Vol viii

NEED FOR EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION AND A NEW CODE OF LAWS FOR INDIA (A.D.1829)

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1. NEED FOR EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION AND A NEW CODE OF LAWS FOR INDIA (A.D.1829)

Department of Paleography and Diplomatic, Durhum; II Earl Grey Papers: Box 36/File 1: No. 4-16(marked A1-L) are on "Law and European Settlement"

Minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe: 19 February 1829¹ (extract)

I have long lamented that our countrymen in India are excluded from the possession of land, and other ordinary rights of peaceable subjects.

I believe that the existence of these restrictions impedes the prosperity of our Indian Empire, and, of course, that their removal would tend to promote it.

I am also of the opinion that their abolition is necessary for that progressive increase of revenue, without which our income cannot keep pace with the continually increasing expence of our establishments.

I am further convinced that our possession of India must always be precarious, unless we take root by having an influential portion of the population attached to our Government by common interests and sympathies.

Every measure, therefore, which is calculated to facilitate the settlement of our countrymen in India, and to remove the obstructions, by which it is impeded, must, I conceive, conduce to the stability of our rule, and to the welfare of the people subject to our dominion.

The only objection that strikes me, to the spread of a British Christian population in India, is the existing discordance of the laws by which our English and our native subjects are respectively governed. This objection will no doubt in time be removed, and the sooner the better, by framing laws equally binding on both parties, in all concerns common to both; and leaving to all their own suitable laws, in whatever peculiarly concerns themselves alone. The present system of judicature in India, by which the king's court is rendered entirely separate from the local administration and institutions, and often practically subversive of their power and influence, is fraught with mischief; and that part of the system which makes our native subjects under some circumstances liable to the jurisdiction of the king's court, under some to that of the Company's court, and under some that of both, without regard to residence, or any clearly defined limitations by which our native subjects can know to what laws or courts they are or not amenable, is replete with gross injustice and oppression, and is an evil loudly demanding a remedy, which can only be found in a strict local limitation of the powers of his majesty's courtwith regard to the persons and property of native subjects, or in an amal-gamation of the king's courts with the local judicial institutions under a code of laws fitted for local purposes, and calculated to bestow real and equal justice on all classes of subjects under British dominion in India.²

^{1} No 11 (marked f)

² No 6 (marked B1)

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2. MINUTE OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK: 30TH MAY 1829³ (EXTRACT)

Recent events, and the occurrences now passing under our eyes, still more clearly justify the persuasion, that whatever change would be beneficial for our native subjects, we may hope to see adopted, in part at least, at no distant period, if adequate means and motives be presented. I need scarcely mention the increasing demand which almost all who possess the means evince, for various articles of convenience and luxury purely European. It is, in many cases, very remarkable. Even in the celebration of their most sacred festivals, a great change is said to be perceptible in Calcutta. Much of what used, in old times, to be distributed among beggars and Brahmins, is now, in many instances, devoted to the ostentatious entertainment of Europeans; and generally, the amount expended in useless alms is stated to have been greatly curtailed. The complete and cordial cooperation of the native gentry ...in promoting education,.... the anxiety evinced at Delhi and at Agra, and elsewhere, for the means of instruction in the English language;.... these, and other circumstances, leave in my mind no doubt, that our native subjects would profit largely by a more general intercourse with intelligent and respectable Europeans, and would promptly recognise the advantage of it.

³ No.9 (marked D) Archival Compilations: Vol 8

3. MINUTE OF SIR CHARLES GREY: OCT 2, 1829⁴ (EXTRACT)

It may be doubted, whether the present state of things, which I believe to be unexampled in the history of the world, can last much longer. Throughout the great part of India there are to be found some individuals at least of four distinct classes, each of which is supposed to live under a distinct system of law, and to have different rights and different duties, but none of them accurately defined. There are persons born in the British Islands, Hindoos, Mahometans, Asiatic Christians, and besides all these, there are in many parts, foreigners and subjects of Great Britain, who have been born neither in the British Islands, nor in India, as to whom I believe, there is no one who, consistently with usage, can say, with any just confidence, what law it is which applies to them. Hitherto it has been possible to make a shift; but as the native Christians, British and colonial persons, and foreigners shall increase in numbers and pervade India, a result which must gradually take place, matters may be brought to such a pass as would scarcely be tolerable.

⁴ No. 8 (marked C) Archival Compilations: Vol 8

4. C. T. METCALFE ON BRITISH SENSE OF INSECURITY IN INDIA AND HENCE NEED FOR LARGE-SCALE EUROPEAN COLONIZATION IN INDIA

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

We are to appearance more powerful in India now than we ever were. Nevertheless our downfall may be short⁵ work. When it commences it will probably be rapid: and the world will wonder more at the suddenness with which our immense Indian Empire may vanish, than it has done at the surprising conquest that we have achieved.

The cause of this precariousness is, that our power does not rest on actual strength, but on impression. Our whole real strength consists in the European Regiments, speaking comparatively, that are scattered singly over the vast space of subjugated India.⁶

That is the only portion of our soldiery whose hearts are with us, and whose constancy can be relied on in the hour of trial. All our native establishments, military or civil, are the followers of fortune. They serve us for their livelihood and generally serve us well. From a sense of what is due to the hand extol. They may often display fidelity under trying circumstances, but in their inward feeling, they partake more⁷ or less of the universal disaffection, which prevails against us, not from bad government, but from natural and irrestible antipathy; and were the wind to change to use a native expression, and set in steadily against us, we could not expect that their sense of honour, although there Empires grow old, decay and perish. Ours in India can hardly be called old, but seems destined to be short lived. It appears to have passed the brilliancy and vigor of youth, and it may be, that we have reached a premature old age. We have ceased to be the wonder that we were to the Natives, the charm which once encompassed us has been dissolved, and our subjects have had leisure to enquire why they have been subdued. The consequences of the enquiry may be seen hereafter.

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

⁵ This is very true.

⁶ Regretfully true. The disproportion between the European and Native army is quite unintelligible in point of policy. We have a much greater force of the latter than we want, for our defence even if no increase of the former should take place. But supposing the native army to be reduced to the lowest requisite amount even then a portion of it might be....Thirty instead of 20,000 Europeans would I think completely establish the security

⁷ I fear that there is truth in this remark that feeds them which is one of the virtues that they must might be splendid instances of devotion, would keep the man on our side, in opposition to the common feeling, which with one view, might for a time unite all India, from one end to the other.

The most obvious mode of strengthening our power in India would be by a large⁸ increase of our European force, but as we could not find funds for the consequent expense, that measure is impracticable.⁹

Whither we maintain or lose India, does not depend on its being governed in the name of the King or in that of the Company. Our fate most probably will be the same either way. But as long we retain possession, we are bound to do all the good in our power to our subjects. Although the hope of gaining their attachment be utterly vain, we may often mitigate and neutralise their disaffection; and by the longer continuance of our rule, that feeling may be less predominant as seems already to be the case in our oldest possessions, where the inhabitants have been habituated to our government for more than one generation. Even however under a certainy of permanent disaffection, our duty towards the governed is the same, We are bound to give them the best government in our power.¹⁰ Will India then be best governed by continuing the channel of the Company or directly by the Ministers of the Crown?

As concerning the native population of India, it seems to be a matter of indifference for whatever

improvements can be introduced into one local administration, may be equally effected¹¹ in the one case or the other. Even now, India on all great questions is governed by the Board of Control. Any obvious improvement could be introduced, if it did not violate the Company's charter. And it would only be necessary, in the new charter, to take care that no stipulations were admitted, which might preclude the power of improvement.

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

The Europeans, ie the British, settled in India, and not in the Company's service, and to these might be added generally the European Indians of mixed breed, will never be satisfied with the Company's government, well or ill founded. They will always attach to it the notion of monopoly and exclusion. They will consider themselves comparatively discountenanced and unfavoured, and will always look with desire to the substitution of the King's government. For the contentment of this class, which for the benefit of India, and the security of our Indian Empire, ought greatly to increase in numbers and importance, the introduction of a King's Government is undoubtedly desirable¹²....

On¹³ the whole the King's government seems preferable; but whether the Government be King's or Company's, the prospect of improvement is not flattering.

⁸ Certainly

⁹ I am not of this opinion. The difference....is not much more than 2 to 1. How much greater the comparative efficiency.

¹⁰ Excellent doctrine.

¹¹ page 164 of the printed text.

¹² I think the opinion is well founded.

