

Vol . XIV

SOME DOCUMENTS ON CHRISTIANISATION OF
INDIA AND ALTERATIONS IN STRATEGIES :
C. 1700 - 1900

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May 2000

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1. LETTER OF ANTONY DIAS ON THE INDIAN'S LACK OF DETERMINATION TO BECOME CHRISTIANS

Madurai, Kodaikanal Jesuit Archives: 16.8.1718, pp 187-203 (Extract)

In *Tenkasi* the storm which arose on the occasion of a Raja soldier who refused to eat meat on a forbidden day in a public banquet, has been renewed this year. For this same Raja on returning from the church with his wife had no sooner entered his house than his pagan relatives crowded round him and, drawing the sword, shouted at him, "Either you give up the infamous sect of the Europeans and of the pariahs, or under your eyes each one of us is going to kill himself. It is for you to see what reason you will offer to the magistrate to justify yourself for our death." To this the christian, less a theologian than a soldier, answers them, "Why need you die? Let rather myself, who am the cause of all this commotion, die instead." So saying he was going to throw himself on his sword and pierce himself through, if one of his relatives had not prevented him. After witnessing such a trait of extraordinary courage, who would not have expected that he would remain firm to the end? But for an Indian how easier it is to shed his blood than to resist the assault of his castemen! They attack with their tongues him whom their swords have been unable to frighten.... the pagan rajas, emboldened by this victory, rush to the other christians of the same caste, and first of all to the chief one. ... Surely we cannot deplore too much the condition in which our religion finds itself in this country.... Even amongst the most abject there are (those) who look upon the christians as the opprobrium and shame of their caste.

A. SOME STEPS TO BRITISH DECISION OF PROPAGATING CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

2. MR. JENKINSON, LATER LORD LIVERPOOL SUGGESTS BUILDING A PROPER PLACE OF CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN CALCUTTA : 1776

British Library : Liverpool Papers : Add Ms 38306, Page 82.

Mr Johnson married, perhaps while at Calcutta, the mother of the first Mrs. C. Jenkinsen, and grandmother of the II Earl of Liverpool, Prime Minister (1812 - 1827).

Parliament Street
28 October 1776.

My Lord

I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Grace copies of several letters and papers I have received from Mr. Chambers, one of the judges of Calcutta, and from Mr. Johnson one of the chaplains of our factory there, concerning the building of a proper place of religious worship for the members of the church of England resident in Bengal. I need add nothing, I am sure, to the arguments used by those gentleman in support of the measure they recommend. Parliament have endeavoured by many wise regulations to promote the cause of virtue and honesty in that part of his majesty's dominions. I wish I could say that those endeavours had been attended with the success, which they had reason to hope; this failure may perhaps be owing to the want of religious principles for the encouragement of which sufficient measures have not been persued. I have not the least doubt that your Grace will use all your influence to induce the East India Company to do what is proper on this occasion, and I trust that the directors will not scruple to allow a small sum out of their vast resources for the support of so good and pious a design.

I have the honour to be with great truth and respect

My Lord &c.
C. J (enkinson)

Archbishop of Canterbury

3. BENJAMIN JONES, OF BOARD OF CONTROL, TO MR. HENRY DUNDAS TO EXEMPT HIM FROM WORKING ON THE SABBATH DAY (SUNDAY) : 1795

(Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/47, ff 187 - 188)

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 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 encroachments 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 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 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 day to affairs of urgent necessity to which men 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 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 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 favours 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. Hon'ble Henry Dundas.

4. REDEEMING THE HEATHEN IN INDIA - LETTER FROM MISSIONARIES TO VARIOUS CHURCHES ACROSS BRITAIN: EDINBURGH, 1797

University of Edinburgh, 1797 La II. 500

Edinburgh, Feb. 16, 1797

Reverend Sir,

As we believe you much concerned for the interests of Christianity, and that it is your earnest wish and sincere prayer, that the Redeemer's kingdom may be advanced in the world, we can have no doubt, that you will also feel happy to use any lawful and Christian means which, in the course of Providence, may be placed within your reach, to forward so desirable an end.

You may have possibly heard, that, together with some other ministers and servants of Jesus Christ, we are desirous of devoting ourselves and our substance to the service of the Redeemer among the Heathen. After mature deliberation, we have fixed upon Bengal as the best field in the Pagan world for using the talents committed to us by God. There we should find above twelve millions of people, our fellow-subjects and of course having the first claim upon us, in a high state of civilization, speaking the same language, reading and writing being generally known among them, enjoying a very considerable degree of security, there not having been the appearance of war in their country these thirty years, having a great predilection for the instruction of Europeans, and, in short, in a more advanced state of society than almost any nation which is destitute of Christianity. It is our desire to go among them with our families and our all, to continue with them during our lives, if health permit, and to devote our whole time and talents in endeavouring to instruct the Hindoos in the knowledge of the Christian religion, to bring them to the profession of the principles it reveals, and the practice of the duties it enjoins.

Our plan for accomplishing this is as follows. To proceed to India as soon as possible, to make ourselves acquainted with the language of the country, to preach the word to the native, to translate the Scriptures and circulate them extensively, and to erect schools in the populous cities for the education of their youth. We have sufficient funds among ourselves to enable us to execute this design.

By the charter, however, given to the India Company, we find it not possible to get out without their leave; nor could we attempt it, unless we were to run the risk of being immediately sent home again, which would probably happen to so large a number as we should consist of, (not less than thirty persons, including catechists); and as, besides the expence of it, many would thereby be thrown out of stations of present usefulness, it would be a very imprudent step. It has been said indeed, that the two Baptist missionaries got out without leave; they did so: being so few in number, they were not taken notice of, although they might have been sent home. Besides this, without leave, we could not go out in any of the Company's ships, and were we to go in other ships, which carry on an illicit trade under foreign colours, it would give a strong handle against us. The door should also be opened, that there may afterward be

no obstruction to sending out supplies of labourers, if needed. We therefore, in the most respectful manner, and with the approbation of the Chairman, asked leave of the Court of Directors, acquainting them with our object, and solemnly assuring them, that we would not interfere, in the smallest degree, with their political or commercial arrangements.

We had been previously informed that they had long continued to resist any applications for sending the Gospel to their territories. Messrs Wilberforce, Grant and Thornton have, for these six years past, been endeavouring, with all their influence, to obtain this permission from them, but in vain; and one of these gentlemen gave it as his opinion, a few months ago in Scotland, that nothing but the general voice of Christians would have any weight with them. If you wish to know more of this opposition, we beg to refer you to the debates in the India House some years ago, upon permitting Christianity to be preached to their subjects in Bengal; when the scheme was utterly rejected, and when one of the Directors openly declared it his opinion, that if thirty thousand Hindoos were converted from idolatry, it would be the most serious misfortune to the Company. Such are the unhappy prejudices that have been imbibed; and the government of India, calling itself Christian, and on different occasions expressing, in the most ardent manner, its attachment to that religion, prohibits and deprecates the preaching of the Gospel in its dominions, thus as it were establishing, idolatry. Having had full information of these things, we were not at all surprized at the answer we lately received from the Court of Directors. In it they say, "That however much convinced of the sincerity of our motives and zeal, yet, for weighty and substantial reasons, they must decline our request".*

We are persuaded that, when you hear this, if unacquainted with it before, your astonishment will be great. We are not, however, at all discouraged. Our consciences compel us to persevere; and we doubt not, if Christians act with firmness and fidelity, when these prejudices are examined, and the question is more attentively considered by the Honourable Court, the door cannot fail, by the blessing of God, to be opened to the Gospel. We are about to renew our application; we have written to the evangelical ministers in England of all denominations, and the interest they take in the business is astonishing. Letters have been sent by them to the Directors from every part of the country, entreating them, as Rulers of India, not to exclude the Gospel from their subjects; prayers for the accomplishing of this object are every where offered up; and the zeal of the Christian ministers in England, who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity is every where excited. They consider it as a general and important question, not whether a few individuals shall be allowed to go to Bengal, but whether the Religion of Jesus Christ is to be shut out from the British territories in the East.

We address you upon this occasion, entreating you to lend your aid, not as a favour to us, but as your duty to Jesus Christ. This is a matter purely religious, and the general question is of the utmost consequence to Christianity. Is it possible then that good ministers can remain inactive or unconcerned. In such a case, he that is not with Jesus is against him. This business is entirely in your own line; and we trust that you will not allow the cause of your Master to suffer either by your cowardice or sloth. You are put in trust with the Gospel; it is yours to promote its cause in the world, and to attend to the things that belong to the everlasting peace of your fellow creatures. It is yours, in such a cause, to lift up your voice

* Emphasis added by Editor-Compiler

like a trumpet, to cry aloud, and spare not, to shew yourself a faithful watchman on the battlements of Zion.

In this state of the business, then, we entreat of you, without loss of time, to write to, or meet with your brethren in your neighbourhood, who feel any concern in the more general diffusion of the knowledge of that Revelation which God, in his condescension and mercy, has given to his creatures; to lay this before them, and to join with them in writing a respectful letter to the Court of Directors of the India Company, stating the interest you feel in the application from us that now lies before them, and which you are persuaded every Christian will feel in it. We are convinced such a letter will have a powerful effect. Such a one has been already sent to them from Edinburgh, signed by Dr. Erskine, Dr. Hunter, Dr. Kemp, &c.; others have been sent from Glasgow and Paisley, and we expect the same from every part of Scotland. As soon as they arrive, we mean to present a memorial to each of the Directors individually, and then to give in a petition to the Court along with the letters, which, coming from different parts of the country, and signed by so many good ministers, will not be overlooked by them, as the request of a few individuals undoubtedly would.--- In addition to your letter, we entreat the aid of your prayers. The hearts of all men are in the hands of God; and when he opens no man can shut. The time for favouring Zion seems to be approaching. The prayers of millions of saints, now before the throne, are on record for the spread of the Gospel, and yours will by no means return to you empty.*

Say not then, dear Brother, our individual letter can do little, we will not therefore meddle; a thousand may reason as you do, for want of whose assistance the cause may be lost. It is a common cause to Christians, the cause of God, of the Redeemer, and the souls of men. It will finally prevail; let it not be your fault if it does not prevail *now*.

Already have two and thirty years elapsed, during which no attempts, (excepting by the two Baptist Missionaries), have been made by us, the Christians of Britain, for publishing the glad tidings of salvation to more than twelve millions of Pagans who acknowledge the same government with ourselves. To us these Pagans, going down to misery for want of the knowledge of a crucified Saviour, now look up, and, with mournful cries, entreat us to intercede with their Rulers in their behalf, and to send them the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We have no doubt that you, Sir, will see it your duty to do every thing in your power for them, for they also are your neighbours, and to exert yourself to forward your brethren after a godly sort, who, for the name's sake of your Lord and Master, desire to go forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles.

Please then write a respectful letter to the Directors of the India Company, and enclose it to Mr Ewing, Rose Court, Edinburgh; we shall take care to forward it properly along with the others. We hope you will see the necessity of losing as little time as possible; and we would also entreat you, to write to any of your brethren of the neighbouring Presbyteries, who you think will be zealous in such a cause. The letter should be signed by each minister who joins you, with the name of the parish affixed. Those at a distance, whom you may not have an opportunity of seeing, on receiving a line from you, would probably consent to have their names put to it, that they might not be left behind in so glorious a cause. **We annex the letter from the London Missionary Society to the Court, not as a pattern, but merely to shew the proper address, &c.*** We hope to hear from you soon; and we are,

Reverend and Dear Sir,
Your most obedient Servants,
ROBERT HALDANE.
DAVID BOGUE.
WILLIAM INNES.
GREVILLE EWING.

P.S. Since writing the above, we have seen a letter from Mr. Robert Thornton, stating, that the memorial from the Edinburgh clergy upon business, had been respectfully received by the Court of Directors, and sent to a Committee, where it now lies for further consideration.

We mention this to shew, how absurd is the idea, that the Directors could possibly be offended at such addresses from the Ministers of Scotland, upon a matter relating solely to religion.

5. LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY TO E.I.Co. SUPPORTS THE SCOTTISH REDEEMING EFFORTS IN INDIA : [Specimen Copy]

Honourable Sir,

The Directors of the Missionary Society, deeply affected by the interests of humanity, and, in a more especial manner, solicitous to impart the blessings of Revelation to the Heathen, cannot but express their earnest hope, that the design of sending the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Millions which the Divine Providence has placed under the dominion of the Honourable Company, will meet the approbation of the Directors.

It is an essential principle in the constitution of the Missionary Society, that no views, commercial or political, can enter into their plan; and it cannot but conduce to the safety of every state, as well as the good of its individuals, to inculcate the duties of Christianity, so powerfully connected with its doctrines and promises. We conceive, that every Government which can communicate these inestimable blessings, owes them in the highest manner to its subjects; and we hope that the purity of our intentions will plead our apology for an application in support of the request for this object which now lies before the Honourable Company from Robert Haldane, Esq and others.

Fully persuaded of the excellency of their motives, and the probability of their usefulness, we beg leave strongly to recommend their request to the favourable attention of the Court.

By order of the Directors,
JAMES NEAL, Chairman.
JOHN LOVE, Secretary.

6. ANONYMOUS WRITER SUGGESTS MORE PLACES OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN INDIA TO HENRY DUNDAS: LONDON, 1800

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/97, ff 104 - 110

February 6th 1800

Sir,

Although not personally unknown to you, I chuse 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 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 possessed before the late acquisitions of territory. 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 disquisition 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 upon this very important topick to you, the very meritorious centre of Indian 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

7. REV.C. BUCHANAN HAPPY AT CAUSE OF RELIGION BEING PROMOTED IN INDIA: CALCUTTA, 1802

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

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 societies 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 know already which shall have first, second and third places in the service. This system is death to indolence and despair to bad character...

8. ON THE EXPEDIENCY OF ENCOURAGING THE FURTHER ESTABLISHMENT OF FREE SCHOOLS FOR THE CIVILIZATION [CHRISTIANISATION] OF THE NATIVE CHILDREN OF INDIA: BRITAIN, 1805.

Whitbread Papers, Bedford County Archives W.17, 5105, 3 printed sheets.

ELUCIDATED BY Extracts from a Pamphlet, entitled "Indian Civilization; or, Report of a successful Experiment, made during Two Years on that Subject in Fifteen Tamul and Five English Native Free Schools; with Proposals for establishing a separate liberal Native School-Society, humbly submitted to the Judgement and Patronage of the Government of the Honourable East India Company, - of the respectable Religious Societies, -and the generous and charitable public. By Dr. CHRISTOPHER SAMUEL JOHN, Senior of the Royal Danish Mission at Tranquebar." - Printed for Messrs. Rivington's, St. Paul's Church-Yard. Price 2s. 6d.

CIVILIZATION, and the education of youth have of late years been very happily promoted, especially since an easier and more successful method has been suggested for instruction in Reading, Writing, and Cyphering, by the modern publications. How great have been the emotions of my heart upon viewing these reports, and how ardent have been my wishes, that our poor native youth in India might be kindly remembered, and that Free Schools might be established here! The cries and entreaties of poor neglected children and their parents, form the most powerful pleas for a provision of this nature. As a daily witness of this pressing want, I have been frequently requested by parents and children to receive them into my Private Institution; which I have done, mingling my tears with theirs.

How many thousands of poor children have been benefited already by the noble establishment of the Male and Female Asylum at Madras! The same good purpose has been effected long since by the Danish and English at Tranquebar - Of late years, however, and particularly during the unhappy period of these wars, the aids have been greatly diminished, since all remittances and benefactions from the Royal College at Copenhagen and from Germany have ceased. A burdensome debt has in consequence been incurred, though we gratefully acknowledge having received from the honorable government at Madras, a monthly gratuity of 200 pagodas; which was on a second humble petition to Lord Minto, augmented to 300.

This was indeed a great relief, and saved us from much present distress; but the keeping the usual number of poor children, free of cost, in victuals and cloathing, was impossible. With inexpressible grief, therefore, we were compelled, not only to send away many children, but also to refuse to receive those who cried for reception into our charitable institution. This so roused my feelings, that I resolved to make an experiment, trusting in God, who can do more than we are able to conceive, or can expect, - confiding also in those benefactors who may be inclined to relieve the miseries of mankind, and the exigencies of poor children in particular.

In the years 1808 and 1809, I was informed of the zeal and progress of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of other religious societies, for filling the world with the divine light

of the Holy Scriptures. I observed with joy how all these institutions were conspiring to conquer gradually the greatest difficulties with a prospect of success, and of benefits which might exceed all human expectation.

I must here add, that I have never met with a more easy and important proposal, than that contained in the letter of the late Dr. Kerr to Lord Bentinck. I believe that the greatest difficulty was the want of able and well-qualified school-masters and superintendents. When so much was written against the practicability, as well as concerning the danger and ill consequence of Free Schools, and when I had no further reason for complaining of want of encouragement in making at least a trial, I was roused to form a plan, in order to shew that the execution was not so impracticable and dangerous as it was fancied and presumed.

I made a small beginning with the children who cried for reception, and could not be received into the Orphan School in town. I opened a School in the nearest village, in which about ten Protestant children of the lower class were instructed; and enlarged it for the benefit of Roman Catholics and Heathens, - the number of whom soon increased to eighty, who were taught Reading, Writing and Cyphering, by an able school-master and two ushers. Seeing the rapid increase of requests from poor parents of all castes, I established another school at Bethlehem, of Soodra Children, which was soon frequented by about fifty. There an honest and moral heathen offered to keep a school according to my regulations, and to teach reading by our printed school-books. I accepted his offer; and the school was soon frequented by sixty children; and a Christian Usher was added to teach the Christian children the principles of the Christian Religion. In the Tanjore Country beyond the districts of Tranquebar, we had a few schools for the lower caste; in which the children were instructed by catechizing, and teaching them to learn by heart the Prayers in use among us, and the Scripture Sentences; to these I added five new schools, and introduced Reading, Writing, and Cyphering; and admitted also Roman Catholic and Heathen children. When I could not take all the children who entreated to be received into my house for learning English, Reading, &c. as I had done before, I established one near the Mission Garden and one in town, of Protestant Christians, Roman Catholics, and Heathen children of the higher caste. The Brahmin parents, as well as others, thought it a benefit to get their children instructed; and not only in English but also in Tamul; in which they had been so miserably taught, that scarcely any of them can read fluently their own writing; and seldom even a native school-master or accountant is to be found for reading properly a government publication!

In order to avoid all suspicions of obtruding on them the Christian Religion, I made known to all school-masters and parents, that the intention of my schools was only to teach their children reading and writing by a more easy and short way, and by means of printed books; which course of education would enable their children to become more wise, prudent, industrious and active, - to provide a good livelihood for themselves, and to render them capable of supporting their poor parents and relatives, - to fear God, honour the King, and to become good subjects, submitting to all their superiors whom Divine Providence had placed over them; so that each might learn what his duties were whether in higher or lower situations in life. By these books they were told they would be instructed and encouraged to love their Creator and Heavenly Father, and to love their neighbour as themselves; in which two great commandments was comprehended whatever could tend to make all nations wise, good and happy, both in this life and in that which was to come.

I did not find so many difficulties as I had foreseen. Instead of the ill impression which I apprehended my school regulations and the books introduced would make, they were much approved by the generality: and many heads of a number of villages, and more school-master than I could wish, entreated me by written and verbal request, to establish Free Schools among them. They saw, the example of one Heathen school-master, and other Christian ones, how liberally I treated them and their children. I left them their songs, if they were on moral subjects, and not contradict our Christian Religion: I gave them liberty to go to their feasts and ceremonies: I received only those children whose parents came and requested me to do them the favor of admitting them: among which petitioners were several Brahmins.

When some Parents have any apprehension that their children may be biassed, they have liberty to take them away as soon as they please. This happens seldom; and when it does the youth regret it deeply, and retain the good impressions made upon them, and their improvement in useful knowledge.

From these facts, established during two years experiment with twenty schools, I hope it will appear that the gradual civilization and enlightening of the nations to the knowledge of what belongs to their peace, is not so impracticable as it has been represented to be by those who have little practical acquaintance with their character, castes, prejudices, and ceremonies.

PROPOSALS FOR ESTABLISHING FREE SCHOOLS IN INDIA

My Plan is not to bring a new incumbrance on the honorable Government, - but to enforce that already recommended by the late Mr. Swartz, and approved by the honorable Court of Directors; who ordered a necessary support by their general letter to the Madras Government.

The continuance, enlargement, and extension of the Schools already formed by me, depends now solely upon the execution of former orders. The expence of these Schools, for each of which £ 100 per annum was appointed can be borne with a much less sum; and I engage myself to carry on my Twenty Schools with 100 pagodas (about £ 40 Sterling) per month, for paying my native schoolmasters.

But for school-inspectors capable of directing the native school-masters, we want Europeans; for whom £ 60 per annum was proposed. For this salary I believe many honest, sober, moral and able characters may be found in England and Germany, who will engage, not under the title of native school-masters, but as rectors or inspectors of native schools in India, and who will be contented with the salary of £ 50 or £ 60; especially Germans, who consider such a salary as a very decent one, and who have not easy opportunities of returning to their relatives in Germany, and resolve rather to remain in India. These school-rectors must be obliged to learn the language prevailing in the country to which they are destined.

The acquisition of all Hindostan, under Divine Providence, opens the way to every good and beneficial institution, and for offering the holy Scriptures to all the natives in their own

languages. Free Schools and Printed school-books for improvement in science, in knowledge, and good morals, will be acceptable in all the provinces.

The European school-masters, or inspectors, would be also the best agents and distributors of the Holy Scriptures to introduce them, especially the smaller parts of them, amongst the youth in the school. I see indeed no easier and better way by which the noble object of the Bible Society can be obtained with more success.

This School-Plan is very applicable to the Indians and to the climate. Places for schools can be easily and with little expence erected everywhere; or may be found in the public Choultries, with permission of their owners and inhabitants, as I have experienced.

When Free-Schools are further established with assistants to superintend them, arts and sciences will undoubtedly be promoted to a greater extent than they have ever hitherto been carried in this country. I wish earnestly to be assisted by such desirable persons, that they may continue to conduct what I have begun. If God should preserve my life until one of my nephews arrives from Germany, where he has studied Theology, &c. at the University of Halle, I hope much good may be done, and especially if he should be placed at the populous town of Negapatam. There are already two English schools, a fine large Dutch church, and a smaller Tamul one. This town presents a large field for civilization by Free Schools, under the direction of an able person, who may superintend the scholars.

By establishing Free-Schools, you will soon see wise and more virtuous generations rising in succession. This enlargement of the benefits of education will supersede the necessity of any imprudent attacks upon their superstitious ceremonies, and upon what at present may seem to some impossible to be reformed of their ancient and inveterate customs. No compulsion, or any kind of force or coercion must be exhibited, to perplex, confound, or terrify them. Let us not obtrude, but only offer them our sacred writings; and at first not the whole Bible, but smaller parts.

If my Proposals should not be approved, I hope that Divine Providence will open other channels, and awaken benefactors who may feel and pity with me the lost condition of the poor Native Children; and may stretch out their benevolent hands to relieve their misery, and afford means for their instruction.

When shall the long-cherished wishes of the generous advocates for Indian Free Schools be openly avowed and patronized? When shall the cries of so many thousands of poor Native Children imploring for instruction be heard and granted? "Let us not be weary of well-doing; for in due season we shall reap if we faint not."

Extract of the Report of the Dr. Kerr, of Madras, to Lord William Bentinck:

In my humble opinion, my Lord, the error has been in not having long ago established Free Schools throughout every part of this country; by which the Children of the Natives might have learned our language, and got acquainted with our morality. To give English Morals to the Natives in their purity, we must, I imagine, make them read English books. Translations have hitherto been very defective in the different country languages; besides,

they must be extremely circumscribed in number. I do not think the Natives will come to us freely but to learn English. This they consider as the key to fortune; and, on the coast, the most strict of the Brahmins will have little hesitation, as far as I can learn, in permitting their Children to attend a Free School, for the purpose of learning it; for they despise us too much to suppose there is any danger of overturning the Principles of Brahminism: but their ill-founded, ridiculous principles must be shaken to the very foundation, by the communication of such liberal knowledge as a Christian can instill into the Minds of Youth, and fix there by means of English books; and all this, without making any alarming attack directly on the Religion of the Hindoos. The Establishment of such Schools would, ere this, have made the people at large fully acquainted with the divine spring, from whence alone British virtue must be acknowledged to flow. This would have made them better acquainted with the principles by which we are governed: they would have learned to respect our laws, to honour our feelings, and to follow our maxims: whereas they appear to me, generally speaking, at this moment, as ignorant of their masters as on their first landing on these shores. I speak not of interfering with their Religious Prejudices, or endeavouring to convert the Natives by an extraordinary Effort on the part of the British Government. Conversion, in my opinion, must be the consequence which would naturally flow from our attention to their Moral Instruction, and to their most intimate acquaintance with the English Character.*

**9. G.H. BARLOW, CALCUTTA TO THOMAS GRENVILLE, LONDON, INDICATING
RESERVATIONS REGARDING AN ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT IN INDIA:
1807**

Scottish Record Office: GD 51/3/132, ff 490 - 493

(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, 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. Buchanan has stated some circumstances from which an inference is deduced, that the natives of India 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 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 having 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 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 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 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 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 Ecclesiastical Establishment are far more speculative and chimerical 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 reference 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 contained in this letter. Your wisdom will appreciate 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 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. Hon'ble Thomas Grenville

10. ROBERT DUNDAS, PRESIDENT BOARD OF CONTROL, TO G.H. BARLOW CONCURRING WITH HIS RESERVATIONS: LONDON, 1807

National Library of Scotland, MS 1063, ff 199 - 201. R. Dundas to Sir G. Barlow, Governor Madras

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 those 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 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 tranquility, 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 of any publications, 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 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

11. ROBERT DUNDAS TO GOVERNOR GENERAL MINTO: LONDON, 1808

Sent by :

Original : Capt Eckford of the Lady Jane Dundas

Duplicate: Chiffonne Frigate 7 June 1808

National Library of Scotland, MS 1063, Extract from letter No. 5, dt. 30-4-1808.

