

(APPOINTMENT TO GOVERNOR GENERALSHIP OF INDIA: 1822)

(2)

(Q.1)

P.H. (Pife House)  
October 9, 1822.

Lord Liverpool begs to be allowed to return your majesty his most grateful thanks for your letter (and his majesty's gracious conversation) & and to assure you that he will not press further the proposal which he took the liberty of bringing under your majesty's consideration respecting the Duke of Buckingham.

Lord Liverpool takes the liberty however of observing that under these (ff 52v) circumstances there does not appear to be any adequate object in proposing the speaker for the Government of India as Mr Wynn will not accept the chair of the house of commons unless the Duke of Buckingham could be in the cabinet and as your majesty's Government would only therefore be imbalanced in selecting a proper person for the situation of speaker of the house of commons.

(ff 53r) Lord Liverpool must further observe that the friends of Government in the East India direction decidedly prefer Lord Amherst to the Speaker for the Government of India (unless the Speaker's appointment had led to a change in the Board of Control) and in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from Lord William Bentinck being brought forward, Lord Liverpool requests your majesty's permission to inform the chairman of the East India Company that if Lord Amherst should be nominated by them, as Governor General, your majesty will not disapprove of the appointment.

(ff 53r) Your majesty is no doubt aware that the nomination is by law in the court of directors, and that the crown has only a negative, to the exercise of which it would of course be very disagreeable to be driven.

British Museum: Liverpool Papers: Add Ms 38575  
& the words in brackets added later and not very clear.

The appointment arose after Canning's declining the Governor Generalship, on his appointment as foreign secretary. Amherst, amongst others, was a friend of Canning.

The Duke of Buckingham continued to be a claimant for the Governor Generalship of India till at least 1827. The Canning and Wynn Papers as also volume Add Ms of Liverpool Papers contains the concerned correspondence on the subject. Add Ms 38576 (ff 72-90) also concerns this aspect.

Ff 51r-v (Add Ms 38575) has King's note, to Liverpool, dated 8.9.1822 on Canning being allowed in the Government.

W/

(2.2)

Wynn to II Earl Liverpool (extract): 19.11.1824

(ff 280r) I am perfectly satisfied that the system of the East India College is fundamentally and I fear irremediable arreneous.

It is impossible at a place of education, where young men are only to remain two years, and where they are selected frequently from the least promising of families, to raise that esprit de corps, that zeal for the honour of the institution which constitutes elsewhere the best security for good conduct. The most (ff 280v) convincing proof of this, is that the transgression have generally been such, as at a public school, would have been repressed by the opinion of the other boys. It is also important that the present principal though a worthy man and a good scholar does not seem to be at all gifted with that peculiar talent and disposition which is requisite to obtain influence and confidence among young men.

(ff 281r) As the college is no longer capable, without additional buildings to supply a sufficient number for the demands of the civil service, I am very much disposed to concur in the introduction of a bill, to enable writers to proceed to India, provided they shall pass satisfactorily through a strict examination, although they may not have gone through the college.

The chairs have sounded me upon the subject but I have not as yet given them any answer.

(ff 281v) Believe me my dear lord  
ever very faithfully yours

C.W.William Wynn

To  
The Earl of Liverpool

British Museum: Liverpool Papers: Add Ms 38411: ff 278-81  
C.W.W.Wynn was president of Board of Control and  
II Earl of Liverpool, was the British Prime Minister (1812-27)

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Memo on Army by Fredrick, Commander in Chief: 17.5.1824

(ff 37v) The accession of territory in the East Indies, has been very considerable during the war: In the year 1792, when our possessions were comparatively circumscribed in that country, the king's troops (ff 38r) amounted to 11,000 men, exclusive of the East India Company's European force. Since that period, nine out of twelve battalions of the latter have been discontinued.

It was the concurrent opinion of Mr Dundas and Lord Cornwallis, that the king's troops in India should be always kept up at the war establishment; and this necessity has not only its origin in the policy of preserving a control over the extent of native force, composing the Company's army, but also in the impossibility of reinforcing the army from this country, with a promptitude equal to the emergency, which may arise in a sudden rupture with the native powers.

(ff 38v) It must also be borne in mind, that a treaty of peace will probably return the settlements captured by us during the war from the different powers in Europe; and this will serve as an encouragement to the active jealousy felt by the native princes of our dominion. It is therefore the more essential to guard against such intrigue by the provision of an adequate force upon the spot; and all circumstances considered, it will not be too much to estimate 5,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, as essential for the security of the continent of India.

The island of Ceylon (ff 39r) will require a garrison of 5,000 men to protect the extent of boundary between our possessions and the Candian country: of this number at least 2,000 will be ~~subsidy~~/troops paid by the island: the great extent of frontier which it is necessary to guard in Ceylon, and the many detachments consequently required for that duty, call for the necessity of maintaining a certain establishment of colonial troops, which are equal to duties that would be totally destructive to Europeans. If the support of the existing four regiments is too expensive (ff 39v) an establishment for the colony to bear + it is suggested that two corps should be kept up only, as at the last peace.

The Mauritius will require a garrison of 3,000 men.

The Cape of Good Hope will require 3,000 infantry, and, on account of its extended frontier, a regiment of cavalry will be essentially necessary for the security of the settlement.

From this statement it appears that the following is the distribution of force required for the defence of the Empire vis: (ff 40r)

Great Britain and the Islands	25,000
Ireland	30,000
Reliefs	5,000
Gibraltar	5,000
Malta	55,000
West Indian Islands	16,500
North America	8,000
East Indies	25,000
Ceylon • (besides colonial troops to be paid from the colonial revenue)	3,000
Cape of Good Hope	4,000
The Mauritius	3,000
Coast of Africa	800
	130 ,300

British Museum: Add Ms 38365: Ff 32-49: extract

Having thus stated in gross numbers, the force which upon a general view of the subject, appears to be required for the safety of the whole empire during a peace, the second point of consideration arises to the most effective organisation of the whole into corps at the least possible expence to the publick.

(ff 44v) The utility of the ~~black~~ black corps in the West Indies, is sufficiently manifest to render it unnecessary to say much in support of the expediency of maintaining them upon a peace establishment. It is therefore proposed, that the existing 8 regiments shall be (ff 45r) retained at the establishment of 10 companies of 80 rank and file each.