¹³ 4-5 para omitted in the printed text from middle of page 164. The following passage starts on page 166 in the printed text

The revenues of India are not equal to the support of its expenses, and judging from past experience are not likely to become so. We may and we must reduce our ordinary expenditure within our income, but we have a heavy debt to discharge, and we have no security against future wars. which must increase our financial difficulties. There is a continual hope of a permanent reduction of establishments. There is a continual tendency to increase. Some branches of revenue are likely to fall off. There is no satisfactory assurance of great increase in any others. The sea customs, now exceedingly low, are susceptible of improvement, but it can only be by levying higher duties on the trade with Europe, to which the merchants of England would object. There is indeed the remote prospect of increase of Revenue from the increased influx of Europeans; but this is, at present, speculative¹⁴ and whether an increase of revenue, or in consequence of more expensive establishments, an increase of expense will be the result of the extension of the European population is uncertain. It is therefore to be apprehended, that the government will not possess the power of reducing taxation, as it will hardly have the means, with its present revenue, of supporting its expenses. The former may be the less regretted, as the effect of reducing taxation, in any shape in which it would have to be accomplished, is far from certain. The only branch of our taxation ,that can be called excessive, is the land revenue, the chief resource that maintains the State. A reduction in this, justly apportioned, would contribute to the comfort of the mass of our subjects, the village population, but would not make them wealthy. If apportioned without great care, and strict regard to justice, it would not even promote their comfort, and might probably do them injury. That reduction, however, whatever would be its consequences, we are not in a condition to afford. Our government in India is not a national Government, that can rely on the affection of its subjects for defence against foreign invasion. It is the curse of a Government over a conquered country, that it can not trust the people.Our subjects are internal enemies, ready at least for change, if not ripe for insurrection. The least affected are passive votaries of fate. We retain our dominion only by a large military establishment, and without a considerable force of British troops, the fidelity of our native soldiery would not be relied on.*

It¹⁵ would be difficult to calculate what force precisely is requisite. It is easy to see that for security we have not too much. It seems that we ought to maintain all that we can pay;¹⁶ and to pay we require all the revenue that we can raise. A reduction of taxation for any beneficial consequence appears to be hopeless.

No Government perhaps ever made a greater reduction of taxation, or, in other words, a greater sacrifice of the right to acknowledged and usual public revenue, than did the Bengal Government, prospectively, in 1793, in what was termed the permanent settlement of the land revenue..But what was the consequence of this sacrifice? It did not benefit the majority of the population interested in land; on the contrary, it practically destroyed their rights. It only transferred the Revenues of Government to some individuals, who had no title to it, without any beneficial effect on the public interests, as far as perceptible to common observation.^{*17} If reduction of taxation and improvement as its consequence, are not to be

¹⁴ and, it may be added, distant.

^{*} Emphasis added: Editor-Compiler.

¹⁵ Certainly.

¹⁶ I am not quite of this opinion.

¹⁷ quite true

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expected, from what other quarter may improvement be looked for? From none suddenly. It is to be hoped that our government is gradually producing improvement; that we are progressively enlightening the minds of the natives; that security is promoting wealth; and it may reasonably be expected, that the increase of European settlers will have very beneficial effects. But improvement can only be gradual....

5. A FEW SUGGESTIONS ON THE ADVISABILITY OF THE EUROPEAN COLONIZATION OF THE MOUNTAIN RANGES AND TABLE LANDS OF INDIA

Leeds Public Libraries Archives: Lord Canning: Military Secretary's Papers on miscellaneous subjects: No: 289 (part) *Need for European Colonisation 1858* by Major G. T. Haly, of the Madras Army. (Being the result of thirty-two years experience, during which period, from the peculiar nature of his duties, both in a military and civil capacity, he has had more than the usual opportunities of gaining a knowledge of the working of the system of Indian Government.)

IN submitting these suggestions, I trust to be exonerated for having touched only lightly upon the all-important subject of religion. In pursuing this course, I have been actuated by the dread of startling those of our rulers whose dependence has hitherto been upon a standing army, and whose total disregard of all true Christian principle has been urged. This is the rock on which the late Government foundered; and so will the present one, too, unless they manfully come forward at the onset, as Christian rulers, and show that they are neither afraid nor ashamed to acknowledge that religion which has been so long ignored and kept in the background by a false and pusillanimous policy; a policy which has been the ground of the present disturbance, and of our humiliation. This cannot but be the opinion of all those really acquainted with India. In proof of this, I ask - Who are more respected by the Natives, of all classes, than the Missionaries ? And Why ? Because they have not been ashamed to acknowledge and uphold their religion. It is our mistaken policy that has chiefly maintained caste - to the detriment of our own; the religious toleration so much boasted of having been entirely in favour of the Heathen. This is, unfortunately, an undeniable fact, which I am prepared to prove, as well as all the other points advanced in the accompanying "SUGGESTIONS."

Education is another most important subject; but the innate thirst of knowledge that the native classes in India have, renders easy the education of the people , under judicious management. The present educational system is faulty, and not the least of its many defects is the showy, but hollow, university or college system, which embraces a certain class only, and goes above the capacity of that class's comprehension.

To this faulty principle of over-educating the few, whilst the many remain in stolid ignorance, may be traced, I think, not a few of the present evils.

Education for India, to do good, must be progressive. It must go on from one generation to another gradually. Our rapid flights in this direction must do harm with a people so peculiarly constituted as are the Natives of India. Normal district and village schools are what is required for imparting knowledge; and to these useful, unpretending schools, in connection with a more distinct recognition of Christianity, may we not reasonably look, under the Divine favour, for the happiest results.

G.

T. HALY.

Our rule

I. Although it cannot be said that India has ever yet been under European rule, it has long been well known to all who have given the subject a thought, that India has been won and kept by the European soldier, and even the most obtuse and bigoted must acknowledge that it has been saved by the European Soldier, and it is to them, and them only, that we can look to retain it, but not as hitherto - merely by the force of their arms.*

1. Rebellious spirit of the Natives.

2. Demoralishing effects of detachments.

II. The simple question, therefore, is as to the best and most economical mode of keeping up a sufficient number of whites, as well by example to create the spirit of improvement as to check the inherent rebellious spirit of the Natives of India; for independent of the late revolting outbreak, not a year passes without numerous commotions of more or less magnitude occurring, throughout the length and breadth of the land; and such has been the want of confidence that not even a court of justice has been left without a guard of soldiers, either European or native, and it may be truly said that the revenue of India has hitherto been levied at the point of the bayonet; and to this system, entailing the necessity for small detachments to protect the civilian, and in aid of and to back up the civil authority, may in a great measure be attributed the disorganised state of the native army.*

- 1. Paucity of Europeans
- 2. Character of native officials
- 3. **Opinion of the people**

III. The paucity of European civilians has necessitated our trusting most of the work to be carried out by native functionaries, principally Brahmins, whose bigotry and antipathies, together with their well-known avaricious character and love of intrigue, render them at least but doubtful instruments for honestly carrying out the views and intentions of Government, and dealing out justice to the people. This is the belief of all classes; the universal cry being ,"Give us Europeans to deal with and to rule over us, and we shall then have fair play". The truth of this will be fully shown by the "Madras Torture Report," and that on the" Public Works Department" of the same Presidency.*

- 1. Mamool impositions
- 2. Necessity for increase of European officials
- 3. Frequent cause of petty risings

IV. Manifold authentic instances could be adduced, to prove the existence, amongst the Government native servants, of a systematic practice of imposition, now become the "Mamool" (custom). In fact, in one way or other, it is generally believed that at least ten per cent. over the regular Government assignment is so levied - the unfortunate "ryot" (cultivator) being the principal sufferer. These impositions can only be stopped by the increase of European Government servants, and by throwing more Europeans into the country, as their example, combining deference to the law with a manful resistance to such extortions, will greatly tend to check them, for it is well known that the Native, under the

present system, dreads to make his complaint, owing to the persecution to which he is sure to be subjected by the native officials; consequently the frequent rising en masse of a district, is, in their opinion, the only means of bringing their grievances to the notice of Government and obtaining redress.*

1. Beneficial influence of increased Christian population

2. Christian religion ignored.

V. The increase in the Christian population would of necessity have its own influence on society at large, and not the least of our short-comings in India has been the manner in which we have ignored our religion, more particularly by showing a PREFERENCE to heathen caste in filling the Government offices with Brahmins and other high castes, much to the detriment of the other *inferior* castes, which are understood to include Eurasians (Indo-Britons) and other Native Christians.

Advisability for an increased European population

VI. The advisability, it may be said, the necessity for an increase to the European population in India can hardly at the present day be a question, though the feasibility and mode of accomplishing it may be.

1. European colonisation

2. Indian manufactures retrograded under our rule

VII. The European soldier, besides being the most expensive is also the most unprofitable means of keeping up the required material. Colonisation by emigration, on the contrary, will, at the same time that secures the required bulwark, introduce a practical scientific, and superior working class, and in no country in the world is this so much required; for **India has much retrograded in this particular under our rule, owing partly to her home-mades not being able to compete with European goods, though the raw material in many instances is far superior. What, for instance, can surpass in durability the Bombay made ships? and these ships cost a third less than English built ones.***

- 1. Agriculture not understood
- 2. No attention to the breeding of cattle
- 3. Importance of a dependable population

VIII. Agriculture is carried on at present in the rudest and most primitive style. Manuring is not in the least understood, and but rarely practised except in the vicinity of the residence of Europeans; and attention to the breeding of horses, cattle, and sheep, is entirely neglected, except in isolated cases, either under or at the suggestion of a European. It must, therefore, be evident that India has much to gain by the introduction of Europeans, as well as regards the social well-being of the people and general advancement of the country, as the all-important advantage which would accrue to the British rule in India by the introduction and general establishment of a population on whose attached loyalty dependence could be placed in times of trouble.

