

LIVES
OF
INDIAN OFFICERS,

Illustrative of the History

OF THE
CIVIL AND MILITARY SERVICES OF INDIA.

BY JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN," "THE LIFE OF LORD METCALFE,"
"THE HISTORY OF THE SEPOY WAR," &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

GENERAL

SIR GEORGE POLLOCK,

G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,

AND

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

SIR JOHN MAIR LAWRENCE, BART.,

G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,

THE MOST DISTINGUISHED LIVING REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

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PREFACE.

I THINK that something should be said regarding the circumstances, which have resulted in the publication of this book.

Two or three years ago, I was invited by the editor and by the proprietor of *Good Words* to write a series of biographical papers illustrative of the careers of some of our most distinguished "Indian Heroes." As the materials, in most instances, were not to be obtained from printed books or papers, to perform this task in a satisfactory manner—that is, to write month after month, throughout the year, a memoir of some soldier or statesman distinguished in Indian history—would have been impossible to me, the greater part of whose time was devoted to other duties, if it had not chanced that for many years I had been gathering, from different original sources, information relating both to the public services and the private lives of many of those whose careers it was desired that I should illustrate. I had many large manuscript volumes, the growth of past years of historical research, full of personal correspondence and biographical notes, and I had extensive collections of original papers, equally serviceable, which had not been transcribed. As, therefore, only to a very limited extent, I had to go abroad in search of my materials,

I felt that I might accept the invitation and undertake the task, God willing, without danger of breaking down. The temptations, indeed, were very great—the greatest of all being the opportunity of awakening, through a popular periodical counting its readers by hundreds of thousands, the interests of an immense multitude of intelligent people, whom every writer on Indian subjects is painfully conscious of being unable to reach through the medium of bulky and high-priced books.

Of the Lives, which I selected for illustration, the greater number had never been written before, and of those, which had been written before, I had unpublished records which enabled me to impart some little freshness to my memoirs. The sketches were published originally without any chronological arrangement. They appeared, in uninterrupted succession, during the year 1865. The great difficulty with which I had to contend was the necessary limitation of space. I was often compelled to curtail the memoirs after they were in print, and thereby to exclude much interesting illustrative matter. As, however, the republication of the Lives in a separate work had been determined upon, I had less regret in effecting these mutilations. The excised passages are now restored, and new additions made to the memoirs, considerably exceeding in extent the whole of the original sketches. I may say, indeed, that the work has been almost entirely re-written, the chapters in the periodical having been little more than sketches of the more finished portraits which are now produced after fifteen additional months of conscientious research.

Of the materials, of which I have spoken, something more should be said, the more especially, as in one or two instances I have to acknowledge the assistance that I have derived from other writers. For much of the valuable information contained in the memoir of Cornwallis I am indebted to Mr. Ross's very ably-executed work. It should be stated, however, that long before his book was announced I had contemplated the preparation of a Life of Lord Cornwallis, and had amassed a considerable stock of materials in illustration

of it. In 1850, I wrote to Lord Braybrooke, soliciting permission to consult the records of the Cornwallis family, and I received in reply a very courteous refusal—which, indeed, as I was wholly unknown in England at that time, I ought to have expected—accompanied with a statement that a prohibition had been laid upon the publication of these family papers. I was rejoiced to find afterwards that the prohibition had been removed, and that the editing of the correspondence had been placed in such good hands. I believe, however, that the student of Mr. Ross's book may find something new in my slender memoir; and, at all events, for reasons stated at its commencement, there is a peculiar fitness in its insertion in this work, which the reader will be well disposed to recognise. The Lives of Sir John Malcolm and Sir Charles Metcalfe I had already written in detail, but I felt that two such names could not be excluded from my muster-roll. For a memoir of Mr. Elphinstone I had a considerable mass of original memorials, but no amount of correspondence in my possession would have rendered me wholly independent of the very able and interesting biography communicated by Sir Edward Colebrooke to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. The well-known volumes of Sargent and Wilberforce, illustrative of the life of Henry Martyn, have of course yielded the chief materials on which the brief memoir of that Christian hero is based; but from the correspondence of Charles Grant the elder, made over to me by his son, the late Lord Glenelg, I have been able to glean something to impart a little novelty to this the most familiar chapter of my work.