The Royal York Rangers, West India Rangers and African corps, are allotted to the reception of Deserters, and others, who commute the punishment to which they are adjudged in this country for service abroad for life: The establishments of these corps have by no means been sufficient to receive the number of deserters who are to be disposed of during a war; and their maintenance in time of peace will not be more than sufficient for the purposes ~~of~~ to which they are intended. It is (ff 45v) therefore proposed, that they shall be kept up at the usual establishment of 800 each: the 4th and last raised corps of this description, the York Chasseurs, it is proposed to reduce, turning the men over to the others.

(ff 47r) ( details of ~~total~~ total cavalry:)

<u>Total</u>	R & F: 18,880	Horses: 16,700	Number of Dismounted Men : 2,180
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<u>of Which in</u>		
<u>INDIA</u> @	R & F: 5,000	Horses: 5,000

@ The 20,000 infantry proposed for India will be paid by the East India Company leaving 89,305 R & F to be maintained upon the establishment.

@ The 5,000 cavalry proposed for India will be paid by the East India Company leaving only 13,880 R & F and 11,700 horses to be maintained upon the establishment.

fff

British Museum: Add Ms 38365: Memo on Army by Frederick, commander in chief dated 17.5.1814: ff 32-49.

ff 50-11 is of 'consideration' on memo. Suggests the number to be reduced to 115,000 from 130,300 proposed in memo. The suggested reductions are 5,000 in Great Britain; 1,000 each in Gibraltar, Malta and Mauritius; 6,500 in West Indies and 1,000 in Ceylon.

Add Ms 38366: ff 153-61 is of second memo on army by P dated 18.2.1816. It also proposes an additional 2,000 'on relief' for the 20,000 in the East Indies.

Add Ms 38366: ff 225-32 is a memo on "Reorganisation" of staff at Commissariat.

Add Ms 38368: ff 25-32 has another memo from P dated 28.8.1818 on army. India is not discussed in it. It is followed by further discussion on ff 33-9 (29.8.1818) and ff 40-3 (29.8.1818).

Add Ms 38368: ff 306-11 has fair draft of cabinet minute on princess of Wales dated 26.7.1819. ff 299-305 seems to be another copy of same while ff 312-18 is of another version.

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Amherst to first Morley: 11.12.1824Calcutta  
11 December 1824

My Dear M

Mine has not been a bed of roses since I wrote to you last. The state of central India and of the upper provinces is very different from what it is supposed to be in England. I had been taught to believe that so completely was all opposition subdued and so entirely reconciled were the people to our rule that nothing was likely to disturb the profound and universal tranquility. I find by experience that the countries above named are composed of the most inflammable materials. In various quarters disturbances, or I might say, insurrections have broken out which in the scattered state of our army have not been quelled without risk and inconvenience. It is true that the failure of rain and consequent destruction of crops has in many (ff 108v) places caused degradations which might not have occurred had full employment and sufficient feed been found for the inhabitants; but many of the lawless proceedings have arisen from a very general belief, grounded on the most extravagant rumours of defeat in our conflict with the Burmese, that our Government was drawing to a close. No fabrications have been too gross for native credulity to swallow, and it is impossible to divest oneself of the idea that what has been so generally credited must also in part have been desired. We have been compelled to make a considerable increase to our irregular cavalry, which answers the double purpose of increasing our strength, and of withdrawing from mischief many idle and resolute fellows who, because they would have been turbulent and savage marauders, do not the less make faithful and effective soldiers. Another fortnight or three weeks must elapse before we are able to begin offensive operations against Arracan. So little are we accustomed to war in Bengal that (ff 109r) all our means were to be brought down from the upper provinces, a work requiring infinite time and labour. But my chief source of disquietude has been the extreme reluctance of the sepoys to service, generally, in the lower provinces, and specially to passing the frontier to engage with the Burmese. So strong has been their disinclination, that in the early days of last month it broke out into open mutiny. It was necessary to have recourse to coercive measures, and luckily two European regiments were at hand. I am willing to hope that good may result out of evil. Certainly many regiments, and I believe I may say even some of the men engaged in the mutiny feel deeply the stain affixed to their character, and are anxious by any means in their power, to wipe it off. We have met this disposition by an increase of indulgences in a climate and on a service which certainly is not congenial to either their constitution or their habits, and I feel confident that we have nothing to apprehend from the effects of transient disobedience. But for (ff 109v) some hours I did not feel secure from personal danger (the mutiny occurred at Barrackpore) and I must de Lady A. the justice to say that by shewing no symptoms of fear when fear might reasonably be entertained, she very probably contributed to avert any evil designs until the time was past for putting them in execution. Sir Archibald Campbell, with the army at Rangoon, must by this time have begun active movements on an extended scale, but the mortality amongst his European troops has been very great, and I not how to supply their loss....

(ff 110r) I think you may like to hear something about my finances which I have never yet mentioned to you. Canning told me he thought I should save about half my income. I

British Museum: Morley Papers: Add Ms 48225: ff 108-111.

think my savings will amount to nearer two-fifths. But I (ff 110v) would have you to know that I did not set out with asking myself "what can I save" but "what do I require for comfort and splendour". Under these two heads I have denied myself nothing. .... If I stay my full period of five years, ... I shall probably bring home 3,000 a year with me.

(ff 111v) .... I am just starting for Barrackpore.

Yours affectionately

A.

Amherst to First Merley: 26.12.1824 (ff 112-3)

(ff 113v) I told you that I thought I should save two-fifth's of my income. I meant to have said 3 as perhaps you will guess from the calculation into which I entered.

Amherst to First Merley: 16.5.1825 (ff 116-9)

(Burmese War)

(ff 116v) An attempt to oppose us has brought them acquainted with shells, rockets, and other articles of which they had no conception to say nothing of the work which has been done by the bayonet, and it is on the result of some of these encounters that I reckon to give (ff 117r) them a distaste for hostilities with us. ...

The state of the upper provinces is such as to occasion us considerable anxiety, I should certainly proceed thither myself were I not detained here by the mere pressing emergency of the Burmese War. Sir David Ochterlony, one of the most distinguished servants of the Company, ~~but maxxiengxxkxxx~~ but no longer I am free to say the man he was, has plunged us into considerable difficulty, and embarrassment by an uncalled for interference in the affairs of Bhurtpore and a precipitate determination to attack that celebrated fortress at the worst season of the year and with an inadequate force. His failure would set Hindostan in a (ff 117v) blaze. I was not prepared to play so desperate a game. We therefore sent him positive orders to desist. He has in consequence tendered his resignation and I mean to accept it. In three or four months I hope to have made such arrangements as will enable us to put down resistance should any show itself in the next active season, and in the meantime, to be quiet.