- 1. Diversity of climate
- 2. Mountain ranges as sanatorium
- 3. Neilgherry hills
- 4. Coffee estates
- 5. Altitude

IX. The climate of India is, of course, the principal drawback to its European colonisation; but this is not so great an obstacle as may at first appear, consequent on the great diversity of climate, caused, principally by its mountain ranges, viz. : in Bengal, the Himalaya; in Bombay, the Mahablewashaar; and in Madras, Mysore, the Shevaroy, Pulney, and Neilgherry hills; the latter of late the sanatorium even for Bengal and Bombay, owing as much to the salubrity of its climate as to readiness of access - it being easier for those residing in Lower Bengal and Bombay to reach their vicinity by sea, being distant only about 80 miles from the western coast, and about 100 from an eastern seaport; and increased facility will likewise be afforded by the railway shortly to be opened, and running round the basement of these hills. The proof of the salubrity of the Neilgherry Hills exists besides in the fact of its being the sanatorium for European troops. A station has been formed within the last few years at Jackattalla, on the top of the Eastern or Coonoor Ghaut, where extensive public buildings have been and still continue to be erected. It is likewise the resort of retired, and invalid officers, both civil and military, some of whom have opened large coffee estates that extend down the side of the mountain as low as 2,000 feet, the climate at which altitude agrees well (when the jungle has been cleared) with the European constitution; but the uncultivated table-land altitude (7,000 feet) would alone suffice for the occupation and maintenance of at least 5,000 families, and this without the least interference with the natives; the few who live on and cultivate the hills having been principally induced to do so by the presence and requirements of European residents and visitors.

Tribes on the hills

X. There are, however, three classes of native occupants - *viz.*, the Todawars, a nomadic tribe (fast disappearing); the Kotah, chiefly ironsmiths; and the Burghers, or cultivators on a small scale. The whole of these people were found to be eking out a miserable existence, when first these hills were resorted to by Europeans, some thirty-eight years ago, but the Burghers have much improved since it has become a sanatorium for Europeans.

Area
Wynaad
Cholera unknown

XI. The area of the plateau of the Neilgherry Hills comprises about 300,000 square acres, of which not more than 25,000 acres have been brought under cultivation. The soil is exceedingly rich and productive, and the climate sufficiently cool to admit of Europeans labouring throughout the day all the year round.

The mean temperature at noon averages 68 degree in the hottest weather, and the coldest seldom exceeds 42 degrees, with frost at night, during the months of December and January. The natural consequence of so even a temperature is a most healthy climate, and these hills are

one of the few places in the world that have not been visited by cholera.

But for a full description of these beautiful hills, with this delightful climate, see Captain Ouchterlony's Report to the Madras Government, in the "Madras Journal of Literature and Science," No. 34, Vol. XV., for December, 1848.

- 1. Koondahs
- 2. Wynaad

3. Beneficial effects of clearing the jungle

XII. I have restricted myself to observations on the Neilgherry Hills, being those which I am personally well acquainted with; but the Koondahs, an extensive adjoining range, must be equally eligible, and abound with magnificent forests and virgin soil, and consequently are well suited for the culture of coffee. The Shevaroys are principally under coffee cultivation, but the Pulneys still remain waste. There is another range, the Wynaad, distant about 30 miles from the western seaports, upon which large coffee estates are yearly being opened. These are lower (about 2,800 feet), therefore not so well suited to the European constitution; however, the clearing of the jungle, in opening these estates, has had a wonderful effect, the result being a healthy locality in a part a few years back noted for its deadly jungle fever, but admitting now of the residence of the European coffee planters with their families, enjoying excellent health, though their occupation naturally causes them much exposure.

1. Teak Forests

2. Necessary for European superintendence

XIII. There are considerable tracts of teak forests both in Coorg and Mysore, and coffee and sugar estates have been opened, under European superintendence, which is found necessary on all such estates throughout the country. But there being no lack of native labour in these parts, European managers, overseers, & c., is all that would be required, though the climate both of Coorg and Mysore is well suited to the European constitution; Banglore, in Mysore, for instance, the largest European station in Madras, is noted as one of the healthiest garrisons out of England.

1. Mode of strengthening our possession

2. Inducement to emigrate

3. Soil and climate well adapted to European cultivation

XIV. In a country like Great Britain, from which so much emigration has flowed, I shall not presume on any suggestions as to the most advisable mode to be pursued to gain the grand desideratum of strengthening and improving our possessions in India, by the European colonisation of its mountain tracts and table lands, farther than to remark, that emigrants for India should leave these shores so as to arrive at their destinations early in November - the commencement of the cold season - and that, of course, **on the outset, it would be requisite to hold out a sufficient inducement in the way of free passage, grants of land, & c., or few would be found willing to proceed to a country so little known and understood, and, at present, under so heavy a cloud*. Yet I am persuaded that there are few parts of the world in which the new-comer would so speedily meet with comfort, independence, and a return for his**

labour or outlay - the climate and soil being particularly well adapted for the cultivation of coffee, tea, wheat, barley, & c., potatoes, vegetables of all descriptions, and most of the European fruits, including the mulberry; and the climate has been proved well suited to the silk-worm.

1. Invalid soldiers and emigrants as a militia 2. Acclimatised Europeans

XV. A most feasible mode, well deserving *immediate* attention, likewise exists for at once commencing in India a system of colonisation at little or no expense to the State - viz., by the inducement to officers, European pensioners, and invalid soldiers, of grants of land; and, with the faulty and much-to-be -regretted system at present in vogue of reinforcing the army in India by drafts of *mere lads* a third at least of those now going out will be *hors de combat*, as soldiers, within the first year, but would acclimatise well as *settlers on the hills*, and should be formed into a militia, in which all other European settlers should be bound to serve, if required; but which would not be likely to occur, as independent of the force of the example of the industrious and peaceable population; the fact of so many able-bodied *acclimatised Europeans* being within call, would have its due weight on the native mind, and obviate the necessity for an expensive overpowering European force.

1. Good results to be expected from European civilization and energy 2. Settlers hitherto discouraged

XVI. It would require one much more gifted, and an abler pen than mine, to point out the numerous advantages to be gained by the introduction of European civilisation, enterprise, and energy, for it is a lamentable fact, and patent to all acquainted with India , that no attempt has been made by Government to develop the manifold resources of our Indian Empire; on the contrary, a mistaken and blind policy has existed of discouraging European settlers; but it is to be hoped that that dark day has closed, and that a more enlightened one is dawning, and that **India in future may look to be liberally governed, and not, as heretofore, ruled by the screw and bayonet**.*

1. Cause of the hills being so little known and appreciated

2. Beneficial result to the Army

XVII. It may appear strange that these mountain ranges are so little known or appreciated as sanatoriums for *troops*; but this may be partly accounted for by their having only recently been experimentalised upon as such, but "*mamool*" (custom) - that millstone of Indian improvement (equally crushing with caste) - has had its weight, therefore "*mamool*" has kept the sick soldier in hospital in the plains till the last moment, the survivors, at the customary period, appearing before a medical board to be passed for transmission to England at an enormous expense to the State and ruin to most of them, as many are immediately discharged on their arrival, with broken constitutions, as unfit for military service, and return to their homes either to be a burden to their families or their parishes; and so ends the life of many gallant soldiers, who, with timely change to the hills, and care on arrival there, might have recovered and returned to their duty as able bodied, acclimatised soldiers, or remained on the hills as useful and comfortable settlers.

6. REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMTTEE APPOINTED BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THE PROMOTION OF EUROPEAN COLONOZATION AND SETTLEMENT IN INDIA, ESPECIALLY IN THE HILL DISTRICTS AND HEALTHIER CLIMATES OF THAT COUNTRY c. 1859

Veneris, 10 die Jnnii, 1859: Ordered, THAT a Select Committeebe appointed to inquire into the Progress and Prospects, and the best Means to be adopted for the Promotion of European Colonization and Settlement in India , especially in the Hill Districts and Healthier Climates of that Country; as well as for the Extension of our Commerce with Central Asia.

Committee nominated of -

Mr. William Ewart. Mr. Henry Baillie. Mr. Gregson. Mr. Kinnaird. Mr. Knight. Mr. Lowe. Mr. Arthur Mills. Sir. Erskine Perry. Mr. Richardson. Mr. Danby Seymour. Mr. John Benjamin Smith Mr. Vansittart. Mr. Villiers. Colonel Sykes.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records. *Ordered,* THAT Five be the Quorum of the Committee.

Lune, 18 o die Julii, 1859.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Villiers and Mr. Lowe be added to the Committee. *Ordered,* THAT the reports of Session 1858, and Session I., 1859, be referred to the Committee.

Martis, 9 o die Augusti, 1859.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to Report their Observations, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, to The House.

