years on which the average is taken, it is probable that the greater part of this expence will be found referable to that system. I presume also that a part of this expence has been received back by the Company in the shape of increased revenue, since, if I do not mistake, in the arrangements made under the perpetual settlement, the lands and Desha Cawell fees, out of which the charge of watching was formerly defrayed, have been taken to belong to Government, and considered in the rents made payable by the persons holding under the Company.

The increase of charge under the head of Revenue is very large, and does not seem to be sufficiently accounted for by the increase of £ 312,350** in the receipt in that Department: in this head of expence therefore some reduction might probably () be made.

The charge incurred on account of the Dutch Settlements is a new head of expence since the years on which the average is taken, and seems very trifling compared with the income derived from the quarter to which it relates.

*Note.-- Surely the Accounts transmitted home ought to furnish the means of separating these different branches of expediture.

**Taken on comparison of 1807 with the same average of 4 years commencing with 1792.

The increase in the Bombay expences taken in the same point of view with those of the other Presidencies amounts to £ 180,605; under three heads:-

** Marine	...	£ 58,064
*** Civil	...	56,231
@ Revenue	...	66,310
		<u>£180,605</u>

* Bombay whole charge

1792	..£	205,091
1793	..	220,327
1794	..	192,348
1795	..	167,547
4.		<u>785,313</u>
		<u>196,328</u>

Estimate for 1807	..£	376,932
Deduct	..	<u>196,328</u>
Increase of Charge	..	<u>180,604</u>

** Marine

1792	..£	79,750
1793	..	93,330
1794	..	77,825
1795	..	66,741
4.		<u>317,646</u>
		<u>79,411</u>

Estimate for 1807	..£	137,475
Deduct	..	<u>79,411</u>
Increase	..	<u>58,064</u>

*** Civil Charges

1792	..£	109,984
1793	..	113,586
1794	..	102,163
1795	..	87,616
4.		<u>413,349</u>
		<u>103,337</u>

Estimate for 1807	..£	159,568
Deduct	..	<u>103,337</u>
Increase	..	<u>56,231</u>

@Revenue Charges

1792	..£	15,357
1793	..	13,411
1794	..	12,360
1795	..	<u>13,190</u>
4.		<u>54,318</u>
		<u>13,579</u>

Estimate for 1807	..£	79,889
Deduct	..	<u>13,579</u>
Increase	..	<u>66,310</u>

Total Revenue at Bombay

1792	..£	181,668
1793	..	162,350
1794	..	133,151
1795	..	<u>106,053</u>
4.		<u>583,217</u>
		<u>145,804</u>

Estimate for 1807	..£	265,978
Deduct	..	<u>145,804</u>
Increase	..	<u>120,174</u>

Increase of the Civil & Revenue Charges	..	122,541
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Increase of Revenues generally	..	<u>120,174</u>
Difference	..	<u>2,367</u>

Of these/ expence of the Marine Department /the is not likely to be materially reduced, until not only all actual Naval warfare, but all apprehension of its speedy recurrence shall have ceased. The excesses on the other two heads making together £ 122,541 are very great, considered with reference to the very limited scale of expenditure on which they have arisen, and to the small improvement in the revenues during the same period, which falls short of this increase by £ 2,367. ()

Upon the whole therefore, although any advantage that can be derived from retrenchments in the expences connected with the part of the Company's establishments now under consideration ought not to be neglected, it seems highly expedient to look to some other quarter for such reductions in the expenditure in India as may be calculated to afford essential relief under their present financial embarrassments, and I cannot but think that an enquiry into the state of the conquered and ceded countries might furnish some clue to a considerable reduction of expence. I presume it would be possible from the accounts at the India House to distinguish that portion of the charges set against the several ceded and conquered countries which relates to the Establishments kept on foot for their Government, from other Payments, which, though connected with these countries, and properly considered as a diminution of the revenue arising from them respectively, are nevertheless of a totally different description from the cost of management: I mean such payments as the 8 Lacs to Amrut Row, and the allowances to the European () officers who left the service of the Mahrattas under the proclamation of 1803, all which are I conclude comprehended in the sum of £ 671,077, deducted in the printed statement from the produce of the Mahratta territories lately acquired, together with other payments which my information does not enable me to particularize. If we had the Accounts of the charge of governing and managing these several countries once cleared from all these expences of a different description, some calculation might be formed in regard to the economy of the arrangements introduced, and some comparison of the systems and plans of administration adopted in the different portions of the country which have come under our dominion or influence. The charges set against the Receipt from Mysore are so much lower than those affecting any other of the subsidiary payments, as necessarily to lead to a conjecture that a revenue might be realised on the conquered and ceded countries at much less expence than is at present incurred. I am not aware that the territory of Mysore possesses in itself more abundant resources than other () parts of India; and I believe the Government now existing in that country is not ill calculated for

the preservation of order and the protection of Industry. If it be said that Mysore is a dependency, paying tribute, and not therefore on the same footing with districts held by us in our own possession, the observation calls upon us to consider, whether, instead of retaining this possession, it would not be adviseable to convert these countries into such dependencies as Mysore, if the management of them in that shape can be conducted at a rate of expence, materially lower than the charge at which their civil affairs are now administered, and without any substantial inconvenience.

In order however to see how for this line of enquiry may be worth pursuing, it would be important in the first instance to ascertain what is the real expence of the Revenue, Judicial, and Police Systems which we are planting in the countries to which I have alluded, and I should be glad to know whether you think this information attainable, without much trouble from () the Accounts now in England.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours truly

(Signed) G. Holford

Ryde, Nov. 1st, 1808

P. S. I will thank you to let your Assistant verify my calculations, as I have not much reliance on my accuracy in details of this kind.

A.

An Account showing the Total Amount of the Official Value of the Bullion and Merchandize imported into and exported from British India (Bengal, Madras and Bombay) to London, America and foreign Europe, for six years, viz. from 1802/3 to 1807/8 both inclusive.

MS. 689

		Total of the Imports into India			Total of the Exports
		Bullion	Goods & Stms	Total	of Goods only
		£ Sterling	£ Sterling	£ Sterling	£ Sterling
<u>London:</u>	By the East India Company	.. 4,939,128	5,547,501	10,486,629	8,108,897
	By Commanders and officers of the Company's ships	.. 179,756	2,640,000	2,819,756	1,939,000
	By British Private Traders	.. 1,167,460	1,832,980	3,000,440	5,681,740
<u>America ns</u>		.. 4,543,662	667,654	5,211,316	4,803,283
<u>Foreign Europeans</u>		.. 2,051,093	1,072,960	3,124,053	2,437,752
<u>Total Imports and Exports</u>		£ S. 12,881,099	11,761,095	24,642,194	22,970,672

John Ryland Library, Manchester: Eng. MS. 689/1747

Memo

There has been a small quantity of Bullion exported from India to Europe and America, to the extent of Sicca Rs. 175,316, but which is not material to the present account.

Note

The value of the Company's imports into India is taken from the invoices of the ships as they arrived in India, with the addition of 10 per cent upon the Invoice price outwards. The value of the British (private trade, as also the American and foreign European, is the Indian official value, and which appears to correspond pretty nearly with the market price in India. In order to make a just comparison between the amount of the Company's and the Private or foreign trade, the goods should be exactly reduced to the same denomination of value; but this is not strictly practicable.

Errors excepted

Signed

East India House
March 4th, 1812

B.

An Account showing the Annual Amount of the Official Value of the Bullion and merchandize imported into and exported from British India (Bengal, Madras and Bombay) to London, America and Foreign Europe, on an average of six years, viz. from 1802/3 to 1807/8 both inclusive.

11.55

		Annual Average of the Imported into India			Total of Annual Average of the Exports Merchandize only
		Bullion £ Sterling	Goods & Stores £ Sterling	Total of Imported £ Sterling	£ Sterling
<u>London</u>	By the East India Company	.. 823,188	924,583	1,747,771	1,351,483
	By Commanders and Officers of the Company's ships	.. 29,959	440,000	469,959	323,167
	By British Private Traders	.. 194,576	305,496	500,072	946,956
<u>Americas</u>		.. 757,277	111,275	868,552	800,547
<u>Foreign Europeans</u>	& ..	<u>341,849</u>	<u>178,826</u>	<u>520,675</u>	<u>406,292</u>
<u>Total Average Imports & Exports £ S.</u>		<u>2,146,849</u>	<u>1,960,180</u>	<u>4,107,029</u>	<u>3,828,445</u>

John Ryland Library, Manchester: Eng. MS. 689/1748

The proportions of which are:-

Exported to England 68/100 or upwards of 5/8th
 - do- America 21/100 or less than 2/8th
 - do- Foreign Europe . 11/100 or less than 1/8th

The exports of individuals from Britain are.....	Bullion £ 194,576	
	Goods	<u>305,496</u>
		500,072

The Imports of Ditto into Britain	<u>946,956</u>
Difference per annum.....	<u>446,884</u>

being not a trade, but a
remittance, deducting the
amount of the profit on exports.