Amherst to First Merley: 27.10.1823 (ff 87-92)

(ff 89r) But I certainly am induced to think that a young man of talent would find in India a ready road to wealth. Our bar does not shine at present. ... If the chief justice whom we expect you to send out to us ... should happen to be a friend of Augustus's, he might, I conceive, be of material use to him.

(ff 90v) Whatever our Indian policy may have been in former times, it is now, thank God, plain and strait forwards and directed to some of the noblest objects which can occupy the human mind. - But the sun is setting, and I long for a little air and exercise - so good bye.

18.10.1824 (ff 104-7) : (ff 107r) The new advocate general lately come out here, Mr Pearson, told me that his receipts were so great that he thought (ff 107v) his fortune would be made in six years.

Amherst's letters from India to Merley are all on ff 76-155  
in Md M, K Bharatpali Archives CPS-TS-02

2.5

Further Considerations respecting the financial concerns  
of the East India Company: 3.7.1829 ( P.O. )

(ff 8v) The total annual demand, in future, on the Home treasury, on account of India, is thus computed at £ 3,218,826.

(ff 11v) In regard to the realisation of the requisite remittance from India to meet the territorial charges, the trade with India and China must always supply the principal means of effecting this object.

(ff 13r) The annual revenue derived from it (tea) amounts to 3½ to 4 millions sterling, which, as it passes through the Company's treasury, is collected at an annual expense of only a few hundred pounds. ... No other article that could be substituted would bear a tax at all approaching to that upon tea, ninety six per cent. ... a year's consumption or about 30 millions of pounds.

(ff 13v) Whatever may be the apparent or real anomalies of the system, it may with truth be said that the Government of this country, not deeming it expedient to take the conduct of this vast machine into its own immediate management, has availed itself of an agency, which, under its general control, has proved competent to the task assigned to it. In respect to the future, in case it should be deemed expedient that a medium of administration, the general efficiency of which has been thus proved, should still be employed; it seems to be of the utmost importance, that, while modifications which experience has shown to be necessary are introduced wherever required, every arrangement should be avoided which would be likely either to cramp its energies, to impair its credit, or materially to lessen its resources; since it is the combination of these which can alone render it equal to the engagements which must be fulfilled, and it is the assurance of the adequate possession of them, which would alone justify the acceptance of the charge on the part of those to whom it may be considered desirable that it should still be entrusted.

British Museum: Aberdeen Papers: (Cabinet Add Ms 43355-8)  
Above from Add Ms 43357 ? (43357). This volume ff 1-94 is all on India, all printed. Ff 30r gives data on British exports to and imports from India China 1814-28. The following are the totals:

2.6

Exports to India and China: 1814-28

To India	To China	Total
48,597,750	11,120,256	59,718,005

Imports from India and China: 1814-28

94,639,769	70,221,100	164,860,869
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Treasure Imported to and Exported from China to India: 1814-27  
ff 25r

<u>Rs M</u>	<u>To China</u>	<u>From China</u>	<u>Net to India</u>
Rs 77,94,267	Rs 8,96,53,955	Rs 8,18,59,688 (yearly: Rs 62,96,899)	
( ff also mentions "opium of India, a source of revenue, the annual produce of which is at present about £ 1,800,000)			

(2.7)

PUBLIC WORKS IN INDIA ( circa 1851 )

(ff 1 v)... In the Tanjore district of this presidency, the expenditure on Public Works has been £ 450,000 in 50 years, and the revenue increased from £ 310,000 to £ 520,000 a year. So that if one half of the expenditure be allowed for repairs and management, and one half for new works, which is somewhere (ff 1v) about the real state of the case, the increase of revenue is nearly 100% upon the outlay. That this increase is mainly owing to improved irrigation, and roads is shewn by the fact, that all the neighbouring districts in which comparatively little has been done, have remained nearly stationary in revenue. Neither can it be said that it is owing to any superior natural advantages, for there are three other districts in the Presidency, far richer alluvial tracts than the Tanjore, viz Guntur, Rajahmundry, and Masulipatam.... Again he (Lord Breighton) does not seem to be aware of the only really important works now under execution, excepting the Ganges Canal and those of the Punjab, viz those for the irrigation of the district of Rajahmundry, consisting of a weir across the Godavary, 2½ miles long, with a system of irrigation, and navigable canals, dependent on it, by which a million of acres will be watered &c, estimated at £ 200,000 and of which about £ 120,000 has been expended. The weir has just been completed at a cost of £ 90,000, equal to about £ 700,000 in England, allowing for the difference in the cost of labour and materials...

(ff 2r)... Thus something has been done, and is doing in this way, both in Bengal and Madras, but nothing can be more contemptible than these works, if compared with the extent of the country, the revenue we received, the nature of the climate, the returns obtained from works already executed, the enormous power of the Government to benefit the people in this way, the millions that have died of famine under our rule, the long series of years we have had the country in our hands &c. If we consider these things the conduct of our Government has been ruinous and suicidal to themselves, and destructive to the country to a degree that nobody could believe, till they closely investigated the real state of things. Tens of thousands of the works constructed by the old native governments, are now in every stage of decay. In two or three isolated spots something has been done, but nothing can be more disgraceful than the state of the country generally, in this respect.

(ff 2v) ... If composed of old school men, they would be ten times worse than useless. A Commissioner appointed a few years ago, to report upon the 3000 miles of river embankment in lower Bengal, actually recommended after a month's enquiry, that the whole should be destroyed and that they should return to "a state of nature". This extraordinary committee, was composed of a fourth rate English engineer, who had never before seen a delta, an officer of native

Sheffield Public Libraries: Wk H 504: Letter to Lord Wharncliffe, 22 pages, on "Public Works in India", written by some one who had been "25 years in charge of the Public Works in one of the eight divisions of this Presidency". Very fragile, dated Aug 1851 ?

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infantry, and a medical man. The grand evil in this, as in every other branch of the government is, that none but old men can get into influential situation....