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 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,

Your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servant
Robert Dundas

12. CHAIRMAN AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, E.I.CO., BELIEVE EXTENDING THE LIGHT OF THE GOSPEL TO PEOPLE OF INDIA, A BRITISH DUTY: LONDON, 1808

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

MINUTE

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 we are satisfied was framed upon these views; but acquiescing (B) 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 this 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 other hand it should be supposed to contain 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 maintain the necessity of all due prudence 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 acknowledgement 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 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 Missionary exertions. And without at all supposing any such disposition on the part of the Government 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 (E) complaints to that effects on the part of individuals would probably be wanting.

3. We wish by no means to confound the cause of the late or 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 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 objects 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

13. M. MERYLYN TO REV.D. BROWN, CALCUTTA: SOUGOR, 1811

Bod: MSS Wil d. 17, ff18/letters to WW

I had not proceeded one mile from Calcutta without finding that some thing as usual, had been forgotten. We went on board a Company's cruiser where I saw 150 Europeans and had not a Bible to give them...

Mr E(lphinstone) has crossed Hindustan in almost every direction and has observed that the mixed Hindustanee is in every town in the interior as well as on the coast.

14. PRIME MINISTER PERCIVAL TO LORD MELVILLE, PRESIDENT, BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA, ON HIS NEED TO KNOW MORE ON INDIAN CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS AND THE WAY TO ELIMINATE THEM: LONDON, 1811

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

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.

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 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 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 tax to the general revenue if 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 to which it is primarily to be applied. One of the Board's letters very properly states that "We are not bound, not even at liberty to encourage idolatry" 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 observances of idolatry, and the increase of that Idolatry 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 servants 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 the gradual decay of such Idolatry. 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 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 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, or 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 *fortiori* 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 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 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 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 we 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 Jaggernaut 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 Jaggernaut Car and that it is part of the worship of this Idol, for some of its devoted worshippers to precipitate themselves under the wheels of this car and absolutely to be crushed to death before his admiring 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 its 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 wish that you would enable me to procure 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 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 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 you into any proceeding upon this subject, which your own judgement does not 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 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, however, that crime may be 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 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 Saugor, which is stated by Doctor Buchanan to have been acquiesced in and obeyed, without a murmur.

I am,
My dear Lord
Yours very truly
Sd/- Percival

15. W.WILBERFORCE TO PRIME MINISTER LORD LIVERPOOL: LONDON, 1812

British Library : Liverpool Papers : Add Ms 38191 ff 255 - 256; Lord Liverpool succeeded Mr Percival to the office of Prime Minister, earlier in 1812.

Kensington Gore
June 30th 1812.

My Dear Lord L

I was about to take up my pen, to execute an intention too long deferred of requesting your lordship to allow the favour of an interview to a deputation consisting of Lord Gambier, Mr. Grant, Babington, myself &c. &c. from the society for missions to Africa and the East, on a subject on which they had an interview with our lamented friend Mr Percival, that means of introducing and maintaining christianity in the East Indies. I will enclose a little tract which will give your lordship information which you will naturally desire concerning the nature, objects and dramatis persona of that institution which I solemnly assure you is strictly consistant with the Church of England not merely in form, but in priciple.

I was about I repeat it to take up my pen to request the honour of the above mentioned interview, when I was interrupted by two highly respected gentleman whose character and worth have been long known to me and whom I have occasionally seen as occasions have arisen which have rendered intercourse between us necessary, for many years. I mean Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Allen¹. For above two hours we conversed most seriously and confidentially and I must earnestly beg your lordship will be so kind as to allow me to have an opportunity without delay of stating to you the result of our interview. The most important national interests are in question, I can not speak too strongly on this head. I will attend your lordship any time and place you may appoint. I am just going to the House and shall remain till evening in Westminster calling last thing at the New Place Yard Hotel², to inquire if your lordship has (been) able to send me an answer. I am forced to send this in extreme haste. Meanwhile I remain with real esteem and regard.

My dear Lord L
Your.....
W. Wilberforce

The Earl of Liverpool

¹ The name may be Allan.

² The word may not be Hotel. Wilberforce's writing is rather difficult to decipher.

**16. REV. C. BUCHANAN TO LORD LIVERPOOL ON ECCLESIASTICAL
ESTABLISHMENT FOR INDIA: BOROBRIDGE, 1812**

British Library : Liverpool Papers : Add Ms 38191: ff 264 - 265 sent through Mr. Wilberforce: Wilberforce's letter introducing Buchanan is on ff 262. Add Ms 38362 (ff 213-7 and ff 218-9) has copies, one in hand other in print, of the resolution passed on India by the society for promoting christian knowledge in Africa and the East. dated 23.6.1812.

Kirby Hall
Borobridge
6 Aug 1812

My Lord

I have the honour to enclose a paper on the subject of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India, and I hope your lordship will pardon the liberty I take in presenting it. About the middle of last season when the discussion of India was expected to come on, some of my friends connected with India urged me to put down a few notices on the subject. I accordingly drew up the accompanying prospectus and sent a copy to Mr. Percival. That lamented minister acknowledged it a few days before his death. A copy was transmitted at the same time to the Archbishop of Canterbury and another to Lord Buckinghamshire.

I can not suppose that any thing I can offer can be of much moment to your lordship to whom the source of Indian information have been open for so long a period, and who must have a far more comprehensive view of India in relation to Britain, than I can possibly possess. It is possible however that the notice of some local circumstances taken while I was on the spot with immediate reference to this subject, may be useful in the general arrangement, if it should appear fit to your lordship to propose a religious establishment for British India.

I have the honour to be
My Lord, with most respect,
your most obedient and humble servant,
C. Buchanan.

To
The Earl of Liverpool

17. W.WILBERFORCE'S INTRODUCTION OF C. BUCHANAN TO LORD LIVERPOOL: ENGLAND, 1812

B.L. Liverpool Papers : Add Ms 38191 ff 262. Dr. C. Buchanan's letter to Lord Liverpool is on ff 264r-265r. Add Ms 38191 also has two long letters from Wilberforce to Liverpool, one dated 16.9.1820 (ff 274r-278v) and other dated 30.9.1820 (ff 280r-283v). The subjects treated are moral principles, the press etc. The second letter acknowledges Liverpool's reply to the first.

Landgate near Folkstone
August 12th 1812.

Mr Dear Lord L

I have been desired by the Rev Dr Buchanan to forward to your lordship the inclosed letter. I believe the manuscript which it has intended to announce and accompany, by mistake, has been already left at Fife House. The plan tho it at first appears grand, yet will appear moderate or rather diminutive, when compared with the extent of country and the amount of population which are under our Government in the East, I consider myself however merely as being the medium of conveyance . And I dare say your lordship is already so well acquainted with Dr.B through his works, as to render it unnecessary for me to do more than name him, I ought however to add, because his being the author of a valuable book even on a religious subject, does not necessarily, I am sorry to say, imply that, Dr.B is a man whose life does honour to his profession. It is only to be regretted that his health has been of late so bad as to occasion serious alarm to those who value and love him.

I remain always with respect and regard
My dear Lord L
Yours very sincerely

W. Wilberforce

The Earl of Liverpool

18. 5 PETITIONS FOR PROMULGATING THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN INDIA: HOUSE OF LORDS, MAY 1813

Hansard 13.5.1813, Cols : 105 - 6

Thursday, May 13, 1813

The Earl of Derby presented a Petition from the inhabitants of Warrington, praying that provision might be made, in the renewal of the East India Charter, for the propagation of Christian Knowledge in India - Ordered to lie on the table.

Lord Erskine informed their lordships, that he held in his hand four Petitions, of which the object was to extend the blessings of Christian knowledge in India. He should read to their lordships one of these Petitions, which was expressed in that proper manner which entitled it to their particular attention. His lordship proceeded to read the whole of the Petition, which was one from the friends of the missionaries in London, praying, that their lordships would advert to a Resolution of the House of Commons, in 1793, recommending the speedy introduction of Christian knowledge in India; and the Petition concluded, by expressing an earnest wish, that in their lordship's regulations respecting India, some provision might be made for this purpose, consistent with prudence and safety. The noble lord observed, the other Petitions he had to present were of a similar nature, and he took that opportunity of saying, although others in this and the other House of Parliament had refrained from mentioning, whether they would or would not support the prayer of similar Petitions, he had no hesitation in declaring, as far as a peer could pledge himself to any particular course before the subject came under discussion, when, from conviction, he might fairly alter his opinion, that he should give his support to the prayer of these Petitions. It was, he thought, the duty of every man enjoying the knowledge and blessings of Christianity, to exert himself in extending the same to the uttermost corner of the earth. We ought to recollect that the land in which we lived had long enjoyed a series of prosperity and happiness, when compared to those countries where darkness and superstition had clouded the aspect of human affairs. At the same time, his lordship desired it might not be understood, that he meant to recommend an unqualified attempt at the introduction of Christianity, but as far as it was expressed in this Petition, he coincided in the wish, that every means should be used for propagating the knowledge of the Bible, consistently with prudence and safety to our eastern possessions. The noble and learned lord then presented a Petition from Bath, another from Liskard, in Cornwall, and a fourth from certain parishes in the county of Somerset.

Earl Grey presented a similar Petition from the inhabitants of Sunderland, Bishop Wearmouth, and Monkwearmouth, in the county of Durham. The noble earl, in speaking his sentiments at this time, which he should have an opportunity of more fully explaining at a future period, should only observe, that he thought every man must support the principle of the prayer of the Petition. The only consideration in his mind was, how the object so desirable was to be accomplished. As far as truth could be set forth, for the purpose of dispelling those clouds of superstition which had long darkened the minds of the Indians, he wished that no means should be wanting for the purpose of throwing light upon the minds of those unenlightened

people; but if it were meant that government should interfere and force this system upon them, or that such should be the unrestricted intercourse of all missionaries, that they should not come under the control of the government of that empire, or that they could not, under circumstances, be even removed from the country, the desired effect would not, he was certain, be produced, and if such a mode were to be proposed, it would not receive his sanction or support. The Petitions were ordered to lie on the table.

19. 27 PETITIONS FOR PROMULGATING THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN INDIA: HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 1813

Hansard 18.5.1813, Cols: 238 - 9

May 18, 1813

Twentyseven Petitions were presented, praying that such provisions may be inserted in the new charter to be granted to the East India Company, as shall afford sufficient facilities to those benevolent persons who shall be desirous of going to India for the purpose of communicating to its population the blessings of useful knowledge and moral and religious improvement; and also such provisions as shall prevent the obstruction of their endeavours for promoting their object in that country, so long as they shall conduct themselves in a peaceable and orderly manner.

Mr. Wilberforce, on presenting a Petition from the Baptist Missionary Committee, relative to the propagation of Christianity in India, took occasion to correct a misapprehension which had gone abroad, that the members of this sect had petitioned the House for leave to propagate their own peculiar tenets in India, where as their object was the promotion of Christianity generally, without reference to any particular sectarian doctrines. The hon. member had pronounced a high eulogium upon the general conduct and character of the body to whom the petitioners belonged, that body having, although it commenced under peculiar disadvantages, succeeded in promoting very considerably the great interests of religion, humanity and learning. In India it was known that, although the Baptist Missionaries were not originally proficient in literature, they had contrived to acquire an intimate knowledge of the Sanscrit and several Indian languages. Indeed Dr. Carey (one of the most distinguished of the Baptist Missionaries), in consequence of his proficiency in these languages, and his general merit, had been appointed by lord Wellesley a professor in the college of Calcutta. But, there was this farther and remarkable merit belonging to the Baptist Missionaries; that they were now engaged in translating the Bible into ten or eleven different languages of India, and that the produce of their literary labour and industry had, instead of being appropriated to their own use, been uniformly thrown into the common fund for extending the adoption and influence of Christianity. [Hear, hear!] After reading the testimonies of lords Wellesley and Minto in favour of these Missionaries, with the copy of the authentic instructions which they received when proceeding on their mission, the hon. gentleman concluded with moving that the Petition be received.

General Gascoyne confirmed the statement of the Hon. gentleman. as to the mistake which had gone forth on the subject of the intentions of the Baptists. - The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

**20. 26 PETITIONS FOR PROMULGATING THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN INDIA:
HOUSE OF COMMONS, JUNE 1813**

Hansard 3.6.1813, Col: 528

Thursday, June 3, 1813

Twenty-six Petitions - of inhabitants of Galston, Cramond, Wisbech, Market Harborough, Kilkenny, Kennoway, Farnham, Kennington, and Harwich; - of the members and friends of the Missionary Society, residing in Kingston upon Thames, Oakham, Dartmouth, Ottery Saint Mary, Sidbury, Honiton, East Budleigh, and Sidmouth, Stockinham, Axminster, and Tunbridge; - of the supporters and friends of the Baptist mission in India, resident in and near Dolgelly, Nevin, Pontypool, Llandilo, Conway, and the city of Dublin; - of persons residing in or near the town of Tiverton, being either members of the church of England, as by law established, or Protestant dissenters immediately friendly to the Missionary Society; of persons residing in or near Barnsley, being a congregational Calvinistic independent church members and supporters of the Missionary Society; of Protestants dissenting from the church of England residing at Gravesend; and of the magistrates, town council, ministers of the established church and of dissenting congregations, and other inhabitants of the city and parish of Brechin; - were presented and read; praying that such provisions may be inserted in the new charter to be granted to the East India Company as shall afford sufficient facilities to those benevolent persons, who shall be desirous of going to India, for the purpose of communicating to its population the blessings of useful knowledge and moral and religious improvement; and also such provisions as shall prevent the obstruction of their endeavours for promoting their object in what country, so long as they shall conduct themselves in a peaceable and orderly manner.

Ordered to lie upon the table.

21. BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS ADVOCATES THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA: JUNE - JULY, 1813

Hansard, 3.6.1813, Col. 562, clause 13.

Resolved, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religion and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law, to persons desiring of going to, and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.

[The major event relating to the objective of the Christianisation of India at this point was the prolonged discussion on it in the British House of Commons. It was held over five sittings of the House on June 22, June 28, July 1, July 2, and July 12 [Hansard: 1813, cols. 827 -873, 923-956, 1017 - 1082, 1095 - 1100 and 1184 - 1196]. The most important speaker in it was Mr. William Wilberforce [Hansard 831 - 872, 1051 -1079. The two speeches of Mr. Wilberforce have also recently been published in Dharampal: *Despoliation and Defamation of India: The Early Nineteenth Century British Crusade*, Bharat Peetham, Wardha, April 1999 (p. 63 -146)]. The above clause was adopted by the House by 89 votes against 36].

**22. W. WILBERFORCE TO S. WHITBREAD JUST BEFORE THE DEBATE ON
CHRISTIANISING INDIA: JUNE 1813**

Bedford County Record Office : Whitbread Papers : W1/5116, 4 pages

London
June 19th, 1813.

Mr Dear Sir

In the first place, I beg your pardon for the liberty I am about to take, in saying to you one word more concerning the 13th Resolution. I am afraid that the anglo-indians are using every possible effort and I see symptoms of shrinking in some whom I deemed (page) our friends, which render it the more necessary to call to our aid all who are really of that number. After stating to you the critical circumstances in which we are placed, I will say no more. You know the importance of the question and it will scarcely escape you, that, as Government look more to parliamentary strength, than (page) to that of the (feelings of the men in the street)³ our appearing weak in the House of Commons may operate injuriously against all measures whenever they may be proposed to them hereafter for enlightening and improving our East Indian fellow subjects.

Once more I beg pardon for a freedom which however I should not use, (page)⁴ if I did not give you credit for feeling warmly on this great subject and if I could not say, that were our circumstances interchanged, I should be glad to have you write to me, as I now do to you.

I am My Dear Sir
With esteem and regard
Sincerely yours,

W. Wilberforce

Sam'l Whitbread Esq.

³ The words in parenthesis are from the calender of Whitbread papers as they are not easily decipherable in the original. The original of those reads :..... our of town (or down).

⁴ The indication given for a new page is approximate after the first indication as this missed being noted when copying. The letter runs to four pages.

23. ROBERT SOUTHEY, KESWICK TO W. WILBERFORCE: JUNE 1813

BOD : MSS Wil d.15, ff 82-3

It is our duty to use every allowable means for weaning the natives from their own false religion ... It is our interest, because every native christian has a common interest with the British Government, and he becomes a faithful subject of it. Native churches therefore are the strongest foothold we can erect.

The work has been begun at Serampore. Carey is no carrier, and his work will last longer than that of the great jesuit, because it is built upon a surer foundation. But without the missionaries government could do nothing I fear that our missionaries without government cannot do much for while the English in India pay no regard to their own religion, the natives will necessarily despise it. A church establishment is the first they need...schools the second in which we should take as much pains for communicating our own language as is (most properly) bestowed in acquiring that of the country. Lastly the converts, whenever it is possible, should be employed both by the state and the individuals, in preference to other persons.

24. THOMAS COCKBURN TO LORD MELVILLE: JUNE 1813

Scottish Record Office : GD51/3/180 ff 194 -197

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

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, one which the enlightened statesmen 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 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 Mahomedans that we held India. The spirit floating there, requires but a spark to raise it into flame. If therefore, this frenzy for conversion, finds a place in the new Bill, I hope the Government will 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 hono ur 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 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 to produce happy results and we carry the Brahmins, Pundits, Cauzis & Mufties with us in effecting the most desirable and important purposes. But now, we are about to make it not their duty, but their interests, 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 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, a board 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 beg pardon to intruding so long on your valuable time. I know in 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 Eastern possessions. Be it so. As a

humble individual deeply impressed with the certain evil, we are engendering, I have done my duty in 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's
Most obedient
Faithful humble servant
Thomas Cockburn

Lord Melville

B. SLIDE TOWARDS FORMALLY DISCOUNTING INDIAN RELIGION AND CUSTOMS

25. BOARD TO EAST INDIA COMPANY ON THE DISMISSAL OF MOST EARLIER INDIAN INSTITUTIONS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF POLICE, ETC. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH DOMINANCE: 4.9.1824

The correspondence between the Board and the Court (in 49 manuscript volumes) is preserved amongst the India Office records in London. 27 of the volumes consist of letters from the East India Company to the Board and 22 volumes of letters from the Board to the Company. Each volume averages some 500 pages and all letters, except those between 1784-1814 and those in the later part of 1858 are numbered.

The letter from the Board refers to Kumaon which had been latterly acquired and where the Muslim Criminal Law which formed the basis of the Bengal Regulations had never had any previous application.

India Board
the 4th September 1824

Sir

I am directed by the commissioners for the Affairs of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 12th ultimo submitting on the part of the Court of Directors certain observations on the alterations made by the Board in Bengal Judicial Draft No. 303.

In reference to the second para of your letter I am directed by the Board to remark that they do not profess any information of the Bengal Government having done all that was practicable for the "maintenance of the native institutions and customs as were fit to be preserved".

On the contrary as far as can be collected from the meagre correspondence that passed between the Supreme Government and its officers, it would seem that the judicial, revenue and police Establishments previously existing were according to the usual practice of the Bengal Government dismissed almost immediately on our taking possession of those countries, that in consequence of this measure one class of the above deprived officers have been driven to distress, to the commission of highway robbery and other crimes*. That so far from any provision being made to continuing to the inhabitants the privilege of being tried according to the Institutes of their religion the officer incharge of the province was left at liberty to decide in all cases he chose without reference to law or usage; that the commissioner deputed under Regulation 10-1817 to try capital offenders was even precluded from the option (which did not seem to have been denied to the local officer) of regulating his proceedings according to Hindoo Law. The enactment under which he is appointed requiring him in the performance of the duties of his office "to be guided by the spirit and principles of the Regulations in force in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces" regulations the criminal system of which has no advertence whatsoever to the religion of the great body of the natives,

26. BOARD TO E.I.CO. ON PILGRIMAGE TAX DRAFT: NOV. 1832

No. 2518

India Board,
November 6, 1832.

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners for the affairs of India to return to you the Bengal Revenue Draft 587 altered.

The Board have cancelled part of paragraph 3 to paragraph 16, paragraphs 18-20 and paragraph 22 to the end, because they are of opinion that the policy and propriety of the Government continuing to levy a tax on pilgrims, and to derive a contingent benefit from the surplus of such tax, should be brought under the consideration of the Governor General in council on higher grounds than those to which the Court have adverted; and that the principles on which we tolerate superstitious practices should not be mistaken.

The Board have therefore introduced several paragraphs conveying to the Bengal Government a full explanation of the opinions and arguments with reference to which they are anxious that this important question should be finally settled. The time manner and gradations by which such settlement can be best carried into effect is expressly left to the discretion of the local government.

Peter Auber Esq.

I have the honour &c.
T. Hyde Villiers

26A. E.I.CO. TO BOARD ON PILGRIMAGE TAX DRAFT: JAN. 1833

East India House,
11th January 1833.

Sir,

I have had the honour of receiving and laying before the Court of Directors, Mr. Villiers letter of 6th November last, returning the Bengal Revenue Draft No. 587, with alterations; and I am commanded to submit for communication to the Board the earnest request of the Court, for a reconsideration of those alterations.

The entire subject, not only of the Pilgrims Tax, but of the revenues and superintendence of the religious establishments of the natives generally, was (by the Draft as submitted by the Court) referred to the consideration of the supreme Government of India; and such material information as appeared to be still deficient in the country was called for. By the Draft as altered, the subject is still referred to the local authorities, and a latitude is left to those authorities in respect to time and manner, but none whatever in regard to the abolition of the tax, which is expressly enjoined.

The reasons given by the Board for the injunction appear to the Court to be by no means conclusive.

The propriety of a pilgrims tax is considered by the Board under three different suppositions; first, that of a limitation of the tax to the amount of the expense incurred in the police arrangements necessary for the personal protection of the pilgrims. Secondly, that of its affording a surplus employed "in keeping in repair the shrines, idols, or other edifices which form the local objects of the pilgrimage, or in supporting the priests and other ministers attached to them," and lastly, on the supposition that the tax affords a net revenue to Government.

In the first case, that of a tax no more than sufficient to cover the extra police expenses, rendered necessary by the festival, though even upon this footing the opinion of the Board is against keeping up the tax, they do not seem to consider it as in principle objectionable. The religious observances of the natives the Board justly remark, "could not properly be said to be tolerated, if those who are engaged in them did not experience that ordinary degree of protection, to which every citizen not offending against the laws is entitled at the hands of his rulers. A religious festival attended by immense crowds cannot be said to be tolerated, if the Government does not provide a police sufficient to enforce order and to ensure the safety of individuals during the celebrations. And on the other hand, the providing of such a police is not an act of favour or friendship to the mode of worship, but one of simple justice to the worshippers." If it be an act not of favour but of simple justice to afford to the worshippers the full protection of an effectual police; to provide that protection and demand a price for it, can scarcely be considered as a favour beyond justice. Accordingly the Board admit that "if the tax were confined to this object and regulated on these principles, much of the objection which has been urged against it would be obviated; while the duty incumbent on us of protecting the natives in the observance of their religious rites would be strictly fulfilled."

But when the tax, instead of being levied to maintain a local police, is in part appropriated to the repair of the temple and the support of the priests, this in the Board's opinion is a departure from the neutrality which, and which alone, is required by toleration; and constitutes us "the chief agents in sustaining an idol establishment."

On this point the Court have to remark, that the Board do not appear to take into account the distinction between merely continuing the established support to the Hindu ceremonies or temples, and (what the Court would object to as strongly as the Board) holding out new encouragement to them.

The British Government in India is bound as well by its own uniform maxims as by repeated and most solemn pledges, to protect the natives of India in the full and free exercise of their religion.

It has never been considered that these pledges were redeemed by merely throwing no obstacles in the way of the performance of religious ceremonies. It has always hitherto been held, nor do the Court see how it can be doubted, that any innovation which should place the natives in less favourable circumstances for the exercise of their religion, than they were at the introduction of our authority, would be a breach of our engagement; and that the discontinuance of any pecuniary support heretofore enjoyed, whether in the very common form of rent free lands, in that of a pilgrim tax, or by direct grants of money, would be as decidedly at variance with our obligation to protect the natives in their religious observances, as the omission to provide the necessary police for ensuring the personal safety of the worshippers.

On this principle it is, and on no other, that the Pagoda lands in all parts of British India are not resumed, and the revenue derived from them devoted to the general purposes of Government. The purposes to which those lands are appropriated, are those of superstition, no less than the ceremonies of Juggernaut.