Errors Excepted

Signed

East India House
March 4th, 1812

VII, 34

Aberdeen 5th November 1809

1. It may be inferred that the British Government when it issued the declaration of which the following is an extract, was deeply impressed with the necessity, which the nature of the times had imposed on them, of calling forth the resources of the Empire, in order to oppose the rapid and successful progress of France, which not only aimed at the total overthrow of Britain and of her possessions, but seemed to ~~grasp~~ grasp at universal sovereignty.

2. For say the British Ministry. "It is time that the effects of that dread which France has inspired into the ~~world~~ of the world should ^{the} nations be counteracted by an exertion of the power of ^{the} the crises and proportioned to the magnitude of the danger" British Declaration - Westminster 25th September 1807.

3. About that period it was deemed expedient to depute an Ambassador to the Court of Persia and Sir Harford Jones was appointed. I have not been able to learn whether this measure was adopted with a view of counteracting merely the influence of the French Agent, who had lately appeared in that country or in prosecution of a system of carrying into effect any determined and general plans of policy. But it is probable, had the latter motive influenced the British Government in sending this Ambassador, that he would have been desired ^(to) to consult with the ruling authority in India, and to be guided by the sentiments and instructions, which the Governor General might find it expedient to transmit to him, connected with an object and a country of so much importance to the safety of our Eastern Empire.

4. Judging, however, by the line of conduct which is said to have been adapted by Sir Harford Jones, in opposition to the express request and desire of the Governor General, I am rather of opinion, that at the period of sending this deputation the British Ministry were not completely aware of the importance of Persia as a dependency of our Indian Empire and ~~on~~ being immediately and most ^{intimately} intimately connected with its security and

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/544 (Folio 204-207)

plans of policy, and therefore of the consequent necessity, that all measures in regard to the modification of that country, which provides our territory in the East with a barrier so formidable and so easily defended, should originate with the Ruling Head in India under the general direction of the British Government.

5. As Ministry then, seem not to have been actuated by any systematic plans of policy in regard to Persia but to have concerted their measures on the urgency of the moment appeared to dictate, I am inclined to conclude that they may not have been informed on a subject which a little local information and knowledge would have rendered clear and obvious and I likewise conclude, that they may not have had brought to their notice, or have had explained (202R) to them the sources of strength and of political influence, which the peninsula of Arabia also presents and affords in giving employment to and in calling forth the resources, which the possession and sovereignty of India have placed in our hands.

6. In the place of exciting, or indeed of allowing Persia to become a military power, which some rumours in circulation would incline me to apprehend to have been the short-sighted policy of Sir Harford Jones from the circumstance of their having agreed to join the Turks in the war against the Russians, it ought to be the policy of the British Government, and it would no doubt have been the aim and object of General Malcolm, had he proceeded into Persia, to have secured the attachment and allegiance of that country by a British subsidiary force. It may be confidently presumed that to the presence of such a force, the King of Persia, although he might have made some little objection, would have soon become reconciled to the measure, had we given him to understand, that it was the intention of the British Government to re-establish his authority over, and to add to the extent of his Empire, that divided and now independent track of country, lying westward of the river, Indus, which has for a long time refused to acknowledge his sovereignty, owing to the disturbed and weakened state of the Persian Councils.

7. The revenues of this territory would fully enable him to pay the expenses attending our subsidy while (202V) its pressure would soon make ^{hence} him experience a degree of security and stability in his Government, to which he and his ancestors have so

long been strangers. The range of Persian mountains to the West, extending from the shores of the Gulph to the borders of the Caspian sea, are inaccessible, excepting through a few passes to an invading army, and these passes might easily be rendered impregnable even to an European Enemy; so that should France ever have it in her power to send her Legions into the East, we present an insuperable barrier to her progress by being in possession of Persia.

8. But while by fixing a British subsidiary force in Persia, we obtain the command of that country, give stability to its government, add to the resources of its Monarch and establish and a firm chain of connection between India and that country, it behoves the British Government in the present imminent condition of the European world to direct their particular attention to the state of the Arabian Continent.

9. The Turkish Authority in Asia, as well as in Europe, has long been on the decline, and of late years the Arabs, under the guidance and banners of the Whahabee family² have obtained great power and appear to be disposed to extend their dominion and influence to a wider circuit, which the weak and divided state of the Ottoman Empire seems peculiarly to favour.³

10. The central and happily disposed position which the Arab Head at present occupies and the extent and situation (^{23R}) of country, which they command and possess, present an excellent and productive field for the British Government in India, in which they have it in their power to cultivate and improve the commerce of the East, and to employ it as a most powerful and efficient political engine.

11. The trade, which formerly flourished between India and the Red Sea, is now greatly on the decline; nor is that between India and the Persian Gulph so prosperous as formerly, ^{owing} principally to the new disturbed and insecure state of its established channels. The Government in India, however, has the power and the Whahabee Family appear to possess the inclination and have the means, of bringing the commerce of the East into a track, which promises to produce a firm and lasting bond of union and of interest between India and Arabia⁴ to render the latter completely and essentially subservient to the views and policy

2 vide appendix 2

3 vide appendix 3

4 vide appendix 4

of the former, and thus to extend the influence of our Eastern Empire throughout the whole of the West of Asia, and if necessary, into the more civilised, habitable and frequented parts of the African Continent.

12. The British Government, therefore, would do well to direct their attention to the important, and under the present circumstances of the power of the Arabs, convenient, productive and commanding position, which the inlands of Baharain, on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulph, present to them in opening an advantageous, secure and politic road, directly across the desert, by which the trade of India might be conveyed with (23Y) the utmost facility, and an intercourse supported to such an extent as to supply those markets on the Mediterranean side which were formerly provided by the routes of Suez and of Bissora, while Baharain will likewise be found to prove a station of the most easy access in promoting a free and undisturbed communication with the different parts in that Gulph.

13. In proposing this measure, I have in view to attach to our cause the Wahabee family and their numerous dependents and adherents, by placing in the hands of the former a productive source of revenue, and by affording to the latter a constant and profitable employment for which they are peculiarly calculated. These will they be withdrawn from a life of plunder and of rapine, to which want of occupation and their unproductive soil has necessarily driven them and thus will they be rendered a powerful instrument in the hands of the British Government in arresting the progress eastward of any from the western world, who might be disposed to disturb our tranquility in India, while the same means will make the people and their Chief a check on each other. *5k for from*

14. But in proposing these measures of policy, which must secure Persia, and attach Arabia so firmly to the interests of the British Empire in India, it will likewise become a necessary object of regard and of precaution on the part of the British Government to obtain the command of the two important rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris, which will extend and establish our influence (24A) throughout the territory of Bagdad and bring the commerce of India and of Persia into a more easy and a more convenient channel of transport.

** vide appendix
5 vide appendix 5*

15. The attention, therefore, of Government ought to be particularly directed to the occupation of the strong and happily disposed position, which the Fortress of Kornah, situated at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, presents, as a commanding point, and as a grand military and commercial depot, supported, if necessary, by our subsidiary force in Persia.

16. From Kornah, a track is open by an easy inland navigation to Shuster, (the Susa of the Greeks), a town of some little importance and traffic on the banks of the Korson River and within about 50 miles of Juhahan, the chief city and formerly the capital of Persia. The possession of Kornah likewise places at the disposal of the British Government, the supplies of grain and provision, which the Arabs on the shores of the Gulph of Persia, many ~~the Arabs on the shores of~~ of the tribes in the desert, and the inhabitants about the entrance into the Red Sea are permitted to purchase in the Bussara market and which are produced on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris.

17. The British Government by occupying Kornah are thus enabled to establish a more easy and convenient route for commercial intercourse with Persia to command the fidelity and attachment of the Arabs on both shores of the Gulph and those within the passage into the Red Sea, and to support or to completely overawe the (204) Turkish Government on its eastern confine, although that object will be more effectively and extensively accomplished by our alliance with the Whahabee family and the Arabs of the Peninsula.

18. But, while the British Government in India resolves to attach Arabs by its commerce and to secure Persia by the introduction of a Subsidiary Force into that country, it will also become a necessary consequence of such policy, that this subsidy which ought to be considered the advanced guard of the army of India, should be duly supported, and for that purpose and with a view likewise to preserve an effectual check over the Seik Chiefs and the Mahrattas, an army of observation ought to be established on the northwest frontier of Hindostan or amongst the confluent branches of the Indus as the nature of the country and of the object may best direct.

19. Thus will the British Government by their arms command Persia, support and secure the reigning family in the Government of that kingdom,

extend the limits of their dominion, and obtain for them a source of augmenting their revenue and of defraying the expense of the subsidy, which the nature of the times has rendered it necessary to impse on them, with a view of forming an adequate barrier for the protection of our possessions in the East.

20. And the British Government will also by employing the commerce, which the Empire of India (205R) so amply provides, excite the interest and secure the attachment and cooperation of Arabia in its cause, thus extending and firmly establishing its influence throughout the whole of that Peninsula and thereby obtaining the services of a people who are peculiarly calculated to conduct warfare with success in the country, which they inhabit, and who will prove a powerful instrument in interrupting and baffling the attempts of any force, which might be urged to pass towards the East, while they at the same time support the commerce of India in a channel, wherein it promises to obtain perfect protection and to flourish to an increased extent.