(ff 4v)... I say immense importance, because I am sure that no body can say that work is too large, when we recollect that famines which have swept off many hundred thousands, are caused solely by the want of works of irrigation. In the single district of Guntur, one half of the population, or 250,000 people perished from famine, in 1832, and though 15 years have passed, not one work has been executed, to prevent a similar catastrophe, and though in the course of the ten following years, a loss of revenue of 80 lacs, (£ 800,000) was incurred wholly from the impoverishment and reduction of the population. And now that the court have sanctioned the Kistnah works, which will irrigate half that district, the Government have refused to execute them.

(ff 6v) ... Some thing is wanted in India to supply the place of the public in England; the people can not execute Public Works, they have neither the wealth, the energy, the knowledge, the faculty of combining, nor any one thing that is required for this purpose. The Government must do them, but it must be by means of a special apparatus, set apart for the purposes; it cannot be done by those who are occupied by a thousand other things, special powers must be granted, and in fact it is a special case altogether.

... The common price of transit is 4d a ton per mile, at those seasons of the year when things can be conveyed at all, equal to 2s 6d a ton per mile in England.

... ( wages 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rs per month, £ 2 a year)

(28)

Bentinck to Castlereagh: Oct 18, 1804 (Private) cc

(p 276) ... I have paid a great deal of attention to the revenue management in this country. Your lordship will perceive, if your leisure can permit you to attend to any of our details, that the general tenor of my opinion is, that we have rode the country too hard, and the consequence is, that it is in a state of the most lamentable poverty. Great oppression is I fear exercised too generally in the collection of the revenues, I have discovered some instances of it, and I have thought it expedient to make examples of those collectors who were responsible for better (p 277) management and more responsible government...

Sheffield: Wm M 504

© Nottingham University: Bentinck Papers: PwJb 722: Governor Bentinck from Fort St George to Board of Control President, Lord Castlereagh.

(2.9) Ellenborough to Canning on "Forced Labour" in Simla Hills: 212 12.10.  
1855.

Cheltenham  
October 12, 1855.

Dear Lord Canning

The memorandum I send you with reference to the exactions of labour from the hillmen near Simla, Sibathoo &c is written by Lt Colonel Kennedy, a very old friend of mine and a connection of the Londonderry family, who was Political Agent at Sibathoo for 14 years.

/ (p 2)

I had occasion to see what vast number of men are occasionally impressed when I called upon the commander in chief at Simla the day before he set off for the plains. The roads were lined by men for a great distance - all waiting listlessly for their burthens. And I was told that not less than 3,000 had been ordered /less to carry his baggage and that of his staff and the (p 3) papers &c belonging to headquarters.

I know how many I was to have for my baggage and that of my staff and all the papers of the Government, and I was told 700. No doubt there is great abuse in this, and it ought as far as possible be prevented.

I must say that the pressing of labour for the making of a good carriage road for the greater (p 4) convenience of the English alone up to the top of the hills, and still more for the making of that ill advised road to Chensee, seems to be in contradiction (?) of the agreement with the chiefs, understood, and an unjustifiable act of oppression. These are the things, which long as they may be submitted to, at last cause insurrections. And you see in the case of the Santhals what a terrible (p 5) calamity an insurrection of the people is. I have no doubt that insurrection has other causes than fanaticism and I hope you will find them out. But every difficulty and obstruction will be thrown in your way, and you will never get at the truth till you have made sweeping changes amongst the (p 6) employed in that neighbourhood.

I shall be in London in the last days of this month and I shall call to wish you all success.

Yours very faithfully

Ellenborough.

Viscount Canning

Leeds Public Library Archives: Lord Canning Papers: Misc Correspondence (uncatalogued)

(on back page: The Earl of Ellenborough: 12 October 1855 : Enclosing Memo of relative to the exactions of labour from the hillmen near Simla &c by Lt Col Kennedy late Political Agent at Simla &c: answered (?) by Lord Canning (privately) Oct 15, 1855:  
Lord B will call on Lord C at the end of the month)

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On the expulsion of the Gorcas, or Nepal troops from the mountain states, between the rivers Sutledge and Tonsa, on the north west frontier of British India in 1816 (consisting of 4 principalities, "Sionoor", "Kuhpoor", "Hindoor", "Bushahir", and 30 Thackoors or petty states, containing a population of, as estimated in that year, nearly half a million, chiefly armed, with a revenue of 4,35,769 rupees per annum) the native chieftains who had been driven into exile, from their territories in 1804 by the Gorcas, were reinstated in their respective estates, and grants were made to each, on certain conditions under the orders of the British Government. One of these conditions was, "that the construction of roads, throughout the whole territory, 4 yards in breadth", was required of ~~sh~~ each chieftain. In 1818, the roads alluded to, were commenced, and in 1832 between 300 and 400 miles were completed; (p 2) The main line running from the Pinjore valley, (at the foot of the mountains) to Rampoor in the bed of the river Sutledge, the capital of the Bushahir state, a distance of 115 miles, traversing several high ranges of the Himalaya, from 4,000 to 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. The cost of this great work to the inhabitants consisted in their labour for 14 or 15 years, at times of the year when they could be most conveniently spared from their fields, and the British, or protecting power, supplied a company of Pioneers as superintendents, and the requisite tools and gun-powder for blasting rocks. This bridle road, fully 4 yards in breadth, in most places, made these hills accessible to European visitors, and as a consequence of this, a few years only elapsed, ere the sanatory (?) station at Simla was founded, and Lord Amherst (3) and his suite visited it in 1826.

To meet certain legal objections in 1831, the station at Simla was purchased from the native chieftain, and annexed to the British territory. The annual repairs to this great road executed without a grumble or difficulty, by the inhabitants who were required to labour for a few days, when they could be most economically spared from their agricultural pursuits. It is not to be supposed that this work was executed in strict accordance with scientific principles. Indeed, at that period 35 years ago, science was at a low ebb, and I doubt if there was an instrument in the possession of the Government to take a level, but the road amply sufficed for all the necessary purposes of the trifling trade of the country, and for the transport of several governors general, and commanders in chief, with their numerous (p 4) suites, to and from Simla, from the plains, a distance of 34 miles. Elephants, camels, horses, mules, and bullocks travelled it at all hours with safety. Two or three years ago, the exact time I am unable to state, the Government of India discovered, that the road alluded to, was not the best that might have been made, and in consequence a new line for a carriage road was projected, from the foot of the hills in the protected Sikh states, via Simla, to the Tartar Pergunnah Kumaon (?) across the river Sutledge, and across the great chain of the Himalaya to the town of Shense, bordering on the Chinese territory - a distance of some 150 miles.