The memoirs in the second volume are all written from original materials supplied to me by relatives or friends. The journals and correspondence of Sir Alexander Burnes were given to me by his brother, the late Dr. James Burnes, and much supplementary information has been derived from other sources. The journals of Eldred Pottinger were obtained for me from his family, when I was writing the History of the War in Afghanistan, by the assistance of Captain William

Eastwick, now of the Indian Council, who was one of Sir Henry Pottinger's most cherished friends and associates; and the journals of Arthur Conolly came into my possession when I was writing the same work. From the families of both I have received very valuable assistance since I commenced the preparation of these volumes. With D'Arcy Todd and Henry Lawrence, officers of the Bengal Artillery, I had the privilege of being on terms of cherished friendship. For the memoir of the former abundant materials were supplied to me by his brother, Colonel Frederick Todd; and for that of the latter I have chiefly relied on my own private resources, knowing that Sir Herbert Edwardes is writing a life of his great and good friend, which will leave nothing unsaid that ought to be said about him. Following out the list in chronological sequence, I then come to the memoirs of those two great soldiers who died so nobly for their country just as Fame was dawning upon them—Neill and Nicholson. From the widow of the one and from the mother of the other I received the memorials which have enabled me to write, very imperfectly, I fear, the lives of those heroic men; but an opportunity may yet be allowed to me, in another work, of doing further justice to soldiers who have reflected so much glory on the great Army of the East India Company.

Although to some small extent, perhaps, accidental circumstances may have favoured my choice of these particular Indian worthies, from among so many, I think it will be considered that on the whole they represent the Indian Services as fairly and as completely as if the selection had been wholly the result of an elaborate design.* For it will be seen that I have drawn my examples from all the three great national divisions of the British Empire—that Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen come equally to the front in these pages.

* There is one omission, however, so observable, that something should be said respecting it. It will occasion surprise to many that the name of Sir James Outram does not appear in the list. There is no other reason for this

than that he is entitled to a book to himself, and that I hope soon to be able to discharge what is both a trust confided to me by the departed hero, and a promise made to the loving ones whom he has left behind.

Cornwallis, Metcalfe, Martyn, and Todd were Englishmen—pure and simple. Malcolm, Elphinstone, Burnes, and Neill were Scotchmen. Pottinger and Nicholson were Irishmen. Ireland claims also Henry Lawrence as her own, and Arthur Conolly had Irish blood in his veins. It will be seen, too, that I have drawn my examples from all the three great presidential divisions of India. Metcalfe, Martyn, Conolly, Todd, Lawrence, and Nicholson were Bengal officers, and served chiefly in that Presidency; Malcolm and Neill came from the Madras Presidency; Burnes and Pottinger belonged to Bombay; whilst Elphinstone, though nominally attached to the Bengal Civil Service, spent the greater part of his official life in Western India. It will be also seen that nearly every branch of the Service is illustrated in these biographies,* and, in the military division, every arm is fairly represented. Todd, Lawrence, and Pottinger were Artillery officers. Arthur Conolly was of the Cavalry. Neill was attached to the European Infantry, and Burnes and Nicholson to the native branch of the same service—in which also Malcolm commenced his career. From all of which it may be gathered that it little mattered whence a youth came, or whither he went, or to what service he was attached; if he had the right stuff in him, he was sure to make his way to the front.

The memoirs being now published in chronological sequence, I am not without a hope that the collection may be regarded in some sort as a Biographical History of India from the days of Cornwallis to the days of Canning. All the great wars which, during those momentous three-quarters of a century, have developed so remarkably the military and political genius of the “Services,” are illustrated, more or less, in these pages. The two great wars with Tippoo, the earlier and later Mahrattah wars, the war in Afghanistan, the Punjab wars, and the Sepoy

* I must express my regret that the volumes contain no example drawn from the Medical Service of the East India Company—a service which was never wanting in men equally eminent for those professional attainments which

are exercised so unstintingly in the cause of our suffering humanity, and for those heroic qualities which are exemplified by deeds of gallantry in the field, and by lives of daring adventure.

war, afford the chief incidents of the book. But the Historical is everywhere subordinated to the Biographical. I have not attempted, indeed, to write History; it has grown up spontaneously out of the lives of the great men who *make* History. But if it should not be of any value as a History of India, I may still hope that it will be accepted as a not uninteresting contribution to a History of the great Indian Services—the Military and Civil Services of the East India Company. Those Services are now extinct. I have striven to show what they were in their best days; and unless the ability of the execution has fallen far short of the sincerity of the design, I have done something in these pages to do honour to a race of public servants unsurpassed in the history of the world.