21. But the attainment of these objects, although they may seem to be of great magnitude, is hardly sufficient to enable the British Government to rest in full confidence of security and to maintain her position against the attacks and power of our mighty enemy, or rather host of enemies in the West and the British Government will manifest a degree of wisdom in occupying every possible opening, which may afford even a ray of hope or of encouragement to our apponents to molest or to disturb us; and while the British Government models Persia and Arabia, so as to prevent inaccessible obstacles to their advances on the side of Asia, they are enabled by a politic union of the Christian Kingdom of Abyssinia with the territory of Nubia to oppose another front on the side of Africa; thus also preserving within due bounds of dependence (205V) on their only unguarded flank our allies of the Arabian Peninsula, was there even reason to suspect their fidelity or to doubt their attachment; for it is the rule and aim of sound policy, by vigilance and circumspection to provide against evils before they have become imminent and formidable; and to check the undue encroachments of ambition,

while it is yet practicable, by measures of timely and preventive security; it being generally observed of all the natives of antiquity and of those of modern times, that they appear to have been raised by their own blind improvidence or imbecility.

John Milne M.D.

APPENDIX

1. "From the age of Charlemagne to that of the crusader, the world (for I overlook the remote monarchy of China) was occupied and disputed by the three great empires or nations of the Greeks, the Saracens and the Franks. Their military strength may be ascertained by a comparison of their courage, their arts and riches, and their obedience to a Supreme Head, who might call into action all the energies of the State. The Greeks far inferior to their rivals in the first, were superior to the Franks and at least equal to the Saracens in the second and third of their warlike qualifications" Gibbon Rom Hist.

2. "The momentary junction of several tribes produces an army; their more lasting union constitutes a nation; and the Supreme Chief, the Emir of Emirs, whose banner is displayed at their Head, may deserve in the (Arab) eyes of strangers the honours of the kingly name." Gibbon.

3. "The impostures of Mahomed were rapidly diffused, and but a short time elapsed from the period, when he declared himself to be the Prophet of God to Kadajah in the cave of Mount Hava to the establishment of his religion and authority in half the kingdoms of the Earth." Gibbon.

4. "The Arabian Empire extended 200 days journey from east to west from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, and if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is stiled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan." Gibbon.

4. "Amid the barren deserts of Arabia, a few cultivated spots rise, like inland spots out of the sandy ocean. Even the name of Tadmor or Palmyra by its signification in the Syria, as well as in the Latin language denoted the multitude of Palm Trees, which afforded shade and verdure to that temperate region. The air was pure and the soil watered by some invaluable springs, was capable of producing fruits, as well as corn. A place possessed of such singular advantages and situated at a convenient distance between the Gulph of Persia and the Mediterranean was soon frequented by the Caravans, which conveyed to the nations of Europe a considerable part of the rich commodities of India. Palmyra insensibly increased into an opulent and independent city, and connecting the Roman and (206) Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an humble neutrality, till at length after the victories of Trojan, the little republic sank into the bosom of Rome and flourished more than 150 years in the subordinate though rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces and porticoes of Grecian architecture whose ruins, scattered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the curiosity of our travellers." Gibbon.

5. "In his march over the sandy desert between Emesa and Palmyra, the Emperor Aurelian was perpetually harrassed by the Arabs, nor could he always defend his army and especially his baggage from those flying troops of active and daring robbers, who watched the moment of surprise and eluded the slow pursuit of the Legions." Gibbon.

"During the long period of the reign of constructions, the provinces of the East were afflicted by the calamities of the Persian war. The irregular incursions of the light troops alternately spread terror and devastation beyond the Tigris and beyond the Euphrates from the gates of Ctesiphon, to those of Antioch; and this active service was performed by the Arabs of the desert, who were divided in their interest and affection; some of their independent Chiefs being enlisted in the party of Sapor, whilst others had engaged their doubtful fidelity to the Emperor."

"Their domestic feuds were suspended on the (107R) approach of a common enemy, and in their last hostilities against the Turks, the caravan of Mecca was attacked and pillaged by four score thousand of the confederates." Gibbon.

6. "Bussara (but more especially Kornah in our hands) is a place which ever commands the trade ~~trade~~ and navigation of the Persians. At the distance of 80 miles from the gulph the Euphrates and Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly stiled the River of the Arabs; In the mid way between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was planted on the western bank. The first colony was composed of 800 Moslems, but the influence of the situation soon reared a flourishing and populous capital. The air, tho' excessively hot is pure and healthy, the meadows are filled with the palm trees and cattle." Gibbon

* "Mecca was known to the Greeks under the name of a Macoraba and the termination of the word is expressive of its greatness. The fame and spirit of the Koreishites, who reigned in Mecca were conspicuous among the Arabian tribes. Their ungrateful soil refused the labours of agriculture, but their position was favourable for the enterprise of trade. By the sea port of Gedda at the distance of only 40 miles, they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian Kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mahomed. The treasures of Africa were conveyed over the peninsula to Gerrha or Katif in the province of Baharain, a city built as it is said of (107V) rock salt by the Chalelean exiles, and from thence with the native pearls of the Persian Gulph, they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance, a month's journey between Yemen on the right and Syria on the left hand. The former was the winter, the latter the summer station of her caravans, and their reasonable arrival relieved the ships of India from the tedious and troublesome navigation of the Red Sea. In the markets of Sena and Merab, in the harbours of Oman and Aden, the camels of the Koreishites were laden with a precious cargo of Aromatics, a supply of corn and manufacturers were purchased in the fairs of ~~Baulvia~~ ^{land} Damascus; the lucrative exchange ^{h Bastia} diffused plenty and riches in the streets of Mecca, and the noblest of her sons united the love of arms with the profession of Merchandise." Gibbon.

VI.35

28th March 1788

My Dear Sir

I send you a Memorandum from Mr Macenechie which I found yesterday on returning from Portsmouth where I had gone to see the 75 Regt embark. It is the philosophy not the politicks of the East which is the object of the papers I now send you. I fear that at present the latter must necessarily engage you so much as to leave little (12b) time for the former.

ever most faithfully

yours (Alex Abercromby)

To
The Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas

(13b) Letter from Alex Abercromby to the Rt Hon'ble Henry Dundas, dated 28th March 1788 enclosing a paper on the ancient literature and philosophy of the East.

VI.36

National Library of Scotland: MS 546 (enclosures on ff 14-7)

Mr Macenechie presents his compliments to Mr Dundas. As Mr Dundas seemed to listen to his suggestion about preserving the remains of the Hindoo Literature has taken the liberty to transmit enclosed a memorandum on that subject.

South St David Street
Saturday

The Right Hon'ble Mr Dundas of Melville, M.P. London

(Memo as to preserving the remains of Hindoo Literature 1783)

Scottish Record Office: O D 51/3/617/1; ff 404; Memo in 617/2 on ff 406-9.

VI.37

Memorandum as to the Literature
of the Hindoos

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The Hindoos lay claim to the highest antiquity and to a descent from Gods *the fabriarchs* of the nation and the inventors both of their arts, and of their political institutions. What is known of their sciences, of their religion, and of the structure of society among them, is just sufficient to show how interesting a full discovery of their history would prove, both to the study of antiquities and to the general knowledge of human nature.

The nature of their astronomy is particularly curious. Mr. Gentil a French accademician who resided some time at Pondicherry in order to observe the last transit of Venus was instructed by a Bramin in their calander and in their method of calculating eclipses. It appears from his account, that by means of certain arithmetical formulas, they calculated the duration of an eclipse with more accuracy than he did, by the assistance of Mayers Tables. That they were altogether unacquainted with the principles (2) on which their formulas were founded; that they possessed no astronomical instrument except the Gnomose, and had no knowledge of Geometry, nor any system of the movements of the celestial bodies. At the same time the duration of their year was more exact than that of Greece or Egypt. Their year was only 2 minutes too long, while that of Plolomy was 7 minutes. With all this accuracy they are subject to two errors, which seem to indicate a very remote period, when their ~~xxxxxx~~ calculus was invented. They attribute 25 degrees to the obliquity of the ecliptic while it is in fact only 23 degrees 28 minutes, and in the time when astronomy flourished in Greece (the era of Hipparchus) was only 23 minutes greater than it is at present. If then presuming from the accuracy of the Hindoo calculus we suppose that the authors of it were also accurate as to the obliquity of the ecliptic it must have been ascertained at 25 degrees, 7600 years from the present time. In the same manner they place the appogee of the sun at the 20th of Pisces

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/617/2-5

which would be true only 6004 years ago. (3)

At the same time, however, that these and several others circumstances point out their astronomy as altogether distinct from that of Egypt and Greece, their dedication of the days of the week to the planets in the same capricious arrangement with these nations, and in particular their dedication of the fourth day of the week to Buddha, their genius of the planet mercury, who like mercury was a prophet prince and law giver, together with their division of the circle into 360 degrees, and their signs of the Zodiac, seem to indicate either some ancient communication between all these countries, or that their science derived their origin from a common source. The Grecian and Egyptian tale of the expedition of Bacchus into India here recurs to one's memory. And it is not a little remarkable that Arian in relating it mentions Buddha as the immediate successor of the ^{hero} that Bacchus made sovereign of India. It is also remarkable that there are statues of Buddha which exhibit him as a negro with woolly hair, so that it is likely (4) he was a foreigner in Indostan and a native of Africa. It is said too that the names of numbers, and even the forms of some of the verbs in the Shanscretan, the ancient and sacred language of the Hindoos resemble these in Greek in a very striking manner.