Of the arrangements for the construction of this new and most laborious work, with the chieftains and their people, I am not in possession, but this I full well (p 5) know from my old friends in that quarter, that the execution, and I may add exaction, of this believed to be, most superfluous work, and call for labour from the inhabitants, has created a disgust, not to be described throughout the length and breadth of the land. The chieftains and their subjects alike are most hostile to it. The latter are required to work at all seasons of the year, numbers falling a sacrifice to fevers contracted in the rainy season. The only benefit, I can learn to be expected from this new road, which will take years to

Leeds Public Libraries Archives: Lord Canning's Papers: Misc Correspondence (not catalogued).

finish, will be, that access to Simla will be had for European visitors, by a more level, but far more circuitous and expensive route. I am assured the Bigars (or hill porters) do not use the part already made, and I cannot think it possible they ever will be induced to prefer it (p 6) to the old road, seeing that the latter leads direct to the great marts at the foot of the hills Sissoo, and Honeymajara.

Intimately acquainted and connected with the hill territory as I was, (as political agent) for 14 years, I feel deeply (and justly I hope) interested in the welfare and prosperity of that quiet and very tractable people, and I shall offer no apology for bringing the subject to the notice of the authorities, under the hope that it will receive further and more serious consideration than I apprehend it has already done, and feeling assured that the forced labour now required, (for such I believe it to be) will lead to most mischievous consequences. I may here add, that for years I had to fight against this great abomination "forced labour" and until I brought the subject under the immediate notice (p 7) of Lord William Bentinck I could never effectually obtain authority to abolish the calling out of the inhabitants of the country on all occasions of non in authority visiting the hills with their thousands of followers to carry luggage, and to keep them supplied with every species of food, during their residence in the mountains. This system was, of course, followed by other visitors, who made no scruples in sending their servants into the villages, to force the inhabitants, men and women, to carry loads, but Lord William Bentinck set the example of obtaining voluntary labour, paying proper rates for the same, and it is to be hoped it has since been followed.

In conclusion I may say, that a more peaceable and well disposed people than our protected hill subjects are not to be found in India. They are most grateful for the change of government, from / (p 8) the Gurca to the British rule, and they are ever ready to attend to the orders of they receive from the British Agent, but they may be driven a step too far, and I (8) trust and hope an investigation, by a properly selected agent of Government, who can speak and understand the patois of the country, will not be delayed to enquire into the necessity of making this new road, the extent already made, the cost to Government, and to the chieftains, the arrangements for labour, whether voluntary or otherwise, the number, grades, and pay of the European superintending officers - and what arrangements have been made for the medical attendance of the many labourers, who it is said fall sick, at the work, especially during the rainy season of the year. It might also, be (p 9) advisable to ascertain the amount of traffick that has been upon the new road for the past year, stating the number of carriages, laden horses, mules, and bullocks, which have been known to travel it.

Accompanying is a copy and translation of one of the sunnuds, or grants, given to each of the Ranas or mountain chieftains, by which it will be seen the conditions under which they hold their estates from the British Government.

(8) The rest of the page 8 from here to the end of this para on page 9 is marked with a marginal note "Enquire into Ghinni Road"

The above Memoranda dated Cheltenham 9 October 1855, along with the copy of sunnud referred to in the last para, was sent to Canning, before he left to assume the Governor Generalship of India, by Ellenborough with a letter dated 12.10.1855. The Mem is by Lt Col Kennedy late Political Agent at Simla.

(211)

My Dear Mr Talbot

Bishop's College  
Nov 16 (1857)

I got a note yesterday from Mr Thornhill, which will interest you, as it clearly implies that Ram Chunder has escaped. The statement about the Exaggerations of the horrors, which have really occurred, is also very interesting, (p 2) though I dare say, not so new to you as to me.

If you have time to read the note now, my huzkaro will wait for it. If not, any time when you can forward it to me will do.

Yours very truly  
W. Kay

( Note on top of page 1. "Done with. Enclosure returned to Dr Kay 19 NOV Letter is from The Rev Dr Kay, Bishop's College in Private Secretary's Correspondence Bundle 28, No 2785.)

No 2113

(copy)

To

W. Muir Esq

Agra.

(private)

My Dear Sir

The Governor General has seen a letter from Mr C.B.Thornhill in which that gentleman states his opinion that the horrible stories afloat of the treatment of English women and girls in the recent disturbances have no foundation infact - and that from enquiries made; it does not appear that violation was added to the atrocities of torture and murder, except in rare instances.

I am directed to say in reference to this that Lord Canning would be glad if you cans collect any corroborative evidence to show that the violence to women did not take place.

His lordship is of course aware that it can only be negative evidence, and can only rest upon opinion. But he would be glad to have even this. (p 2)

We are waiting with much anxiety to hear from Lucknow and just at this moment the telegraph between Futtehpore and Allahabad fails - only temporarily I trust.

I beg to remain &amp;c

Government House  
Calcutta Nov 17, 1857

G.C. Talbot

Leeds Public Library Archives: Scanning Papers: Private Secretary Correspondence: The second is attached with the first. Kay's letter is No 2785 in bundle 28. The other has no indication.

(9.12)

Translation of a Hill Sunnud, or Grant, of the Lordship of  
Roormarsain to Rana Nahar Singh : 7th February 1816.