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REPORT

The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Progress and Prospects, and the best means to be adopted for the Promotion of **European Colonization And Settlement in India**, especially in the **Hill Districts** and Healthier Climates of that Country, as well as for the extension of our Commerce with **Central Asia**, and who were empowered to Report their

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Observations, together with the **Minutes of Evidence**, taken before them thereon; - HAVE considered the matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following report:-

SETTLEMENT

YOUR COMMITTEE think it proper to commence their Report by a restriction, obvious almost to every one, of the sense in which must be applied to India. Though sanctioned in its application to that country by modern usage, and by such high authority as that of Lord Metcalfe, the term colonization "must, in this instance, clearly be limited to a class of superior settlers. who may, by their enterprise, capital, and science, set in motion the labour, and develop the resources, of India." The inducements to a settlement of the working classes of the British Isles are not generally to be found in India. Those inducements are, high wages, the facility of obtaining land at an easy rate, the enjoyment of a constitution framed after that of the mother country, a temperate climate, and the prospect of forming a part of a community speaking our language and conforming to our manners and customs. The settlement of India took place at a period of remote antiquity. Its lands have mostly been appropriated; the wages of labour are low; its Government is absolute; its climate is generally unfavourable to the permanent residence and increase of the British race, and to labour in the open air; and its usage, languages, and religions are strange, and repulsive to the English labourer. For these reasons, and in accordance with the testimony laid before them, your committee are of opinion, that India cannot compete with the boundless regions of America or Australia, as a home for the labouring emigrant.*

Nothing more strongly impresses an inquirer into the foundation and progress of our Indian Empire than the contrast which, as regards British residence, it presents to our other dependencies. While free settlement, as in the neighbouring Island of Ceylon, has formed the basis of our colonial system, and the cause of its prosperity, the exclusion of free settlers has marked the origin and the progress of our Indian Government. Statesmen, indeed, like Lord William Bentinck and Lord Metcalfe saw, in the future increase of British settlers, the only permanent prosperity of British India; and English, and even Indian opinion, has gradually followed in the track of those more observant and profounder minds^{*} Even now, although the principle of free settlement has been recognised by British Legislation, traces of the old exclusive system are said to linger still. Though they may be removed in fact, they are stated to exist in feeling. Thus we are told by a very competent witness, that a "cold shade is thrown over European adventures in India:" and by another, that a feeling of "dislike to settlers" exists among civilians; that the civilians, as distinguished from the settlers, are "too much of a caste", and that the covenanted service is "as it were, the nobility of India."

It appears even now to be doubted by legal authorities whether Europeans can enter, without a licence, those parts of India which have been acquired within the present century. Your Committee recommend the removal of this doubt by legislative enactment.

It is stated by witnesses, generally that "wherever Europeans have settled, a marked improvement in the country has followed;" the various products of the land have been developed. Settlers have taken the lead in introducing steam navigation, and in discovering its indispensable auxiliaries, coal and iron; in the extension of roads, and in generally lowering the cost of production.

It is justly observed by Mr. Marsham, that from their intercourse with the people, settlers must naturally "know more what is passing in their minds" than the agents of the Government ; the position of the settlers rendering them vigilant and interested observers of the tendency of native opinion.

Where they reside , the rate of interest, often exorbitantly high, becomes reduced. The circulation of ready money is extended, and a steady rise takes place in the rate of wages.

Another good effect of settlement is its tendency to promote the maintenance of order. A large extension of the number of settlers over India would be a considerable guarantee against any future insurrection, and would tend to lessen the necessity for maintaining our expensive army.*

Climate

An objection to British settlement in India has been raised on the ground of climate. It appears to your Committee that the dangerous effect of the climate of India has been considerably exaggerated. The planters from Lower Bengal, especially in Behar, are described as a "healthy and hearty" race of men. Such of them as attended before your Committee resembled English farmers rather than residents in a climate far distant and different from their own. Statements, tending considerably to modify pre-conceivedopinions as to the dangers of an Indian climate, proceeded from settlers in various parts of India.

Hill Districts

One of the special branches of the subject referred to the consideration of your Committee was the fitness of the hill-districts of India for the reception of European settlers. "There is hardly a province throughout India," states an eminent medical man, Mr. Martin, "where there are not mountain -ranges available for civil and military residence". Mr. Martin's attention was first called to this circumstance with reference to the army, and he has long since submitted to the Government of India a report on the necessity, for the preservation of the European arm, of the permanent removal of a portion of it to the hills. "The monotony of a barrack life on the plains of India," "without congenial employment or resource," is stated, by several witnesses, to be "destructive both to mind and body of the soldier."

It is said that settlement in the hills will tend more than any other circumstance to attach European families to India. **The capitalist, living himself in a higher climate, may direct the progress of labour in the plain**.^{*} Railways will give a great facility to residence in the hills. One is already contemplated to Darjeeling. It is stated that these "hill-climates" have not been sufficiently explored. Many reports have been written upon them; but it is desirable that agents on the spot more closely examine them, and that their research should be made public. So far as your Committee have inquired, climates favourable to European health may be found at a due elevation on the Himalayas, on the Neilgherries, and on other hill ranges yet incompletely explored, especially in the South of India. At about 4,000 feet above the sea level the Himalayas offer an European climate. On the eastward portion, indeed, of that extensive range, the prevalence of rain may be frequently a serious objection; though not so formidable

as is generally supposed. Further to the westward the rainfall sensibly diminishes. It has been suggested that asylums, like those originated by the lamented Sir Henry Lawrence, might be advantageously formed on the hills; where , in a climate like that of our own country, the children of soldiers and of other persons might be trained, with a special view to the practical improvement of India, and to the acquisition of a knowledge of the people and the country (see the evidence of Gen. Tremenheere and others). Mechanics, and practical agriculturists, are greatly wanted in India. The planters state that young men acquainted with the native languages are much required for their establishments. Thus educated, they might also be employed, as commercial travellers are in this country, for extending the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain and of Europe in the East.

Few objects of contemplation can be more interesting than the formation and progress of these establishments on the hills. The rapid rise of the settlement at Darjeeling, in Sikkim, about 300 miles north of Calcutta, is described in the interesting evidence of Dr. Hooker (see Dr. Hooker's evidence). It appears that the population (4,000 or 5,000 in 1848) doubled itself in the course of The natives of Bhotan, Thibet and Nepaul flocked to be employed by the two years. Europeans. The rapid increase of wealth and population is described by Dr. Hooker as more resembling that of an Australian than an Indian settlement. Dr. Campbell, the energetic governor of Darjeeling, established a fair in the neighbourhood; by which he attracted the natives from all the surrounding countries. In a similar manner Captain Ouchterlony describes the rapid growth of a settlement on the slopes of the Neilgherry hills in the district of Malabar. In the year 1845 a tract of forest, till then the haunt of tigers and wild elephants, was discovered, favourable to the growth of coffee; settlers, attracted by the facility of acquiring land, rapidly resorted to it. In the year 1856 the wilderness had become a colony; the forest had been cleared for miles; excellent roads extended in all directions; and villages, bazaars, and well conducted schools were founded. Here, as at Darjeeling, great improvement has resulted among the surrounding natives; almost every cottage has its coffee ground; vast jungles have become cultivated, and malaria has disappeared.*

There are three climates at three different elevations in the Neilgherries. The rainy season may be escaped by migration from one part of the hills to another. Clouds, throughout the summer, temper the heat of the sun. The roads are good. There is a large extent of waste land fit for cultivation. The tea plant is said to thrive admirably. Fuel was formerly much wanted in the Neilgherries; but peat, found generally distributed over the hill-tracts, is stated to be sold at the low rate of 2 s. 6 d. a ton. The increase of the population at Ootacamund has been from 9,383 in the year 1848, to 56,900 in 1856 (see Cadtain Ouchterlony's evidence). This increase has proceeded, as in the already-cited instance of Darjeeling, mainly, or entirely, from the surrounding country. On these hills, it is suggested that superintendents of estates in Mysore, Coimbatoor, Malabar, and Canara might reside. The railway will open them to residents in Salem, Madras, and more distant places. The adjoining territory of Coimbatoor is one of the most celebrated parts of India for the cultivation of cotton; which may be further developed in Salem and Trichinopoly. The coffee grown on the slopes of the Neilgherries is stated, on the authority of Colonel Onslow, to be among the best in the London market. The cultivator of a coffee estate, long resident there, states his profits to have been 100 per cent. He adds, that British settlers, understanding the cultivation of coffee, might certainly make a similar, or approximative, profit. The lands whence this profit is derivable were all formerly forest -lands, the haunts of elephants, tigers, and other wild animals.*

The Pulney Hills, although not so high, are stated to enjoy a delightful climate. They, too, will be opened by the completion of railways. The climate of the Shevaroy and Coilamully Hills is favourably described. Their maximum height is said not to exceed 4,500 feet (see Captain Ouchterlony's evidence). The Baramahl, Coimbatoor, and Travancore Hills are said to be still unexplored. It is stated that there is no part of India of which we know so little as of Travancore.

The "resources of Mysore", says Colonel Onslow, "are not generally known. Of all countries," he adds, "it is the most favourable for settlement". The country of Mysore rises high above the sea, having an average altitude of about 1,500 feet; in the south, of nearly 3,000 feet. Many English pensioners and other inhabitants are settled there at present, much preferring such residence to a return to England.