The Board further urge that the consequence of levying a tax for the support of the temple and of the priests, is "to mix up the Government with the interior concerns of the idol establishment." The Court observe that the mere protection, which it is our admitted duty to afford to the worshippers, necessarily has more or less the effect of mixing us up with the celebration; and leads unavoidably to our exercising "a large degree of control".

The kind of connection however with the "interior concerns of the establishment" to which the Board particularly object, is "the supervision and disposal of its revenues", and the general cognisance of its accounts and management. This however is nothing more than the Court believe to have been systematically practised at all the religious establishments under the Presidency of Madras, and is therefore no peculiar effect of the existence of a pilgrim tax.

One of the questions, moreover, specifically referred to the local authorities in the Draft as first submitted by the Court, was, how far this detailed interference was or was not necessary or expedient.

At Juggernaut the Government has to a great degree abandoned the minute superintendence it formerly exercised; and retains little more than the power, in the last resort, of calling the actual superintendents to account for misconduct in their office; a power of which, whether as regards this, or any other public trust, it is difficult to conceive how any government can divest itself.

That the degree of interference exercised by the Government, were it even much greater than it is could "almost necessarily inspire the people with a belief either that we admit the divine origin of these superstitions, or at least that we ascribe to them some peculiar and venerable authority" is a supposition which the Court cannot but regard as altogether inadmissible. The Court see no grounds for imputing to any part of our Indian subjects the imbecility implied in entertaining such a belief, contrary to all the evidence which presents itself daily and hourly both to their senses and to their understanding.

And the Indian population are perfectly aware, that the superintendance actually exercised by the British Government, is no more than the continuance, in a more equitable and efficient form, of that which was practiced under the dominion of the Mahrattas for the same purposes; namely, protection to the worshippers both against personal harm and undue exaction.

It is in fact the discharge of an obligation which devolved upon us with the sovereignty of the country in which the temple is situated.

The remaining aspect under which the Board consider the pilgrim tax, is that of a source of revenue to the general government. The Court have much hesitation in considering this character as applied to the pilgrim tax as it actually exists. At some particular temples where it is levied, that tax no doubt affords a surplus revenue, but setting against that surplus the large expenses annually incurred by Government for the support of Hindoo and Mahomedan places of worship and religious establishments, where no pilgrimage tax is levied, the Court are persuaded it will be found that the religious observance of the natives, instead of affording a revenue to Government, are a heavy charge upon the public resources. To obtain a correct account of this class of receipts and disbursements was one of the objects of the Draft as submitted by the Court.

But without insisting further upon this point, the Court are unable to admit the force of the Board's reasonings against deriving a revenue from such a source. "Our feelings revolt" (say the Board) "at the idea of deliberately making a profit of practices the existence of which we must deplore and of tenets which we cannot but entirely disapprove".

The Court cannot feel the force of this objection. **Where evil cannot be prevented, to extract good from it has never been considered immoral. To draw a revenue from vice, from drunkenness for example, by the taxes on spirits, from gambling by those on cards and dice, has long been the practice of Great Britain, and most, or all civilised nations. To reduce, or take off, such taxes, has frequently been blamed, as holding out encouragement to vice, to keep them on has never within the Court's knowledge, been so considered.***

To licence, for the sake of taxing, practices of which we disapprove, would indeed be highly objectionable; but in the present case we have no option with respect to licensing them, we are

not at liberty to throw obstacles either directly or indirectly in their way, even the pilgrim tax if it had not existed previously, we could not with any propriety have imposed. But as we found it in existence, the lawfulness, in a moral point of view, of keeping it up, turns, in the Court's opinion exclusively upon the single point, does it, or does it not increase, the practice of, or the resort to the superstitious ceremonies.

Accordingly the Court observe with satisfaction, that the Board proceeded to argue the matter on this ground, but they decide the question last stated in the affirmative; and the reasons they assign have by no means produced in the minds of the Court the same conviction as in theirs.

The Board threw out the proposition that "the spirit of superstition is only whetted and promoted by having obstructions thrown in its way" and they dwell at greater length upon the argument that a pilgrim tax connects the interests of Government and consequently of the government officers with the prevalence of the superstition and gives them an inducement to encourage the resort of pilgrims to the place.

The former of the arguments appears to the Court to be inapplicable to the present case. Acts of violence and persecution directed to the purpose of putting down a religion, or a superstition, may only stimulate the zeal of the votaries, but no such effect, the Court conceive can possibly result from the mere continuance of practices, established, as the pilgrim tax at Juggernaut originally was, by the votaries themselves, for the purpose not of obstructing but regulating and maintaining the rights in question.

The Board's argument, moreover appears to lead to very inadmissible conclusions. If superstitious or religious zeal is stimulated by obstacles, such as the pilgrim tax is considered to be, and damped by the facilities which the removal of such obstacles may supposed to afford, all endowed church establishments must be in the highest degree prejudicial to Christianity; and instead of providing churches, and paying the ministers of religion, a christian government ought to prohibit divine worship, or impose a tax on all who celebrate, and on all who attend it.

The Board observe that the pilgrim tax "gives the Government an immediate interest in the progress and extension of the superstition, and furnishes both to the Government and to such of its functionaries as are concerned in levying the tax, supposing them to sympathise with their employers, a perpetual inducement to increase the income of the temple, and therefore to attract to the spot as numerous a concourse of pilgrims as possible." This argument supposes the Government and its functionaries capable of systematically adopting measures to attract to the spot as numerous a concourse of people as possible, a disposition too discreditable to be attributed to them without proof. But the supposition upon which the argument is founded, the Court hold to be the very reverse of the fact. The pilgrimages are a source not of financial benefits but of a very serious financial injury to the British Government. Persons who are capable of undergoing the fatigue of so long a journey must in general be able-bodied ryots whose labour in agriculture is highly valuable to Government; they must also be persons not destitute of pecuniary means. Many hundred thousand beghas of land must remain annually uncultivated, from the absence of ryots on these pilgrimages, or from the waste of resources thereby occasioned. The Government therefore and its officers "supposing them" (as the Board says) to sympathise "with their employers", have the strongest motives of a financial kind to diminish, instead of increasing the resort of pilgrims to the festival, and the argument against

the pilgrim tax founded on the supposition that it "directly connects the pecuniary interests of the state with the extension of superstition", falls to the ground.

The Board next advert to the subject of the "Gomastahs or agents who are employed in travelling throughout India for the purpose of enticing the pilgrims to the several shrines of temples of repute" and who "receive a fee from every pilgrim whom they can persuade to visit the particular seat of superstition to which they are attached."

The Board admit that this practice does not owe its existence to the pilgrim tax, but they somewhat gratuitously assume that the exertions of the Gomastahs are stimulated by an increased assurance, derived from the interference of the British Government, that the fees will be punctually paid. The Court are quite unaware of any facts affording the slightest ground for this conjecture.

If the fees of the Gomastahs are rendered less precarious by any regulations of the British Government (which the Court have no reason to believe) the expediency of altering such regulations is a fit subject for consideration and discussion, but it is one which has no connection with the pilgrim tax, the whole operation of which is clearly adverse to the interests of the Gomastahs. For whatever sum the pilgrim is compelled to pay to Government, constitutes a deduction of just so much from what he could, and probably would bestow on the Gomastahs, or on the priests their employers.

The practices of these "pilgrim hunters" are in the estimation of the Court, one of the strongest arguments for not abandoning that degree of interference with the fees of the priests which has grown out of the existence of a pilgrim tax. If the priests, as the Board propose, were allowed to put whatever price they pleased upon permission to resort to the temples, and were at liberty to appropriate to themselves and to their emissaries the Gomastahs, the whole of what they could exact from the pilgrims, the motives both of the priests and of the Gomastahs to stimulate the zeal of the votaries and to entice the greatest possible number of them from all parts of India, would be the very strongest possible.

The Court therefore would anticipate an effect the very reverse of that desired by the Board, if, conformably to the Board's views, "the remuneration of the conductors should be left entirely to be settled between them and the devotees under their charge, and the priests were left to admit votaries on whatever terms they pleased."

The uncontrolled exaction of the priests and officers of the temples could not fail moreover to be the subject of constant complaints, and frequently of disturbances and affrays. Our courts of judicature would then be called upon to interfere in the adjudication of disputes, and in punishments of offences arising out of the rites and practices of Hindoo idolatory; and the renewal of the present, or the establishment of a similar system of superintendance, would very probably become necessary to remedy the ends occasioned by the intermission of such superintendance, and to avoid the far more objectionable and obnoxious mode of intervention and control exercised by the tribunals of justice.

The Court are unable to collect from the tenor of the Board's observations any other arguments in condemnation of a pilgrim tax than those which have now been noticed.

The remainder of the long passage inserted by the Board, relates to points of detail, to which the Court do not think it necessary more particularly to advert.

The Court cannot indeed refrain from observing that the Board do not appear to bear in mind the essential difference which exists in the character and objects of the pilgrimages to the various places of Hindoo worship in India; for instance between the abominations sanctioned and occasionally practiced at Juggernaut (from which in fact alone has arisen the existing public feeling with regard to the connexion of the British Government with the idolatrous rites of the Hindoos) and the innocent, it may be almost said the meretorious purposes of the pilgrimage to Gya, or the equally innocent pilgrimages to Allahbad and to other places. The pilgrimage to Gya, however superstitious and idolatrous, arises out of a most amiable feeling; reverence and affection for the memory of deceased parents, children, or other relatives, for the repose and happiness of whose souls the pilgrimage is enjoined and undertaken.

Though however, the Court cannot regard the object or the consequences of all these pilgrimages with equal abhorrence, it must be admitted that they all originate in superstitions which are degrading to the human mind, and not unproductive and temporarily conducted of great evil. **Nor do the Court yield to the Board in their desire to witness the rapid decay of those superstitions***. But pledged as the British Government is, and bound as it would be by the general principles of toleration, even if it were not pledged to attempt nothing in the way of direct discouragement to the religious persuasions and the practices of the Hindoos, the Court are precluded from looking forward to the highly desirable object of their extinction, as a consequence of any cause except the advancement of intelligence among the people. That advancement the British Government has it in its power greatly to forward, nor will the Court even be wanting in the discharge of that duty to the best of their knowledge and ability. But during the gradual progress of this improvement, nothing it appears to the Court, is so likely to frustrate the particular object in view, and give a new life to the superstition which might otherwise be expected to decay, than any innovation upon the long established usages in regard to religious festivals; or any proceeding of whatever kind, which, by shewing that Government directs its attention to the ceremonies, and thinks them a matter of importance, has a tendency to attach increased importance to them in the eyes of the people. Such, the Court cannot but think, would be the natural effect of so great a change in the existing customs, as the abolition of the pilgrim tax.

The Court therefore entreat the Board most seriously to reconsider the extensive alterations they have made in the Draft, which as originally submitted appears to the Court well calculated to elicit from the local Government such information as would enable the Home authorities to frame a well considered, and therefore final decision on the question.

T.B. Macaulay Esq.

I have &c.

P. Auber, Secretary

**26B. BOARD TO E.I.CO. ASKING THE DRAFT ON PILGRIMAGE TAX TO BE SENT
TO INDIA AS ALTERED: JAN. 1833**

No. 2544

India Board,
January 14, 1833.

Sir,

I have laid before the Commissioners for the affairs of India your letter of the 11th instant, conveying the representation of the Court of Directors against the alterations made by the Board in Draft No. 587 in the Revenue Department to Bengal.

The Board regret that, after a full consideration of the observations made by the Court, they cannot take the same view of the subject; and they have therefore only to desire that the Draft as altered by them, may be sent to the Governor General in Council, in conformity with the 13 section of the Act 33 G 3 Cap. 52.

Peter Auber Esq.

I am Sir &c.
T.B. Macaulay

**26C. E.I.CO. TO BOARD PROTESTING AGAINST ALTERATIONS IN THE DRAFT
ON THE PILGRIM TAX: 1833**

East India House,
21 February, 1833

Sir,

I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated the 14th January last and 14th instant, the former replying to the Court's representation against the alterations made by the Board of Commissioners in Draft No.587 to Bengal in the Revenue Department on the subject of the Pilgrim taxes and the latter desiring that the Draft as altered may be forwarded to India without further delay.

Whilst the Court have felt it to be their duty to give effect to the requisition contained in your letter of the 14th instant, and to affix their signatures to the altered Draft in question; they cannot refrain from expressing their regret that the Board should have imposed upon them the necessity of transmitting to India orders which for the reasons stated in the original Draft and in my letter of the 11th ultimo appear to the Court to be so highly impolitic.

I have &c.
Peter Auber.

P.B.Macaulay Esq.

27. CHARLES GRANT, JUNIOR, PRESIDENT BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA, TO CHAIRMAN AND DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN OF THE E.I.CO., ASKING FOR PREPARATION OF A DRAFT RELATING TO THE DISCONTINUANCE IN SUPPORT OF SOME OF THE REMAINING PRACTICES BY THE COMPANY OF THE NATIVE RELIGIONS IN INDIA: 1833

India Board,
April 25, 1833.

Chairman and Deputy-Chairman,
of the East India Company

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to address you on a subject which has already, in some of its most important branches, on more than one occasion, engaged your attention.

I mean the countenance which, as far as public impression is concerned, is apparently given by our Indian Governments, in some instances, to the superstitious and idolatrous practices and principles of our Indian fellow subjects.

It is satisfactory to recollect that much has recently been done towards the correction of some of the most objectionable of these proceedings on the part of our Government to which I allude.

On the 1st February 1832, instructions were despatched to Fort St. George in reference to the system of compelling Natives, by the authority of British functionaries, to draw the cars at religious festivals, and to attend and assist at various religious ceremonies.

These instructions will, when carried out into effect put an end to the compelling of Natives to participate, whether by personal attendance and assistance, or by the supply of offerings and provisions, in religious duties and ceremonies. The compulsory system will no longer exist.

On the 20th February 1833 the Court addressed a Despatch to the Supreme Government, which entered fully into the question of the pilgrim tax and generally of British interference and participation in the management, support or promotion of the religion of the Natives.

The instruction conveyed in that Despatch, though subject of course, as to the mode and process of their execution to the discretion of the local Government, were yet, as to their results, peremptory.

They were also, in the principles which they involved, so comprehensive as almost to supersede the necessity of any subsequent reference in detail to practices similar to those which they condemned. I am indeed persuaded that the local Government, acting sincerely in the spirit of the Despatch will apply its provisions, not only to the practices particularly specified in it, but also, to every other which belongs to the same family and may fall under the same rule.

It appears to me, however, of importance to present to the observation of the local Government such additional instance of unnecessary interference on the part of the British authority as may from time to time be brought to our notice; and this, in order both to evince our continued attention to the subject, and to furnish illustration of the manner in which it is our intention that the instructions shall be carried into effect.

Under this impression I beg to observe that, in a pamphlet just published by a Madras Civilian, certain practices are stated to exist under the Madras Presidency the suppression of which would apparently be not less easy than desirable.

Several of the practices in question have specifically been dealt with in your former Despatches. To those therefore, I shall not now advert. The others, though undoubtedly included in the general direction contained in these Despatches, yet seem to require more distinct animadversion.

Of this class are the following:

1. Idolatrous ceremonies are performed in the Cutcherries of the Collectors, and at the public expense. In some instances, an idol is brought into the office for the purpose; and, in others, the implements used in the establishment are the object of religious honours.

Whether the Collector is present on these occasions or how far he is personally or officially engaged in the proceedings in question, is not stated; but the expense is, it seems, annually sanctioned as a public charge by the Government.

2. In seasons of draught, money is issued from the public treasury to defray the expenses of idolatrous ceremonies for the purpose of procuring rain.

3. In some places, on occasion of great festivals and public procession, offerings are presented to the idols by the Collectors or other European officers in the name of the East India Company.

4. At the principal military stations, a royal salute is fixed on the Hindoo and Mahomedan festivals, and on Christmas day. If this public recognition of an equal title on the part of these different religious commemorations to the Government were, in future withheld alike from all, no plausible ground of complaint would be afforded either to the Hindoo, or the Mussalman.

5. Troops are advised to attend religious processions, not merely to keep the peace, but as a guard of honour; and on some occasions they are required to present arms to an idol. It is unnecessary to comment on the repugnance which a Christian officer must feel to such a service, and which, it appears, was, on one occasion experienced so strongly even by a Mahomedan, as to induce him absolutely to refuse compliance.

6. Articles required to be used in the feasts, as well as the labour of artificers, are arbitrarily and forcibly obtained, by the Tashsildars under the orders of the Collectors.

I have now only to request that you will take an immediate opportunity of inviting the attention of the Court of Directors to this subject, with the view of issuing, without delay, such further directions as may be necessary to secure the discontinuance of the several practices enumerated in this letter.*

I have etc.
Chas Grant.

**27A. E.I.CO. TO Mr.CHARLES GRANT DECLINING PREPARING THE REQUESTED
DRAFT: 1833**

East India House,
13th June 1833.

Sir,

We have the honour to reply to your letter of the 25th April, requiring us to move the Court of Directors to prepare further instructions to the Government of India, in pursuance of the instructions of the 20th February 1833, on the subject of the religion of the Natives.

The Court desire us to remind you that the Despatch of the 20th February 1833 consisted almost wholly of paragraphs prepared at the Board; and that it was, after an ineffectual remonstrance on the part of the Court, signed and transmitted to India in obedience to the Board's final orders.

The Court, regretting that the views of the Board should differ on this subject so widely from their own, considering that many of the measures proposed in the letter under reply would be at variance with the compact of the British Government with the people of India to secure to them the full observance of their religion and laws; and contemplating with serious apprehension the probable feelings with which the proposed measures would be regarded by the people of India, respectfully decline to originate the instructions required.*

We have &c.

C. Marjoribanks
W.Wigram.

Right Hon'ble C.Grant.

**28. E.I.CO., TO BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA ON
ENLARGING THE EPISCOPAL ESTABLISHMENT IN INDIA THROUGH A
BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY BILL: 1833**

No. 3070

East India House
10th July, 1833

Sir,

Observing that in the E.I. Bill claims have been introduced to give effect to the proposal for an enlargement of the episcopal establishment in India which you transmitted to the Court on the 12th June 1832, the Court think it right now to place before you their remarks upon those proposals and which they would have done long since but for the intimation conveyed in the late Mr. Villier's letter dated 10th of July last that it had been deemed expedient to postpone the consideration of the question.

2. The nature of your proposition and the high authority under which it is recommended are such as to have ensured for it the Court's most respectful attention.

3. The principle upon which a Christian Church in India at the expense of the Natives has been instituted is, that it is the duty of Government to provide for its civil and military functionaries the means and services of their religion. This important principle the Court are seriously desirous should be maintained as they are convinced that it is a legitimate approbation of the Indian Revenues to employ them to such an extent as may be absolutely necessary upon an establishment calculated to inculcate upon the European Agents of the Company the doctrines and the precepts of the Christian religion and to confer upon them and their families its inestimable privileges and benefits.

4. But the Court's conviction is, at the same time strong and sincere that both practice and policy demand that the expense to the natives of India of a church establishment with which they have no community of feeling should be limited to what is essential for the use of the servants of the State who are members of that church.

5. The Court are free to confess that their anxiety upon this point has been excited by the observation contained in the Board's memo that "**in addition to the Chaplains appointed by the E.I.Co., 28 missionaries who have received episcopal ordination are now established at various stations on the continent of India and in the island of Ceylon and all those clergymen are subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta.**"

6. By missionaries we understand persons residing in India with a view to convert the Natives to the Christian faith.

7. This is undoubtedly an object most deeply interesting to the civilised world, but it is one for which it cannot be right to tax the Natives; and whilst the Court will yield to no one in anxious desire that the blessings of Christianity may be embraced universally by all our native subjects, they are deliberately convinced that the attainment of that important object

instead of being advanced would be greatly retarded by any identification of the work of Missions with the Government of the country.*

8. The only practical question then, which presents itself, to the Court, is, whether the state of the protestant christian population, servants of the Government, be such as to call for any extension of the episcopal establishment, or in other words whether the work for a Bishop limiting his duties to the members of the church to which he belongs, be really more than one man can efficiently discharge.

9. To this question it may perhaps be sufficient to reply that although the Europeans in India have never shown any backwardness in pointing out deficiency of means of spiritual instruction, although at this moment, the Court have before them, not only a correspondence between Bishop Turner and the Bengal Government relative to the Ecclesiastical Establishment in general, but also an urgent request from Bombay for more Chaplains, not a wish has been expressed by either of the local governments in their official communications that more than one Bishop should be appointed, and it has not been the practice nor would it seem to be proper that establishments should be augmented without distinct proof of necessity.

10. This consideration led the Court only last year to decline to entertain a proposal submitted to them by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for an increase in the number of Chaplains of that communion in India.

11. You will remember that the Scotch Ecclesiastical Establishment was introduced immediately after the erection of the See of Calcutta.

12. If the Episcopal Establishment is now to be extended, the Court fear that it will be irresponsible to resist the extension of the Scotch Establishment.

13. The Court deeply lament the mortality which has taken place since the institution of the Episcopal See of Calcutta, but they are by no means prepared to attribute it to the excessive duties of the office.

14. The death of Bishop James is not ascribed to that cause, and with respect to the other distinguished prelates the facts stand upon record that Dr. Middleton fell a sacrifice to a *coup-de-soleil* to which he unnecessarily exposed himself, that the immediate cause of Dr. Heber's death was an unprovident use of the cold bath and that Dr. Turner was in a declining state of health when he was appointed. Travelling in India whether by sea or land is an important means for preserving and restoring health, particularly in cases where as in that of the Bishop, the time and season of visitation are at his own choice.

15. We are quite ready to admit that some inconvenience may have arisen from the want of a Bishop during the periods when the office has been vacant, since the Archdeacon who acts as *locumtenens* cannot ordain or confirm. But we believe that the power of ordination has hitherto been rarely exercised, and with respect to confirmation are there not many parts of this country in which that rite is not locally accessible for one or two years? Besides which most of the children of Europeans in India are in England at the age when confirmation usually takes place.

16. The court are not aware that the exterior of the Indian territory since 1814 has been of such a character as materially to add to the labours of the Bishop.

17. His jurisdiction indeed was extended in 1817 to Ceylon, we believe at the instance of Bishop Middleton and without so far as we are aware the least intimation that he had already too much to do. In 1824 the jurisdiction further extended to N.S.Wales and Van Die-mansland, and if we are not mistaken an idea has more recently been entertained of bringing within its limits the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius.

18. If through any of these circumstances, the duties of the Bishop have become too burthensome, we submit that the means of relief shall be provided by the colonies in question and not by the people of India.

19. And here, sir, the Court must call your attention to the striking fact that the charge to India of the Ecclesiastical Establishment has been augmented since the institution of the See of Calcutta from £ 48,000 to more than £ 100,000 per annum, and that the clerical part of the Pension List has been increased from £ 800 p.a to £ 5000 p.a.*

20. The Court therefore cannot contemplate the creation of two more Sees without apprehension of financial consequence. We recognise indeed in your proposal great anxiety to limit the expense, but we fear that it will be found impossible to maintain the limitation when the offices are created; and when the Bishop of Calcutta shall have become a Metropolitan.

21. The Court notwithstanding these considerations would be very unwilling to place themselves, upon such a question in opposition to the wishes of the King's Government, of the Lord Primate of England, and of the respectable societies who have urged the proposed addition.

22. But the Court trust that enough has been stated at least to induce all parties to pause before they press the adoption of measures involving a certain and possibly an unlimited addition to the financial burthens of India.

We have, etc.

Sd/- C.Maroribanks

Wm.Wigram

Rt. Hon'ble C.Grant.

**28A. Mr. CHARLES GRANT TO THE CHAIRMAN AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE
E.I.CO., IN RESPONSE TO THEIR LETTER: 1833**

No.2635

India Board
July 13, 1833

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to receive your letters of the 2nd and 10th instant, the first of which contains the observations of the Court of Directors on such of the principal provisions of the proposed Bill as relate to the constitution of the Indian Governments, to the state of the law in India and the condition of the Natives. Of your two letters of the 10th instant, one transmits a paper of observations and suggestions upon certain clauses of the Bill, and the other relates to the proposed enlargement of the Episcopal Establishments in India.

2. Although I could not at the present moment without great inconvenience avert in writing to the several points which are so ably discussed in your letters to me, I beg to assure you, that the observations, and suggestions contained in the letters have engaged and continued to engage my serious attention and that any future communication of the like nature which the Court through you may please to make, shall be duly weighed and considered by me during the progress of the Bill, through its proper stages.

3. Conformably to the wish of the Court, I have desired the law officers employed by the Board to communicate freely with the law officers of the Company.

I have, etc.

Sd/- C.Grant.

The Chariman and
Deputy Chairman of the E.I.Co.

P.S. In reference to your letter of the 11th instant, I have had personal conversations with Mr. Lawford who will doubtless have submitted to you the proceedings respecting the bill.

29. BRITISH INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNMENTS IN INDIA TO CONTINUE WITH RESPONSIVENESS TO INDIAN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND CEREMONIES: OCT 1837

House of Commons Papers: 1857-58, Vol. 43, pages 6- 8

REVENUE DEPARTMENT, 18 October (No.14) 1837.
Our Governor-General of India in Council.

Para.1. We now reply to your letter in the Political Department, dated the 15th April 1837, transmitting copy of a communication from the Bombay Government relative to certain religious ceremonies observed at Surat, together with your decision on the reference made to you on the subject.