As the expulsion of Goresas from this tract of hill country has been completely effected, and as all the places situated in these mountains have been brought under the subjection of the Hon'ble Company's Government, by order of the Right Hon'ble Lord Moira, Governor General, a grant of the said lordship, (p 10) with all the rights appertaining thereto, has been drawn out under the seal and signature of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General and given to the said Rana, and to the heirs of his body and lineal descendants in perpetuity upon condition of his faithfully paying up, year by year, season by season, the sum agreed upon to defray the expences of the protecting British force, and upon condition of attending in person when required and summoned, with the number of porters stipulated for below. It is therefore enjoined that the said Rana shall use his utmost endeavours in improving the condition of the people, in forwarding agriculture, in rendering the roads safe, in paying without fail season by season, and year by year, the fixed amount of tribute for defraying the expences of the British force maintained for the protection of the hill countries. That when summoned he shall attend in person with the porters, and armed followers, as stipulated for below. That he shall further yield implicit (p 11) obedience to the officers of the British Government and that he shall not attempt to trespass beyond the ancient limits of his lordship. If the Ranas shall fail in the payment of the said tribute, season by season, year by year, or if when summoned he shall fail to attend in person with the porters and armed followers as stipulated for below, or if he shall be backward in yielding obedience to the officers of the British Government, or, if he shall attempt to trespass beyond the ancient limits of his lordship, and to encroach upon the lands of others, he will most assuredly fall under the displeasure of the British Government, and subject himself to the loss of his lordship.

It is therefore proper that the Rana shall regard this grant as authentic, and binding, that he shall scrupulously act up to its provisions, and that he shall attend to the good government of his lordship. With regard to the people of the said lordship, it is proper that they shall look upon the Rana and his heirs as their rulers: That they shall not (p 12) refuse to pay a just revenue and that they shall not fail in regarding due obedience to the Rana. dated 7th February 1816.

#### STIPULATION

- 1st 40 porters shall be in constant attendance on the British authorities. (10)
- 2nd During the time of war, the Rana, shall attend in person with his armed followers, in aid of the British forces.
- 3rd The construction of roads throughout the whole of his territories 4 yards in breadth.
- 4th The money tribute is, for the present, not demanded.

(true copy and translation)

Ch P. Kennedy, Lt Col  
Late Political Agent at Simla, and  
Cheltenham  
9 October 1855.

Seobathoo.

Leeds Pub Lib Archives: Canning Papers: Misc Correspondence (not catalogued). (continuation of Kennedy Memorandum on forced labour)

• Marginal Note in Original writing: "This clause was afterwards altered to a money payment to the British Government, at the rate of Rs 3 per month for each porter."

Q.14

Mr C. Chester, Commissioner of Allahabad to Talbot: 20.12.1857Allahabad  
Dec 20th 1857

My dear Sir

Three European women were murdered at Allahabad during the outbreak viz Mrs Thomas, Mrs Collins, And Mrs Benson. To the best of my knowledge it has never been so much as rumoured that any of them were tortured or their bodies mutilated. Mr Boillard a merchant who was murdered here, had his hands and feet cut off from his body after death; it was reported that his corpse had been chopped into small pieces and put into beer casks (p 2) but I have never been able to trace any truth in the report, and disbelieve it. Very many false statements have been made at different times in the newspapers, regarding atrocities alleged to have been committed by the insurgents. It was said for instance (by some correspondent of the Hinkar I think) that the European steward of the mess of the 6th N.I. (?) was made to witness the murder of his own children, and then to eat portions of their flesh. Now in point of fact (p 3) no such person as the steward or his children ever existed. I do not think the natives invent these stories, but ascribe their authorship to imaginative Europeans or Eurasians.

Yours faithfully

C. Chester

Hon'ble Gerald Talbot

Leeds : Canning Papers: Private Secretary Correspondence: No 2937(30)  
 Note on back "Mr Chester has been asked to specify whether women  
 have been violated or not". (also has references to 2960, 3250;  
 crossed out references 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, also 2272 (or 8) )

P. Gubbins to Talbot: 4.1.1858Cawnpore  
4th January 1858

My dear Sir

I relieved Mr Chester three days ago at Allahabad, and reached this place last night. I hasten to reply to your query regarding "the stories so confidently told respecting the violation of the persons of English women and girls at Cawnpore".

I had a long conversation with (p ") Lt Thompson this morning, who commands the police levy, previously to the receipt of your letter now under reply, in which I particularly enquired after this point. Lt Thompson was in the Cawnpore entrenchment up to the last moment, and was one of the four persons who so miraculously escaped by swimming down the river. He told me that he is of opinion that not a (p 3) single case of violation occurred, and that he totally disbelieves the story of the young lady who is said to have cut off the sevar's head who had taken her to his house. That all our women (even the best looking) were so filthy, so dirty and emaciated that in his opinion they could inspire but honor to any man who saw them. That they were obliged to ease themselves in their (p 4) clothes, and became a most disgusting spectacle.

I am my dear Sir  
 Yours faithfully  
 P. Gubbins ( ?)

The Hon'ble Gerald Talbot  
 Private Secretary (To OG)

No. 3250 in PB Correspondence. (Note: Three copies made by order of  
 Dr. 19.2.58.)

Gawnpore  
December 23, 1857.

(14)

My dear Sir

Your letter affords me an opportunity of expressing my opinion on a subject much discussed, and I am glad to avail myself of it.

That our unhappy country women were exposed to the most terrible distresses - caused by insufficient food, exposure to the burning season, crowding, dirt, disease and neglect when suffering from dis - to rude questionings, to rough answers and insolent remarks - finally to a cruel and bloody death - seems matter of absolute certainty. But the particular treatment which certain harrowing writers in the newspapers seem so anxious to insist took place - viz dishonour to the person - I do not any of the unhappy captives were subjected to. The reasons of my incredulity on this point are that in the first place I think it highly improbable, so much so that (p 2) it would require authenticated and consistent stories to overcome this *prima facie* improbability. The improbability to my mind is this. Just we know from the history of of course does not refuse to ally itself with violence and blood. But it certainly would be something not recorded before of human nature if during a period when those who had got the temporary supremacy had exhibited every proof of personal hatred and antipathy towards those in power, they should ever think of intercourse with these captive women except with for the express object of public insult. But this is never once stated by any one - denied in fact by every one. The only story to which the epithet "general" can be at all applied is - that after the massacre (?) at the beats when the women and children were attacked at Subeda House on the parade ground - the younger of them were distributed amongst the soldiers and taken to their own houses - but that afterwards the Nana when he heard of our advance directed them all to (be) sent back to the Beete Ghur. But against this I have my list dated 11th July from the battle of Futtahpore, and before the Nana can have been in any apprehension, and stating that all these whose names were mentioned had arrived there on the 7th of July, a still earlier date, (p 3)

There I find them all, old and young, and mark one particular point, all on the sick list, all particularized as "sick men". Now it seems to me that it would have obviously been the object of the cowards, with the intention in view alledged to them, to have properly fed and tended those whom they were protecting. But it is not so. We find the effects of crowding, exposure, inadequate food and the like on all, and this little circumstance added to what I consider the great improbability lying at the outset of the story convinced my mind.