They are stated to want a better title to land reclaimed from the jungle, and an immunity from the chance of future arbitrary taxation by the native Government. Mysore contains an estimated population of 4,000,000. It is said to produce coffee, sugar, wheat, oil-seeds, hemp, cattle of a remarkably fine breed, and it is probably capable of producing tea. The climate, during eight or nine months of the year, is very suitable for Europeans; fever, however, is found there. Banglore is a most healthy region; it is 2,800 feet above the sea-level. Many Europeans reside at Banglore. Chapels, churches, and other public buildings already give it a European character. Soldiers marry and settle there, and live, as it is stated, in a climate far superior to that of Europe. The vicinity of the Neilgherries and other hills give European families the benefit of a change, when a change is needed. The wages of labour are very low in Mysore; capital is much wanted there. It could be successfully applied to the cultivation of coffee and sugar, and of cotton also, a very fine quality having been produced. The cultivation of sugar, especially under the influence of irrigation, is greatly increasing. The quality of the coffee is very fine, the price it brings being nearly equal to the price of Mocha. The jungle land in Mysore is put up to sale; it is sold free from land-tax. The production of wool is increasing in Mysore, the merino breed having been successfully introduced by the enlightened British resident at the Court of Mysore, Sir Mark Cubbon, who is in fact, the ruler of the country.* The wool of Mysore is already much noticed in the British market. Very fine iron ore is found in Mysore, but fuel, for the present, is wanting. On the vegetable products of Mysore the effect of irrigation is said to be "prodigious". There exists an immense number of tanks in the country, fed by the rains on the Western Ghauts. These tanks extend for miles, and in their neighbourhood the sugar-cane grows in profusion. It may be a point of interest to settlers to know that great improvement has arisen from the abolition of at least 600 taxes and transit duties in Mysore; the result has been an immense increase in the revenue. With all these advantages, the population and prosperity of Mysore are increasing rapidly. The roads and bridges in this well managed country are said to be excellent; and a simple, though summary system of law prevails, free from the technicality of the Regulation system. Here, as in other places where there is spare land, it is desirable that power should be given to acquire the ownership of land in fee-simple.

Another favourable position for settlers exists in or near the tea-growing countries of Assam and Cachar. Not far from Assam are the Cossya Hills, 5,000 feet high , where, in the opinion of a medical man, Dr. Barry, Europeans and their descendants could continuously live. The

climate is represented as " a delightful and beautiful one". The distance from the hills to the nearest tea-grounds is about 30 miles. A resident, it is said, on these hills might direct labour on the plains. Tea (the cultivation of which in Assam is averted to in a subsequent part of this report) will grow also on the hills. Their distance, however, from the principal tea district is 300 miles^{*}. The population of Assam amounts to about 1,000,000. The country is stated to be in a most orderly state, survey and registration having been completed there. They have a simplified code of law, based on the Regulations; the parties in the suit being at once called before the judge. One point of great importance to settlers in or near Assam is the steam navigation of the River Bramahpootra for a distance of 800 miles. Steam navigation was begun in the year 1850. The shortest voyage by water from Calcutta to Gowhatty in Assam formerly occupied, in the country boats, three months. The passage is now made by steamers in 11 days. Good coal is said to be found all along the southern hills in Assam. Iron ore, also, in apparent abundance, is to be found in the hills. The making of iron is indeed the occupation of the hill people.* The streams of Upper Assam are said to yield gold dust. It appears that silk might be largely cultivated. The people themselves were formerly clothed in silk. China grass, an article of some importance, grows in Assam; the application of machinery is required to separate the fibre from the stalk. Caoutchone, also, is produced in Assam. It may be an useful practical hit for settlers to know that the cost of living for one person would be in all about 120 pound sterling a year; and that in three years his receipts would "cover his expenses". The country is so interesected by streams, that almost all communication is by water.

Roads

It has been truly said by one of the earliest witnesses examined, that one of the first wants of a settler is facility of access to the interior of the country. The Indian Government , however, held the country the greater part of a century before a main line of road was commenced even through the most populous parts of India. This is a neglect which even those witnesses who have been connected with the Government of India acknowledge and deplore. It was justly considered one of the principal causes of the want of a due supply of cotton from India by the Committee on Cotton Cultivation, presided over by Mr.Bright in 1848. The grand Trunk Road was not begun before the days of Lord William Bentinck, in 1836. It is stated that Mr. Halliday has complained in a minute to Government of the wretched state of the roads near One witness asserts that at a distance of 40 miles from the seat of government itself. Calcutta, there are no roads practicable for carts. It is stated by another witness recently there, that even now a road from Calcutta to Jessore is only just being made. "Between Calcutta and Dacca," says Mr. Underhill " the bridges are broken down , and the road is in perfect disrepair".* This was so late as the year 1854. It is stated by Mr. Theobald that there are no roads to connect Calcutta with Moorshedabad, Dacca, or Patna; at that the roads in Bengal generally are quite impassable during the rainy season. In Guzerat the roads have long been preeminently bad; but both in Guzerat and Lower Bengal, it must be admitted, the nature of the alluvial soil, without a particle of stone in it, offers peculiar difficulties to road making. "We are perishing," says Sir. John Lawrence, "for want of roads in the plains." It appears that the roads in Southern India are much better. It is stated that in Mysore the good state of the roads, and the encouragement given to settlers, are the main causes of the prosperity of the country. " I can," says Colonel Onslow, speaking of Mysore, "see a rise in a few years of 30 per cent. In the revenue of my own division, which I attribute to road-making in a part of the

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country where formerly a wheel-track was never heard of". Yet, in the adjoining country of Malabar, coffee of the most excellent quality cannot be sent from the Neilgherries to a seaport from want of roads. It is one of the advantages conferred by settlers, that by their own exertions, or their complaints, they cause an improvement of the roads; and, indeed, that they are impatient of mismanagement in general.

It is stated that one concern in Jessore, with some little assistance from the Ferry Funds, but principally from voluntary contributions of the ryots, has itself made 50 or 60 miles of road. It would seem to be of importance that settlers, zemindars, and natives generally, should be led to interest themselves in the state of roads. Local committees with such objects have already been formed, and appear to be an obvious mode of interesting and instructing the natives in the practical management of their own concerns: one of the best modes of developing and invigorating the native mind of India.

Transit Duties

Your Committee regret to find that transit duties, abolished in the English parts of India, are still retained in some of the native states. Thus the zemindars resident on the mainstream and tributaries of the Godavery arbitrarily and independently levy, or lately levied, such duties.

Irrigation

One of the measures in which British settlers are greatly interested, and on which the future prosperity of India greatly depends, is an extensive system of irrigation. This obvious source of wealth seems early to have impressed itself on Oriental nations, but have been long neglected by the British Government.* This is the more remarkable, because it is established by the evidence of many witnesses that Government might derive considerable revenue from works of irrigation, "especially as the requisite amount might be raised by loan, which would be a popular investment with the natives." "Irrigation, " says Colonel Onslow, "renders production a certainty; the want of it causes wide-wasting famine". Irrigation, in fact, appears to be the key to the material prosperity of India, and with it to the social and moral improvement of the people. "The advantage of irrigation works", says Sir John Lawrence, "in saving the country from famine, is almost incalculable". The first effect of the irrigation works in Rajahmundry, even before they were completed, was to prevent a famine. Works of irrigation are stated by Captain Haig to increase the amount of products threefold. (see Captain Haig's evidence) In Rajahmundry the people formerly imported food to the amount of 36,000 pound sterling annually. Since a system of irrigation was formed, they export it to the amount of 300,000 pound sterling annually. The profits on these works are also stated by him to equal from 30 or 40 to 50 per cent. Magnificent as are the works already finished or begun, they are still disproportionate to the requirements of India, and to the facilities which exist in many parts of the country for their execution. Countries like Sind, impervious to other means of improvement, are yet improvable by irrigation. The alluvial banks of the Indus offer peculiar facilities for fertilizing the adjacent country, being raised above its level. " A large amount of the rivers of Southern India" (says Captain Ouchterlony), "fed by the rains of the monsoon, are allowed to run waste to the sea". Canals, anicuts, and reservoirs of water, of which so many remains still exist, the silent records of the industry and prosperity of former times, are obvious means of utilising by art the natural water power of the country.* But the evidence

of several witnesses seems to converge in the opinion that the most beneficial system which can be adopted is the combination of irrigating with navigable canals. It is maintained, that for a nation in the present state of India, one most important consideration is cheapness of transit. This appears to be the opinion of that very eminent engineering officer, Colonel Cotton. It is said that by combining navigation with irrigating works we should at once contribute to multiply and to convey the products of the soil.* Elaborate calculations are given by Captain Haig of the relative cost of water and railway conveyance in England, America and India; and the inferences drawn from his premise appear to be that for a country like India water is the most suitable medium of traffic, and that if it succeeds (as Captain Haig considers it does) in America, much more must it be suitable to the yet undeveloped powers of India.* It is observable, that on canals of this kind in India , no toll for transit need be levied, since the income drawn from irrigation will abundantly supply the place of such an impost.

Products

Evidence , interesting to settlers, will be found throughout the Report on the products of India. To a portion of that evidence your Committee now proceed briefly to advert.