The religion and structure of society in Indostan is likewise extremely curious. They are intimately connected together. The separation into casts had taken place long before the expedition of Alexander and as far as appears from the Hindoo traditions ~~such~~ must have been co-eval with the nation. The separation of the cast of warriors from that of husbandsmen seems to indicate an ancient conquest, in consequence of which, the conquerors preserved the exclusive possessions of arms, and disdained to mix with the subdued natives, who were left of course to till the ground and permitted to participate, only in a small degree, in either the civil or religious priviledges of their masters. The worship paid to the Ganges and the traditions both in Malabar and Coromandel of having derived from the Bramins of the Ganges their present religious

(5) persuasion, points out the neighbourhood of that river as the primary establishment in Indostan of that nation to which it owes its sciences and its institutions. At the same time the Gentoo Code which is the only authentic account we possess of the municipal laws of Bengal; proves its authors to have lived in a very simple state of society, while the diffusion over Tartary, Pegu, Siam, China and Japan of the Indian religion, without its casts, or its reverence to the Ganges, together with the accuracy of the astronomical calculus used in Siam as well as Indostan, seem to afford a high degree of probability that before the predominancy of the Bramin persuasion, India had possessed a religion and sciences, in which the Bramins of the Ganges were only sectaries, that owed perhaps the superiority they acquired by arms to their nation having been more uncultivated than the rest of Indostan.

If the History, therefore, of the Hindoos could be recovered, it might be expected to throw much light (6) on the rise of civilisation and the communication of the arts in the most remote times; and to afford many valuable materials for the History of Government and of religious imposture. The History of Egypt, of its casts, so like to those of Indostan, of its laws, of its superstitions and of its astronomy, which like that of the Hindoos it is remarked by Plato, was devoid of theory, might probably be much elucidated by the analogy which the history of the Hindoos would furnish; and the great question might be settled, whether Egypt was civilised by the East or the East by Egypt; and whether both invented their own sciences or derived them from an original or ante delirvian people.

The Hindoo religion is peculiarly exclusive and law and divinity is monopolised by its priests; which forming both a tribe and an order, necessarily cherish in an uncommon degree, a disposition to imposture, to indolence and to contempt of other nations. This character however naturally favours an aversion to innovation and a high reverence to antiquity; and it is well known that many Bramin families preserve

family annals, and peculiar hereditary privileges, which it is pretended reach (7) back some thousands of years. It is agreed on all hands, that the Bramins possess sacred works called the Vedes, which are thought to contain an account of the national origin as well as a system of theogony and that they have vast numbers of more recent works, some religious and some historical. A sort of college of them subsists at Benares where the Bramins, that possess in other parts of India the astronomical calculus, pretend that a much superior astronomy to them is understood, and the principles known on which their calculations are founded. It is also agreed that nothing but money will induce a Bramin to communicate his knowledge to a European, but that money will do it; and surely a small sum of money should not be spared by a great nation like this, if by means of bestowing it judiciously, the remains of the history of the first ages may be preserved to mankind. If a college of the ~~fixak xgak max~~ Egyptian Priests like that which Herodotus and Plato visited still subsisted at Thebes or Memphis, and a European nation were mistress of Egypt, what a reproach it would be (8) esteemed to such a nation to suffer such a repository of ancient science to remain unexplored! Yet this nation when sovereigns of the East, have left altogether neglected a college possibly not less ancient, and which, there is the greatest reason to presume, is the only institution subsisting among mankind, that has preserved, by legitimate descent, the science and opinions of the ancient world.

Perhaps there would be no better way to obtain a full communication of the literature of the Bramins than to enable Sir William Jones to employ what sums of money he finds requisite for accomplishing that purpose. His known integrity, his office in Bengal and his turn for Eastern learning seem to point him out as a proper person for such a trust ()

VI.38

Edinburgh, 15 Mar 1788

My dear Sir,

As you are about to set out for London, will you forgive my recommending to your attention a short memorandum about a literary object which I have much at heart. To save the remains of the Hindoo learning, I once spoke of the matter to Mr. Dundas and he was so obliging as to ask from me a memorandum of it, which I gave him two or three years ago and I have heard that he took some measures in consequence of it. But of late there has been a good deal more information obtained upon the subject and it now appears to me of so much consequence that I should certainly have taken the liberty of writing to him of it, were it not an apprehension that under the pressure of national business anything which has the aspect of a mere letter-any project (2) might appear unseasonable unless somewhat of the importance of it was pointed out in the easy way that conversation alone admits of. I therefore betook myself in the first place, to writing a paper for our Royal Society chiefly with a view to promote enquiry into the subjects on philosophical principles and the society from the same view have ordered it to be printed before its turn. And as to the rest of the undertaking, I congratulate myself extremely on the expedient of committing it into hands so much better than my own. Omnia de tuis Captis digna Spondeo

Yours most truly

A. Macnochie

Finding you had set out, I transmit this under cover to Sr. Ch. Preston. I am afraid my memorandum is much too long; yet I found it impossible to shorten it and communicate to you what I wished you understand of the matter. I leave it therefore to your discretion without any conditions, whatever. (3) I have only to add that I

National Library of Scotland: MS 546
Letter from Prof. A. Macnochie (for Henry Dundas)

Wilkins

know nothing of Mr. *William's* situation. Only that I suppose from Mr. Hastings's preface to the Bhagvat Geeta that he was in very moderate circumstances at that time and from the page I showed you that he has been much discouraged from the want of sale of his publications: a want of sale that ought to have been expected and that can never be remedied by attempts to translate popular works from the Shanscrit. Such can scarce ever prove entertaining to the generality and in proportion as they aimed at that object they will be less attractive to men of enquiry.

Edinb. 15 March 1788

VII.39

The information which has been now obtained with regard to the ancient literature of the Hindoos, renders the preservation and discovery of its remains, an object, perhaps the most interesting of any, to the learned world.

Mr. Gentil, in 1772, brought with him, from the Coast of Coromandel, astronomical Tables of the Bramins of Tirvalour; which he illustrated with an example of their mode of calculation. This discovery led Mr. Bailly to examine astronomical Tables, which had been sent from Siam as far back as 1687, and which had been then interpreted by Cassinè, tho' they had not been accompanied by any account of the manner of calculating from them. And Mr. Bailly has recently published an explanation of these along with other two sets of Tables transmitted by fathers Patouillet and Du Champ and has accompanied the whole with inferences and remarks, which have been examined and approved of, by a Committee of the Academie des Sciences appointed for the purpose.

This work has been considered with much attention at Edinburgh; and among many other striking particulars Mr. Bailley is thought to have established the following in a very satisfactory manner. 1st. that the whole tables relate to one and the same astronomy, founded on Epochs which are united with one another by the mean movements of the heavenly bodies, and referring to one meridian, viz. that of Benares nearly. 2nd that none of these Tables have any relation to the epochs of the Arabian or European astronomy, nor correspond in those nicer elements which different European or Arabian astronomers have determined. 3rd. That the astronomy of the Hindoos is much more exact than that of the Greeks or of the Egyptians so far as known. That the Tables of Tirvalour refer to a period of no less than 4383 years and 94 days between two epochs, viz. February 16th 3102 ante C. and May 21st 1292 post C in which long period Cassinis and Maiers Tables scarcely differ one minute from them as to the mean movements. And that there is the highest probability that the first of these epochs was (2) fixed by actual observation and not by any

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ex post facto calculation. For even our best Tables would prove insufficient for such a purpose unless aided by those corrections which accurate deduction from the Newtonian theory furnishes.

It is certain that in Bengal there is a mean profession of people who annually compile almanacks from ancient tables and calculate eclipses with considerable exactness, but are altogether ignorant of the science of astronomy or of the principles on which their calculations depend. While at the same time not only these people report that the principles of their calculations are understood among the learned; but at Tirvalour, and over all India it is believed that this is the case; and that there is a much more ancient and more skilful method of calculation understood in Bengal. And a gentleman who bore the highest rank there having been applied to for information on this subject, answered that all the sciences are still taught at Benares by learned Bramins and that he has been credibly informed that very ancient works in astronomy are still extant.

It would be of the utmost consequence to the science of astronomy to recover if possible those ancient observations which the Hindoos must have possessed in order to construct their Tables. Astronomy treats of the history of nature in its greatest aspect, and tho' Newton appears to have discovered the master key to that history; the proofs, the corrections, and the illustrations essential to the perfection of the science, can be derived only from observations contained thro' a succession of ages to which the duration of European astronomy bears as yet but a small proportion.