But I think it right to state that Captain who has also had much intercourse with the natives and has taken great pains in ascertaining and inquiring into the details of this sad history disagrees with me and believes in the distribution of the young women amongst the troopers. But all individual stories such as that foolish one about Miss Wheeler are wholly unworthy of credit. And I would engage with regard to any one of them to point out by a few lists (p 4) their inherent falsehood. I trust I have not touched this delicate subject coarsely or too openly. Indeed I would sooner have never inquired about it at all - would fain have let the veil of death cover up all beside. But the harrowing writers cannot afford to lose so prominent a subject on prurient curiosity. Really the way inwhich the people lie in the newspapers is marvellous and would lead one almost to suppose, that the Psalmist in speaking hastily had hit upon a universal truth. I assure you that in Dr Duff's fervent account of events at Futtahpore there was not one word of truth, not even a semblance of what really occurred. So, too, in the melodramatic story in which the unhappy

Captain Skene (?) was said to have shot his wife and then himself. The incident was . He was never in a tower. He did not kill his wife. He did not kill himself. And he and his wife were not killed in the same place.

But why talk of these things when in yesterday's "Friend" I had an account of the belief of Cawnpore in which the two main incidents are wholly imaginary. I would mention one point. The /(p 5) "Bete Ghur" has been levelled with the ground and it would not suit the plans of the Engineer to allow any enclosure of the garden in which the wall was, to remain. Indeed it is desirable that the ground should be even, and if any tomb were erected, it might hereafter be subject to ~~unquestionable~~ injury from the guns of the fort. But a little subterranean chapel might be constructed on the site of the well now filled up, in which there might be a simple but massive and handsome white marble cross. Many of the unhappy victims even catholics. But in this symbol the feelings of the relations of all could rest (?) with pleasure. I would have it without inscription. There would be more pathos in the silence than words could indicate. All Englishmen would know what spot they were visiting. It would be a chamber for the bent knee and a prayer to be guided to justice and gifted with firmness.

But I am writing too much. (p 6) I trust you will forgive me, if I have expressed myself too freely to a stranger in your position.

and believe me  
faithfully yours  
John .

(2.15)

Note, probably in pencil, on first page "three copies made by order  
"same plane" 1.3.58"  
On last page: (108) P. Sec's Corres Edle 30, Da 2960.

To Our Most Noble The Governor General, or  
To the Hon'ble Members of the Supreme Council of India

It is with great surprise we perused the supplementary sheet of the Calcutta Gazette of yesterday proclaiming no interference of the Government of India with the religion or castes of the Hindoos or Mussulmans, but what caused to publish this we do not know, save the mutinies. We all wish sincerely the cessation of (p 2) British power and rule in this region, as the subjects are most seriously tortured and oppressed by the Government in every way, such as exorbitant taxation, stoppage of musical processions during holidays, unless the Police Commissioner permits, heavy exportation of country produce, which has particularly put the inhabitants to starvation. On all these matters memorials have been (p 3) sent to the Governor General and Legislative Council. Press of time prevents our continuing much on these subjects.

LEEDS Public Library Archives: Canning Papers Private Secy Correspondence : No 1974: 1857: Anonymous letter

(2/16)

The Governor General of India, Calcutta

My Lord

I presume to lay the following circumstances of the cause of Mutiny in India before your lordship; by which you will find that the European authorities made themselves stink in the eyes of the sharp sighted natives. The European officers, both military and civil, with but a few exceptions, are in the habit of asking for the wives, sisters (p) and daughters of their inferiors. To gratify their ful lusts; which desire they excite by stimulating themselves continually with spirituous liquors and nitrogenized food. And those unfortunate individuals that will not consent to these terms, will never advance in rank and appointment, though they be as true and loyal to their masters on earth, as the angels are to their heavenly maker. They must live and die in the rank they enlist. If any of these individuals ever do advance, it (p) is only by the providential interference by removing the bad master for the good and honest one. I am one of the individuals who have suffered in this way and the Lord has mercifully revenged me of my enemy. The punishment of the officers by the hands of the mutineers are just. The cry of the broken hearted has justly been responded. But still the Lord is merciful.

Another cause of their mutiny is bribe taking. The sepoys that will make the most profit in making a saving (p) from the monthly expenses allowed by Government in feeding and out the different horses will be considered the best man and will rise advance rapidly. There was a sepoy at Beerut who when in guard on the commissariat reported to Major ..... commanding officer, the cheat of Jotee Persaud in having given less quantity of grain in each bag for the cattle, whereby making a profit of 20 to 30 rupees per day. And when the sentry confined the bags and asked the commissariat officers to have them weighed to prove his veracity, the officer put him in guard for (p) presumptively dictating, as he called, his business to him as he had already pronounced the bags to contain the correct allowance, by eye-sight. This disheartened the sepoys and he swore never to make another complaint, or at least, report, of such matters, where money into question. Jotee Persaud I hear supplies the expenses of that officer's table and out offices at his own cost.

Such as the internal affairs of India. The natives who are to learn the works of faithfulness and godliness from the / (p) Europeans, are taught on the contrary the works of mutiny and ingratitude towards their masters. They say if these white colour who are lords over them, are not faithful to their masters, why should they that are strangers be so. A month before the mutiny some sepoys on guard answered to my question, viz: what was the rule of his creed. The example of his master, the captain. If my captain will lead me to hell we will follow him even there. We will be saints if he will be one and rogues (p) if he is such. The poor Scobadars are obliged to call the wives of the sepoys that visit the officers bungalows, sisters, in order to have their names favourably spoken of before the captains to enable them to obtain their posts or advance still further in life. The poor Europeans are also obliged to hand their wives to the adjutants or captains bungalows to advance their prospects. till the wife will be with the gentleman in bed, the husband will keep pacing the Verandah up and down and enjoying/himself with the / (p) grog bottle till she comes out and then escort her back. There are many more items, which I defer to mention at present, but will lay them before your lordship from time to time, as I will have leisure to do so.