Cotton

The opinion of the Committee of the year 1848 as to the indispensable necessity of cheap conveyance for the extension of cotton cultivation is amply supported by the evidence taken before this Committee. This necessity is peculiarly remarkable in the case of an article of which the bulk bears so large a proportion of the value. Roads (the necessity for which has already been mentioned), railways, and canals will offer obvious facilities for the conveyance of cotton as well as of other products. But the attention of your Committee has been specially drawn to the improvement of the navigation of the Godavery, which would open to settlers or to agents the country of the Nizam, and the extensive cotton-fields of Berar. Captain Haig states, that if the Godavery be made navigable, cotton may be brought from Berar to a port for shipment at the cost of one-eighth of a penny per pound, the present cost of carrying it from Berar to Bombay on the backs of bullocks being 1 1/2 d. a pound. Great loss is now caused by the admixture with the cotton of dirt, refuse, and water, added for the purpose of increasing the weight of the cotton. These artifices would at once be checked by European superintendence and European machinery. The settler should himself, on the spot, direct the labour of the native, otherwise he will be liable to mismanagement or to fraud. Machines might, in time, if not now, be let out to the natives. The saw gin is used in the South Mahratta country, where the first plantation of New Orleans cotton was made in the year 1845. It appears that in the year 1856, 112,000 acres of New Orleans cotton were then under cultivation in that country. In Guzerat it is stated that the management of cotton is much improved: more care is taken in packing and in cleaning it. One English settler, Mr. Landon, appears to have devoted himself to the purchase and cleaning of cotton in Guzerat but eminent success has followed his exertions; his cotton always commanding a higher price in consequence. Mr. Landon states that his machinery does the work of 3,000 natives.* The good effect of irrigation on the cotton plant is stated in the evidence of Mr. Balston and Colonel Onslow. The spinning of cotton, so far as it has been tried, is said to have been very successful in Bombay, where the shares in spinning companies are at a very high premium.

Wheat

It may be interesting to settlers to observe the statements of General Tremenheere and Dr. Moore, that wheat can be grown more cheaply in India than in America. Splendid crops are said to wave *over the Punjab*, which is often one vast expanse of corn. "Any extent of wheat", says Sir John Lawrence, "can be grown there;" and he adds, *"sells at harvest time at about 40 lbs. for a shilling.*"* Some details on the price of wheat may also be found in the evidence of Gen. Tremenheere. The finest wheat is stated to have been sold at Jubbulpore at the price of 12 s. a quarter*. Wheat and barley grow extremely well in the Sind, but for want of due means of transit, the grain is left to rot on the ground. The price of excellent wheat on the banks of the Godavery, says Captain Haig, is ls. or ls. 6 d. a bushel*; a large portion of which might be made available for export at Coringa.

Tea

Your Committee has already adverted to the immense supply of tea now gradually being opened to the capital and skill of settlers on the whole line of the Himalayas, and probably in corresponding climates, like that of the Neilgherries, in other parts of India. It is highly probable that a taste for tea will extend itself over India. There is also reason to hope that the tea of the Himalayas may displace the tea of China in the markets of Central Asia. "The tea plant", say the Messrs Schlagintweit,"might be cultivated all along the Himalaya range, so as to produce an almost unlimited supply of tea; it is cheaper and better than the tea of China". It appears also that there are different qualities of tea (though all apparently good) in different places of cultivation. (see Dr Hooker's evidence). The culture of the tea plant opens an immense futurity to settlers from Europe. There is no sort of cultivation, according to the testimony of Colonel Vetch, more congenial to European ideas, habits, and constitutions. An account is given in the evidence of the more advanced tea cultivation of Assam, and of the terms on which the Government of India disposes of the land. The same terms appear to apply to Kumaon and Dherra Doon, and to other countries near the Himalayas. The Assam Tea Company appears to have been formed in the year 1837. In 1840 they produced 10,000 lbs. weight of tea; in 1858 the production had risen to 770,000 lbs; this year (1859) the production will probably exceed 800,000 lbs; and in four years hence it will probably rise to 2,000,000 lbs. There are now at least 20 factories in operation in different parts of the province. In Debrooghur, where not long ago the jungle was infested by wild elephants and beasts of prey, there are 10 plantations.* The cultivation is now extending itself in Middle and Lower, as in Upper Assam. It is stated that the profits of the Assam Tea Company amount to nine per cent. per annum. But it is probable that much higher returns of profits would be obtained by individual enterprise. Obstacles to tea cultivation are found in the dauger from fever (which, however, disappears as the jungle is cleared away), and in the dearness of labour, aggravated by the propensity of the Assamese population to consume opium, which causes debility in the constitution, and degeneracy in the race. Even the children are consumers of opium in Assam. The Assamese grow it in their gardens. It has been proposed by Colonel Vetch to correct the evil by imposing a license-duty on the growth of opium.*

Separated from Assam by the Naga Hills lies the tea-growing country of Cachar. Before tea cultivation began, this region was almost unknown. Twelve tea companies are stated to be established there. As in Assam, labour is difficult to procure; there is, however, no opium

-eating among the labouring population of Cachar.

The terms on which land is held in Assam and Cachar are complained both by Colonel Vetch and Dr. Barry. "If a certain portion is not cultivated within a certain time, all right is forfeited not only in that portion, but in the cultivated portion also." A contingency like the dishonesty of a native agent may cause the non-cultivation of a portion of the land. The land may even be forfeited in consequence of the unforeseen absence of the proprietor. Both Colonel Vetch and Dr. Barry coincide in thinking that the settler should have the power to acquire the land in free-simple. They also suggest that a supply of labour might be obtained by extending the emigration system to Assam and Cachar, **under the same regulations which prescribe its application to the Mauritius, and that a line of steamers would promote this object. But it is also reasonable to expect that higher wages will hereafter tempt the needy emigrant from places where he is now unemployed to the more lucrative market of Assam.***

Of these countries it may be observed that Colonel Vetch states Assam to contain more waste land than would supply all England with tea; and that Dr. Barry adds that there are thousands upon thousands of acres available for tea cultivation in Cachar.

The war with Russia naturally called out the fibre-producing power of India. The impetus thus given to the production of fibrous plants, appears likely to continue. Hemp, equal to the best hemp of Russia, if it were only, like Russian hemp, sorted and selected, might, it is said, be grown within the Saugor and Nerbudda territories sufficient for the consumption of all England.* The line of railway projected through those parts of India will probably have the effect of turning European skill and capital in that direction.

Great complaints of the want of a supply of flax are made by the linen manufactures of this country. Many mills are on this account closed or working short time. It is stated in the evidence that with a good supply we might double our linen trade. There appears to be the promise of an abundant supply in the Punjab. But the right mode of preparing the flax is not understood. It is considered that an agent might be advantageously sent out on the part of the Flax Association, to guide and superintend the labour of the natives. It is said that their attention has hitherto been directed to the production of the seed rather than the improvement of the fibre. For the export of flax the rising port of Kurrachee would have the advantage over St.Petersburgh of being open throughout the year. **Of this and other products of the soil, it is stated by several witnesses that the best mode of dealing for a European, is to buy the article from the native instead of cultivating it ourselves.***

Coal and Iron

No measure will be more favourable to the rising prosperity of India and to the encouragement of British settlers there, than the development of its coal and its iron. Evidence will be found in the Report on both these subjects; rather allusively, however, than in detail. Railway communication has opened the coal of Burdwan, and will open that of the Nerbudda District, bringing both into connexion with a supply of iron. The coal of the Nerbudda is stated to be peculiarly good, and especially adapted to the purposes of steam conveyance. Very good coal is also to be found in Assam, as well as iron ore, neither of them far from the waters of the Bramahpootra. **General Tremenheere speaks of large masses of iron seen projecting from the**

hills of Tenasserim, and of considerable deposits in Kumaon and Gwalior. Captain Haig describes immense stores of iron ore as resting on the banks of the Wain Gunga, a tributary of the Godavery.

The iron of Jubbulpore will be developed by the railway passing near it; it appears that there are 1,200 small furnaces there already. The people of Sheffield, according to the statements of the Mayor and Master Cutler of that place, who appeared as witnesses before your Committee, highly value the iron from Porto Novo, in the Presidency of Madras; they describe it to be as good as Swedish iron, and state that if it could be sold at a moderate price it would almost supersede the use of Swedish iron.*

Trade with Central Asia

Your Committee turn to another subject referred to in the Order of the House, the trade of India with Central Asia. That subject they only think themselves justified in entering on so far as it is collaterally connected with the main line of this inquiry. It is obvious that we have on the other side of the Himalayas and Sulymani range, two principal opponents in the fair and open rivalry of commerce - the Russians and the Chinese. The Government of Russia has of late years made considerable efforts to extend Russian commerce with Central Asia and with China. Indeed, according to the evidence of Mr. Atkinson, (who travelled and passed many years in the interior parts of Asia, hitherto unvisited by English travellers,) "Russia is now endeavouring to comprehend within her power as well as within her commerce, the whole of the great plains of Central Asia, and make them part of her empire". Several years ago, when Mr. Atkinson visited those distant regions, Russia had steamers on the Sea of Aral, and up the most extensive of its tributaries, the Amoo Daria, the ancient Oxus. From Asterabad, on thesouth-east of the Caspian, the key, as it were, of Central Asia, and a vast military as well as commercial entrepot, the Cossack posts of Russia extend almost the whole way to China. The Khan of Khiva is said to be entirely at the beck of Russia. Even within the Chinese territories she has now a place of ingress into China, on its western side, many hundred miles nearer than her former frontier town, Kiachta. This place is named Tchoubachach. It is held to be of great importance to the future commerce of Russia with China. It is gratifying to find that the Messrs. Schlagintweit (recent travellers in Central Asia) confirm the remark of Moorcroft, that "it is at our option whether Central Asia shall be supplied with goods from Russia or from England." Mr. Atkinson considers that our cottons and our hardware would claim a preference over those of other countries. Our broadcloths appear to have been once a successful article of trade, and to be still highly valued in Tibet. For such a climate our woollens would seem to be particularly suitable. But from Tibet we are excluded by the Chinese. It were to be desired that this and other parts of Central Asia where Chinese authority prevails, should be opened by a commercial treaty. The articles of interchange with these Trans - Himalayan countries are mentioned in the evidence of Dr. Hooker. (see the evidence of Dr Hooker)."Immense quantities of wool," says Sir. J. Lawrence, "come from the coterminous countries, from Affghanistan and Beeloochistan into the Punjab; and I suppose it is tenfold what it used to be." It appears that there is a great abundance of gold in Tibet. All these Central Asiatic nations are now supplied with tea, which they most extensively use, well known under the name of brick tea, from China. Their distance from that country is immense. As the cultivation of the tea plant extends along the line of the Himalayas, we may justly entertain the hope that it may, at some future time, successfully compete with the tea of China in the markets of Central Asia. Besides

the traffic across the Himalayan range, we naturally look to the Indus as the main channel for opening a trade with Central Asia . Steam communication by water and by land will bring us to the Bolan, the Gundava, and other passes, which open upon the interior of Asia (see Colonel Turner's evidence). English goods already go up these passes. It is difficult to overrate, as centres of this important trade, such positions as Kurrachee and Shikarpoor; and, as a great *entrepot* of the Upper Indian trade, Umritsir. The merchants of Umritsir, engaged in the shawl trade, have their correspondents in Paris and in London. These places (and especially Kurrachee) offer considerable inducements to British capital and enterprise.