It is besides an object of the very greatest curiosity to recover any details of a science which must have existed in a high state of perfection in 3102 ante C. if the epoch of 16th February that year is founded on actual observations.

In fine the antiquities of the religion and Government of the Hindoos are not less interesting than those of their sciences. At the dawn of history, they and the Egyptians alone are found possessed of a compleat system of positive institutions. In both nations, the

King was the sole proprietor of the land and a sacerdotal tribe possessed a controlling power seemingly by unlimited. Both nations in very remote periods gave religions to their neighbouring countries and yet retained religions at home which scarcely admitted of proselites. Both nations⁽³⁾ preserved their institutions for ages after their subjection to foreigners. Both were the founders of the sciences of the nations which surrounded them; and in both we find a Zodiac with the same arbitrary signs; the days of the week dedicated to the planets in the same arbitrary succession; and a law giver and prophet bearing the name of the planet mercury.

The histories, the poems, the traditions, the very fables of the Hindoos might therefore throw light upon the history of the ancient world and in particular upon the institutions of that celebrated people from whom Moses received his learning and Greece her religion and her arts.

But the remains of the Hindoo literature lie buried in a language in which no European save one has ever made any proficiency, and of which there is neither Grammar nor Dictionary existing in any known tongue. At the same time there are numerous manuscripts extant in the Shanscrit and even some of the most ancient works in it have been brought to England as curiosities. But these must remain useless and soon like other Baubles be neglected and perish; unless some measures are taken to collect them and communicate their contents to the learned in Europe.

The India Company however have no inducement from interest to encourage the study of the Shanscrit which has long been a dead language. And the sale of translations from it (which cannot be supposed to be attractive to many readers) can never afford sufficient encouragement to any persons to engage in the arduous undertaking of preparing them.

It is accordingly with much regret observed that after Mr. Wilkins, with a love of science and industry and an address altogether singular had acquired the Shanscrit at Benares, and had published an extremely curious episode from the

Mahabharat, (one of the most respected sacred poems in that language) and had announced that great part of the poem was already translated, he has, instead of carrying on this important work, had recourse to publishing some ancient moral dialogues under the title of Fables. But it cannot be expected that even these should have any general sale.

It is humbly suggested therefore that it is an object worthy of our monarch, the sovereign of the Banks of the Ganges, and the distinguished patron of literature and science to give (4) such directions as may be necessary for discovering collecting and translating whatever is extant of the ancient works of the Hindoos. Some part of the Vedes or scriptures attributed to Brahma it should seem from the preface to the Bhagvat Geeta are still preserved. The Mahabharat already mentioned remains entire and is attributed to the last incarnation of the Divinity referred to the epoch of the 31st ~~century~~ Century ante C. The Shree Bhagbut which is attributed to the son of this personage also exists and is said to contain the history of India down to his time. Various other sacred works are preserved. The astronomical tables used in Bengal must be easily procured, and it is also hoped some treatises in the Shanscrit relative to them. Geography and natural history have acquired a third more of extent at least, from the patronage of the King; and if it procured these works to Europe, astronomy, and antiquities, and the sciences connected with them would be advanced in a still great proportion.

11.40

Duplicate

Calcutta
1 March 1794

Sir,

The Institutes of Hindu Law have been very correctly printed, and the whole impression has just been sent to the Governor and Council, who will not fail to transmit copies for the King's library, for yourself, and for the Directors. If I had obtained ~~th~~ His Majesty's leave to resign my office nothing would now keep me here, but the Digest of Indian Laws, consisting of nine large volumes, two of which remain to be collated and studied with the learned Brahmen, who assists me: he is old and infirm; but, should he be able to attend ~~me~~ ^{me} another year, or two years at the very utmost, the whole work will be finished, and I shall copy it during my voyage, if the King shall graciously permit me to leave India.

I, therefore, entreat you, Sir, to lay before His Majesty my humble supplication for his gracious permission to resign my Judgeship in the year 1795 or (if the Digest should not then be completed) in 1796; it being my anxious wish to pass the remainder of my life in studious retirement, though devoted, as I ever have been; to the service of my King and my country, and of that recorded constitution, which is the basis of our national glory and felicity.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant

W. Jones

The Rt. Hon'ble Henry Dundas, Esq.

 Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/61/8/5

II.41

India Board, Saturday Evening
21st February 1795

Sir,

After the favours you have conferred on me, and the notice with which I have been honoured by you, it will, no doubt be as unexpected to you, as it is irksome and disagreeable to myself, that I should make the least difficulty in complying with any of your wishes. But the candour and liberality which you are so well known to possess, encourage me to obtrude on you the objection which stands in the way of my obedience to the command expressed in your note.

I have for some years considered it as a duty and a source of the most rational enjoyment as well as of moral improvement to devote a portion of time to the (187v) social worship of the supreme being. In this practice I have persevered and humbly conceive it to be one of the best means of civilizing society and of strengthening our regard to moral obligations. I do not presume, Sir, to question your coincidence in these views: But I have observed that in the conduct of business in those offices which are more immediately concerned with the management of state affairs, frequent and almost constant encoachments~~x~~ are made on the day which the example of the early Christians and the practice of the succeeding ages have allotted for the purpose of mutual edification and the public avowal of their belief in the being of a God and in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. And as, if I omitted it at the present time, I do not conceive it would be so proper on any future occasion, I take the opportunity (188R) in answer to the first requisition you have made for my attendance on a Sunday, humbly to signify to you the desire I have to violate as little as possible ~~and~~ a custom which I respect, I have ever found a powerful incentive to the regular discharge of social duties.

I do not wish you to suppose, Sir, that I am an advocate for a Pharisaical observance of what is commonly called the Christian Sabbath; - or that I think a due attention is not to be paid on this ~~duty~~ to affirm of urgent necessity ^{day}

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/47

to which men in ~~in~~ your exalted station may frequently be called; but I humbly conceive a compliance with my wishes by dispensing with my attendance, can be no detriment to the public service.

A diffidence which I cannot easily surmount has made me prefer this method of stating my objection (188V) rather than a personal one. Your penetration and knowledge of mankind, will I am persuaded, readily suggest to you, that a young man with a family, with few other means of support beside those which his official situation afford, would not without powerful motives, risk the goodwill and patronage of a person of your eminence. And I flatter myself, that upon a reference to those under whose immediate inspection I have had to discharge the duties of the station in ~~in~~ which you placed me, you will have no reason to suppose that a disposition to ~~shrink~~ from the performance of the business allotted to me, has any influence on my conduct in the present instance.

I forbear to intrude further on your notice than while, I thank you sincerely for the favour you have conferred on me, and profess my desire to prove the faithfulness with which I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant

Benjamin Jones

Right Honble
Henry Dundas

VI:42

February 6th 1800

Sir,

Although not personally unknown to you, I chose this letter should be anonymous. The Writer desires no notice; but the subject, he presumes to think, merits some attention.

The Indian campaign commenced and has closed with a success almost unparalleled in history. Its termination has been attended for too with a dignity, justice and wisdom that will ever rank the Marquis Wellesley among the highest public characters in this, or in any other country. But may I, with great humility suggest one measure that appears still wanting to complete this glorious plan?

If I am not misinformed, there are not more than three or four public establishments for Christian worship in all the settlements we ^(109v) proposed before the late acquisitions of territory. ^{of possessed} These, I believe, were hardly adequate to the numbers of Europeans who wished to attend them. But now that the British dominions are so much extended, how can some part of the additional revenues arising from those countries be better applied than in erecting places for public worship in some of the many towns, in which the civil and military servants of the Company may reside or be quartered? It would not be difficult to find persons properly qualified to perform the duties of such establishments, by holding out a sufficient inducement to the many respectable Clergymen in this country, whose situation here from various causes, is ill suited to their merits.

To enter into any argumentative discussion (110R) on this subject, would be an impertinent intrusion on your time. All therefore that I shall say is, that it is without the slightest portion of self interest, that I have now taken the liberty of communicating my sentiments

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/97

upon this very important topic to you, the
very meritorious centre of India's Government.

The above considerations may possibly
have already occurred to your mind. In this
case, I have only to apologize to you, for having
given you this unnecessary trouble.

I have the honour to be

with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant

The Rt. Hon.'ble
Henry Dundas

VI.43

Calcutta 9th August 1802

...The cause of religion has certainly been much promoted of late. The institution of the College is favourable to it. Before the boys are initiated in the dissipation and luxuries of India, they are taken up by official parents, and encouraged to study by the most flattering rewards. There exists at this time a very high degree of literary emulation among them; higher than I ever before have witnessed, either here or at home.

Vital religion increases and little sects are formed to cherish it.

I have mentioned you by name to the missionaries here, who desire to thank you for your cordial wishes.. ...of the students who shall leave college and enter the public service in January 1803, I knew already which shall have first, second and third places in the service. This system is death to indolence and despair to bad character...

Edinburgh University: La II 509; Letter of G. Buchanan (about Mr Macenechie, a student) to Col Chas Stewart, Edinburgh. 3pages. above extract from pages 2 and 3.