And I hope that, as a record of those services, this book, however imperfect the execution of it, may not be without its uses. I have striven to show how youths, from the middle-class families of our British islands, have gone forth into the great Eastern world, and by their own unaided exertions carved their way to fame and fortune. The Patronage-system of the East India Company, long condemned as a crying abuse, and at last, as such, utterly abolished, opened the gates of India to a hardy, robust race of men, who looked forward to a long and honourable career, and looked back only to think of the joy with which their success would be traced by loving friends in their old homesteads. But it is not now said for the first time that the system could not have been very bad which produced a succession of such public servants as those who are associated with the history of the growth of our great Indian Empire, and as many others who in a less degree have contributed to the sum of that greatness. For the heroes of whom I have written are only representative men; and, rightly considered, it is the real glory of the Indian Services, not that they have sent forth a few great, but that they diffused over the country so many good, public officers, eager to do their duty, though not in the front rank. Self-reliance, self-help, made them what they were. The “nepotism of the

Court of Directors" did not pass beyond the portico of the India House. In India every man had a fair start and an open course. The son of the Chairman had no better chance than the son of the Scotch farmer or the Irish squire. The Duke of Wellington, speaking of the high station to which Sir John Malcolm had ascended after a long career of good work accomplished and duty done, said that such a fact "operated throughout the whole Indian service, and the youngest cadet saw in it an example he might imitate—a success he might attain." And this, indeed, as it was the distinguishing mark, so was it the distinguishing merit of the Company's services; and there grew up in a distant land what has been rightly called a great "Monarchy of the Middle Classes," which, it is hoped for the glory of the nation, will never be suffered to die.

I wish that the youth of England should see in these volumes what men, merely by the force of their own personal characters, can do for their country in India, and what they can do for themselves. I feel that on laying down the book some readers may say that the discouragements are at least as great as the encouragements, for that to a large proportion of those of whom I have written Death came early, and in many instances with sudden violence. But I know too well the temper of the men from whom our armies are recruited to believe that the record of such heroic deaths as those of Todd and Lawrence, Neill and Nicholson, will make any man less eager to face the risks of Indian life.

"Who'er has reached the highest pinnacle
Of fame by glorious toil or daring skill,
. . . let him possess his soul in quietness
And bear his honours meekly; at the last,
E'en gloomy death will have for such a one
Some gleams of brightness, for he will bequeath
To the dear offspring of his heart and race
Their best inheritance—an honoured name."*

The deterring circumstances which threaten to impair the

* TREMENHERE'S PINDAR—a book in which the noble and inspiring thoughts of the old Greek poet are rendered in simple, manly English, well adapted to such a theme as the exploits of Heroes.

efficiency of the Services are of a different kind. I am afraid that there has grown up, in these latter days, a general dislike to Indian service, and that those who go out to the East are ever in a hurry to come home again. The "nepotism of the East India Company" had its uses. It was said to be a monstrous thing that the services of the East India Company were, to a great extent, hereditary services, and that whole families should be saddled upon India, generation after generation. We only discovered the good of this after we had lost it. That enthusiasm which is so often spoken of in these volumes as the essential element of success in India, was nourished greatly by these family traditions. The men who went out to India in those old days of the East India Company did not regard themselves merely as strangers and sojourners in the land. They looked to India as a Home, and to Indian service as a Career—words often repeated; but as their repetition is the best proof of their truth, I need not be ashamed of saying them again. It is in no small measure because I wish that others should go forth from our English homes on the same mission, and with the same aspirations, that I have written these memoirs, and if I have induced even a few, contemplating these heroic examples, to endeavour to do likewise, I shall not have written in vain.

J. W. KAYE.

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NOT ONCE OR TWICE IN OUR FAIR ISLAND-STORY
THE PATH OF DUTY WAS THE WAY TO GLORY :
HE THAT EVER FOLLOWING HER COMMANDS,
ON WITH TOIL OF HEART AND KNEES AND HANDS,
THROUGH THE LONG GORGE TO THE FAR LIGHT HAS WON
HIS PATH UPWARD AND PREVAILED,
SHALL FIND THE TOPPLING CRAGS OF DUTY SCALED,
ARE CLOSE UPON THE SHINING TABLE-LANDS
TO WHICH OUR GOD HIMSELF IS MOON AND SUN.

Tennyson.

LIVES
OF
INDIAN OFFICERS.

LORD CORNWALLIS.

[BORN 1738.—DIED 1805.]