I am, My Lord, your lordship's most obedient and humble servant  
from the field of Batta XXX  
P.S. Excuse hasty scroll my lord.  
Leeds Public Libraries Archives: Canning Papers: Private Secretary's Correspondence NO 2370: undated: (probably 1857 or 1858)

2.17

Palmerston to Canning: 21.11.1857

H.E. The Viset Canning, Calcutta

My Dear Canning,

I get as you may suppose many communications from persons professing to give information useful to Government; These are generally mare's nests, but one is not justified in always assuming them to be so.

I was told very confidentially a few days ago by a person professing to be in communication with some of the people about the queen of Oude, that an agent, an Indian, was sent from England by the Oude family on the 10th September to Calcutta and that his mission fix was to blow up the magazine in Fort William at the end of four months from the day of his departure.

The modus operandi was to be (p 478) that he was to come to Government House in the dress of a fakir, that he was to be let in by the Governor General's body-guard who are said to be in the plot, that he was to enter an underground passage said to exist between Government House and Fort William, pass along it to the Fort and explode the magazine. In the confusion thereby created the king of Oude was to make his escape. All this may be moonshine, but if there is such an underground communication between Government House and Fort William as my informant describes, the rest of the statement may not be without foundation.

You may perhaps be able to ascertain what natives arrived by the Mail which left England about the 10th September. I wish you to keep this entirely to yourself or at least not to mention having having had any communication on the subject. If my informant gives me real information the source would be cut off by disclosures. If my informant is only sent to cram me with inventions there is (p 479) always some use in knowing what people who are acting against you wish you to believe.

Yours Sincerely  
Palmerston.

We want very much to have a statement of the whole amount of casualties amongst the queen's troops since the beginning of your troubles in order to be guided as to the number of men to be sent to fill up vacancies in the regiments in India; and that we may know what is about the total number of the aggregate European force in India.

There are considerations which lead us to think that it would be useful to have some negro regiments in India, and we could send some of our West Indian regiments and raise more for the purpose. The Negro would stand the climate, he is brave and obedient and makes a good soldier, and he is a Christian and would have no sympathy of race (p 480) or religion with Hindoo or Mahometan, and the Dutch have found such troops useful in Java, though from not having means to recruit them they have let them melt down to a few number. We should have no difficulty of that kind as there are it is said 20,000 Blacks in Canada, fugitives from United States.

The only objections which have urged against the measure,  
 British Museum: Palmerston Papers: Add Ms 48580: Letter Books of Palmerston ( There is not very much on India amongst this collection. Perhaps the major part of Palmerston's papers are still with the Temple's , ie his descendants )

2c

/darker colour  
than themselves,  
and of a

are that the Indians would be offended by the introduction of men of a race which they would deem inferior and that the sepoys would be discontented at seeing men blacker than themselves receiving European pay. I should like to know what you think of these objections. I should not be inclined to attach much weight to the first, and it would be counterbalanced by the consideration of that the Indians seeing a new source of military supply brought to feed our Indian army might be less (p 481) tempted to think that under any circumstances of war in Europe we might be unable to maintain a sufficient force in India; in regard to the second objection one should think that the sepoy would see that these black regiments forming part of the British army and being liable to serve in any part of the globe are naturally entitled to the same rate of pay as the white troops and stand on different footing from the Indian native regiments which are generally speaking local corps.

P.

(2.18)

Palmerston to Archbishop of Canterbury: 15.9.1857

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury 94 Piccadilly  
15 September 1857

My Lord,

Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would be fitting and in accordance with the feelings of the nation that a day should be appointed for general prayer and (meditation) with reference to the calamitous events now happening in the British dominions in India. With  
on behalf of our afflicted fellow subjects in those countries, and I wish to know whether this arrangement falls in with your views.

Such an arrangement would require an order in council, but as three members would be enough for the purpose that number can (p 432) easily be found at Balmoral and in consideration of the distance it would not be necessary to give your Grace the trouble of attending.

The day to be fixed upon should not be unnecessarily distant, and there are many reasons connected with the industry of the country which would point to a Sunday as the most desirable day. If you concur, you will probably have the goodness to prepare the form of prayer to be used upon the occasion.

My dear lord, Yours faithfully  
Palmerston

Palmerston to Archbishop of Canterbury: 8.8.1860

94 Piccadilly  
8th August 1860

My Dear Lord

If you will have the goodness to send me a case properly made out as to the question about the appointment of a Bishop to the heathen tribes in Africa, I will take the opinion of the law officers upon it.

Yours faithfully  
His Grace the Archbishop of Palmerston.  
Canterbury.

Private Letter Book II, from which the first two letters are taken, is from 28.2.1856 to 16.12.1857 (pp 491 plus index). The next (III), Add Ms 48581, starts in June 1859. Add MS 48582 is for the period 1860-1 and the third letter above belongs to it.

In Add Ms 48580, pages 447-8 have a letter from Palmerston to the Duke of Cambridge on R.I.C. raising 4 regiments of cavalry, and pages 451 a letter dated 31.10.1857 for taking Dharmpal Archives CPS-TS-02 reward to

(Q.19) Note on "Expenditure in India" : 25.1.1881

(ff 61) India in 1840 consisted of 621,000 sq miles, population 148 millions. In 1879 it consisted of 863,000 sq miles, population 191 millions. It cost 22.5 millions to administer in 1840 and 67.3 millions to administer in 1879 irrespective of the Afghan War. The increase in, say 40 years, has been 43 millions, each of these extra millions has caused an increased burden of one million sterling to look after them, and was India quieter in 1840, than in 1879 ?

The administration of India with the agencies costs 1.8 million, the administration of Great Britain, Ireland and colonies, including war department and admiralty costs 2.1 millions.

The imperial forces of Great Britain Ireland and colonies numbering 519,966 troops cost 11 millions.

The 65,000 imperial, and 125,000 native troops (in all 190,000 troops) in India, costs 13.4 millions.

The medical department in India costs 669,059 £, the medical department in Great Britain and Ireland costs 308,440 £.

Printing and stationery in Great Britain, (and we have the two houses of parliament) costs 459,979 £. The same in India costs 471,470 £. Writing is the cause of no end of vexation of spirit in India. (ff 62)

British Museum: Add Ms 43411: Expenditure in India by C.H. Gordon, dated 25.1.1881: ff 60-75.

(Q.20)

Proposed New Church (in Calcutta): 18.6.1839

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

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

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