(Copy)

Private and Confidential

Fort William 12 Feb 1807

Sir,

Having observed a paragraph in one of the English newspapers, lately received in Bengal, stating that it is the contemplation of His Majesty's Ministers to propose an Ecclesiastical Establishment in India upon the plan suggested by the Reverend Claudius Buchanan in a Memoir lately published in England, under the title of "A Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India", I consider it to be my duty to submit to your judgement some observations with regard to the effects of the proposed institution, as connected with the political interests and security of the British dominions in this quarter of the Globe.

I am aware of the delicacy of discussing this question with the express view of demonstrating the inexpediency of the proposed establishment, (490V) of which the professed object is the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity among the multitudes who, placed under the protection and authority of the British Government, are involved in the darkness and delusion of idolatry, bigotry and superstition; and no consideration inferior to the exigency of the first and most essential duty of my public station; that of employing the efforts of my deliberate judgement in protecting from destruction the interests committed to my charge, could induce me to oppose a system apparently recommended to our adoption by all the obligations of Philanthropy, morality and religion.

The tendency of the facts and arguments stated by the Revd. Mr. Buchanan in his memoir is, not only to demonstrate the blessings of a successful propagation of the tenets of the Christian faith, among the natives of India (a point which requires no demonstration) but also the facility of accomplishing that important object. Mr. Buchannan has stated some circumstances from which an inference is deduced,

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/132

that the natives of India (491R) are not bigoted to their religion, in the degree in which they have been generally supposed to be so; that they are open to conviction in questions of a religious nature, and ready to obey the dictates of their conviction. The facts however upon which this conclusion is founded are in their nature delusive. The record of them is derived from sources of very limited information; from authorities which, laudably engaged in the pursuits of religious zeal, are justly and honourably, but unconsciously interested, as well as deceived, in ascribing the partial success of their efforts in the work of conversion to the general prevalence of a disposition among the natives of India to receive with complacency the doctrines of persuasion on questions of theology, and to contemplate without emotion the operation of a system directed to the object of diffusing among them a knowledge of the precepts and principles of Christianity.

The result of long experience however is adverse to these conclusions, and it may be observed that the facts on which they are founded have no reference to that extensive branch of the population of India, the class of Mussulmans, in which a spirit of (491V) hostility to the Government and religion of our nation principally resides.

The efforts of the industrious missionaries of the Christian Church unaided by the declared and active support of the ruling power, may continue to operate, without exciting among the natives of India a sentiment of religious jealousy, but if once connected with the measures of the Government, if animated and promoted by the establishment of a system leaving for its object the propagation of the tenets of the Christian faith, and deriving its authority and support from the paramount power of the state, the very foundation of our empire in India may be seriously endangered. No danger can be so extreme, so absolutely beyond the limits of prevention or remedy as the prevalence of an apprehension among our native subjects, that Government meditates the project of their conversion. The dangerous effects of such an apprehension would not be precluded even by a conviction (if ~~was~~ indeed such a conviction could be established) that persuasion alone would be employed or permitted in the accomplishment of that object. A

general sentiment of religious (422) jealousy would be excited; the interests of the Government would be placed in open opposition to the interests of the religion of its subjects, and the faith of that Government so often pledged, and consecrated and confirmed by an Act of the Legislature, to abstain from all interference in the religious concerns of the natives of India, would be violated. Even if the establishment of a system such as I have described, were not of itself sufficient to produce this general ferment, the industry of the avowed or secret enemies of the State would be employed to excite it, and that main foundation of our Eastern Empire, an unequivocal toleration of all sects and religions, and a scrupulous regard for the prejudices of our native subjects would cease to exist.

You are no doubt apprized at this moment of the occurrence of events and transactions on the coast which demonstrate the justice of the observations, and the importance of guarding by the utmost precaution every avenue to the approach of a danger so great and irremediable.

However great and extensive the blessings of diffusing among the deluded natives of India a knowledge and conviction of (424) the enlightened truths of Christianity (and no one can be more firmly impressed than I am with a sense of those blessings) neither policy nor principle can justify the attempt, at the hazard of involving in its failure the destruction of the fabric of the British Empire in India.

From the detail of the events to which I have referred, you will readily perceive with what facility the proposed Ecclesiastical Establishment in India may be rendered instrumental to the purposes of ~~xxx~~ tumult and sedition, and here obviously the institution of such an establishment might be adduced to prove, that the apprehension lately entertained by our native troops on the Coast, of the projected substitution of the Christian religion for the religion of their country was not unfounded, and with what success the intrigues of the discontented and disaffected might be employed to revive and animate it.

From the knowledge which I possess of the character and disposition of the natives of India, and especially from the experience of recent events, I am satisfied that the proposed and expected benefits of an Acclesiastical Establishment are far more speculative and chimerical (493R) than the dangers which I consider to attend it.

It may be proper on this occasion to inform you with a view to corroborate the sentiments which I have described that more than once Government has been compelled by the representations of many respectable natives, inhabitants of this city, to restrain by the interposition of its authority the discussion of religious topics in the College of Fort William, involving a comparison of the principles and effects of the Christian faith with those of the religions of this country, and has found it necessary; with refernce to the danger of exciting the dormant spirit of Bigotry and fanaticism, to repress the agitation in the College of all subjects of a religious nature.

Under the impression of the sentiments which I have thus taken the liberty to explain, I consider it to be the most sacred obligation of my public duty to submit to your deliberate judgement the observations contined in this letter. *la* Your wisdom will appretiate the justice of them and your liberality will, I trust, ascribe the expression of them to motives not less consistent with a sacred regard for the interests of our holy religion (493v) than with a solicitude for the preservation and prosperity of the British Empire in India.

With respect to the moral and religious interests of the European community in this country, I presume to observe that the object of their preservation and improvement will be promoted in the utmost practicable degree by nominating to the established clerical offices at the several Presidencies, Clergymen distinguished for the purity and piety of their lives, and for the respectability of their talents and character, and by assigning to them allowances adequate to the station which they ought to maintain in society, without the introduction of any change in the system under which the duties of the sacred profession are at present discharged.

I have the honour to be,

(Signed) G. H. Barlow

*The Right Honourable
Thomas Grenville*

VI. 45

No. 2

Whitehall

11th December 1807

Sir,

Mr. Grenville having communicated to me confidentially a letter which he had received from you dated the 12th February 1807, on the subject of a publication by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, I have no hesitation in stating my entire concurrence in the sentiments which you have expressed on the doctrines and propositions contained in it, as well as on the general question of the mischievous consequences to be apprehended from our interference with the religious prejudices of the natives of India. The late commotions on the Coast, have naturally led to much discussion on these topics in this country. Some contend that no missionaries should be suffered to remain in the country, and that every appearance of a wish to propagate the doctrines of our religion, by translations of the scriptures or by any similar methods should be carefully avoided and strictly prohibited. Others again maintain that no danger is to be apprehended, from such proceedings; that the natives have long been accustomed to the progress of missionaries and that, though positive coercion may not (100) be advisable, the Hindoos in general are such an unprincipled race, that it is politically as well as morally desirable to use every exertion for the purpose of converting them to Christianity. I am fully persuaded that, on this question, as on most others of a similar nature, the extremes on both sides ought to be avoided. The progress of the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, for a long period of years, has not been attended with injurious consequences, because their numbers have not been sufficient to excite alarm, and their general conduct has been prudent and conciliating; but if, in any instance, the intemperate zeal of individuals should lead them to outrage the feelings of the people, and endanger the public tranquillity, they should forthwith be sent out of the Company's territories, and prohibited from returning. It would be a measure too revolting to our feelings in this country to prohibit the peaceable and unobtrusive circulation of translations of the scriptures; but I would proceed in a similar manner with the authors or editors if any publications,

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that could justly and unequivocally be considered as offensive to the natives, and tending to excite their religious fears and jealousies to an extent that would naturally (201) indispose them towards our Government. I consider Dr. Buchanan's tract to be so decidedly of that description (though, I verily believe, with the most upright and conscientious motives on his part) that if I had not understood from the chairs that he was returning to Europe, I should have thought it necessary to insist on his being recalled. It is not sufficient to state, that in all probability such publications may never be translated so as to find their way into the hands of the natives. We have enemies enough who would gladly avail themselves of such a powerful instrument coming from such authority, and who would take especial care, that it should not remain unknown or unemployed.

I have not thought it necessary, in writing to Lord Minto, to advert to these topics, because I have no doubt he will be disposed to act entirely on the same principles; but if you think it of any moment that he should know the opinions entertained here, you will of course, use your own discretion in communicating them. Mr. Grenville has requested me to add, that, till he received your letter, the subject had not been brought under his consideration.

I have the honour to be with great esteem, Sir, your most faithful and obedient servant.

Robert Dundas

VI. 46

Extract from letter No.5, dt.30-4-1808
from Robert Dundas, President, Board of
Control to Governor General Minto.