2. We entirely approved of the reply, founded on the Minute of the Governor-general, dated the 1st April, which you caused to be addressed to the Bombay Government on the 10th April 1837.

3. We fully concur in the opinion expressed by Mr. Ironside, to the effect that, if religious societies and religious publications recommend the adoption of measures, and that if, as it were in consequence of them, the Government immediately carries those recommendations into effect, our native subjects may conceive that we, as rulers of the country, now identify ourselves with missionary labour. Nothing could be more dangerous than the prevalence of such an impression; for, as was long since observed by Mr. Thackeray, "our success in India is in a great measure owing to our religious neutrality; the failure of other European nations, especially of the Portuguese, in maintaining their power, to their injudicious attempts to convert the natives to their own religion. As we could not have established, so we cannot maintain our empire, without continuing this neutrality. It would have been much better that we should have failed in establishing, than that we now should shake to pieces, on our own heads, the great edifice of power now erected, by such imprudence." Sir Thomas Munro said, on the same occasion, "It never was intended to employ collectors and magistrates as teachers of morality and religion. We cannot allow any public officer to act as a missionary, merely because he supposes that he abstains from 'obnoxious interference'. Every man has a different opinion regarding the obnoxious limits, and each would fix them differently according to the standard of his own zeal."

"It is the declared intention of both the Legislature and of the Honourable the Court of Directors, that the people of India should be permitted to enjoy their ancient laws and institutions, and should be protected against all interference of public officers with their religion. This system is the wisest that could be adopted, whether with regard to the tranquility of the country, the security of the revenue, or the improvement or conversion of the natives."

4. Now, it is not sufficient to say that the mere discontinuance of a custom is strict non-interference. It is not so. It is not simply a negative act; it is interference with a established

custom, and has more or less the effect of a positive interference, according to the interpretation which may be placed on the purpose with which it has been adopted. Between zealots on the one hand, aiming at proselytism, and disaffection on the other, seeking every means to injure our supremacy, we cannot too cautiously abstain from every act which may have the remotest tendency to excite against us the spirit of native fanaticism. The experience of history shows, that against this spirit, when once roused into action, no Government can stand.

5. "In every country." says Sir Thomas Munro, "but especially in this where the rulers are so few, and of a different race from the people, it is the most dangerous of all things to tamper with religious feelings. They may be apparently dormant, and when we are in unsuspecting security, they may burst forth in the most tremendous manner, as at Vellore. They may be set in motion by the slightest casual incident, and do more mischief in one year than all the labours of missionary collectors would repair in a hundred. Should they produce only a partial disturbance which is quickly put down, even in this case the Government, which would never entirely subside, and the district in which it happened would never be so safe as before."

6. There is a wide difference between the sanction which may be supposed to have been given by the presence of a Government officer to a suttee -(though even in this case the presence of the Government officer was only to secure to the women the exercise of her own free will, to secure her from compulsory sacrifice)-- there is a wide difference between this and the common, and customary courtesies on the occasions of the festivals which are alluded to by the Bombay Government. It is most justly observed, in the Minute of 1st April 1837, of the Governor-general: "The salutes at Surat are a compliment paid to the return of the season, when the coast, by the change of the monsoon is again open to the merchant, and industry and profit are diffused amongst the commercial, seafaring classes. I would be extremely loath to discontinue any one proper demonstration. We must all, I feel assured, lament that occasions of the kind are so rare, on which it can be shown that the sympathies and feelings of the Government are in unison with those of the people. The day of these observances at Surat seems to be a popular holiday, on which joy is natural and reasonable; and if something of superstition be added to it, this will disappear as intelligence and civilisation advance, whilst the holiday and its festivities will, as must be desired, survive. Something of paganism may be traced in our English feasts of May-day and harvest home; something Druidical in the rites of Halloween; more that is catholic in the village mummeries of Christmas; and with such observances, which ought to be upheld while they are gay, and innocent, and popular, will, doubtless, much that is now distasteful in India be ranked, as instruction is spread, and classes are mingled, and differences are softened. To time, and the gradual growth of knowledge, I would trust much, and would deprecate in these matters all overstrained fastidiousness of feeling, and a sternness of action which must tend to create alarm, and to alienate the people from the Government." And it is most clear to us, as also observed in that Minute, "The present moment is not favourable to measures of abrupt and ostensible change. It is unhappily but too notorious, that dissensions upon these subjects have prevailed amongst persons high in authority in the Presidency of Madras, and that the minds of men have become alarmed and unsettled in regard to them; and whilst a disposition is known to exist to goad the Government into measures which a just and tolerant policy would reject, every step in this direction, though limited by the soundest and most moderate views, may be liable to dangerous misapprehension and misconstruction.

"A similar disposition to force extreme measures on this subject has more recently evinced itself at Bombay; the same alarm will naturally be there excited, and the Government must of necessity, when beset by ill-timed and ill-judged importunity, be led rather to pause than to advance."

7. In all these remarks we implicitly concur, and in the correctness of the concluding opinion: "I would not add an additional embarrassment, by changes on the point at Bombay, to the already too numerous grounds of difficulty and heated division, the existence of which at Madras must be so much deplored by us."

8. We now desire that no customary salutes or marks of respect to native festivals be discontinued at any of the Presidencies; that no protection hitherto given be withdrawn; and that no change whatever be made in any matter relating to the native religion, except under the authority of the Supreme Government.*

9. With reference to a memorial received through the late Bishop of Madras on behalf of the Christian community under that Presidency, praying that all interference on the part of Government or its civil and military officers in the religious ceremonies of the natives may be discontinued, we shall furnish the Government of Madras, also that of Bombay, with a copy of this despatch, for their information and guidance.

10. With reference to the last paragraph of your letter under notice, we think it desirable that you should, as in the present instance, communicate to us in a separate despatch your decisions on any matters of importance that may be referred to you from either of the subordinate Governments.

11. On ordinary occasions, however, it will be sufficient that you enter the correspondence on your proceedings.

London, 18 October 1937.

We are, &c.

(signed) J.R. Carnac,
J.L. Lushington,
&c. &c. &c.

**C. RESIGNATION OF MADRAS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF LEADING TO SPEEDY
DISASSOCIATION WITH INDIAN CUSTOMS AND EXTENDING MISSIONARY
ACTIVITIES**

**30. RESIGNATION OF MAITLAND, MADRAS C-IN-C, IN PROTEST AGAINST
POLICY OF ASSOCIATING WITH INDIAN RELIGION AND CEREMONIES: FEB
1838**

House of Commons Papers: 1857 - 58, Vol 43, pages 1 - 6

Madras, 1 February 1838

To the Chairman of the Court of Directors.

Sir,

The order issued by the Honourable Court, in their letter to the Supreme Government of the 18th October, "that no customary salutes or marks of respect to native festivals be discontinued at any of the Presidencies, that no protection hitherto given be withdrawn, and that no change whatever be made in any matter relating to the native religion, except under the authority of the Supreme Government," has caused me feelings of deep regret, deeper, perhaps, because it was unexpected; because I had understood that more than two years before I was appointed to the command of this army, peremptory orders had been issued by the Court that in everything connected with their ceremonies, rites, and festivals, the natives were to be left to themselves. Nothing led me to suppose that these orders had not been acted upon; and a book⁵ was put into my hands by the then Chairman of the Court of Directors, in which total abstinence from all participation in such ceremonies and festivals was strongly inculcated as the imperative duty of every Christian in India.*

In accepting my present appointment, I could not therefore have imagined that the painful task of bringing officers and soldiers to punishment for refusing to participate in such ceremonies could ever be imposed on me; much less could I have expected, after finding the yoke of compulsory participation removed by an order which had been published to the army, with the knowledge and approbation of the Government, by my predecessor, Sir Robert O'Callaghan, to have seen it reimposed without the least ostensible cause, and in a manner of all others most likely to bring the soldier into trouble. But as by the late orders of the Court the decisions of the Supreme Government are confirmed, and the connexion of the Madras Government with the idolatrous worship is to be continued, and the interference of their servants, civil and military, with that worship, not to be dispensed with, I feel that I cannot conscientiously fulfill, in the manner the Honourable Court would wish, the duties, of the offices with which they have honoured me; and I have no alternative but to beg leave to place those offices respectfully at their disposal.

⁵ Thornton's India

I think it necessary formally to state that I have never been officially a party to any measure whatsoever that had for its object "a change in any matter relating to the native religion," or to any proposal for withdrawing the protection which it has been the custom to afford to the natives in the performance of their religious ceremonies. On the contrary, the Governor in Council can testify that, when a representation was made by the office commanding at Cuddalore, that the civil power at that station had taken a course which was likely to give umbrage to the religious feelings of the Mussulman population,(p.2) I immediately brought the matter to the notice of the Government, and requested that the civil authority might be set right.

With respect to the native festivals, all I did was to exhort obedience to an order which had been published to the army, with the knowledge and approbation of the Government, by my predecessor, Sir Robert O'Callaghan, explaining the order precisely as he had explained it, but guarding it in one important point in which it had been left open to misinterpretation. Certainly, if I had acted upon my own feelings in respect to that point, I should positively have prohibited the attendance of troops upon any such occasions as it referred to. I was aware, however, in so doing I should have assumed an authority which did not belong to my office. But if I had objected to Sir Robert O'Callaghan's order as heartily as I concurred in it, I had no choice but to command implicit obedience to an order which has been issued under sanction of the Government, as a standing regulation of the service before I joined the army, when I found that it had been disobeyed. With the passing of that order I had nothing to do; but, deeply impressed as I am with its policy as well as justice, its virtual abrogation by the Honourable Court occasions me much regret; and I cannot but think, from the language of the Governor-general, which the Honourable Court has explicitly adopted, that much misapprehension exists on the subject.

The Governor-general seems to think that the religious festivals and ceremonies of the natives, at which the troops are called upon to attend, are much the same as the English feasts of May-day and harvest-home, in which the noble Lord observes, "something of paganism may be traced," but if even the parties who celebrate these home festivals were aware that they were using pagan rites, there would be no resemblance whatever between the cases. The Government does not honour such festivals by a salute, nor does it compel its public officers, civil and military, to attend them. No conscience is therefore outraged.

But in India the attendance of Christians at these pagan festivals is compulsory, and the Government proclaim their countenance and sanction to them by salutes of artillery.

That repugnance to attend such festivals is not the "overstrained fastidiousness of feeling" which the noble Lord supposes, even on the comparatively innocent occasion quoted by him, and that there is something more than a mere tinge of superstition and paganism in them, is plain from the following prayer which is recited at the festival to which he has alluded⁶. "Oh, Tapi, Goddess! daughter of the sun, wife of the sea, pardon all our sins! As thy' waves follows each other, so let happiness follows us; in our labour and trade bless us; send us a flood of money, and preserve us in the possession of wealth and children." Can it be wondered at that Christians should revolt at being made parties, even in appearance, to a solemn invocation of

⁶ Translation of the prayer used on Cocoonut day at Surat.

heathen deities; and can it be imagined that a man who has one serious thought can consider such a ceremony "as gay, and innocent, and popular" as harvest-home or May-day feast; and with the example of Egypt, and Greece, and Rome before him, does the noble Lord himself really think the "something of superstition" which is to be traced in them will disappear as intelligence and civilisation advances, while the Government direct, and countenance, and honour, and assist the people in upholding them.⁷

The Honourable Court dwell upon the opinions which were formerly given by Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Thackeray against "all interference" on the part of the public officers with the religion of the natives, in other words, the Hindoos. But I beg respectfully to remind the Honourable Court that the question is not whether, as in the case that was before Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Thackeray, a Collector can properly be allowed to distribute religious books, &c., amongst the natives, but whether the religion of Christians, and it may be, Mahomedans, shall be interfered with. When the Mussulman subidar of the 15th Regiment was asked by a military court why he objected to a guard of Mussulmans being ordered to attend the Dusserah, his answer was that "he conceived his religion to be interfered with." Under the resolution of the Honourable Court which I am now (p.3) considering, this man, if he is still in the service, may be ordered, as well as his Christian commanding officer, to attend the same festival; and I, as Commander-in Chief, though participating in their feelings, should have to enforce their obedience, or bring them to trial for disobedience of orders. The Honourable Court will no doubt admit that in such a case the religion of the Mahomedan, as well as the Christian officer, would be directly and seriously interfered with; and though the mere discontinuance of a custom should be looked upon, as the Court say that it would be more or less "a positive interference, according to the interpretation which may be placed upon the purpose with which it has been adopted," can it be considered equitable or proper that the Hindoo should be defended from this constructive interference by an act of positive interference on the part of the Civil Government with the religions of the Christian and Mussulman? But the truth is, it is not the Hindoo population, but the Government, that will not admit the distinction between the interference of the ruling power to subvert, and the interference of the ruling power to associate itself with, their worship. To attempt the former would be rash, and the native would resent it; but it would be right in principle, and the native would think better of us, were we to abstain from exercising the latter. We seem to overlook the fact that the people are now fully aware that our religion forbids participating in any idolatrous worship. They have seen our soldiers punished, and our Collectors retiring from office, because, for conscience sake, they refused such participation; and it is one of the pernicious effects of the public disregard of the precepts of our own religion, and our harsh dealing with its conscientious professors, that it naturally leads the natives to view unfavourably the moral and religious character of our Government.

If the sole object in disregarding the former orders of the Honourable Court and maintaining the present system has been to conciliate the affections of the native population, we certainly have not been successful; occurrences which every year is made to witness bring with them the painful conviction that we have not gained ground in their confidence and attachment.

⁷ In the minute quoted by the Honourable Court, Sir Thomas Munro says, "There can be no real freedom of choice when official authority is interested deeply, and exerted openly."

On a recent occasion, although not a single grievance has been complained of, the Collector of Canara informs us "that while thousands flocked to the standard of the pretender, not one instance can be adduced of a single individual standing forward to support the Government. The whole country in the neighbourhood had sided with them, including the public servants of the Government." "Of the Potails, and Shambogues around us," he adds, " not one could be brought to our position, and we soon received undoubted proofs not only of their disaffection, but of their hostility".*

We shall some day, doubtless, learn to believe (it is to be hoped before it is too late) that a government, even in India, is much stronger when it appears to the people to be administered upon principles of equal justice and consideration for all classes of the community, than when it seeks to flatter, even the majority, by measures which are not in accordance with acknowledged principles, and unjust or oppressive to any class of its subjects, however limited in number. The truth is, we first imagine to ourselves a danger which has no reality, and having thus devised an imaginary evil, we found on it an argument for the maintenance of a system of intolerance by which we are making that danger real which we pretend to be avoiding. **The present system is not only intolerant to the Christian and Mussulman, it spares not the non-conforming Hindoo. Under it we do, in fact, and perhaps are forced to, interfere with the religion of the latter in a manner the most arbitrary, and sure to give lasting umbrage to that increasing portion of the native population. Every one knows that there are sects amongst the Hindoos, and frequent and bitter quarrels as to the rites, ceremonies, and forms to be observed in the worship at the different pagodas, over which the Collector, as immediate representative of Government, has the superintendence***. A marked instance of the fruits of this superintendence had occurred a short time before I took my seat in the Council. A jeer (priest) held in great veneration by one sect of Hindoos, had recited certain verses introductory to the worship of the pagoda at Trivaloor; and a complaint was made to the Collector that other verses should have been recited. The interference that ensued will be seen in the following official document, issued by the Collector of Chingleput:

"There were no disputes when the late jeer was at this place, but since the arrival of the present jeer dissensions have arisen in all the pagodas visited by (p.4) him. It is understood that he took his own wegrahuras, or images, into the Trivaloor pagoda, where he caused certain cotchavums to be performed anew; he has not got persons of good principles in his company, and he is associated with Tutta Rangeocharry, who is of abandoned, vicious habits. Soon after the occurrence of the said transaction, I communicated to him, through the tehsildar, that he should not allow any deviation from the former practice to take place in the performance of the ceremonies at the pagoda; and as he paid no attention to this, I required his attendance by a summons, with a view to admonish him against the perpetration of any acts contrary to Mamool; but he has neither attended personally, nor by vakeel. Pavetrans, for the performance of pavetrachorums, were refused by the people of the jeer, whereby the oochavum was stopped. They also refused to give jewels and cloths to the Sawmy (idol deity) which are under their charge. As the said jeer has declined to abide by my decision, and to recite jengodee muturn according to Mamool, no honours shall be done to him at the pagoda until further orders, and he and his people shall not be allowed to interfere in its affairs. As the jewels and cloths in question are the property of the pagoda, and as the keys of the rooms in which they are secured cannot be left with the people of the jeer, while they perform no service at

the pagoda, you will take the keys from them through the hoozoor, Delagut Narsoor Naick, who is herewith sent with an order for the purpose, and give them in charge to the ameenah, and perform the oochavums as usual. In the event of the keys in question being refused to be given by the jeer, you will cause a mahagoomamah to be prepared, and break open the doors, with the assistance of an iron-smith, in the presence of the arcachers and reddies, and give the jewels for the use of the Swamy. You will get fresh keys for the boxes containing cloths, and keep them in charge of the ameenah, who shall be responsible for the same. You will cause the business of the pagoda to be performed by the ameenah Noongiem, &c. &c., without any impediment. If you find it necessary that any additional servants should be employed for the purpose, you will employ them accordingly, and report it to the hoozoor.

(signed) "A. Maclean, Collector.-25 October 1835."

It is palpable that this sort of interference of a public officer in the religious rites and ceremonies of the natives trenches very materially upon the neutrality advocated by Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Thackeray, in their Minute quoted by the Honourable Court.⁸ It is true that the Honourable Court have, in former despatches, directed their Governments to remain neutral in such disputes; but it will be seen, upon reference to the records, that the Board of Revenue and the Government countenanced the interference, the one urging the necessity of upholding the collector's authority in the matter, the other justifying the interference as the only means of keeping the peace.

It is said, it would be objectionable to take any measure in apparent compliance with missionary representations, and restoring the pagoda concerns to native management. Every petition against any particular application of the pagoda funds, on the occurrence of such disagreements as called for the interference of the Collector of Chingleput, affords a favourable opportunity; it would thus be a gradual process, and if the several Collectors and the Board of Revenue were made aware that the Honourable Court and local government seriously took an interest in the measure, there would, I believe, in effecting it be found no difficulty that, by a little intercourse between the parties, might not be satisfactorily removed: perhaps, not without some, but certainly not considerable, diminution of the revenue disposable by the Government for local purposes.

At present, the Government derive an advantage from the receipts of the pagoda revenue being, in some instances, surplus to the expenditure; but, as we are only bound to defray the actual charges of the pagodas, this surplus, if it (p.5) were considered desirable, might be secured by such a revision of the pagoda establishments as should make the income and expenditure exactly tally. I have said that there can be no difficulty in making the transfer gradually, because one of the largest and most celebrated pagodas⁹ in the peninsula is, and always has been, administered without any interference of the Government. The collection of

⁸ "Our success," says Mr. Thackeray, "is in a great measure owing to our religious neutrality." Again: "We cannot maintain our empire without continuing this religious neutrality." Again: "If anything is supremely and evidently dangerous and improper, it is the attempt of men in authority to interfere in religious matters." – Mr. Thackeray's Minute, 29 November 1822.

⁹ Chellumbrum [Chidambaram]; no part of the peninsula has been more tranquil.

the revenue, its appropriation, the patronage, and the direction of the ceremonies, are all the hands of native churchwardens. There can be no reason, therefore, why the arrangements of this pagoda should not serve as a model for all others in the peninsula, and enable the Government to act entirely up to the orders of the Court, that in everything connected with their ceremonies and rites, the natives should be left to themselves; and I will venture to assert that the Government would be morally strengthened in a very considerable degree by such an arrangement.

It is true, also, the Governor-general has intimated his opinion that the troops, whenever called upon to attend at native festivals, should be kept as a military guard, to be ready to act for the maintenance of the peace, and that Christian drummers should not be compelled to attend at such festivals, except on duty. But as he has confirmed a resolution of this Government which renders them both liable to the "established custom" of compulsory attendance on certain occasions, and has communicated his opinion "that any previous decisions or orders which are in any degree at variance with the spirit of that resolution should, without being formally cancelled, be allowed to fall gradually into desuetude," the law stands in opposition to his Lordship's wishes. His Lordship has also desired that an order of the late Commander-in-Chief, which exempted the Christian drummers of five regiments, the sons of Protestant soldiers, and educated at the Government school, from attending at native festivals, should "fall into desuetude," in order that, like the drummers of other regiments, they might be at liberty to show by their attendance at such festivals "that mark of good will to their sepoy brethren." **I cannot help stating that the avowal of the Noble Lord at the head of this great empire, that the attendance of Christian youth at the religious ceremonies of the natives is to be encouraged, and not to be discountenanced, has given me more pain than anything which has occurred to me in public life.***

It is hardly necessary for me to point out the immense inconvenience, in a military point of view, from instructions which direct orders which have been issued for the guidance of the army "to fall into desuetude;" or, in other words, to be disobeyed.

The Honourable Court say that "there is a wide difference between the sanction which may be supposed to have been given by the presence of the Government officer to a suttee, and the common and customary courtesies on the occasions which are alluded to by the Bombay Government". Undoubtedly there is a difference; and the Honourable Court partially indicate it when they say that "in this case (the attendance at the suttee) the presence of the Government officer was only to secure the woman the exercise of her own free will, to save her from compulsory sacrifice." The Government fired no salutes, did no honour to the occasion; the attending officer did not exhibit to the native population the spectacle of a Christian officer coming on the part of his Government to do honour to their idols, contrary to the command of his and their own faith; he appeared on a business in unison, as far as it went, with the genius and precepts of that faith, and it would be perverse indeed to construe his errand, which, if successful, would defeat the object of the ceremony, into an attendance designed to uphold and honour it. But, "on the occasion of the festivals alluded to by the Bombay Government," and certainly on the occasion of the Madras festivals, the Government officer attends expressly to do honour to the occasion, and he participates, in appearance at least, in the ceremonies; and if he does this by compulsion, his conscience is outraged and the great principle of religious neutrality violated.

The difference therefore would seem, as far as religious principle is concerned, to be altogether in favour of the suttee; and if the abrogation of a custom of (p.6) interfering is to be considered as equivalent to interference, and therefore condemned, it may be asked how, in consistence with this principle, are we to justify the abolition of the suttee itself?

There we interfered not only to abolish a real custom, an ancient native custom, but we declared that to be penal which many of the natives considered to be highly commendable and an act of duty, and we did this because we judged it to be an abomination which ought not to be tolerated.

When I look to this and other orders of the Honourable Court, and gather from them the spirit in which they must have been dictated, I cannot, I think, close these observations more acceptably than by assuring them that neither when Sir Robert O. Callaghan's general order, of the 26th July 1826, was promulgated to the army, nor since, although it remains on the several regimental order books as a standing regulation of the service, and must therefore be still believed by the army in general to be in full force, has it occasioned the smallest excitement; and they may safely challenge the local government to point out a single instance, however slight, of murmuring or discontent produced by it either among the native troops or the native population, and yet that order distinctly announces " that whenever the attendance of troops, either European or native, may be necessary at any native festival or similar occasion, the troops so employed are invariably to be kept in a collected body, as a military guard for the maintenance of order, and are not on any account to be permitted to join or take part in the procession or ceremony, nor to act as escorts to persons or property."

His Lordship, the Governor-general in Council, however, has decided that the troops are to attend the festivals as heretofore, as honorary guards. Thus they are to be present at the ceremony for two avowed purposes; it is expected the native population will believe them to attend simply in honour of the festival, and the Christian soldier simply for the purpose of keeping the peace.

But can his Lordship have calculated so erroneously the amount of information and intelligence in this part of India, as to suppose that in the native mind such evidence of a just regard for principle and singleness of motive, as the former orders of the Honourable Court plainly evince, would not constitute a far stronger ground for respecting and confiding in our Government, than the uncalled-for return to those half-disavowed courtesies which it has been deemed proper to re-enact?

I have taken the liberty of submitting my sentiments to the Honourable Court through you in this manner, rather than risk the renewal of any discussion of this subject here, a result which I am aware the Honourable Court would deprecate. I trust I shall not have erred in taking this course. It has been my wish in this, and all other matters, to serve the interest of the Honourable Court, to whom I feel grateful for the confidence they have reposed in me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) P. Maitland.

31. E.I.CO. TO BOARD ON MAITLAND RESIGNATION: AUG. 1838

East India House,
2nd August 1838.

Sir,

I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo returning the India Revenue Draft No.446 with various alterations.

2. The Court of Directors are not less earnest than the Board of Control can be, in the desire to afford all practicable relief to the conscientious scruples of their servants in India, with regard to the offices they are called upon to perform, in any manner concerning the religion of the natives. Nor are the Court apprehensive that any real difference of opinion on that point can subsist between the Board and them. It is certain, however, that much misconception is prevalent on the subject, (as Sir Peregrine Maitland's letter sufficiently shows); and it seems to the Court that the terms of the proposed Draft would be liable to confirm that misconception, and to lead hereafter to very embarrassing consequences.

3. The second para of the Draft is in these words: "We transmit copy of Sir Peregrine Maitland's letter for your information and in so doing we think it necessary to state that he is mistaken in assuming that it is our desire to reimpose upon our servants compulsory participation in the religious ceremonies of the natives."