Police in India

Your Committee revert from these external questions to others of more internal interest to India. One of the most important considerations for settlers, and without which it is obvious that the peace and progress of a population cannot be maintained, is the state of the police. All over India the steady firmness and uniform action of a vigorous yet considerately administered police system is greatly to be desired; but the want of such a system, and the abuses arising from its absence, have been principally felt in Lower Bengal. Mr. Marsham says that "Lower Bengal has long been the most demoralised and disorganised part of India." Its police, according to the cited authority of Mr. Halliday, is "nearly useless" it is "corrupt" ; it causes the "practice of torture," that occurrence of "affrays"; it is said, in short, that it would be better for the country if the police were all in prison. The strong and just complaints of the indigo planters on this subject will be found in their petition. It is maintained by witnesses from Bengal, that the "state of the police, as well as of the laws, would deter many Englishmen from settling there". Among the natives it is said that nearly three-fourths of the crimes committed are suppressed, to prevent the oppression caused by the inquiries of the police. It is maintained that many cases of torture exist, or at all events' that the police would torture, if they dared ; the charge of torturing the ryots is also brought by the missionaries, in their petition, against the zemindars. At present there is an entire want of co-operation between the people and the police by whom the people may be taken away and detained for weeks, unless they procure their release by bribery. A great number of lattials, or club-men, stand ready to be hired to fight on either side, in Lower Bengal. "I quarrelled," says a planter. " one evening with a zemindar, and before 24 hours were over, 400 of these men offered me their services". Under these circumstances we cannot wonder that complaints of the want of an efficient police in Bengal should be loud and frequent . Such complaints have existed for a long series of years; it is now to be hoped that a vigorous reform may be accomplished. The natives, it is said, as well as the settlers, would highly appreciate a well-conducted and efficient body of police. It would, to a certain extent, lessen the necessity for a numerous army.*

Your Committee turn to another subject of immense importance to the settlement of European residents in India, though of a more difficult and complicated character;- their position as affected by **Law** the spirit or the administration of the law. The great want in the administration of justice in India is uniformity of the substantive law, and of the procedure with which that law was administered. No time should be lost in framing a code which may embrace the civil rights of men of all races and creeds under the same rules, with due reservation of their customs, and respect to their religions (see the evidence of Mr Hawkins and Mr Niel Baillie). Lord Macaulay's penal code was intended to supply this want in criminal

matters, but that code has not yet become law, and a civil code, although recommended by the late law Commission, is not even begun. As regards procedure, a uniform code of pleading and practice has been passed for the mofussil, but the supreme courts of the Presidency towns still continue to administer justice under the forms of common law, equity and civil law. The judicial system of India will never be placed on a sound and satisfactory basis till all the courts are organised into one harmonious whole, and until by an amalgamation of the Supreme and Sudder Courts, the highest and most learned tribunals in the land shall be courts of appeal to the whole country, and serve as a pattern and example to inferior courts administering law under the same procedure.

Legal Title to Land

One of the great defects felt by settlers in the present state of the law is, the difficulty of proving the legal title to land. It may be often said that the purchaser of land does not know what he purchases. After a purchase, it would appear that numerous fictitious claimants to the property start into existence to question the title, and disturb the repose, of the purchaser. A power to call the claimant at once into Court would probably stop these fictitious claims. The ryot's title to the land should be ascertained. The ryot's rights (says Mr. Underhill) have been left uncertain in Bengal since the time of Lord Cornwallis. The consequence has been the occurrence of frequent conflicts between the zemindars and ryots. But the ryots are generally at the mercy of the zemindars. There is in Bengal a class called the Khoodcast ryots, holding land under an hereditary tenure of uncertain origin. It is desirable, for the security of dealings in land, that their position should be declared by law. Boundary disputes are frequent. Floods often cause an immense change in the boundaries of land, and give rise to undue claims on the part of the Government. Another complaint, especially on the part of the landowners in Bengal, is, that when the zemindary or superior estate is forfeited, a subordinate estate, the putnee, is also involved in the forfeiture. In such a case the undertenant or putneedar is liable to loss, perhaps to ruin, for the act or omission of the **zemindar, or the zemindar's agent**.* It has been attempted to remedy this defect by a Lands-Sale Bill, introduced by Mr. Grant, which though excellent in its object, appears not to have been passed, owing to some objections of detail. It has been much urged upon the Committee that the putneedar should be allowed to exempt himself from forfeiture by paying his portion of the land-tax separately, without being liable for the non-payment of his landlord, the zemindar. As British settlers are frequently holders of putnees, the question is one of great importance to them. Forfeitures sometimes arise from slight, perhaps from unavoidable, causes, as from the agent omitting to pay his land-tax duly four times a year or from its non-payment before sunset, or from the vendor withholding a part of the land-tax; or it may happen from the fraud, as well as from the negligence, of the native . Thus the natives, by means of a secret trust, or benami, as it is called, may annul, or encumber with a lawsuit of many years duration, the bargain for transfer which he has made with a European. Or, in the case of putnees, the zemindar, having received a sum from his proposed undertenant or putneedar, makes default to the Government, forfeits his estate, and re-buys it under a false name; under which operation the putnee disappears.* A forfeiture, again, may sometimes happen from want of due attention to forms on the part of the Government Collector, whence, many years afterwards, a bargain may be overturned,. It has been suggested that the Collector should make preliminary inquiries, that after due inquiry and sale, no appeal should be allowed, the registration should be made of all transfers of property, and that such registration

should be compulsory.

Law of Contract

A uniform law of contract is much desired for the protection of settlers, and indeed of natives, to whom advances must be made by British capitalists, in consequence of the poverty of the natives. It is suggested by Mr. Hawkins, that in any statue for the further limitation of bringing actions which it may be expedient to pass, the right of bringing actions of contract be limited to six years. In the Punjab great advantage seems to have resulted from a stricter limitation of the right of bringing actions. It has there been reduced from twelve to six years. Sir John Lawrence thinks that even that limitation might advantageously be diminished.

English Language in the Courts

A strong opinion is entertained by most of the present settlers in favour of the use of the English language in the courts of the law. Some go so far as to advocate the employment of English judges generally, till the natives are further advanced in civilisation. Mr. Mullens, a missionary, says, that "if we had a large increase of English judges or English judicial officers of all grades, even with English as the language of the courts, such courts would be an immense blessing to the country". On the other hand, there is a strong opinion entertained by some witness, principally on the part of the civil service, against such a change. A third party are for an intermediate course, limiting the use of the English language to superior courts of law in the great cities, like Dacca, Moorshedabad, or Patna. In favour of the introduction of the English language, it has been stated that even the language now used in the courts of Bengal, the Hindee, is not generally understood by the people of Bengal, nor very much more understood than the Persian language (then the legal language) was ten years ago. The European judge himself is represented as not always fully understanding the proceedings. It is added, that in Western and Southern India several different languages prevail, which the judge cannot know; and that good interpreters can be easily obtained. Interesting evidence is given by many witnesses, and among them by Sir John Lawrence, on the importance of extending a knowledge of the English language among the natives, and of their willingness and aptitude to learn it*. They therefore suggest that we should act as the French and other nations do in their colonies (indeed, as we do in Ceylon), and freely use our own language; or take the proceedings down in English, as is done in the Supreme Court; where every question is put in the witness's language as well as in the language of the judge. Finally, they say that justice would be better administered through the medium of a language fully understood by the judge; and that the natives would eventually value the court, not according to the language used, but according to the justice administered, in it. Against the use of the English language, it is said that, after its adoption, the natives would "lose all confidence in the courts;" that such a policy " might endanger our empire;" that you would (in such case) "touch a chord which would vibrate from north to south and from east to west; that the natives would think it a great injustice, and a badge of conquest;" in short in the words of Mr. Marsham, that" it would be the greatest misfortune which could possibly happen to the country". It is gratifying to observe on the authority of ample evidence, that the natives have the highest opinion of the integrity of English judges, both in the civil service and in the Supreme Court. There is, also, a high appreciation of the legal and judicial tone of mind which prevails in the Supreme Courts of the Queen. (see Pitition from Merchants and residents in Bombay)

Judicial Training

On the authority of many witnesses, judicial training is wanting in the body of civilians. Habits of judicial thought and prompt decision are to be acquired only by legal education and forensic practice. Foreigners, like M. Valbezen, have also noticed the desirableness of extending a knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence among the administrators of justice in India.