30th April 1808

I cannot help suspecting that they have been very deficient in supplying an adequate number of well educated cadets for that service, but more specially for the Engineers; and if even you are to be engaged with a European enemy in India on an extended scale, these wants if they exist may be severely felt. I have recently made a remonstrance on the subject, and I trust that measures will be adopted to remedy the evil. Local knowledge will give you great advantage; but without the addition of European skill in the more modern system of warfare (which may be said to be unknown in India) danger may be apprehended against which it will certainly be prudent to provide.

With regard to the measures adopted towards the missionaries, the occupation of Serampore by a British force (which I conclude has long ago taken place) will have left you at full liberty to enforce any regulations you may think expedient on the subject. If Sir George Barlow has communicated to your Lordship a letter which I wrote to him on the 11th December last, you will perceive that you have in fact, anticipated the opinions which I took the liberty of suggesting to him on that topic. The course you have pursued appears most proper and judicious, and I (30) have no doubt your Lordship will also agree with me in thinking, that next to restraining the missionaries from any acts which may be dangerous to the public tranquillity, it is most desirable that the Government should not appear to be a party in any of their proceedings even of the most inoffensive description.

I have learnt, since I began this letter, that the Fleet will be dispatched sooner than I expected, and I may possibly be prevented from writing on the other topics by the present conveyance; another opportunity however must occur in the course of a few weeks, and I have nothing to state that may not very well admit of that delay.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem,

My Lord,

Yours Lordship's most obedient and
faithful servant

Robert Dundas

Original : Capt Eckford of the Lady Jane Dundas
Duplicate: Chiffonne Frigate 7 June 1808

National Library of Scotland, Manchester MS 1063

VI.47

MINUTES

From the situations in which we have the honour to be placed by the Court and the sentiments we are known to entertain on the subject of promulgating the Christian Religion in India, we feel ourselves to be peculiarly circumstanced with relation to the letter which the Court have now adopted in answer to the Dispatch from the Bengal Government respecting the Protestant Missionaries settled at the Danish Factory of Serampore.

The inconveniences of a public and acrimonious discussion of the important and delicate question of communicating the knowledge of Christianity to the Natives of British India, have already been in some measure felt, and we believe that it would on various accounts be at this time inexpedient to extend or revive any discussion of that sort. For the prevention of this evil it has been thought and we conceive justly that the course which the Authorities at home had to follow was to avoid unnecessary controversy upon the subject among themselves, to adopt some safe line of instruction to the Government abroad, and to convey that instruction in the way least liable to public observation. The letter now passed by the Court and we are satisfied was framed upon these views; but acquiescing ^(h) as we do in the views themselves, we think the letter does not in all respects follow them up in a mode to which we can give our unqualified approbation, and it is the design of the Paper delivered in a Secret Court, to state very briefly the nature of our objections, not with the least idea of provoking disputation but merely to exonerate our own minds. If we had to act only as private members of the Court our task on this occasion would be easier, because we might decline to sign the letter; but we acknowledge it to be generally expedient that the names of those who have the honour to preside in the Court should appear to its Dispatches; and were we to decline affixing ours' on this occasion, it is probable that erroneous reasons capable of producing some inconveniences, might be assigned for our conduct. We are glad therefore that on a consideration of the whole matter of the letter and of all the circumstances under which we have now to act, we feel ourselves able to give our signatures to it, and it is our purpose to do so; but lest on the letter had it should be supposed to contain ^{other hand}

John Ryland Library Manchester:
Eng. MS 689/1737/A-E

the whole of our sentiments upon a subject of the highest concern, or in every case to state the opinions and instructions conveyed in it in the terms and the manner which we should deem most fit for the Court to employ and most safe for the guidance of the Government abroad on ^(c) so important an occasion, we judge it necessary to offer the following observations.

1. Whilst we sincerely and decidedly ^d maintain the necessity of all due precedence and caution in every attempt to make known the Christian Religion to the natives of India, we cannot but think that on such an occasion as the present when the Court are laying down opinions and Rules on this subject, it is indispensable to recognise as a principle that it is the duty of this Christian country as well in obediences to the dictates of its Religion as from regard to the welfare of its heathen subjects to endeavour by prudent and proper methods to communicate the light of the Gospel to them. We do not mean to say that it is the duty of the Company's Government or of any other Government to employ the least authority or influence in this work; but that the Nation and the Company as a part of it, should be desirous to promote the prudent and safe exertions of Individuals of proper character in the diffusion of the knowledge of Christianity in India. The acknowledgment of such a principle does by no means imply or require that all political considerations should in consequence of it be disregarded. The argument for Religion should not exclude the consideration of political consequences nor the plea of political consequences exclude the consideration of Religion and we think that a disposition to give them both their due place may bring them to unite at a safe point. The ^(d) want of a distinct and full recognition therefore of this principle without which some of the admissions in the letter respecting Christianity appear cold and far below the terms suitable in speaking of so great a blessing, is our first and greatest Objection to the letter.

2. We are of opinion that our Indian Government ought to exercise a superintendance and control over the conduct of missionaries employed in our territories, but that they ought to use their power impartially, neither conniving at real danger, nor groundlessly advancing the plea of it to crush the labour of Missionaries. We mean not to charge the Bengal Government with either of these extremes, but to state that the letter does not sufficiently guard against the last. ~~Some~~ Some passages in it are so expressed that if but one or two natives should (from any motives either the impulse of those adverse to the whole idea of extending Christianity to India, or from personal enmity,) pretend alarm for their

religion, those passages might afford a sufficient pretext to the Government to suppress all Missionarie exertions. And without at all supposing any such disposition on the part of the Government ~~ix~~ abroad, or any design to countenance it at home, yet if from the tenor of the Court's instructions to India, it were to be conceived there that the Court were unconcerned about the general object and ready to abandon it on the first plea of political danger, such pleas and complaints to that effects^(e) on the part of individuals would probably not be wanting.

3. We wish by no means to confound the case or the fate of the present missionaries in Bengal with the general question of tolerating endeavour to propagate Christianity in India; it is for the last we are most solicitous, but we conceive that ~~A~~ this question may be affected by any appearance of unnecessary severity to the present missionaries. And as we think that in some parts of the proceedings towards those missionaries, Government went beyond what its professed ~~o~~bjects required, and unnecessarily committed itself, we could have wished the letter had touched explicitly on those points, but on this head it is not our purpose to enlarge.

(Signed) Edward Parry
" Chas Grant

East India House
16th August 1808

II. 48

Downing Street

30th December 1811

My dear Lord

I return you the papers and correspondence relative to the Jaggernaut Pagoda and I thank you for having sent them to me.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the course of your business to be quite certain that I collect the practical result of this correspondence; but I conceive that, upon your sending back the original paragraph, amended as it appears in these papers, and upon your persevering in that amendment, the paragraph went to India in the amended state. (2)

I think you are clearly right in objecting to the absolute renunciation, on principles either of policy or religion, of the right on the part of the East India Company to interfere with the superstitions of their subjects. The propriety of exercising that right at any particular time must always raise a question of exceeding delicacy, as well as difficulty, and the true wisdom upon this point, I believe to consist not only in avoiding as much as possible all interference not absolutely necessary, but even all declarations of opinion, one way or the other as to the circumstances under which the right or duty to interfere, will arise. It seems to me much the safest course, on such a subject to wait till the case occurs and then to (3) determine, according to the circumstances, whether you should interfere or not to confine your interference as much as possible to that case and not to attempt, beforehand, to prescribe in what cases you would authorise and recommend similar interference in future.

As to the second point, the tax on the pilgrims, I should like to know more how the fact stands. Your amendment on that paragraph I could readily have concurred in, as it stands, unless I had, what I have not, further information than that which the paragraph itself contains, and apparently proceeds upon. Because it only states an opinion that there is no objection to the continuance of the tax connected with the usage, where the usage is not encouraged for the tax, and where both tax and usage were found in existence when the Government devolved (4) on the East India Company. That opinion I consider as being quite safe, at least I think it so, provided the application of the produce of the tax in effect is confined to the service of the Temple. I am not indeed at all prepared to maintain, in contradiction to some of your reasoning, that the application even of any surplus receipt, arising from such a

John Rylands Library, Manchester: Eng. Ms. 684/1260/A-0

tax, to the general revenue of the Company, is morally, politically, or religiously criminal - nay, of that surplus should be fractional and trifling, I hardly know that I should deem such an application of it inexpedient. But I certainly conceive that it is very desirable that it should be limited as nearly as possible to the demands of the religious ceremonies and establishments (5) to which it is primarily to be applied. One of the Board's letters very properly states that "We are not bound, nor even at liberty to encourage idolatory" and I think it highly expedient that we should avoid, as far as possible, not only the imputation and suspicion of doing that which we thus consider ourselves not at liberty to do, but the temptation also. If the East India Company actually derives revenue from the observance of idolatory, and the increase of that Idolatory would furnish an increase of such revenue and a diminution of it, a loss - It must become an object, if not a duty, with such revenue sergants of the Company as have any superintendance over the collection of that revenue, to keep alive and countenance the extension, rather than rejoice and to connive at (6) the gradual decay of such Idolatory. I should therefore feel very much obliged to you if you would direct your attention to this subject, for the purpose of ascertaining in point of fact, what amount of surplus revenue is really obtained from any of the sources of taxation connected with such Idolatrous observances of the Hindoos and particularly of the salaries and emoluments of any of our European servants would be affected by the loss or diminution of this revenue. ~~My~~ My object in this inquiry is to see how far it is the interest of the East India Company, or any of the Company's servants, according to the existing nature of its establishments, to encourage these Idolatrous practices.