4. The Court remark in passing that they do not find that it is assumed in Sir P. Maitland's letter "that it is our desire to reimpose upon our servants compulsory participation in the religious ceremonies of the natives".

5. But the paragraph is further open to this serious objection, that it distinctly implies an admission that compulsory participation in the religious ceremonies of the natives has formerly been imposed upon our servants. The fact is not so. Our servants have never, in the proper sense of the term, participated in the religious ceremonies of the natives at all; but have only, in an official capacity, adopted such measures connected with their religious ceremonies, as were conceived to be incumbent on the Government, in the fulfillment of its duty towards them, in maintaining the laws and usages of which their religion forms the groundwork. In what degree such measures may be necessary, the Court freely admit to be a question, on which a sound discretion should be exercised, with liberality towards the feelings of our servants, as well as of our subjects. But whatever measures of the kind are essential to the administration of government over a Native community, must necessarily continue to be adopted by our servants.

6. In like manner, instructions are proposed to be given in the third paragraph: "for discontinuing the connexion of the Government with the management of all funds which may be assigned for the support of religious institutions in India"; and again in the same para "that the management of all temples and other places of religious resort, together with the revenues derived therefrom, be resigned into the hands of the Natives."

7. The Court fully coincide in the opinion of the Board that there ought to be no unnecessary interference in these matters, on the part of the officers of the Government. But they submit that the connexion of the Government with the management of places of religious resort and of the funds allotted for their maintenance cannot cease, while their authority is required to be exercised, in enforcing them, when necessary, the faithful management of them, by the natives to whom that duty may be immediately entrusted.

8. The Court apprehend that it is not within their choice to absolve themselves from the obligation to maintain the system of law, religious as well as civil, on which the whole structure of society in India is founded. **We could never have established the dominion we exercise over the natives, if we had professed the intention of employing our authority to subvert their religion, as soon as we should think ourselves able to do so with safety***. Nor could we now violate our obligation in that respect, without immediate danger to our empire. We have moreover pledged our faith, by express engagements, by local Regulations, by enactments of the British Legislature, and by the uniform tenor of our whole conduct as a Government, to protect the natives in the free exercise of their religion.

Bengal Reg 3 of 1793 Sec 1
and 7 of 1795 Sec 1
37 Geo 3 Capt 42 Sec 12
3&4 Will 4 Capt 85 Sec 53
vide also Harrington's Analysis pp. 534

9. Assuming, therefore, as a maxim on which there can be no difference of opinion, that our Government is bound, not less by considerations of good faith and of liberal policy; than by over-ruling necessity, not to withdraw from the natives the protection which they have heretofore enjoyed in the observance of their religious ceremonies, the Court would wish to draw the Board's attention to the mode in which that protection is afforded. It is done *1st* in the administration of the laws, as far as they relate to matters concerning the religion of the natives; *2nd* in the continuance of the funds and endowments appropriated to the support of their religious establishments and ceremonies; and *3rdly* in the interposition of the authority of Government to such extent as is requisite, in regulating the economy of their religious establishments, and protecting and countenancing them in the celebration of their ceremonies. Under the first two of those heads, the sanction given by Government and its officers to the religion of the natives is express and indispensable; under the third, it is only incidental, and is in a great measure discretionary.

10. With respect to the former, it is obvious that our courts of Justice, and even in the last resort the Queen in Council, as the tribunal of the highest jurisdiction cannot abstain from recognising the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions or the law of the land, in all questions liable to be adjudicated according to the rules of those religions respectively. It is obvious also that the

Government is not at liberty to withhold or resume the endowments by which the religious establishments of the country have hitherto been maintained, nor to allow those endowments to be misappropriated. This being the case, the Judicial and Revenue officers of the Government must unavoidably be liable to be employed in recognising and upholding the institutions of the people, however much at variance with their own religious sentiments. There are no possible means of relieving our servants from this duty, which is necessarily incident to the administration of the Government of India through the instrumentality of European officers.

11. But the case is not the same, with regard to the degree in which the authority of the Government and its officers may require to be interposed, in regulating the economy of the religious establishments of the country, and protecting the natives in the celebration of their festivals. In these respects there is wide room for the exercise of discretion. All that is indispensable is, that our toleration shall not be ostensible only, but sincere and effectual; and that the Natives shall neither be molested nor treated with slight and contumely, in the exercise of privileges to which they attach the highest value. It is desirable on every account that our connection with their institutions and ceremonies should not go beyond what the occasion requires. Much has from time to time been already affected for restricting it within narrower limits than were judged necessary at earlier periods of our interference with the natives. The instructions conveyed to the Governor General in Council in the Despatch of the 20th February 1832, had for their general object that our connection should be gradually withdrawn, as far as compatible with due consideration for the usages and feelings of the people; and with the same end in view, the Government was also authorised, in such mode and at such time as should seem to them fit to abolish the Pilgrim tax. It will be matter of cordial satisfaction to the Court if, in pursuance of those instructions, the Government of India shall succeed in regulating the part which our servants must unavoidably take in matters concerning the religion of the natives so as that it shall not be felt by any of them, as militating against their own religious principles.

12. The Court are of opinion, however that the language in which the proposed Draft is expressed, holds out the expectation of a more complete disconnexion between the Government and the religious institutions of the country, than is practicable. They apprehend, on the ground which they have stated that, whether in the administration of the law, or in the exercise of public authority, the natives must continue to receive at the hands of the Government, in their religious as well as civil concerns, the same effective protection which they have hitherto enjoyed. The Court conceive that the principles on which that conclusion is founded, incontrovertible as they are, have been but little examined or adverted to, by those who agitate this question. They are of opinion that, if set forth in the proposed Despatch, they would obtain general assent; would distinctly show how far it is practicable to go in affording the relief sought for on the part of public servants, and at what point it is necessary to stop; and would gradually disabuse the public mind in this country of error on the subject. Finally, the Court are impressed with the conviction that the desired relief is, to a great practical extent perfectly compatible with those principles; but that it would be very indiscreet to rely on the present instructions being understood in a modified and restricted sense, at variance with the terms in which they are conveyed, and, under that idea, to profess that the relief is to spring from an entire severance of the Government from all concern with the religion of the natives. Instructions so expressed could not be carried into effect, but would involve the Government of India in serious and possibly alarming embarrassments; and however they might for a time

allay the present excitement, would in long become the ground of fresh claims which must unavoidably be set aside.

13. On these grounds the Court trust that the Board will reconsider the subject.

B.Bordon Esq.

I have &c.
James C.Melvill
Secretary.

31A. BOARD TO E.I.CO. AGREEING TO SOME OF ITS SUGGESTIONS:1838

India Board,
3rd August, 1838.

Sir,

I am directed by the commissioners for the affairs of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant, stating the grounds on which the Court of Directors object to the alterations made by the Board in the India Revenue Draft No. 446.

The Board have reconsidered the subject in connection with the arguments contained in your letter, and I am directed to state that they have been induced to cancel the words which they introduced in paragraph 2 of the Draft which are quoted in paragraph 4 of your letter and to restore the words "depart from the orders under date the 20th February, 1833."

In all other respects the Board adhere to the proposed Despatch as altered by them, and they are happy to observe that there is not "any real difference of opinion" between the court and the Board as the arguments in your letter would apply with nearly equal force to the Draft as originally proposed by the Court as they do to the alterations introduced into it by the Board.

Under this view on the subject, the Board direct that the Draft, as altered by them, be, in accordance with the provisions' of 33 Geo 3rd Capt 58 Sec 13 and 3 & 4 Will 4th Capt 85 Sec 32, framed into a Despatch and forwarded to India without delay.

J.C.Melvill Esq.

I am &c.
R. Gordon.

31B. LONDON TO ITS GOVERNMENTS IN INDIA AFTER MAITLAND RESIGNATION: AUG. 1838

House of Commons Papers : 1857 - 58, Vol 43, Pages 8 - 9

INDIA REVENUE DEPARTMENT, 8 August (No.9) 1838.
Our Governor-General of India in Council.

PARA. 1. Our Chairman has laid before us a letter which has been addressed to him by Sir Peregrine Maitland, dated the 1st February last, tendering his resignation of the office of Commander-in-Chief at Madras, upon the ground of our despatch to you in the Revenue Department, dated the 18th October last, in which we committed to the discretion of your Government (as, indeed, we had previously done in our despatches of the 20th February 1833 and 22nd February 1837 (No.4)) the settlement of all questions affecting the religion of the natives of India.

2. We transmit copy of Sir Peregrine Maitland's letter for your information; and in so doing we think it necessary to state that he is mistaken in assuming that it is our desire to depart from our orders under date the 20th February (p.9) 1833. Our object in addressing you in October last was to secure to you the unfettered exercise of the powers and instructions which we deliberately conveyed to you in our despatch of the 20th February 1833, by checking proceedings on the part of the subordinate Governments, which, however well intended, were calculated to embarrass the free exercise of your judgment on the important and difficult questions which we had confided to your decision. So far, indeed, from having any desire to continue the practices against which Sir Peregrine Maitland remonstrates, we concluded our despatch of 22nd February 1837 in the following terms: "But it is desirable that no unnecessary delay should take place in bringing forward the whole subject fully and intelligibly in all its bearings--on the financial interests, on the political obligations, and on the moral character of our Government."

3. In the same spirit we have again to express our anxious desire that you should accomplish, with as little delay as may be practicable, the arrangements which we believe to be already in progress for abolishing the pilgrim tax, and for discontinuing the connexion of the Government with the management of all funds which may be assigned for the support of religious institutions in India. We more particularly desire that the management of all temples and other places of religious resort, together with the revenues derived therefrom, be resigned into the hands of the natives; and that the interference of the public authorities in the religious ceremonies of the people be regulated by the instructions conveyed in the 62d paragraph of our despatch of 20th February 1833.

4. In carrying these instructions into effect, we cannot doubt that you will bear in mind the inconveniences which have been experienced at Madras from the construction which was put upon the general order of 26 July 1836.

5. That order very properly prohibited troops employed in preserving order at religious festivals from taking any part in the procession or ceremonies. We think that the attendance of musicians, for the purpose of taking part in the ceremonials of any religion whatever, should be strictly voluntary. But we do not intend that any alteration should be made in the practice which has hitherto regulated the appointment of escorts of natives of rank on their way to places of religious worship, as in that case it must be self-evident that the honour is done to the individual, and not to the occasion.

6. We further desire that you will make such arrangements as may appear to you to be necessary for relieving all our servants, whether Christians, Mahomedans, or Hindoos, from the compulsory performance of any acts which you may consider to be justly liable to objections on the ground of religious scruples.

We are, &c.

London,
8 August 1838.

(signed) J.L. Lushington,
R.Jenkins,
&c.&c.&c.

(True copies.)

East India House, }
12 February 1858 }

J.S. Mill,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

**31C. E.I.CO., TO BOARD DISCLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAITLAND
DRAFT: AUG. 1838**

East India House,
9th August 1838.

Sir,

I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant stating that the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India have made an alteration in the second paragraph of the India Revenue Draft No.446 but that in all other respects they adhere to the proposed Despatch and direct that it may be forwarded to India without delay.

The Court having on the fullest consideration of the subject, recorded their deliberate opinion that the principles set forth in my letter of the 2nd instant, ought for the security of our Indian possessions to be distinctly embodied in the instructions on the subject to the Government of India **they feel it due alike to the Board and to themselves upon a question of such paramount importance to declare (as the contrary seems to be intimated in your letter) that they disclaim all responsibility for the instructions as they are at present framed which the Court have been directed to send out to India.***

I have &c.
James C. Melvill.
Secretary

R. Gordon Esq.

32. PROPOSED NEW CHURCH IN CALCUTTA: JUNE 1839

Devon Record Office, County Hall, Queen Street, Exeter Acland Papers : Box 11(2) 1839-53: printed letter from Bishop's Place, Calcutta on proposed new church at Chowringhee....

10. In fact, it has long been a subject of reproach not only to the good taste, but to the piety of the greatest empire in the Eastern world, that our Government House, our Mint, our Town Hall, our Custom House, our bridges, and even our ghats - to say nothing of our official residences and private dwellings, should be upon a scale in some measure correspondent with the position we hold in India, whilst our cathedral is mean, inappropriate, and incommodious.

...The objections made from home to the one proposed to be built in 1819 by the Marquis of Hastings, and for which magnificent plans had been drawn, were entirely independently of the sacred project itself. The difficulty from that time has been to find another favourable opportunity.

33. BOARD TO E.I.CO., ON CREATING OF A BISHOPRIC AT AGRA: 1846

7219

India Board,
7th April, 1846.

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners for the affairs of India to transmit to you for the consideration of the Court of Directors the copy of a memorandum which has been placed in the hands of the Earl of Ripon by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta recommending the creation of a fourth Bishop's See at Agra. I also enclose a second memorandum from the Bishop which Lord Ripon has more recently received from him and which contains a suggestion which the Bishop conceives might effect the object he has in view equally well.

Lord Ripon has satisfied himself after full consideration that the duties at present devolved upon the Bishop of Calcutta are, as experience seems to prove, beyond the strength of almost any individual to get through and that a separation of those duties by the erection of a new Bishoprick at Agra would be highly desirable not only for the ease and relief of the Metropolitan of India, but for the spiritual benefit and superintendence of the European Residents in that Country.

It would be a source of sincere gratification to this Board if the Court of Directors should be disposed to concur in these general views and be prepared to make the financial arrangements which will be necessary to carry them into effect.

I am etc.
(sd/-) Mahon

J.C.Melvill Esq.

**33A. E.I.CO. TO BOARD DECLINING AGREEMENT ON THE NEW BISHOPRIC AT
AGRA: 11.6.1846**

7409

East India House
11th June, 1846

My Lord,

The court of Directors of the East India Company have not failed to take into their deliberate consideration the proposal of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta for the erection of a fourth Bishop's See at Agra, which was communicated to the Court in your Lordship's letter of the 7th April, with an intimation that it would be a source of sincere gratification to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, if the Court should be disposed to concur in their views in favour of the proposal, and be prepared to make the financial arrangements which will be necessary to carry them into effect.

2. In the letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the President of the Board dated the 10th July 1833 the Court explained the principle of which the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India had been instituted and the extent to which it could be justly maintained at the expense of the natives; and as, after mature deliberation the Court not only adhere to the sentiments then expressed, but find them strictly applicable to the proposition contained in your Lordship's letter, I am directed to quote the following passages:-

" But the Court's conviction is, at the same time strong and sincere that both practice and policy demand that the expense to the natives of India of a church establishment with which they have no community of feeling should be limited to what is essential for the use of the servants of the State who are members of that church.

" The Court are free to confess that their anxiety upon this point has been excited by the observation contained in the Board's memo that in addition to the Chaplains appointed by the E.I.Co., 28 missionaries who have received episcopal ordination are now established at various stations on the continent of India and in the island of Ceylon and all those clergymen are subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta.

" **By missionaries we understand persons residing in India with a view to convert the Natives to the Christian faith. This is undoubtedly an object most deeply interesting to the civilised world, but it is one for which it cannot be right to tax the Natives; and whilst the Court will yield to no one in anxious desire that the blessings of Christianity may be embraced universally by all our native subjects, they are deliberately convinced that the attainment of that important object instead of being advanced would be greatly retarded by any identification of the work of Missions with the Government of the country".***

3. Notwithstanding the representations of the Court it was the pleasure of Parliament in the year 1833 to institute a Bishprick at Madras and one at Bombay in addition to that of Calcutta, but although a fourth Presidency was at the same time established at Agra for the Government of the North-Western Provinces, it was not deemed necessary to appoint, or even to suggest the

appointment of a fourth Bishop. There can be still less necessity now, the fourth separate Government having been discontinued.

4. It may also be observed that when there was but one Bishop for all India, a periodical visitation was necessary and this visitation was triennial. The metropolitan visitation which may be once in five years, or of ten if occasion shall require, is permissive only, not imperative, and the Court are of opinion that this portion of the duties of the Bishop of Calcutta may very well be dispensed with, and his visitations confined to the limits of that particular see, the more especially as it is believed that no Metropolitan visitation takes place either in England, or in Ireland, notwithstanding the greater facilities with which it would be attended.

5. The court cannot admit that it is either necessary or proper to proportion the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India to the Geographical extent of the British possessions there. It would be obviously unjust and impracticable to make any arrangement upon such a principle, totally inapplicable as it is to the circumstances and Religion of the great mass of the people. The proportion should have reference not to the extent of the country, but to the number of persons, and especially of functionaries of the state, in communion with the church of England, and viewed by that standard, the court submit that the number of Bishops already maintained in India is ample, and consequently that any increase would not be justifiable.

6. The Court must therefore withhold their acquiescence from the present proposal.*

Visct. Mahon M.P.

I have etc.
(Sigd.) J.C.Melvill
Secretary.

**33B. BOARD TO E.I.CO. WANTING IT TO AGREE TO THE BISHOPRIC AT AGRA:
29.6.1846**

7300

India Board.
29th June, 1846.

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners for the affairs of India to state to you that they have perused with great regret and concern the letter which you addressed to me on the 11th instant, relative to the proposed Bishoprick of Agra.

The letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the President of this Board on the 10th of July 1833 does not appear to this Board to be by any means "strictly applicable to the proposition" which I had transmitted to you.

That letter of July 10th 1833, contains a statement of objections and alarms caused by the proposal of creating the two new sees of Bombay and Madras. But now that in spite of those objections, those sees have been created and that notwithstanding those alarms, they have as the Court themselves would probably acknowledge, worked well, it seems strange to allege objections which have thus been over-ruled and alarms which have thus been disproved by the event, as conclusive arguments against a further advance in the same direction.

Nor can the Board admit the opinion expressed in your communication that it is not "either necessary or proper to proportion the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India to the Geographical extent of the British Possessions there," but that "the proportion should have reference, not to the extent of country but to the number of persons". It appears on the contrary most clear to this Board that the great extent of country over which a small Christian population may be scattered may most materially increase the time and labour requisite for their pastoral superintendence, and may therefore call for a large Ecclesiastical Establishment than the numerical amount of that population would of itself demand. Nor must it be forgotten that any increase of our Territory such as we have lately obtained in Sind, on the Bias, and on the Sutlej, must of itself render necessary no inconsiderable accession of public Officers in the military, the Judicial and the Revenue Departments.

On these grounds this Board retaining their strong conviction of the policy, if not the necessity of the measure find themselves wholly unable to acquiesce in the objections stated to their proposal for a new Bishoprick at Agra, and **they cannot forego the hope that the question may yet attract the favourable consideration of the Court of Directors who have always shown themselves ready to contribute to plans calculated and intended to promote the interests of Christianity in India.***

I am etc.
(sigd.) Mahon.

J.C.Melvill Esq.

D. INTERLUDE OF CAUTIOUSNESS IN PROPOGATING CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

34. LONDON TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL REGARDING ENQUIRY ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EVILS CLAIMING TO OPPRESS THE PEOPLE OF BENGAL, ETC; ADVISED NOT TO HOLD ENQUIRY : 1857

pp 10. Vol 29 (British Parliamentary Papers; 1857 - 58, Vol 29)

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT. No. 20, of 1857.

To Our Governor-General of India in Council, London, 11 March 1857.

Para. 1. CERTAIN Missionaries belonging to various religious societies, and residing in and near Calcutta, presented a Memorial to the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, in the month of September last, in which they set forth, in strong terms, the deplorable condition, in its social aspect, of the rural population of Bengal. In their specification of the evils which press most heavily upon the people, the Missionaries advert to the inefficiency of the police and of the judicial system now in operation in the Bengal Presidency; to the frequency of torture, in order to extort confessions; to the demoralising influences of contentions between landed proprietors, and of the corruption of the police, as tending to pauperise and enslave the peasantry; to the existing zemindaree system (in connexion with the general character both of zemindar and ryot), which "emboldens the rich to set the law at defiance, and leads the poor to despair of obtaining redress;" to the extortions of the zemindars; to the want of a survey of the country; and to the absence of a Registration Act to settle titles: and of laws against secret trusts.

2. The above is a brief summary of the social evils which the Memorialists allege, not only to be in active operation, but which they "regret to declare, appear to be on the increase." They feel themselves "bound to declare that they view with alarm, as well as sorrow, the continuance of the evils which they have so long deplored, and the effects of which are seen in the demoralisation and the sufferings of the people : **they believe that measures of relief can with safety be delayed no longer, as, from the information they have acquired, they fear that the discontent of the rural population is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds***;" and they close their Memorial with the prayer that a Commission may be appointed, consisting of "men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching inquiry into all the causes that now affect the condition of the population; especially into the state of the police and the judicial system, the powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used; the resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportion which these bear to the rent they are compelled to pay; the harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject; the landed tenures; the extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs among a people once celebrated for temperance; the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses; and the best means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people".

3. The Memorial of the Missionaries was followed by a petition from the Committee of the British Indian Association, which represents the interests of the landed proprietors of the Lower

Provinces of Bengal, supporting the prayer of the Memorialists, "for a searching, patient, and unbiassed inquiry into (p.14) the social evils of these provinces; viz., whether they be to any, and what, extent caused by the landed system, the planting interest, the Mahajunee dealings, the Foujdary and Dewanny administration; also, whether to any and what extent by the well intended efforts and zeal of professional Christian Missionaries."

4. In forwarding the Memorial of the Missionaries to the Supreme Government, the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal stated his inability, for the reasons set forth at length in his minute of the 18th September 1856, to support its prayer with any favourable recommendation; and, in this opinion of the Lieutenant-governor, the Governor-general, and the other Members of Council then in Calcutta, have, on the grounds stated in their respective minutes, unanimously expressed their concurrence.

5. The statements and arguments contained in the several minutes to which we have referred, appear to us to dispose satisfactorily of all the allegations and conclusions of the Memorial, in regard to the necessity, or expediency, of appointing such a Commission as that to which the Memorialists point. Without denying that great social evils exist, the minutes show that Government is in possession of full information in regard to them; that measures are under consideration, or in actual progress, for applying remedies to such of them as are remediable by the direct executive, or legislative, action of the Government; **while it is shown that the cure of others must of necessity be left to the more tardy progress of national advancement in the scale of civilisation and social improvement***. Nothing, indeed, is more striking in the memorial of the excellent men who have applied for the Commission of Inquiry, than the manner in which it leaves altogether unnoticed the measures and exertions of the Government for the alleviation of the evils to which they so pointedly refer.

6. Measures for the reform of the police are now under the consideration of the Government; codes of procedure, to simplify and facilitate the administration of justice, both civil and criminal, are before the Legislative Council; measures specially directed to the suppression of gang robbery have, for some time, been in active operation in those districts of Bengal in which that crime has most extensively prevailed. Of the endeavours of the Government, and its officers, in this direction the Memorial can scarcely be altogether ignorant. Immediately in connexion with the statement, that the evils to which they advert appear to be on the increase, they allege, "that gang robberies of the most daring character are perpetrated annually, in great numbers, with impunity." The contrary of this is the fact; for, instead of increasing, the number of gang robberies had decreased, in the districts referred to, from 439 in 1851, to 168 in 1854 (the reports for which year are the last we have received in detail), and the decrease was still progressing: the most formidable gang of dacoits had been broken up, and upwards of 200 of their members had been convicted, of whom 180 had been transported for life. The subject of torture by the police, in order to extort confessions, has received the anxious attention of the Government and of the Home Authorities; and the propriety of depriving the police of the power of receiving the confessions of suspected or accused persons is now under your consideration. A Bill for the suppression of affrays and contentions respecting disputed boundaries was before the Legislative Council three years ago, and did not pass into law only because of the difficulties with which the subject was found to be encompassed. It was, however, with reference to this, and to other important points, that, in the year 1854, we

addressed to you the remarks noted in the margin¹⁰ in connexion (p.15) with the survey of the country, the want of which is spoken of by the Memorialists as of a thing which had no existence, but which, at the date of the last report on the subject, had cost the State upwards of 20 lakhs of rupees. The existing relations between landlord and tenant have repeatedly been under the consideration of the Government, and a project of law on the subject is shortly to be laid before the Legislative Council. The registration of titles has been encouraged by a law (Act. XIX. of 1843) which gives a legal preference to registered against unregistered documents; and the Government has only abstained from enforcing such a registration of all transfers and successions in respect of real property as shall give additional security to titles, and put a check to secret trusts, by difficulties which beset the subject, and with which it is not surprising that the memorialists are not fully acquainted.

7. It needs no commission of inquiry to inform us that the peasantry of Bengal are subjected, by their landlords, to arbitrary and illegal demands, on religious and other occasions, beyond, and independent of, the sums which they pay as rent. The demand and payment are made in a way which does not admit of the interference of the police; but the courts of justice would deal with all such levies of money as extortionate exactions. To the courts, however, the people do not appeal for protection in such cases. They submit to the demands, either because they consider them as having the sanction of prescription, or because, as shown by Mr. Dorin, they are too timid to resist payment. The Memorialists seem not to be aware of the difficulty of forcing protection upon a people beyond the point at which they are prepared to accept it, and to lend their own aid in securing it.

8. The remarks which we have already made upon the catalogue of social evils enumerated by the Memorialists will apply, with one or two exceptions, to the several tangible points of inquiry to which they desire that the attention of the proposed Commission should be directed. The reference to the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs is founded on mistake as to facts: and the only point which remains to be noticed is "the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses."