Black Act

Great alarm has been caused amongst Europeans in India by the apprehended intention of extending the power of natives to try Europeans in criminal cases, The measure which raised these apprehensions has been entitled the " Black Act". They do not seem to object to the decision of civil cases by the native judges, but to an extension of the power of trying Europeans by the native criminal courts, which they declare are the dread and terror of the people. They deprecate the idea of being subjected to imprisonment by the decision of a native, perhaps, of inferior moral character, willing to show and exercise his power over Europeans. It is said by Mr. Theobald, the representative of the planters, that "if Europeans are liable to be tried by the local tribunals, there is not an European in the country who would be safe." Mr. M. Kenzie says, "No European should be tried by natives. He will not get a fair trial." Mr. Marsham also is of opinion, that " it is not desirable to place Europeans under the criminal jurisdiction of any native; least of all after the feelings developed in the late mutiny;"nor, he adds, "would the settlers bear it.". It appears that the Law Commission, from which the apprehended measure emanated, never supposed that " the magistrate would refer a criminal case in which an European was defendant to a native judge;" and Mr. Hawkins, the secretery to the Law Commission, "would himself object to an European being tried by a native." Of the same opinion, also, is Mr. Neil Baillie, for many years Government vakeel and Under Secretary to the Law Commission, a gentleman long and intimately versed in the law proceedings of India.

Affray Bill

The apprehension of this measure the planters of Bengal state to have been an obstacle to the free settlement of Europeans. They connect with it measures of a like tenor, such as the Affray Bill. It is objected to this Bill that on the charge of an affray, both parties are put on their trial, and considered to be criminals, instead of the party against whom the charge is brought, and against whom the evidence preponderates. The Recognisance Bill is also objected to as onerous on settlers; it is said to empower magistrates to take heavy penalty bonds from a settler on the mere charge of a police officer, or darogah.

Native Judges

Although British settlers object to giving power to natives over Europeans in criminal cases, the natives seem to have improved in their capacity as civil judges. General testimony is also borne to the good faith of the natives in mercantile transactions. A witness long familiar with them says, " I have the very highest opinion of the commercial character of the natives; almost

the whole of our transactions were by word of mouth". Dr. Moore also speaks highly of the character of the shroffs or bankers and merchants of India; a protested bill, or a protested hoondee, he says is very rare.

Resumptions

As the power to possess land in fee simple is of manifest importance to the settler your Committee were induced to make some inquiry into the effect of the resumption by the Government of lands claimed to be held in free proprietorship by the natives. It is maintained that good faith has been violated by the Government in certain cases, where a full right of ownership in the land has been first allowed, and then withdrawn from the natives. These Acts of Resumption are said to have created great distress 20 years ago, when lakhiraj-lands were resumed in Bengal. Mr. Marsham states that " the resumption of these lands has caused great disaffection;" and that the Government had " allowed its claims to sleep too long." Mr. Hawkings bears testimony to the "strong feeling in favour of the old landowners," or talookdars in India; and more than one witness maintains the interference with Talookdaries to have been one cause of the late rebellion. It is obviously too late to require natives, after 60 or 70 years possession, to prove their title to a property in land.; but the "resumptions," which appear to have produced the greatest sensation are those of the "enams," or rent-free lands, after a long lapse of years, in Bombay. On this subject the evidence of Mr. Warden is very strong. It is alleged by Mr.Warden that the burthen (sic) of proving the proprietary right if thrown by law, not upon the Government which opposed the title; but on the landowner, or enamdar, who held it. This allegation is denied by Captain Cowper, but there can be no doubt that Resumptions, especially after long intervals of possession, tend to shake the foundations of property, and to disturb the feelings and opinions of the smaller, as well as of the more extensive landowner.

Acquisition of Land in Fee simple and Redemption of Land Tax

During the investigation of this Committee, the Government appears to have partly , if not entirely, conceded two points of great interest to British-settlers, the right to acquire land in fee-simple, and the power of redeeming the land-tax in Bengal. "If," say the witnesses, "you will grant Europeans waste land in perpetuity in India, India will prosper, like Java and Ceylon." There are, no doubt, many parts of India (described or alluded to in the Evidence) where waste lands, in habitable and healthy situations, could be thus granted by the Government; as in Assam, the neighbourhood of the Neilgherries, Kumaon, Gurwhal, and other districts. Some of the civil servants of the Government , as well as settlers, are favourable to such a policy. It has been suggested that it might also be expedient to allow to purchasers of the fee-simple of land the power of paying their purchase money by instalments.

Redemption of Land Tax

For a similar reason your Committee have from the first, looked favourably on the concession of a power of redeeming the land-tax; in favour of this concession (which applies especially to Bengal) there are many witnesses. It is said that the redemption of the land tax and the possession of land in fee, would strengthen our rule both among the zemindars and ryots. "It would ," say the Bengal Missionaries in their Petition to Parliament, "at once encourage the capitalist and the small tenant to make investments in land." Government would be released from the expense of collecting the land tax, and landowners would be gainers, by being relieved from the exactions of the native tax collector. It appears also that the principle of redemption is approved on in the minutes of many of the officers of Government, as Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Dunbar, and others, whose evidence is given in the Appendix, on the subject of Mr. Grant's Land Sale Bill; a clause of which Bill(the 25th) appears to confer a power on the landholder of buying his land in fee simple, by depositing a certain amount of Government notes. Opinions adverse to the redemption of the land-tax may, however, be found in the evidence of Major Wingate, Mr. Theobald, and others.

Field Assessment System

The field assessment system of Bombay, adopted there since 1847, is stated by Major Wingate to be favourable to the investment of capital in land by settlers; under it the settler can take of the Government any quantity of land without being the sub-tenant of a zemindar, and without suffering from the zemindar's forfeitures, as he would do in Bengal.

Enlargement of Legislative Council

There is one very important point on which the witnesses appear to concur; that is, the introduction of non-official Europeans and natives into the Legislative Council of India. The example of Ceylon is quoted to show the good effects of this reform. It is stated that one of the Legislative Council is a want of local knowledge. Such knowledge the reform suggested would supply.

Local Government

It appears to your Committee that there is wanting in India less of central and more of local, government. It is stated by Major Wingate, that "the administration in Bombay is paralysed by the centralization of supreme authority in[#] may be wanted in Bombay, but the want of roads in[#] ually appreciated in Bengal. On the other hand, it is[#] of the other Presidencies Bengal itself is "nothing less than for [#]

Forced labour

A system of "forced labour," under the coercive power of the Government, prevails in parts of India." Ryots may be withdrawn by the agents of Government from the service of companies or of individuals. The arbitrary exercise of this power may be a cause of much annoyance to settlers. Instances of its exercise are mentioned in the evidence. It is injurious both on general grounds, and because it gives an opportunity for the tyranny of intermediate power; so often exercised in India without the real knowledge, though under the apparent authority, of the Government.

Many complaints have been made before your Committee of the want which is felt by settlers, as well as by natives, of a circulation of gold, and of Government paper in India. It appears

[#] illegible, paper torn in these places.

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that it would be a great advantage for India to possess a well regulated, well secured, and at all times convertible paper currency; in short, a Government paper torn in these places. paper. Silver , for reasons which because obvious when the influx of Californian and Australian gold set in, was made the only legal tender in India. It is stated in the evidence that, even just before the rebellion, it is the practice to convey a lac of rupees guarded by a hundred soldiers.*

Your Committee welcome with satisfaction the account given by many witness of the improved state of feeling between the settlers and the natives. It is clear that, for governing a country like India, important as may be laws and institutions, much must also depend on the silent but certain influence of manners. It is painful to read the following statement made by a most competent witness; that " the natives have not been so kindly treated by Europeans as they ought to have been. I know that they feel it deeply. When they are treated with respect and honestly dealt with, Europeans may acquire great influence over them". It is also painful to find it averred that "drunkenness is a great obstacle to the settlement of Europeans of the poorer class in India "*. Let those who unexceptionally condemn the native character reflect that it is the growth of ages of misgovernment, and that there are many instances of the just and temperate European winning the confidence and attachment of the natives. An instance of the great ascendency which good conduct and good management may acquire is to be seen in the success of Mr. Fischer; whose influence is stated to be widely and beneficially felt in the province of Salem. It is mentioned by Mr. Saunders, that during the recent mutiny the respectable natives protected his property during his absence; that the neighbouring zemindars worked his plantations and restored to him the profits after the mutiny was over. While, therefore, your Committee have felt anxious to embody in their Report such general and practical information as relates to European settlement in India, they desire to express their hopes that individual co-operation may not be wanting to promote it. Every Englishman should go to India with a deep sense of his responsibility, not only to those whom he is about to govern or among whom he is about to reside, but to his own country; whose character for firmness, justice , and forbearance he is bound constantly, zealously, and by personal example to maintain.

9 August 1859.