There is another very important (7) point which the perusal of these papers and the consideration of this subject, have brought very forcibly to my mind - and that is, how far any considerations of policy require, a proper principles of religion will admit, of our suffering, where we can prevent the continuance of such of those horrid rites of these Idolatrous superstitions as are celebrated by human sacrifices, and how far a fortiore we can be justified in promoting them, as we undoubtedly do, in any instance when we contribute to the means by which such sacrifice is effected. There are some of these Rites, I am aware, which it would be extremely desirable, tho' extremely difficult by any means to prevent - where the only means of preventing these enormities consist (8) in threatening to punish and in punishing, as murderers, the persons concerned in them. The very principles of humanity and religion, by which alone we should be induced to interfere, make us pause lest our remedy should prove on the whole worse and more bloody than the evil itself. On the principles applicable to this

question, I conceive we should have no doubt, however we might differ in our application of them. Imaginary cases of human sacrifices may at least be stated in which no man would doubt but that we ought to interfere to prevent them. Suppose for instance with regard to the practice of the widows burning themselves on their husbands funeral piles. If in the course of Eastern (9) conquest we had obtained a territory, where the religion of the state required the application of the civil revenue to provide the materials for these funeral piles, and the civil officers under its appointment were to be employed in binding the unhappy, tho' willing victims to the stake - and the military under the pretence of preserving good order, were to superintend the ceremony - I suppose ~~xxx~~ we should not hesitate in refusing to make such application of the revenue, or to suffer such employment of our civil or military servants. If we had subdued a nation whose religious faith required the immolation to their God of war, of all the prisoners made by their soldiery, I suppose when^{ker} we (10) ~~xxx~~ employed such soldiery that we should not hesitate to rescue from their superstition the unhappy prisoners whom they might have taken in the Battles which they fought under our authority and direction. and I confess I wish to know a little more of the Jaggernant sacrifices, before I can satisfy myself that we are not actually instrumental in the human sacrifices which are there celebrated. As I understand the fact from Dr. Buchanan's representation, which may be exaggerated, but I think must, to a very considerable degree, be correct, the great ceremony consists in the procession of the Jaggernant Car and that it is part of the worship of this Idol, for some of its devoted worshippers, to precipitate themselves (11) under the wheels of this car and absolutely to be crushed to death before his ~~admiring~~ ^{admiring} (12) worshippers, and in the sight also of the civil and military magistrates who superintend these ceremonies for the purpose of preserving the peace. The Revenue in question also which is collected by our officers, defrays the expense of preserving and repairing this ~~horrid~~ car and of moving it in ^{horrid} it bloody progress. I say nothing of all its indecent emblems ^{and} the shocking immoralities which it excites and encourages, tho' possibly much might be said on them. I am on the point of the human sacrifices, and I really feel so strongly upon the national guilts which I conceive to be incurred by these proceedings, if I am rightly informed upon them, that I most anxiously ~~assist~~ ^{wish} that you would (12) enable me to procure as accurate information upon those facts as you can. My own impression, as at present informed, being that unless the procession of this Idol could be so regulated as to prevent these sacrifices of human beings, there are no considerations of policy whatever, that can justify us, while we have the

power of the state in our hands, in obtain abstaining from directing at whatever extremity, the discontinuance of such murderous rites, most especially when we have a clear power of preventing the ceremony. With respect to the other sacrifices, of widows at their husbands' funerals, and the aged and infirm to the River Gods, there may be great difficulties in putting an end to them. They may in some instances, elude the search and vigilance of any magistracy, but what was done by a Regulation⁽¹³⁾ of Lord Wellesley in 1802, shows what may be done on these points; and I do not conceive that we do our duty, or that we can answer to God or man, for suffering the continuance of such rites merely because we have some general and undefined idea of the difficulty or even impossibility, of preventing them. I think we are bound to direct an enquiry, at least, to be made how far these practices might be discountenanced, and if possible suppressed. It should be inculcated upon the East India Company's servants in India that the prevention of them is an object never to be lost sight of, and that the only doubt is as to the best manner of preventing them.

I am far from wishing to precipitate your into any proceeding upon this subject, which your own judgment does not⁽¹⁴⁾ completely approve. What I wish for is such inquiry; for I feel that I may, in point of fact, be in a state of great ignorance upon the whole of it, but I wish most anxiously, and I really feel it an ~~impressio~~ imperious duty, now it is brought under my view, that the fullest inquiry should be made, and that it should be known that our principles compel us to prevent, if we can, the crime of murder (comprehending suicide, as well as other murder), and to punish, where we can, the accessories as well as the principals, ^{and} however, that crime may be ~~de~~ disguised under the cover and sanctioned by the vows and ceremonies of superstition; and that the duty of the East India Company, as the supreme Magistrate, to preserve the peace and good order of society, and the lives of its ^{and} (15) subjects impose upon them the obligation of preventing, if they can, the practice of such inhuman enormities.

When you have read this letter, be so good as to send it, to Lord Wellesley, He must know more of the subject than any of us, and, if I am not much mistaken, the steps which he took in India connected with the subject show that his opinion upon it, in principle at least, must agree with mine. You will naturally suppose me to allude to a most valuable Regulation of his, for abolishing,

the sacrifice of children at ~~L~~Tanger, which is ^hSaugor
stated by Doctor Buchanan to have been acquiesced
in and obeyed, without a murmur.

I am,

My dear Lord

Yours very truly

Sd/- Percival

Lord Viscount Melville
(President, Board of Commissioners for the
Affairs of India)

London 26th June 1813

My Lord,

I trouble your Lordship with a few observations on one of the most momentous subjects that has been discussed by the Legislature of this country, and which the enlightened statesman Pitt & Melville would never have suffered to become an article of legislative enactment. The people of India are not represented in Parliament but are greatly misrepresented by the zealot spirit now prevailing. Your (p.194b) noble father would on such an attempt have opposed the Barrina of his powerful mind, against the torrent that is now about to overwhelm the British interests in India. The attempt was made in 1793 but he would not suffer the amphibious resolution of that day to tarnish British faith. It is only by the aid of the Hindoos and Mohamedans that we held India. The spirit floating there, requires but a spark to raise it into flame. If therefore, this phrency for conversion, finds a place in the new Bill, I hope the Government will (p.195a) accompany it with a suitable European force to afford us some hope of having the means, of preserving, our fellow subjects, with whose lives, as well as the honour and faith of our country we are thus sporting - and for what? In my humble opinion, to destroy the hope of accomplishing the object never to these good men's hearts. They are erecting a bulwork against Christianity, they are destroying the fair hope that silence, time and prudence hold out to the accomplishment of their great purpose. The amelioration in progress, arising out of the laws and regulations now in force, cannot fail (p.195b) to produce happy results and we carry the Brahmins, Pundits, Gauzis & Mufties with us in effecting the most desirable and important purposes. But now, we are about to make it not only their duty, but their interest, to oppose us in these good works. Often have I been anxiously and earnestly questioned by intelligent natives, as to the reports circulated originating in the publications on the subject of conversion, which found their way to India, whether there was any truth in them. Whether the English would ever like the Portugese and French endeavour to make christians of them. I always replied look (p.196a) at the acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, and see how the religion of your fathers is secured to you. Look at the Regulations promulgated in India, and rest your faith on the justice and wisdom of the English Government. I have read the clauses to them and they have been satisfied. I leave it to your Lordship to judge what will be the effect when they read that their conversion is considered by that very British Government a sacred duty - for it is impossible to separate the objects and intention of the advocates for this measure, (p.196b) aboard in their speeches and publications, and the act of the Parliament, however cautiously and ambiguous it may be worded. One simple question occurs what is the use of inserting anything about missionaries in the Bill or Act of Parliament when it is only to give the Government authority, if they see fit, to allow them to go out and reside in India when by the Bill they already have the power of sending out and licensing whom they please and of course pastors as well as others. But I

Scottish Record Office: GD51/3/180

Thomas Cockburn Esq. (26.6.1813) sends a pamphlet on the India Account.

beg pardon to intruding so long on your valuable time. I know in (p.197a) what contempt Indians, and Indian Counsel are held by men in this country, especially by that class, who set experience at defiance and who consider a leaf of the Bible worth all our ~~earthly~~ possessions. *Be Earthly* it so. As a humble individual deeply impressed with the certain ~~wise~~ we are engendering, I have done my duty in *heavily* making my sentiments public, but not before having endeavoured by private representation to impress a belief of the dangerous tendency of the measures in progress. And as your Lordship has always received any communications with indulgence, I hope you will also pardon this intrusion.

I have the honour to be my Lord
 Your Lordship
 Most obedient
 Faithful humble servant
 Thomas Cockburn

Lord Melville