9. This is not a subject which, at the present moment, demands inquiry at the hands of a special commission. The whole subject has been recently considered in all its bearings. The existing deficiencies have been unreservedly acknowledged; the importance, and the duty, of giving a sound education to the people committed to our charge fully recognised; the principles on which we desire to see that education conducted distinctly enunciated; the machinery for giving effect to it clearly indicated; and measures have recently been organised for carrying out

¹⁰ "The survey being both Mouzalwar and Meehalwar, it appears to us that the determination of boundaries of villages and estates by an inquiry on the spot, and their delineation on the survey maps, must tend greatly to put a stop to those frequent disputes which have often led to serious affrays, attended occasionally with loss of life, as well as to the litigation in the civil courts, to which the want of trustworthy records so often gave rise. Under any circumstances, the existence of these records must greatly facilitate the labours of the judicial authorities before whom boundary questions may be brought for adjudication. The survey will doubtless be found of considerable advantage in the revenue administration of the country; but we attach greater importance to the results which we anticipate from it in the decrease of crime, in the diminution of litigation, in the security of the titles to estates, and in the increased value which it will thereby give to landed property of all descriptions." Despatch, 20th April (No.12) 1854.

the instructions of our despatch of the 19th July (No.49) 1854, by means of grants in aid, of which it is open to the Memorialists, as well as to all others who will take their part, conformably with the rules prescribed, in the education of the people, to avail themselves.

10. **We observe with great satisfaction that the Lieutenant-governor expresses his "absolute dissent from the statement made, doubtless in perfect good faith, that the people exhibit a spirit of sullen discontent, on account of the miseries ascribed to them; and that there exists among them that bitter hatred to the Government which has filled the Memorialists, as they declare, with alarm as well as sorrow*."** Much, as already shown, has been done to remedy the evils to which the Memorialists advert, and to inspire confidence in the Government. "Much," as observed by Mr. Grant, "to soothe, nothing to irritate, and most certainly nothing to engender the bitter hatred attributed to the ryot."

11. In the remarks made by the Lieutenant-governor, and by the members of the Supreme Government, with respect to the certain effects of the appointment of such a Commission as that prayed for, in setting class against class, and arraying different interests in antagonism to each other, we fully agree. Indeed, the indications which mark the preliminary steps point, with sufficient clearness, to the effects of such a measure. The Memorialists avowedly "bear their testimony, on behalf of the people." as against the landed proprietors and indigo planters; on the other hand, the petition of the British Indian Association is manifestly an acceptance, by the landed proprietors, of the challenge which they (p.16) consider to be involved in the memorial of the Missionaries. The Memorialists, moreover, evidently anticipate that the appointment of a Commission will encourage the tenants to give evidence against their landlords; but the means by which, after the Commission has closed its inquiries, the former are to be protected against the vengeance of the latter, appear not to have engaged their attention.

12. Considering, for the reasons above stated, that such an inquiry as that prayed for is wholly unnecessary; and, adverting to the injurious results to which it is likely to lead; to the check it must impose upon the progress of remedial measures; and to the difficulty of selecting for the duty persons possessing the requisite knowledge of the existing system of administration, and of the character, language, and institutions of the country, whose impartiality would not be impugned by one or other of the classes of which the community is composed, it only remains for us to express our approval of your reply to the prayer of the Memorialists.

We are, your affectionate Friends,

W H. Sykes, Ross D. Mangles, C. Mills, R. Ellice, J.W. Hogg, M.T. Smith, E. Macnaghten, J.P. Willoughby, H.T. Prinsep, J. Oliphant, F. Currie, John Shepherd, W.B. Bayley, R.J.H. Vivian.

**35. E.I.CO., TO BOARD ON THE QUESTION OF OPEN PROMOTION OF
CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA, C. 1857-58: 26.11.1857**

IOL: Correspondence between the E.I.Co. and the Commissioners for the affairs of India on Judicial Despatch
No.1324 to India: February 1858

No. 12232

East India House
26th November, 1857

Sir,

I am commanded by the Court of Directors to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Leach's letter of the 6th instant, returning the Draft Despatch to India, No. 1324, in the Judicial Department, and the request that you will submit for the consideration of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, the following remarks on the Board's alteration of paragraph 28 of the Draft.

2. Certain inhabitants of Chota Nagpore complained, by petition, to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal of partiality alleged to have been shown by the local authorities of that District towards the Christian converts, in a case in which these persons and the petitioners were the contending parties. The petitioners were referred for enquiry to the Commissioner of the Division, who after expressing his opinion that there was "no ground whatever for doubting the impartiality of the officers who have decided these cases", proceeded to remark as follows:

"It seems to me that every officer attached to this Commission ought to keep himself aloof from all connection with missionary proceedings in the District in which he exercises authority for nothing is more likely to create distrust and dissatisfaction in the minds of the wild inhabitants of these jungle district than an impression that the authorities are addicted to proselytism; however upright the officer, however just and righteous his judgments his usefulness will be very much impaired and his influence with the people will be at once destroyed if they suspect him of tampering, directly or indirectly with their religion."

With this opinion the Lieutenant Governor expressed his concurrence, and the court in the draft despatch as prepared by them, proposed to communicate to the Government of India their approval of the Lieutenant Governor's reply to the Commissioner.

3. The Board have added to this approval an injunction to the Government of India to transmit to the Court "the name and position of every local officer who may have so far forgotten his public responsibilities in the Government of India, as to connect himself with those proceedings either in his own or any other district."

4. I am desired by the Court to express their hope that the Board will not insist on this addition.

5. There is not any allegation in the accompanying collection that any public officer had connected himself with Missionary proceedings, and the Court desire me to suggest that to issue such an order, couched in such terms, in the absence of any case of transgression in the

manner indicated, could not fail to create much misapprehension as to its meaning, scope and application.

I have, etc.

(Signed) James C. Melvill
Secretary.

The Secretary
India Board.

35A. BOARD TO E.I.CO., AGREEING TO SOME ALTERATIONS: 8.12.1857

No. 13039

India Board
8th December, 1857

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, in which the Court urge certain objections to the alteration made by the Board in paragraph 28 of the Judicial Draft to India No. 1324.

In reply I am desired by the Board to inform you that after having given the remarks of the Court the fullest consideration, they consent to the alteration of the conclusion of the paragraph as follows:-

"And we desire you will transmit to us the name and position of every local officer who may have connected himself with those proceedings either in his own, or in any other District."

I am, etc.

(Signed) Henry Danby Seymour

Sir James Melvill K.C.B.

**35B. E.I.CO., TO BOARD REQUESTING FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT:
17.12.1857**

No. 12297

East India House
17th December, 1857

Sir,

1. I am commanded by the Court of directors of the East India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, intimating the Board's consent to an alteration of the addition made by them to paragraph 28 of the Judicial Department. Despatch No. 1324, which now runs in the following terms:

"and we desire you will transmit to us the name and position of every local officer who may have connected himself with those proceedings either in his own or in any other District."

2. The Court had entertained the hope that the representation made in their letter of the 26th ultimo would have led to the entire abandonment of the additional clause inserted by the Board. As such, however, is not the case; and as the Court's objections to the clause were not confined (as appears to have been surmised by the Board) to the terms¹¹ in which the officers connecting themselves with missionary proceedings were characterised by the Board, the Court are induced again to address the Board, and to bring to their notice the position in which the subject under consideration has been placed by the past proceedings of the authorities both at home and in India, and which may possibly have been overlooked by the Board.

3. The subject of the interference of the servants of Government in missionary proceedings was considered by the court in the year 1847, and in their Judicial Despatch of the 19th January No.2, 1848, they observed. "while we are unwilling to prohibit our servants from contributing their private funds towards the promotion of objects which they may feel to be connected with the interests of true religion, we would caution them against any manifestation of a disposition calculated to excite uneasiness and alarm among the people."

4. The list now called for by the Board (unless the Court have greatly mistaken the purpose of the Board's alteration) will comprise the names of all servants of the Government who may be ascertained to have joined Missionary Committees, attended missionary meetings, visited Missionary schools, or subscribed to Missionary societies. It will in that case be a very extensive list and will be found to contain the names of some of the highest and ablest officers of the Government, Indeed had it been called for a few years ago, it would have included the names of Sir Henry Pottinger, Mr. Thomason, and Sir Henry Lawrance. The Court would suggest for the consideration of the Board how such a list is to be prepared and what is to be done with it when received. If it is not to be acted upon, the court think that it had better not be called for. If on the other hand the officers whose names are included in the list are to be dealt with as men who have incurred the displeasure of the Government,

¹¹ Who may have so far forgotten his public responsibilities in the Government of India as to connect himself, etc." - Letter to the Board, Vol. Pages 69-75

difficulties will be experienced from the fact that the subscribers to Missionary societies (by far the greater number) have only done that which has been permitted by the Court; that those who are members of Missionary Committees may plead the implied sanction of the same authority, not only on the ground of public notoriety, for a number of years, but also within the circumstance of its having been brought to the notice of the Court so far back as the year 1847, without eliciting any prohibition of such proceedings, that "for years past many of the Company's servants have been members of Bible Societies and Missionary societies in all the presidencies"; that those who have attended missionary meetings have done so for many years at all the presidency towns (where they are chiefly held) under the eye of the Government, and those who have appeared at the Examination of Missionary Schools can with truth allege that in so doing they have only done what has repeatedly been done by men holding some of the highest positions in the Government of India.*

5. The Court do not now enter into any discussion as to the extent to which it is properly allowable to the servants of the Government to countenance or encourage Missionary operations in India, nor do they dwell upon what appears to them the inquisitorial nature of the enquiry involved in the instructions of the Board. With advertence, however, to the absence of any prohibition by the Government against certain measures of support being afforded to those objects by its officers **(although such support has been largely and publicly given since the time when Parliament declared that "such measures ought to be adopted as may lead to the introduction of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement among the Native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India; and in furtherance of the said objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent objects"[1813]***, and considering that so lately as the year 1854 the Court noticed in terms of satisfaction and approval "the noble exertions of societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth", the Court trust that the Board will not insist upon calling for the names of officers who have given assistance to those societies, in some respect with the full knowledge, and in other with the actual consent of the Governing authorities both at home and abroad, but will allow the 28th para of the Despatch to stand as originally drawn by the Court.

I have, etc.
(Signed) James C. Melvill
Secretary

The Secretary,
India Board.

35C. BOARD TO E.I.CO. MORE DISCUSSION: 29.12.1857

No.13088

India Board
29th December. 1857

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, containing some further representation against the Board's alteration of Paragraph 28 in the Judicial Draft to India No. 1324.

The Board consider that there are some peculiar features in the outrages perpetrated during the present insurrection. There have been signs of hostility to our Church, and to our measures for the enlightenment of the people, which seems to denote that due attention has not been paid to the caution conveyed in the Court's Despatch of the 19th January 1848 "against any manifestation of a disposition calculated to create uneasiness and alarm among the people." Facts so significant and novel in British India as the "Station Church" being in several instances the first object of attack by the insurgents, and as reported to the Government by Mr. Thornhill, the Magistrate under the date the 29th July last, "a special malignity appearing to have been shewn in destroying all educational buildings", ought to direct the strictest attention to occasions when the prescribed caution has not been observed.*

The Court accompanied that caution with the just observation that they were "unwilling to prohibit their servants from contributing their private funds towards the promotion of objects which they may feel to be connected with the interests of true religion". But the Board are decidedly of opinion that this latitude of action has sometimes been exceeded in a manner not only indiscreet, but, positively detrimental to the desired progress of the people. The Board consider for instance, that of this character was the single example of the great missionary meeting lately in the Deccan, having had for its President "the Revenue Commissioner of the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency and Provisional Member of Council", with all the parade of the immediate publication of its proceedings, under such auspices in the newspapers.

The same may be said of the ill timed, if not improper zeal of Mr. Beadon, one of the Secretaries to the Government of India, in recently occupying the Chair at a Missionary Meeting in Calcutta, and thence delivering such sentiments as the following which appear in his published speech on this conspicuous occasion. **"We none of us neglect the religious education of our own children, and we all earnestly desire that the instruction our Hindoo and Mahomedan public receive in the Government Colleges may lead them to enquire into and embrace the truths of the Christian religion".***

"Nor had it, at any rate for many years, been denied to individual members of the Government or to those in its employ, to sympathise actively in missionary work, and to encourage and promote it in any way they might think fit."

"The three great subjects which now engross and agitate the native mind were those two (Female education & Polygamy) and that of widow marriage. The obstacle to Widow marriage had been removed by an Act of the Legislature passed chiefly, in consequence of the exertions of his friend, Pundit Eshunu, Principal of the Sanscrit College, whom he was happy to see present, and a project of whose was now under consideration for repressing the horrible practice of Koolin Polygamy. Thus three of the chief evils which afflict Hindoo society were either removed, or in a fair way of being removed, etc."

The expression of such views under existing circumstances, is strangely at variance with the Court's cautions. Indeed, it may be safely asserted that never since Europeans held sway over a country containing an enormous population of bigoted Mahommedans as well as astute Hindoos, did a public functionary make a more unfortunate selection of time, place, and topics, for haranguing a public assembly. Individuals placed in distinguished positions about the Government of India, are bound to give the gravest consideration to the question of the fearful cost to the State, to society in general, and to humanity, at which such an excess of zeal may be indulged.*

The Board conceive that the Court should entirely distrust the crude projects which are now sometimes entertained in India, in ignorance of the real feelings of the people, in Upper and in Central India, in regard to the conduct of a public functionary in matters concerning the religious conversion of the natives. The supposition that he can there come down from his commanding position of official influence, divest himself of that character, and be received by any section of the native community as an individual whose mission is merely private persuasion, is utterly erroneous. The belief that he can there, as in England, be accepted in his own private character, however estimable that may be, so long as he is an official personage in the East, is a fallacy fraught with those evils which are especially to be avoided by Governments which have at heart to prevent the retrogression in the welfare and prosperity of the people of India.

In short, what is passing in India fully justifies not only the Court's warning, but that so wise a caution should be strictly enforced.

In order, however, to meet the wishes of the Court, and to abstain at present, from ascertaining to what degree certain individuals amongst the public servants in India may have been indiscreet in their zeal, the Board have altered their proposed injunctions to that effect, and have added to the Court's approval of the instructions to local officers, some observations which the circumstances of the case seem imperatively to require.

I am etc.

Sd/- Wm. Loach.

Paragraphs to be substituted for paragraph 28 draft 1324.

" We fully concur in your approval of Mr. Commissioner Allen's remarks on the necessity of requiring local officers to keep aloof from all connection with missionary proceedings. It is in accordance with the caution conveyed in our Despatch dated the 19th January 1848 against any manifestation of a disposition calculated to excite uneasiness and alarm among the people. **We**

have no doubt that this change in the disposition of the sepoys towards our countrymen may be traced in no small degree to their observation of the existing connection of the Civil Power with schemes for their conversion. The sepoys who have mutinied are of the agricultural classes of Upper India and their conduct is at all times the exponent of the feelings which prevail in the homes of the people. Although the sepoys having our weapons in their hands, and our ammunition and arsenals at their disposal, were naturally the first to act effectively and outrageously, it would not be prudent to conclude that there are not some influential classes who would, with little reluctance join the cause of rebellion, if decidedly successful.*

" While disbursing an ample proportion of the Revenues which we derive from the industry of the people of India, in support of our ecclesiastical establishments there, and while by no means discouraging, or allowing our local officers to discourage, that free access of missionaries to every part of India, which has prevailed without any restriction whatsoever for more than half a century, we cannot sanction the exercise of any individual in the service of our Government, of zeal exhibited in a form which we are satisfied can only tend to retard real progress towards enlightenment and Christianity.

" We have never desired to restrain the contributions of our servants in India to charitable and benevolent purposes, or to any object deserving of a Christian's sympathy, and we are well aware that, in proportion to their means, they are in the habit of bestowing substantial proofs of such good feelings in a degree which is not surpassed by the humane exertions of any class of persons in any country. But the line which we must require you to draw for the strict guidance of all our officers in India should clearly separate from that just cause of private conduct every one of those means, which so readily present themselves to public servants in that country, for adding the weight of official influence, patronage, and the direction of disbursements, and rewards, raised from taxes on the people, to measures designed to extirpate their religion.

" After the present course of confusion, anarchy and bloodshed some considerable time may elapse before the minds of the people can again be settled on any subject relating to our administration of their affairs. We would urge you therefore to spare no pains in enforcing on all public officers the most stringent rules of toleration consistent with humanity and good order. It is indispensable to the welfare of the British dominions in India to revert to a condition of internal peace, under the influence of which our native subjects so long lived, generally secure and contented, in perfect reliance of in our good faith in abstaining from any covert designs against their religious feelings.

" We have ever entertained a sanguine hope that ultimately the healthy progress of society in India would be secured without forcing, provided that every act of our administration is uniformly characterised by disinterestedness, morality and justice, and that the country continues freely open to the benevolent exertions of missionaries wholly unconnected either with the force of Civil Government, or the armed display of military cantonments. **We think it necessary however, to caution you now that exasperation has for the first time in India indiscriminately involved them also, that in their first resuming their labors, where they have been expelled, some circumspection may be required to be exercised by Magistrates in certain parts of those districts".***

35D. E.I.CO. TO BOARD: 7.1.1858

No. 12345

East India House.
7th January, 1858.

Sir,

I am commanded by the Court of directors to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Leach's letter of the 29th ultimo, communicating the views of the Board in regard to the connection of Public officers in India with missionary proceedings, and transmitting certain paragraphs to be substituted in lieu of the additional clause previously inserted by the Board in paragraph 28 of Judicial Draft to India No. 1324.

2. The one object of the Court in their previous communications with the Board on this subject, was the withdrawal of the instructions directing the transmission to the Home Authorities of the name and position of every local officer who may have connected himself with missionary proceedings. To this proposal the Board have now given their consent but have inserted some important observations which they consider that the circumstances of the case seem imperatively to require; and with reference to which the Court request that you will submit the following remarks for the consideration of the Board.

3. In the second paragraph of the Board's proposed alteration, expression is given to a very decided opinion that "the change in the disposition of the sepoys towards our countrymen may be traced in no small degree, to their observation of the existing connection of the civil power with schemes for their conversion;" and in the conclusion of the same paragraph, allusion is made to the imprudence of concluding " that there are not some influential classes who would with little reluctance join the cause of the rebellion if decidedly successful".

The Court Submit that it would be premature on the part of the Home Authorities to enter into any statement of the causes which led to the mutiny of the Bengal Army, before they are in possession of the result of the enquiry which the Government of India has been directed to make by the Court's Military Despatch No. 236 of the 25th November last, or to express any opinion as to the existence of disaffection on the part of any portions of the rural classes, when the evidence in the possession of the Court is of a nature to lead to an opposite conclusion, especially in regard to the Hindoo population. They trust therefore that the Board will consent to the omission of the paragraph referred to.*

4. As to the rest of the Board's observations while there is much in them with reference to the duty of public officers in relation to missionary operations in which the Court concur, they are nevertheless of opinion that an accidental remark by a local officer following upon a complete refutation of a complaint of partiality to native Christians, preferred against his subordinate, does not afford a sufficient occasion for a despatch of so important a character as that proposed by the Board. Should the Board however still think that the transmission of instructions of the

nature of those which accompany the Board's letter under reply is imperatively called for, the Court suggest that they should form the subject of a separate Despatch, and the Draft to India No. 1324 be forwarded as prepared by the Court.

I have, etc.

(Signed) James C. Melvill
Secretary

The Secretary,
India Board.

35E. BOARD TO E.I.CO. AGREEING TO SOME SUGGESTIONS: 16.1.1858

No. 13171

India Board.
16th January 1858.

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, containing observations of the Court of Directors on the alterations made by the Board in Draft No. 1324 in the Judicial Department to India.

In reply, I am desired to state that although some of the arguments of the Court, denying the co-operation of the landholders with the Mutineers appear to be at variance with information recently received, the Board are willing to omit all allusion as to the cause of the revolt. A copy of the paragraphs as now sanctioned, is herewith transmitted and the Board trust that the Despatch thus altered will be forwarded to India without further delay.

The Board do not think it necessary that these Paragraphs should form a separate despatch.

I am, etc.

(Signed) George Clerk

Sir James Melvill K.C. B.

35F. E.I.CO. TO BOARD: 4.2.1858

No. 12424

East India House
4th February, 1858

Sir,

I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 16th ultimo, respecting certain alterations made by the board in Draft No. 1324 in the Judicial Department to India.

2. It is not without reluctance that the Court again address the Board upon the subject of the proposed alterations, but while they adhere to the statement in their letter of the 7th ultimo, that there is much in the Board's observations with reference to the duty of public officers in relation to missionary operations, in which they concur, they are nevertheless of opinion, that some passages of the Board's remarks are open to serious objections, as calculated to lead to a wrong impression of the past policy of the Government of India, and of the general conduct of its servants, in regard to such proceedings.

3. In its letter of the 29th December last, the Board expressed their decided opinion that the latitude of action allowed to the servants of Government, by the Court's despatch of the 19th January 1848, has sometimes been exceeded in a manner not only indiscreet, but positively detrimental to the desired progress of the people. It is no doubt with reference to such supposed instances that the paragraphs proposed to be transmitted to India have been framed. The remarks of the Board, however as they stand separate from the instances on which they rest, are of a very general character, and are susceptible of the construction that the Government and its officers have given the weight of official influence and patronage "to measures designed to extirpate the religions of the people by force", that they have acted in such a way as to shake the confidence of the people "in our good faith in abstaining from any covert designs against their religious feelings"; and that "acts of the Indian Government wanting in the characteristics of disinterestedness, morality, and justice" have impeded "the healthy progress of society in India". The Court are persuaded that it was not the intention of the Board to impute any such conduct, either to the Government of India, or to the great body of its officers; and they submit for the Board's consideration the expediency of avoiding the use of any expressions admitting of a construction so erroneous and so unfounded in fact.

4. In their Despatch of the 19th January 1848 the Court recognised and enforced the principle that the power and authority of Government and the official influence of its officers, should never be exerted or manifested for the promotion of missionary objects. At the same time, they expressed their "unwillingness to prohibit their servants from contributing their private funds towards the promotion of objects which they may feel to be connected with the interests of true religion". The Court would maintain the principle in all its integrity, but they consider that there are now, as then, means by which their servants can, in their private capacity, give assistance to objects connected with the interests of true religion, without committing any violation of that principle, and that with the employment of such means by their servants the Government cannot interfere without subjecting itself to the charge of attempting to deprive them of that liberty of judgement and action to which

they are fairly entitled, and the exercise of which is not in the judgement of the Court, incompatible with the position and the duty of a public officer. It appears to the Court that nothing more is required in regard to the assertion of the principle than is already to be found upon the records of the Government of India, that it must be left to that Government, subject to the direction and control of the Home authorities, to deal with individual cases, in which it may appear that an officer has transgressed the proper limit of private action, and has used his official influence for the promotion of objects inconsistent with his representative character as a servant of the Government.*

5. With reference to the foregoing remarks the Court would again urge upon the Board to allow the Draft to be forwarded to India, as prepared by the Court.

6. The Court take the opportunity of pointing out some inaccuracies which appear in the paragraphs prepared by the Board. Mr. Commissioner Allen's remark, referred to in the opening sentence on the propriety of every officer keeping himself aloof from all connection with missionary proceedings in the district in which he exercises authority has been inadvertently cited with the omission of the last qualifying clause, which is obviously one of some importance, and the statement in the second paragraph respecting the period during which missionaries have been allowed free access to all parts of India, should nearly, instead of more than half a century, the act of parliament under which that liberty was conceded having been passed in the year 1813.

I have, etc.

(Signed) James C. Melvill
Secretary

The Secretary, India Board.

35G. BOARD TO E.I.CO.: 16.2.1858

No. 13297

India Board.
16th February 1858

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, containing further representation from the Court of Directors respecting the alterations made by the Board in paragraph 28 of Draft 1324 in the Judicial Department to India.

In reply, I am desired by the Board to observe that they do not admit the inferences drawn by the Court from the language of their paragraphs; they have however in deference to their observations, made the following alterations in them: in the first paragraph, after "missionary proceedings", the words "in the Districts in which they exercise authority", to be inserted;-

in the second paragraph, the word "nearly" for "more than", half a century;

at the end of paragraph 3, for the words beginning "should clearly separate" to "religion by force", the following words "is a clear separation of acts of private conduct from those in which official authority may be inferred to have influence";-

the conclusion of the paragraph will run thus: "But the line which we must require you to draw for the strict guidance of all our officers in India, is a clear separation of acts of private conduct from those in which official authority may be inferred to have influence." is also omitted.

The Board desire me to request that the Draft may now be forwarded to India forthwith.

I am, etc.
(Signed) George Clerk.

Sir James Melvill K.C.B.

36. MINUTE BY THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL ON GEOGRAPHY SCHOOL BOOK, CALCUTTA: 1858

Leeds Public Library: Lord Canning Papers

Minute

On the alleged Rejection by the Government of Bengal of a GEOGRAPHY CLASSBOOK because it contained matter hostile to the Hindoo Religion.

The Speech of Lord Shaftesbury in Exeter Hall on the 5th January, received in Calcutta on the 14th instant, contained the following statement:-

"A letter has been placed in his (Lord Shaftesbury's) hands, which stated that a book on Geography, used in the Native Schools, was declared by the Hindoo Pundits to contain matter hostile to their religion, and that it was thereupon excluded by the Government from the Schools."

Shortly after this was received in Calcutta, the following passage appeared in a letter from a London correspondent to the *Friend of India* newspaper of the 18th instant :-

"Perhaps no one circumstance has done, and is doing so much damage to the Government of Bengal, as the course pursued in regard to a treatise on Geography published by the Deys at Serampore, which was offered for the patronage of Government, and referred for their opinion to some Pundits, who said that it contained assertions directly opposed to the Hindoo Creed, upon which Government refused to encourage it. Perhaps this was the act of a single public servant whom I have in my eye; perhaps Mr. Halliday was entirely ignorant of the transaction; but his Government bears the odium of it, and what Government can stand the odium of being represented as trucking, through mere timidity, to the idolatrous prejudices of the Hindoos to such a degree as to discourage a treatise on Geography, because it affirmed that the earth moved round the sun, instead of stating, according to the Pooranic system, that it rested on a tortoise."

As I had never heard of this matter till I read these extracts, I need not say I was greatly astonished at the news they conveyed; especially, as the act attributed to the Government of Bengal was (as every body who knows anything of our Educational system must be well aware) utterly contrary to its notorious conduct and policy.

I therefore called on Mr. Buckland, the Secretary in the Department concerned, to explain what had occurred.

Mr. Buckland's statement is appended, and will show at once that though there has been on his part some official negligence and mismanagement, which I doubt not he will avoid in future, there cannot really be found in the case any evidence whatever to convict the

Government, or Mr. Buckland acting for the Government, or the head of the Education Department, of "truckling to the idolatrous prejudice of the Hindoos," of the folly and absurdity of which I am just as fully convinced, and of which I am just as unwilling to be accused as Lord Shaftesbury himself, or any of his audience.

The simple facts seem to be,-

First, - That the book was in use in the higher classes of some of the Government Vernacular Schools before this correspondence took place, (p.2) and is in use in them still, by order of one of the Government Inspectors, and with the knowledge and consent of the Director of Public Instructions.

Second, - That when further patronage was asked for the book on Geography, and also two other books, (meaning thereby the purchase by Government of a large number of copies for distribution in Vernacular Schools,) the request was refused, on the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, to the effect that the style was bad, and that the books were more suited for general readers than for School purposes.

At the same time the suggestion, that they should be used as Prize Books, was acquiesced in, or at all events, not rejected.

It is transparent, therefore, that there could not have been any objection to the book on Geography on the score of its alleged opposition to the Hindoo Religion, because, if there had been any such objection, it would not have been allowed as a Prize Book, neither would it have been authoritatively used (as it is to this day) in "the highest class of all Vernacular Schools".

The following is Mr. Inspector Pratt's order, 28th March 1857:-

"The Inspector directs that, in the case of all Vernacular Schools established after this date, the Baraset Female School Geography shall be substituted for the other works on that subject, and that the 1st part of Pundit Kalidas Moitra's *Geography, Day's Course* (i.e. the very book now in question) be introduced into the highest class of all Vernacular Schools established after this date."

The accusation against the Government falls therefore to the ground.

I may state as a fact, for the information of those who are not acquainted with our system of Education, that the notion of accepting or refusing a School-book on the score of the agreement or opposition of its facts to the Hindoo or Mahomedan religious prejudices, never could enter into the head of any English Officer under this Government, because we have been systematically teaching Science and Literature, and distributing books thereupon, for a great number of years, almost all more or less opposed to native belief and prejudices, and in some instances, as Anatomy, far more antagonistic and even horrifying to those prejudices than in the case of Geography.

I know not, of course, from whom Lord Shaftesbury obtained the information on which he has grounded his statement; but it is difficult to imagine that it could have been gained from

any Indian, or *ci-devant* Indian source. Any resident in this part of India, who has paid even slight attention to the Government system of Education, who has looked into an annual Education Report, has visited one of our Schools or Colleges, or has even talked for half an hour with a lad brought up in one of our Institutions, must well know that, whether it be in the teaching of accurate History, or Astronomy, or any branch of Literature, or Physical Science, we have never stopped to ask whether the truths imparted were in accordance with native religious prejudices or not; but have in all our Schools carried accurate instruction on all those subjects to the highest point we could push it, (p.3) although, scarcely any of these things can be taught without offending the most deeply rooted religious prejudices of the native mind.

In Literature we have habitually enforced or encouraged the study of such Authors as Shakspeare, Milton, Dryden, Addison, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, Southey, Macaulay, and others, not usually considered favourable to superstitious errors, or open to any suspicion of a timid deference to religious imposture or idolatry.

In Science we have not dreamt of withholding the true theory of Eclipses, because the orthodox Hindoo belief is that a dragon, on these occasions, is about to swallow up the threatened luminary.

Neither have we hesitated to inculcate the real succession of ancient and modern historical events, because the Hindoo sages have written that Satyavrata extended his life and reign over 1,728,000 years, through the whole of the Satya Yug, which commenced 3,892,911 years ago, and that his eighty successors, during the Treta and Dwapar Yugs, reigned, on an average, five-and-twenty thousand years a piece.

It is impossible then that any one, knowing these things, could pretend seriously to believe that we had any scruples about teaching the truths of Geography; that we inserted Mount Meru in our maps in deference to the Mahabharat, or omitted to describe Ceylon as one of her Majesty's thriving Colonies because it is asserted in the Ramayana to be the magic island of Lunka, peopled only by demons.

Even in such a matter as Agriculture, it may be seen by any person who will look at page 308-9 of the Appendix A, to the last Annual Report on Education, that lessons have been given, and some degree of success achieved, in the face of an avowed religious objection from Hindoo bigotry. The Report was available in London before the 5th January last, and the anxious correspondent of the *Friend of India* might there have read, if he had chosen, the following officially penned phrases, not by any means confirmatory of his views as to the base timidity of this Government:-

"The high-caste Hindoos look with disdain on agricultural pursuits, and even consider them as forbidden by the Shastras. It is enough that in Baraset this silly prejudice has been overcome, and that the sons of Brahmins and Boidas fearlessly hold the plough and till the ground."

But, most of all, our conduct in regard to Anatomical Science might furnish to any tolerably informed person as to such subjects the most conclusive proof of the absurdity of the charge now so clamorously urged against us. At the Calcutta Medical College it has been an open and

constant boast, that we have met and overthrown the prejudices of caste and religion in their very strongest hold. Let any one who doubts this read in the Code of Menu, or as abstracted in the 6th Chapter of the 2nd Book of Mill's History of India, the fearful consequences to a high caste Hindoo of coming only into accidental and unavoidable contact with a corpse, or a bone of a corpse, or even with another person who has accidentally touched such things, and then let him repair to the Medical College, and see Hindoos of the highest (p.4) caste sedulously engaged in dissections, handling bones and entrails with entire indifference, and by frequent and sometimes, it must be confessed, alarming performances on the dead subject, learning to conduct successfully the most difficult and important operations on the living body.

And all this is done under the earnest encouragement of the Government, which has always evinced a particular pride in the success of this part of its Educational measures, and has fostered it to the utmost of its power.

Nor is this thing done in a corner. Not only are the successful pupils openly praised and rewarded, but, from time to time, the highest Officers of the Government (and not unfrequently the Governor General himself) make formal visits to the College, to observe the progress of the pupils, to distribute rewards and prizes, and to keep up the zeal and assiduity by which such extraordinary effects have been produced. And now forsooth, the Government which has done and is doing all this, which openly rewards Brahmins for proficiency in Osteology, and appoints the sons of Pundits to be Assistant Demonstrators of Anatomy, - which by its measures in this and other departments of Education has, notoriously and undeniably, changed the very face of Hindooism in Bengal, and released thousands of minds from the trammels of hereditary superstition;- this Government, I say, is now gravely accused, and I fear, at the instigation of those who ought to know better, of being afraid to teach Geography to little boys, because of the prejudices of the Hindoos; and on the authority of so eminent a teacher as Lord Shaftesbury, numbers of very worthy gentlemen and ladies feel themselves constrained to believe the story, and become transported with indignation and astonishment at the turpitude of Indian official conduct, which has in reality no existence whatever but in the imagination of a few credulous and ignorant tale-bearers.

Upon the allusion to the Kishnagurh Christians contained in the same speech, I am under no necessity to make any remark, because I find on enquiry that, although the place named is within my jurisdiction, no transaction of the kind occurred with my knowledge, or, so far as I can learn, with the cognizance of any Officer under my Government.

Neither will I lengthen this paper by any observation on the statement, that "in Bengal the Word of God had been most carefully suppressed, so far as that object could be effected by the Government." upon which one of the speakers at the Meeting seems to have founded the singular proposition, that the First Minister of the Crown should declare to the people of India the future religious principles of the Government of that country. I cannot however refrain from declaring, in the most positive terms, that the accusation is as unjust as it is offensive; and that it has exactly as much foundation in fact as the allegation about the book on Geography and the base truckling of this Government regarding it to the religious prejudices of the Hindoo Pundits.

22nd February 1858

FRED. JAS. HALLIDAY.

NOTE BY THE JUNIOR SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

1. The Lieutenant-Governor having called on me for an explanation regarding the Statements which appear in Lord Shaftesbury's Speech, and in the letter of the Home correspondent of the *Friend of India*, I beg to submit the following note:-

2. The original papers in the Office of the Government of Bengal show that the case on which these representations are founded, was disposed of by me without reference to the Lieutenant-Governor.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor is aware that in the enormous mass of correspondence which passes through the Bengal Office it is customary for the Secretaries to dispose of many cases of mere routine or slight importance, or in which the Secretary has reason to be sure of the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor and can therefore state it with confidence. The actual Rule passed on this point by Lord Hardinge authorizes the Secretaries to prepare all subjects and to conduct all correspondence necessary to the preparation of a subject until it is ripe for the decision of the Lieutenant-Governor. But in practice there are numerous questions of which a Secretary finally disposes without taking the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, and in the present year, owing to the great increase of correspondence in connection with the Rebellion, it has perhaps been necessary to do so more than usual.

4. In the particular case under notice I may inadvertently have gone somewhat beyond the line thus indicated, except that, as will appear hereafter, taking the case as I did to be an ordinary case of application for patronage to Vernacular School Books, I looked upon it rather as a matter for the head of the Education Department than for the Government to deal with, and therefore considered that I was quite safe in acting at once as I thought on the views of the Director of Public Instruction.

5. The following sketch shows the progress and facts of the correspondence:-

6. On the 29th January 1857 Baboo Srinath Dey, the proprietor of the *Tomohur* Press at Serampore, addressed the following letter to me as Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal:-

"Sir,-I have the honor to forward for His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal the 3 copies of the Vernacular Works mentioned in the margin. They are intended for the Vernacular Schools. Should you kindly hand these over to His Honor with your recommendation, if they deserve that, your so doing will be an encouragement both to the Author and the Publisher."

[Margin Note:

1. The Steam Engine and the East India Railway.
2. The Electrical Telegraph.
3. The Vernacular Scholar's Best companion to Geography.]

7. This letter, together with the books, was referred on the 4th February to the Director of Public Instruction for report.

(p.6)

8. The Director very naturally and properly sent the books to Pundit Ishwur Chunder Bidyasaugor, the Principal of the Sanscrit College, for a report. The Pundit is the best Sanscrit and Bengali scholar at the Presidency, and is also thoroughly acquainted with English. He is not only Principal of the Sanscrit College but also a special Inspector in the Education Department, and is well known for his liberal and enlightened opinions, and as the author of various measures of reform by no means in accordance with strict Hindooism, among others the re-marriage of Hindoo widows. To this Officer, as an author of repute and the best scholar and best adviser in the Educational Service of Government on the style of Vernacular books, they were made over by the Director of Public Instruction for report. It is quite erroneous to suppose that he was consulted because he was Pundit or as a person who by his birth was a Brahmin.

9. On the 2nd of November, Mr. H. Woodrow, M.A., who was Officiating Director of Public Instruction, submitted his report on the three books. He forwarded a letter from the Principal of the Sanscrit College, and wrote as follows:-

"The learned Pundit reports most unfavorably of the style of these volumes. He affirms it to be both clumsy and inaccurate. He is also of opinion that they have been written more for the use of general readers than for School purposes. In the latter opinion I coincide. In the former I with deference adopt the decision of so great a scholar as Pundit Ishwur Chunder Bidyasaugor. I may here state that the arrangement and the large amount of extraneous matter in the book on the Steam Engine are objectionable. One would scarcely expect to find in such a book on such a recent inventor a large number of pages on the Kings of India before the time of Vicramaditya. I think, on the whole, that these books should be given in Government Schools as prizes, but not introduced as school-books."

10. The substance of Pundit Ishwur Chunder's letter is given by Mr. Woodrow. It also contains the following paragraph, which the Director of Public Instruction did not notice:-

"As regards the last book, the Companion to Geography, I beg to observe that the remarks made in the preceding para, with reference to the style of the books on the Electric Telegraph and Railways equally apply to this work. **There is, in addition, another serious objection to this book; in several places it reflects on the notions on the subjects as inculcated in the religious books of the Hindoos. I cannot therefore recommend its adoption as a class book.**"*

11. The letter from the Director of Public Instruction was thus endorsed by me. -"Copy of this letter and its enclosure forwarded to the Proprietor of the Serampore *Tomohur* Press for information, with reference to his letter of the 29th January last, and the books received therewith returned;" and according to this order, copies of the two papers, the letter of the Director of Public Instruction and its enclosure from the Pundit, were forwarded under my signature. The form which was thus employed was unfortunate, because it seems to have

caused the ambiguity from which the whole of the misunderstanding has arisen. No letter was written expressing the opinion or intention of Government regarding the books, but it was left (p.7) to the Proprietor of the Press to infer from the Director of Public Instruction's letter that the Government would, according to that Officer's recommendation, patronize the books as prizes, though it would not purchase a number of copies for class-books.

12. The Proprietor, however, did not understand the matter in this light. He appears to have taken it as an absolute rejection of his books, and therefore on the 15th December he again addressed me thus:-

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th ultimo, conveying the refusal of the Government to take any copies of my Geography in Bengali.

"I presume to request that the Government of Bengal will re-consider the matter upon this ground. It has already pledged itself to take it, both the Director of Public Instruction and the Inspector of Education of Southern Bengal having placed it among the class books. I enclose their letters and reports. **The only argument offered against the book is by Pundit Ishwur Chunder Bidyasaugor; he says it is contrary to the Shasters. Is it desired that the School Geography should be in consonance with the Shasters? - should speak of six seas of milk, place Benares in the centre of the earth, and put the earth itself on a tortoise's back**".*

13.- This letter was also referred to the Director of Public Instruction, and on 16th January that Officer wrote as follows:-

"Understanding that the point on which I am required to report is whether the Government is pledged by any act of this Department to take copies of the books that were recently reported on by Mr. Woodrow and Pundit Ishwur Chunder, I have no hesitation in saying that Government is in no way so pledged. One of the two papers enclosed in the letter of Baboo Sreenath Dey appears to be a copy of a course of instruction proposed by the School Improvement Committee for a certain class of schools, but not as yet at least formally sanctioned, and the other is a letter of Mr. Pratt's prescribing the use of one of the books under certain circumstances. Neither of these papers constitutes any such pledge as is asserted. In fact, inasmuch as either of them can be deemed an act of patronage of the books by this department, the object of the applicant would appear to be gained, and there is the less reason for the Government to interpose and purchase a number of copies of the works with a view to force their circulation."

14. The Director, as he has since stated, took no notice of the paragraph about the geographical errors of the Hindoo Shasters, because that part of the subject had been left unnoticed in the former communication from his Office, and he had no reason to suppose that it formed any ground for the course taken by Government with regard to the books.

15. On the receipt of this letter I wrote to Baboo Srinath Dey on the 26th January, saying that as the Educational Authorities were opposed to the introduction of the books in question into the Government Institutions, and as it appeared that the Government was not in any way pledged to take copies, the Lieutenant-Governor must decline to interfere any further in the matter.

16. I am obliged to admit that in this manner of dealing with the case there was much want of care. The simple truth is that to me, knowing so well the whole policy and conduct of the Government in such matters, and the unreasonableness of imagining it to be influenced by such imputations in (p.8) Educational measures, the attempt to introduce a religious objection appeared of no weight, and I therefore gave it little attention. I have already mentioned that this point was unnoticed by the Officiating Director of Public Instruction in his first report, and when the Proprietor of the Press addressed me a second time, seeing as I thought that the material point which he sought to raise was the existence of a pledge on the part of the Educational Officers to take his book, I at once passed the letter on in original, without sufficiently considering the spirit and object of the other portion of it. The Director of Public Instruction, in his reply, touched only on the point which I myself had supposed to be raised, and so it came to pass that my final letter to the Proprietor of the Press turned only on that point.

I sincerely regret that any inadvertence on my part should have been the means of producing such a serious misunderstanding as has arisen. But I may perhaps be permitted at the same time to observe that certainly no misunderstanding of the kind ought properly to have occurred, or as it seems to me, could really have occurred in the mind of any person before whom the entire correspondence was placed. It is perfectly clear that it was never intended to reject the book by reason of any objection based on any religious point, for it is, in fact, distinctly stated in the first report of the Officiating Director of Public Instruction, that the books, including of course the Geography, were objected to as school books, because they were written more for the use of general readers than for school purposes, and on this point alone that Officer expressed his entire acquiescence in the opinion of the Pundit.

17. Moreover, anybody in this country acquainted with the Government system of Education must have known, and no one better than Baboo Srinath Dey, that books which teach true Geography according to the European system are the only books of Geography used in the Government schools, and the very book which is now in question had indeed at the time been ordered to be used by one of the Government Inspectors.*

18. The allegation in the letter of the Home correspondent of the *Friend of India*, is that the book of Geography was referred to some Pundits for their opinion, and that on their saying that it contained assertions directly opposed to the Hindoo creed, Government refused to encourage it.

I have sought to show that the only Pundit consulted is one of the most able servants of Government in the Education Department, and was consulted not as a religionist, but as a scholar and an author. It was certainly my intention to adopt the Director of Public Instruction's recommendation of patronizing the books for prizes, though not as class books; and further, it is shown by Mr. Pratt's Circular that the Geography was actually in use in the Government schools under his control. It is plain, therefore, that the religious objection had no influence whatever in the course taken with regard to the book in question.

C. T. BUCKLAND,

Junior Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal.

37. IF THE RED LINE ADVANCES ON THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS, AS WELL AS ON THE POLITICAL MAP, IN A FEW YEARS THE COUNTRY WILL BECOME CHRISTIAN; H.C.TUCKER, FORMER COMMISSIONER, BENARES, TO LORD STANLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA: LONDON, 1858

Leeds Public Library : Lord Canning Papers : Mil. Sec. (Misc. Papers Bal. 6. Do. 590.)

MY LORD,

It is doubtless known to your Lordship that your reply to the deputation which waited upon you on the 7th of last month, and your expressions of sympathy and agreement in the letter of Lord Ellenborough and the memorandum by Sir George Clerk, — of both which documents the main object is evidently the condemnation of the existing educational system of grants-in-aid, and of any connection of public officers with evangelizing efforts -- have caused much uneasiness, and will, I fear, give rise to a discussion regarding Christianity in India, which will be very mischievous and prejudicial in that country, especially at a time when the most vigorous and united action is required to reorganise our empire, and place its system of government upon a firm and satisfactory footing. I therefore with very great diffidence, venture respectfully to call your Lordship's attention to the necessity for doing away the evil impression which has gone abroad, and which I would fain hope to be erroneous.

Leaving to others the questions how far your Lordship's language may be opposed to the Queen's Coronation Oath as a Protestant Christian Ruler, and whether the principles stated to be "probably older than any form of belief now existing in the World" (p.4) have not in reality been borrowed without acknowledgement from the Word of the eternal and unchangeable Ruler of the Universe, I would simply touch upon the three questions in which, as Secretary of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, and a servant of Government, I am more immediately and personally concerned : namely,

1st, Grants-in-aid to Christian schools;

2ndly, Personal efforts on the part of Government officers to make known the truths of Christianity; and

3rdly, How far these are calculated to alarm and alienate our Hindoo and Mahomedan subjects.

1st. In a fully civilised country, with a population animated by the self-reliant Anglo-Saxon spirit, it may, in the opinion of many, admit of doubt whether Government should interfere at all with religion, or education. This, as your Lordship admits, "is not yet the recognised doctrine of modern Europe," and is opposed to its general practice. **Still less is the doctrine applicable in the case of an enormous half-civilised empire of Heathens and Mahomedans, made over by Divine Providence to the care of a distant island, whose sole title to possession is that it is the Land of the Bible and of Protestant Christianity. If we are not in India for the purpose of elevating it by communicating our own superior standard of morality, founded upon our possession of the Truth of God, for what purpose are we there? Surely our mission (p.5) is not confined to the more material improvement of the country? Railways, telegraphs, canals, jails, indigo, and cotton, are all good in their way; but surely they are not the highest good, that good for effecting which we have been vested with the**

charge of an empire some 2400 miles in length by 2000 in breadth, with a population of 180 millions speaking 14 distinct languages?*

Taking it for granted then, as will I believe be admitted by an overwhelming majority of good and thoughtful men, that we are bound to educate India, the question arises, how can this best be done? **In 1813 we patronized Sanscrit and Arabic colleges, and books in those sacred languages. In 1824 the Court of Directors came forward with the then startling assertion, that it was not the duty of the people of England to encourage Hindoo or Mahomedan literature in India, but that it was their duty to promote the cultivation of the native mind and sound education. After a contest of ten years, Lord William Bentinck, in 1834, withdrew almost entirely the support of the State from the teaching of Hindooism and Mahomedanism, and transferred all the funds that were at the disposal of the Government to English institutions. For twenty years after that time we had nothing but English schools to teach a few thousand lads to quote Milton, Shakespeare, and Bacon, whilst, at the same time, a thick cloud of moral and intellectual darkness covered the whole body of the people.***

At length, in 1854, Sir C. Wood's noble despatch was issued, in which the duty of educating the (p.6) masses, and the propriety of giving Grants-in-aid for the support of all efficient schools, without reference to the religious doctrines which might be taught in them, were boldly avowed.

"The scheme of Grants-in-aid comprehends all classes, and recognises the claims of all to a share of the Government countenance and assistance. It respects at the same time the religious sentiments and feelings of other classes, and offends none. It is the system apparently best adapted to meet the actual state of things in India, and will serve to discharge the obligation which rests upon the Government to contribute to the education of all classes of their subjects, and at the same time leaves all to choose the schools most conformable to their respective creeds and feelings."

These sentiments were cordially concurred in by Mr. Montgomery, Mr. McLeod, and other able officers in the Punjab; and were endorsed by Lord Dalhousie in his Minute of June 1854, in which he stated that he "entirely shared the views" of Mr. McLeod as to the "strong expediency of supporting missionary schools by public money where they really impart a good secular education, and of increasing their efficiency by grants-in-aid," and added, "During my administration here, I have carefully followed the 'traditional' policy which has been handed down to the Government of India for its observance in all matters into which there enters a religious element. But I am of opinion that for these days we carry the principle of 'neutrality' too far; that even in a political point of view we err (p.7) in ignoring so completely as we do, the agency of ministers of our own true faith, in extending education among the people; and that the time has now come when grants of money in aid of secular education, carried on in schools established and conducted by Christian Missionaries, might be made by the Government without any risk of giving rise to those evils which a recognition of such agency has hitherto been thought likely to create, and with the certainty of producing an immense and an immediate effect in the extension of sound secular education throughout the masses of the population in India."

The Court of Directors in their Despatch of the 18th April, 1855, accorded their "warmest approval and thanks" to the Punjab officials for "this fresh evidence of their energy and zeal, and of their desire to identify themselves with the feelings and interests of the people committed to their charge;" adding, "The soundness of the conclusions to which they have arrived gives us, moreover, the best ground for anticipating that the success, which they so justly merit, will follow their exertions, and that the Punjab will present to the world a signal example of the benefits which British rule confers upon the natives of India."

In its own schools Government has, under the name of "*perfect neutrality*," admitted the Shasters and Koran, whilst it has prohibited the study of the Bible. And inasmuch as false science is intimately connected with false religion, the true science taught in the Government schools has had the effect of sapping the faith of the pupils in their own religion;(p.8) and true religion not being substituted in its place, they usually become sceptics. In fact, neutrality in education is impossible. You cannot give the simplest lesson of geography without contradicting the Hindoo religious books. If our geography and science be true, the religion based upon these books must be false. This is the inference drawn for himself by every young man who passes through a Government College. With great force, therefore, an intelligent Hindu observer may exclaim, "Education must be carried on upon a sounder principle, and religion must be fostered. Don't turn India from idolatry to atheism." Among other changes which late events will produce, it is earnestly hoped that the mistaken policy will be swept away, which, in the forcible language of Mr. Yule, the Commissioner of the Santhal districts, "has hitherto made us appear cowards before men, and traitors to our God."

In my Report to Government, dated March 6th, 1844, I strongly recommended the introduction of the study of the Bible during a fixed portion of every day, to all who did not object. This course appears to me just and equitable, and what a professedly Christian Government is bound to adopt. But as, in the language of one of our most eminent living statesmen, "Government cannot teach the Shasters and the Koran without appearing to renounce the Bible; and cannot teach the Bible without appearing to interfere with the faith of natives," I should be glad to see it altogether withdraw from the task, by abolishing, its few remaining (p.9) seminaries, and adding the money thus saved to the grant-in-aid fund.

Opinions differ as to the effect of the Government English education. I believe that it puffs up its recipients, renders them discontented with their position in life, and by sapping their belief in their own religion, whilst it substitutes no other, renders them proud infidels, and the most virulent opposers of the humbling doctrine of the Cross of Christ. At the same time I am bound to admit, that collateral Christian influences and familiarity with European mind, has raised their theoretical standard of truth, honesty, and public spirit, whilst the large share they enjoy of public employment in some degree overbalances their dislike of our foreign rule, upon the permanence of which their importance entirely depends.

I think the conclusion may then be fairly drawn, that the existing system of grants-in-aid to all good schools indiscriminately, is the one which forms the best practical solution of the religious educational difficulty, and which ought therefore to be strengthened and extended as far as possible.

2ndly. As to the Personal Efforts of Government officials, to make known the Truths of Christianity, this must in a great measure be left to the discretion and responsibility of individuals. They must "render unto Caesar the things that be Caesar's," as well as "to God the things that be God's." And Christian men have done this. Whilst exerting themselves to honour God, and make his Gospel known in a Heathen and (p.10) Mahommedan land, they have also shone pre-eminent in the faithful vigorous discharge of their public duties, whether civil or military. What names have shone out most brilliantly during the past trying year? Who are the men confessed by England to have best done their duty? Are they not the Christian men of the stamp of Henry and John Lawrence, Havelock, Herbert Edwardes, and Montgomery? Are not these the men who, in the language of John Lawrence, speaking of Herbert Edwardes, have been "pillars of strength" to their country at the hour of her utmost need?

Surely then the example and practice of these men must prove, that when not engaged in a public capacity (when the best mode of shewing religion is to discharge the public duty on hand in a first-rate, efficient, kindly, just, and considerate manner) it is not only lawful, but incumbent upon every Christian officer to exert himself personally to the utmost in his private capacity to win the natives to Christianity, not only by exemplifying its virtues, but by doing all that his judgment and discretion may suggest to influence their minds in the right direction?

3rdly. With reference to the third point, as to how far such Christian efforts are calculated to alarm and alienate our Hindoo and Mahommedan subjects, I can truly state that so far as my own experience of twenty-seven years goes, they have no such tendency, but the very reverse. It is not the exertions of Christians, but the repeated protestations of "perfect neutrality" on the part of Government itself, attended by obvious breaches of such neutrality in the laws (p.11) against Suttee, Infanticide, Slavery, Dhurna, the Remarriage of Widows, the alteration in the laws of Inheritance, the very doubtful measure of enforcing a Messing system in Jails, together with the gross ignorance and credulity of the masses -- whom no steps, till within the last four years, have been taken to illuminate -- which have raised the fears and suspicions of the natives as to our intention to make Christians of them in some fraudulent and underhand way. They cannot understand how any honest and truthful men, calling themselves Christians, and priding themselves upon the courage of their race, can possibly mean what they say, when they declare themselves "perfectly neutral" and totally indifferent to the success of their own religion. They look upon these protestations as dust thrown in their eyes to blind them to deep-laid schemes of converting the country by bone-dust mixed with the flour, greased cartridges, and such like contrivances. No one can believe the dense ignorance of the natives. A report that Government intended to boil them down for their fat, cleared Simlah of hill men! -- A clever rogue in Goruckpoor is said to have made his fortune by preceding Lord Hastings' camp as purveyor of fat little children for the Governor-General's breakfast! So recently as August, 1856, the town of Ghazeepoor was put into a state of commotion by a visit from the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, who had distinguished himself by a Proclamation disconnecting his Government from Missions and Christianity. The populace really believed that the Proclamation was only a blind, that the Governor must wish the advancement of his own religion, and that he had (p.12) come to make all the citizens eat rice together, and so lose caste and become Christians !!! The late Mr. Colvin wrote to me at the time, "I hope my lieges will not think when I visit them in the cold weather that their own Lieutenant-Governor has any evil plots against them! The report you mention shews the degree of faith the people attach to English Proclamations. It is amusing that they should have apprehended the very design which had been so anxiously disclaimed."

I can affirm that, though both Mr. Thomason and Mr. Colvin openly did all that they could for Christianity, the natives used always to throng round them in crowds, and never expressed any fear of their proselytizing. What they did was open and above board, and the people knew what they wished. It is the inculcators of "perfect neutrality," who are really regarded as "insidious movers in contravention of every principle of trust and national faith."

The difficulties of Government would be removed by ceasing to make promises which cannot be kept. Let it say nothing at all; or, if it must speak, say the plain simple truth, that we are a Christian nation, and naturally must wish that all others believed as we do; but that it is contrary to our religion to use force, or fraud, in making proselytes; and that perfect liberty of conscience and worship shall be secured to all alike, so far as their observances do not infringe the normal law, and the rights of others. "It is absurd," as stated by the Hindoo writer before quoted, "to suppose that the English are hated by the Hindoos on account of their religion. *It is not religion, but the want of religion*, which has brought so much (p.13) evil upon this country. The people know that the Government is a Christian one. Let it act openly as a true Christian; the people will never feel themselves disappointed, they will only admire it." **He lays down broadly the fact, that so long as we scrupulously abstain from any direct interference with the ceremonial observances of caste, we may teach Christianity as much as we please. This is proved by the experience of Christian Schools all over India. The distinction between Religion as a theory, and Caste as a matter of custom and social usage, is not sufficiently attended to. The two things which are totally distinct, are constantly confounded together; and statements are made as to the Religion of the Natives, which apply only to their Caste. Great mistakes are made for want of clear and correct ideas on this point.***

As for myself, personally, I have perhaps gone as far as most officers as a friend and supporter of Missions, a preparer and distributor of christian books, and the founder of a Christian Government Normal School, and a public Bible Examination in Benares. At the time of the Meerut mutiny we had three native regiments, and only thirty European gunners. Surely if any station was to go, Benares should have been the one? Yet, with the exception of the fight with the Regiments on the 4th of June, the city, under God's blessing upon Mr.F.Gubins' vigorous management, remained in perfect stillness, with less than the ordinary amount of crime; the missionaries pursued their labours without hindrance: and not one single native voice was raised against the various schemes of (p.14) Christian efforts. On the contrary, when I left India, all the principal inhabitants of the Division, Hindoo and Mahomendan, united to raise upwards of 6000 Rupees in testimony of my "labours for their welfare **here and hereafter**". Surely such a parting acknowledgment may be taken by your Lordship as a proof that the open profession of Christianity, and the strenuous endeavour to make it known, have no necessary tendency to produce alienation and disaffection, but the very reverse?

I would not be misunderstood. **Whilst I feel sure that no consistent Christian Officer is disliked on account of his Christianity, and that in that point of view Christian effort had nothing to do with the mutiny, it is equally clear that our mission of light against darkness, truth against falsehood, justice against tyranny and misrule, has had everything to do with it. The tone and spirit of 1800 years of Anglo-Saxon progress are totally opposed to the stagnant notions, and strectyped customs and superstitions, of the East. Our rule in India, not withstanding all the manifestos of a hundred years to the effect that we do not wish to**

interfere with the religion of the natives, is the embodiment of a spirit now working counter to and undermining all the evils of social, political, and moral life in that country. The instinctive feeling of the irreligious and the heathen is true. The red line must advance on the moral and religious, as well as on the political map. We cannot avoid it. Hindooism and Mahomedanism are incapable of reformation, and must fall. As well set a chair on the sands of the sea, and order the waves to stop, as attempt to set limits (p.15) to the spread of Western Christianity. The Natives feel this, and the common impression is that in a few years the whole country will become Christian.*

Under these circumstances it appears to me that we should take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the transfer of the Government to Her Majesty, to inaugurate a new policy more in accordance with our actual standing and duties in India. We ought to assume a bolder position as a professedly Christian Government. **Whilst all religions are tolerated so far as they are not subversive of morality and the rights of others, we should accept our position as the regenerators of India, and give every facility for enlightening, and raising the moral and intellectual standard of, the masses of the people***. It is not wished that Government should itself evangelize. With a fair share of Grants-in-aid, and free scope for individual exertion, Christianity will win her own way. But Government should not counteract her labours, or hold out to the people professions, which are unworthy of the followers of the only true God, inconsistent with our actual position, and which must be falsified by the inevitable march of events.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

H. CAREE TUCKER,
Bengal Civil Service.

5, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

38. PRIME MINISTER VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, TO MR. VERNON SMITH ON
INDIAN SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY BOOK: 1858

Leeds : Canning Papers;(No.4/46A)

Broadlands, 7.1.1858

If you are writing to Canning I wish you would mention that a statement has been made to me, that very lately a book of geography intended for use in some school in Bengal was objected to by a learned Hindoo (p) on the ground that the geographical theory which it contained was opposed to the doctrines of the Hindoo religion and thereupon the book was withdrawn by order of government. This is too absurd to be true, but there must probably be some foundation for the statement. **The fact is that we have been treating the Hindoos and Mahomedans(p) in regard to religion as a timid rider treats a wilful horse coaxing and patting when a strong hand with which spur and curb should have been employed and the animal which should have been the obedient servant has become the perverse master.***

E. REVERSION TO CHRISTIAN AGGRESSIVENESS

39. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, BILL TO REMOVE DISABILITY WHICH NOW AFFECTS MANY NATIVE CHRISTIAN CONVERTS: DEC. 1859

Leeds Public Library : Lord Canning Papers

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The object of this Bill is to remove a disability which now affects many Native Christian Converts.

A Native Christian is bound by the contract of marriage entered into by him before his conversion; and he cannot marry again, although the other party to the marriage contract, who is not converted, refuses to cohabit with him and considers him an outcaste and the marriage tie dissolved.

The present state of the law has led to serious evils. Native Converts often resort to irregular marriages or concubinage. If they are conscientious, they are for ever separated from their consorts, and cannot marry again.

If the above view of the *status* of the Native Convert, with respect to the unconverted party to the marriage contract, be deemed incorrect in any particular, it must at least be admitted that difficult questions arise regarding the marriage of Converts before their conversion, the other party to the marriage not being converted; and that an authoritative solution of these questions would be a great boon to the Native Converts, and to the Clergy who are called upon to advise or marry such Converts.

To remedy this state of things, the Bill proposes to bring the parties before a Judge so that the real wishes of the party who is not converted may be ascertained. With the view of ensuring due regard to the habits of the people, the examination may be conducted by the Judge publicly or privately, as he may think fit, and if, after a second examination, and due deliberation, the Hindoo or Mahomedan party to the contract refuses to cohabit with the Convert, the Judge is empowered to dissolve the marriage.

C.R.M. JACKSON.

The 31st December 1859.

**40. LORD CANNING TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA ON HIS VISIT TO
BENARES; LEADING PEOPLE OF BENARES ADMIT, THAT MERCY BELONGS
TO THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION: 1861**

Leeds Public Library: Lord Canning Papers

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE
SIR CHARLES WOOD, BART., M.P. AND G.C.B.,
Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Fort William, the 9th December 1861.

FOREIGN DEPT.,
Political.

Sir,

We have the honor to transmit, for your information, a copy of a Notification, containing an account of the reception by the Viceroy and Governor General of a Deputation of the inhabitants of the City of Benares.

2. We beg to call attention to the two following points:-

1st. - The frank admission by the leading people of Benares, the centre of Hindooism, that mercy belongs to the Christian Religion and is a duty of a Christian Government, and that they and their Indian fellow subjects have reaped the benefit of this.*

2nd. - The acknowledgement, that the gracious and beneficent assurances which the Queen has given of Her intention to maintain and protect the rights and interests of Her Indian subjects, have been fully and amply proved to be real.

3. Having regard to the peculiar character and position which Benares, with its 300,000 inhabitants, holds amongst the Cities of India; to the large degree in which the several classes of the Hindu population of India are there represented; and to the distrust in the promises of the British Government, which has occasionally shown itself in some classes of the Native community, we cannot but think that these perfectly spontaneous expressions of opinion from such a quarter are satisfactory and of good augury.

We have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect,
SIR,
Your most obedient humble servants,
(sd/-) Canning &c.

**41. CHRISTIANITY AND HINDUISM CONTRASTED - BY SIR CHARLES
TREVELYAN (LITERARY SOCIETY OF NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, OCT. 31, 1881)**

B.L. 4765 bbb 18/7 ?

The vital question of the divine origin of Christianity is approached from different sides, according to each person's experience and turn of mind. Being myself of a practical disposition, and having had unusual opportunities of seeing the principal religions of the world in their ordinary daily operation, I have naturally looked to the test of results. My family motto is, 'Time trieth Truth.' The Founder of our religion himself has told us to judge of a tree by its fruits, 'for of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.'

We have had nearly nineteen hundred years experience of Christianity, and what has been the result? We all know what the ideal of Christianity is - how it would be if the Christian religion were worked out to its ulterior consequences. Earth would become p paradise. Wars would cease. The expense of the army, navy, and police would be saved. Even the poor-rate would disappear before the progress of sobriety, industry, and wise enlightened charity. A real millenium, anticipating the perfection of the life to come, would be realised in the present state of existence. Towards this state of things Christendom has been continually advancing. It is characteristic of the Christian nations, and of the Christian nations only, that, notwithstanding partial relapses, there has been an uninterrupted progress towards perfection. The advance has been proportioned to the degree in which different nations have adhered to the Christian standard, and, thank God, it has been greatest in our own country and our own time, with every prospect of further indefinite improvement.

Let us now turn to other religions. Mahommedanism is entitled to the next place by its grand vindication of the unity of the Godhead; but what would the world become if Mahommedanism were carried out to its ulterior results? The entire female sex would have no higher destiny than to be objects of pleasure to the males. A large proportion even of the males (many of them mutilated and degraded to meet the special exigencies of Mahommedan domestic arrangements) would be slaves to the remainder; for, as all who have watched the attempt to abolish slavery in Turkey and Egypt must have observed, the Mahommedan social system is based upon slavery; and all non-Mahommedan people would be born ready saddled and bridled to be mounted by True Believers coming into the world ready booted and spurred. All this is seen daily enacted in the countries which are so unfortunate as to be still under Mahommedan rule. Instead of the crowning Christian graces of humility and charity, pride, lust, and oppression would universally prevail.

The experience we have had of Mahommedanism during nearly thirteen hundred years amounts quite to a Baconian induction. We know exactly what it can, and cannot, do for the world. It rapidly raises Fetish worshippers, and other degraded races, to a low standard of civilisation, beyond which they make no advance; but, on the contrary, immediately begin to deteriorate. This religion has had too much credit given to it for the Bagdad Caliphate, the Moorish regime in Spain, and the Indian Moghul dynasty. If the well-being of the body of the people be accepted as a test, these epoch will not bear the most superficial examination. Bernier, for instance, tells us that, at the most palmy period of the Moghul dynasty, the Delhi

nobles kept heavy whips hung over their gates ready to be used when any of the commonalty happened to offend them. At best these periods of Mahomedan glory were partial episodes, faint flickers of a flame which has long since subsided upon its embers. The moral power required to secure steady advancement was entirely wanting. The active principle of this religion is the 'great sword' given to the Red Horseman in the Revelation. It is not a religion of 'divine Philosophy,' depending upon reasonable argument and persuasion, but is based upon human power and human passion.

Next in order comes Buddhism. Many of its precepts are excellent, and in its benevolent aspirations it comes nearer than any other false religion to the spirit of Christianity. What it wants is the motive furnished to Christians by the sacrifice of Christ, and the 'hope full of immortality,' which Christianity alone has revealed. The views of Buddhism about the world to come are of the obscurest and most degrading kind endless transmigrations, in a descending or ascending scale, ending at best in a possible Nirvana, or unconscious absorption into the Diety. If we could conceive a set of quietists, acting merely in obedience to a set of moral rules, looking back to no salvation wrought for them, and looking forward only to the dismalest prospect in the life to come, we might form some idea of what mankind would be if they were conformed to a universal Buddhism.

Hinduism is the only remaining great system of idolatry; and, of all the religions which mankind have invented for themselves, it has gone furthest in deifying human vice and holding out its impersonations as objects of imitation and worship. From murder to petty larceny, every crime has its patron in the Hindu Pantheon. The pickpocket quotes Krishna pilfering the milkmaids; the swindler adores Gunesh; the prostitute glories in her profession, and officiates at the service of all the gods, although she is a special devotee of Kami, the Hindu Venus. All these, however, are trifles compared with the abominations behind. Many years ago some experienced Government officers and devoted missionaries at Calcutta formed an association for the purpose of exposing and discouraging cruel and demoralising practices; but it was found that these customs were so firmly rooted in the religious faith of the natives, that a united attack in front was admitted to be inexpedient.

It would serve no good purpose to enter upon all these lamentable results of Hinduism; but as, by the admission of every nation in every age, nothing is more precious than human life, let us test this religion by the regard in which human life is held by it. The practice of human sacrifices in India is more ancient than Hinduism. The Meriah sacrifices, carried on by the aboriginal population in the hill districts of Cuttack, are a case in point. Young children were purchased or stolen, and fattened in pens until their turn come to be cut into small pieces, which were scattered over fields in order to secure good crops. But human sacrifice was adopted (p.3) at a very early period into the Hindu religion under the patronage of a goddess whose worship occupies a large space in it. She is known as Devi, Bawani, Durga, Kali - 'the goddess' 'the inspirer of fear,' 'the dreadful one,' 'the black goddess,' - and her image is represented in the act of devouring a human being, and holding the quivering bodies of other in her numerous hands. An example of human sacrifice regularly performed will be found at page 58, but instances are continually cropping up of sons decapitated by their fathers before the image of the goddess, children thrown to the alligators in her name and so forth, besides the wholesale infanticide and exposure of parents on the banks of the Ganges, and other cruel practices, which are indirectly sanctioned by her. But all this is respectable, because it may be mainly prompted by disinterested religious motives,

compared with Thuggee, which was a highly organised confederacy, extending over the whole of India, for the purpose of carrying on, under the sanction of religion, a wholesale system of murder for purposes of gain. The novices were initiated by religious rites. They were guided in the exercise of their profession by supposed revelations of the will of their divine patroness communicated from hour to hour by means of omens, so that they held it to be a sin not to strangle travellers who came in their way when the omens were favourable. They sacrificed to Bawani after every murder, and they regularly offered a tithe of their plunder at her shrine.

It is a common remark that dogma and doctrine are nothing, and practice everything; but here we have decisive evidence to the contrary. More than once, Thugs who had been admitted as approvers remonstrated with the English superintendent in language of this sort: 'You ought not to have hung such or such a notorious Thug. He was such a good religious man; such an affectionate father or brother; so exemplary in all the relations of life,' and so forth. According to the faith held by them, these Thugs were as religious as John Wesley or Mr. Wilberforce. The only difference was that Wesley and Wilberforce held the true, while the Thugs held a false, doctrine. After this, let no man say that sound doctrine is of no importance.

You now see what the world would become if Hinduism generally prevailed. The wonder is how human society can subsist at all under such a religion. The truth is, that human nature is better than Hinduism, and the kind and affectionate dispositions implanted in us by God cannot be entirely effaced even by the worst of false religions. Children have to be trained to the practice of Thuggee by a gradual process, and great care is taken not to shock their feelings by too sudden an introduction to scenes of murder, lamentable incidents having resulted from the breach of this rule. Society is also held together by human laws and obvious considerations of personal interest. The Thugs never molested Europeans, for they know that if they touched a hair of their head they would never hear the last of it. Outside their own profession the Thugs cultivated the goodwill of everybody connected with them, and were generally regarded as more than usually amiable, respectable, and intelligent members of the community. When I was attached to the Delhi Residency, we were informed by the Thuggee Department that one of our messengers, named Feringea, had been a noted Thug leader, having employed his annual leave of absence in making an expedition as a member of the fraternity. Upon this, I asked the jemadar, or office-keeper, what sort of a man Feringea was, to which he replied that he had been a first-rate messenger, and had never given any cause of complaint. 'But were you aware that he was a Thug leader?' Upon this the office-keeper gave a significant shrug, and said, 'Well, sir, we have heard of the use he made of his holiday.' Such is Hindu morality! (p.4)

The practical conclusion to be deduced from these premises is, that, as the Christian religion is the only one capable of correcting the disorders caused by the passions of mankind, and of gradually leading on the world to a state of perfection, it must be of divine origin, and we are bound to promote its universal diffusion in obedience to its founder, Jesus Christ. If this is true as a general proposition, we are under a special obligation to our magnificent Indian Empire, and the facilities for the task are in proportion to the obligation. The founders of the Hindu system flattered themselves that they had constructed an inexpugnable system, but the arrangements on which they chiefly relied have proved their greatest cause of weakness. They took away the key of knowledge by confining literature

and science to the sacred Sanskrit language, and permitting none but Brahmans to learn it. But their flank has been completely turned by the avidity with which natives of every caste now cultivate the language of their rulers, and their own vernacular languages in connection with it. The Brahmans bound up their legal and scientific system with their religion, and now it is all breaking up together, for the full light of European science has been turned upon it, and the notion cannot for a moment be entertained that the world is supported on the back of a tortoise, or that an eclipse is caused by a monstrous dragon devouring the sun or moon.*

The grammar and spelling-book suffice to destroy the Hindu religion. A generation is growing up which repudiates idols. A young Hindu, who had received a liberal English education, was forced by his family to attend the shrine of Kali, upon which he took off his cap to 'Madam Kali,' made her a low bow, and 'hoped her ladyship was well.' Nevertheless, the missionaries have a most important part to perform. The schoolmaster may break down the barrier, but the missionary must march in and occupy the citadel. The natives are craving for knowledge; and, after the example of Dr. Duff, the missionaries should seize the opportunity and give them Christian knowledge. Although it has heretofore been miserably misdirected, the Hindus are strongly imbued with the religious sentiment (the extravagant lengths they have gone in false religion would alone prove this), and **they cannot long do without the consolations and hopes of religion. As they cannot go back becoming more associated in their minds with peace, civil, order, justice, national propriety. In this way the Government helps. The railways help. Every Englishman who in any way benefits India helps.***

The evangelisation of India must not be measured by the annual number of declared conversions. India is absorbing Christian knowledge and Christian feeling at every pore. The more fact that evenhanded justice is administered without any imputation of interested motives, and that, whatever mistakes we make, we try to do our duty to India, so contrary to all experience of former rulers, has a great educational effect, the influence of which is seen in the growth of a body of native public officers who can be trusted in a way they never were before. An unusually difficult and responsible administrative operation, of the nature of our tithe commutation, had to be executed in the Tanjore district, and all my advisers, European and native, agreed in recommending a native officer, Ramaya Ayankar, as the fittest person to be entrusted with it. He was so entrusted, and he executed it to admiration without the slightest imputation on his personal integrity. **It is a guarantee of further progress in this direction that the observance of the seventh day's rest has commenced. At Madras, in particular, it is delightful to see family parties of natives walking about dressed in their Sunday-best. The full religious significance of the day has not yet occurred to them, but they have accepted it as a day of rest and social recreation.***

Although India has not yet become Christian, a higher standard of morality has been established, and the spirit of Christianity is becoming diffused throughout native society. Christian knowledge is spreading in every direction in advance of openly professed conversations, and it has become a common thing to meet with natives who know more of the Bible than most Christians. Multitudes, quite outside the missionary communities, have accepted Christianity in principle. This is to a great extent avowed. No doubt you have heard of Ram Mohan Rai, Dwarkanath Thakur, and Keshab Chandar Sen, the leaders of a vast secession from Hinduism, which has already advanced more than halfway to Christianity; and

there are greater multitudes behind who have made no profession, but are felling their way towards a religion which they see is full of power and blessing. The reproach of Christianity is fast disappearing. When I first went to India no respectable Hindu or Mahomedan would be seen in company with a Christian convert. They would not enter the same ferry-boat with them, and would break or scour a vessel they had touched. Now, however, Christian converts hold their own in native society. They are kept in countenance by the much larger numbers who, without professing Christianity, have thrown off Hinduism. They take an active part in municipal and general administration, getting their full share of public appointments. The missionary schools, also, are crowded, and the missionaries themselves are in great request as tutors to the children of native chiefs.

My own opinion is, that the conversion of India to Christianity will take place in a different way from that generally anticipated. When the fullness of time has come, and the absorption of Christian truth has gone far enough, native public opinion will declare itself, and `a nation will be born in a day.' it will be something like the construction of a railway. The first sod is cut. The ballast is heaped to make the embankment. The rails are laid upon the embankment. Still, although greatly advanced, it cannot be said to be a railway until the locomotive has been placed on the rail, and the fire has been lighted to get up the steam. Many of those who fill this room will, I hope, see the Christian locomotive placed on the Indian rail.*

42.

IOL: L/P&J/6/467 (2527-2550) 1897, R.B. P. Ananda Charlu

2547. (60 pages) Religious Endowments Bill "It will be seen from the last page of the proceedings in the legislative council (J&P, 805 below) that the government of India regard the Bill as an attempt to carry further the legislation of 1863, which was desired principally to enable government to divest itself of all connection with non-christian religions. They considered that it can only pass if it receives a general support of those interested, and they reserve the right to oppose it, if necessary."

For information. No orders seem necessary.