NOT of men of large estate, born to greatness, whom family influence and political power elevated to high official position, without the toilsome and the patient ascent, has it been my purpose to write in these Memoirs, but of men who, by the unaided force of their own personal characters, made their way to the front, along the open road of a graduated public service. But there can be no fitter prologue to these illustrations of native worth and noble self-reliance than that which may be found in the life of the man who made the public service of India what it has been and is in this nineteenth century. By Lord Cornwallis, who was three times selected by the King's Government to fill the chief seat of the Indian Government, and who twice discharged its duties, the civil and military servants of the Company were raised from a band of adventurers, enriching themselves by obscure processes and doubtful gains, to a class of virtuous and zealous public functionaries, toiling ever for their country's good. There were, doubtless, brave and strong men before the coming of this Agamemnon; but official purity was almost unknown in those days, and rapidly to acquire wealth by dishonourable means was so uniformly the rule of the adventurer, that no one accounted it dishonour in others, or felt it to be dishonour in himself. Of the corruption, which then traversed the land, Lord Cornwallis sounded the death-knell. And from that time the great Com-

1738—1805. pany of Merchants, which governed India, was served by a succession of soldiers and civilians unsurpassed in rectitude of life by any whose names are recorded in the great muster-roll of the world. Therefore, I say, there can be no fitter introduction to such a work as this than a brief account of the soldier-statesman who, by purifying the public service of India, has enabled the historian to write of men as good as they were great, and to illustrate their careers in detail without any dishonest reserve or any painful admissions.

Family of
Cornwallis.

The family of Cornwallis is said to have been, as far as it can be traced backwards, originally of Irish stock; but its grandeur seems to have been derived, in the first instance, from the city of London. One Thomas Cornwallis settled himself in the great English capital, took successfully to trade, and in 1378 became one of the sheriffs of the City. Having amassed considerable wealth, he bought some broad lands in Suffolk, to which his son John, who represented the county in Parliament, added by the purchase of the estate of Brome. From that time the family rose steadily in importance, being always steadfast in their loyalty to the Throne. In 1599, William Cornwallis was knighted at Dublin for his services against the Irish rebels, and in 1627, Frederick Cornwallis, his son, was created a baronet by Charles the First. After the death of Sir William Cornwallis, his widow married Sir Nathaniel Bacon, a half-brother of the philosopher, but only enjoyed a single year of this second stage of wedded life. The marriage, however, had one important result. Sir Nathaniel Bacon, who died in 1615, left the estate of Culford, near Bury, in Suffolk, to his widow, from whom it in due course descended to Sir Frederick Cornwallis, and became the principal seat of the family. Having thus become an important member of the landed aristocracy of the county, and being distinguished for his loyalty to the Stuarts, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, on the 20th of April, 1661, was created Baron Cornwallis of Eye. On the 30th of June, 1753, the fifth baron was raised to an earldom by the title of Earl Cornwallis and Viscount Brome.

He had married in 1722 a daughter of Lord Townshend;

1757—58.

Cornwallis, without any stops in it, in which he paid Lord Brome a somewhat equivocal compliment by saying that he had "less of our home education than most young men." So, accompanied by a Prussian officer named Roguin, as his travelling tutor, the young nobleman left England, and after exploring some of the great continental cities, established himself at the famous Military Academy at Turin, where he entered upon a course of study profitable alike to body and to mind. He began his day's work at seven o'clock with dancing exercise in the public salon; at eight he took a course of German; from nine to eleven he spent in the riding-school; at eleven he was handed over to the *Maitre d'Armes*; from twelve to three was devoted to dinner and recreation; at three he received private instruction in mathematics and fortification; and at five he had private dancing lessons. "En suite," said M. de Roguin, in an amusing letter to the Earl, written in very bad French, "quelques visites, l'Opéra et le souper." He made good progress in his exercises, especially in those of the more active kind, and evinced an excellent disposition, a power of self-control and resistance of evil, very unusual, at that time, in young aristocrats at the dawn of manhood.

The Seven
Years' War.

But there was better training than that to be derived from scholastic life in any military academy, and Lord Brome was eager to gain experience in the great school of active warfare. Events were taking shape which threatened, or, in the estimation of the young soldier promised, to turn the continent of Europe into a great camp. "I see swarms of Austrians, French, Imperialists, Swedes, and Russians," wrote Lord Chesterfield in August, 1758, "in all near four hundred thousand men, surrounding the King of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand, who have about a third of that number. Hitherto they have only buzzed, but now I fear they will sting." England was about to cast in her lot with the weaker side, and to espouse what to many on-lookers seemed a hopeless cause. "Were it any other man than the King of Prussia," said the same brilliant letter-writer a few weeks afterwards, "I should not hesitate to pronounce him ruined, but he is such a prodigy of a man that I will only say I fear he *may* be ruined." Lord Brome was at Geneva when tidings reached him that an English army was about to be employed in Germany, and that

the Guards were to take the field. This roused all his military enthusiasm, and he hurried through Switzerland, cursing the country for its want of posts, and arrived at Cologne only to find himself too late. "Only imagine," he wrote to his friend and relative, Tom Townshend, "having set out without leave, come two hundred leagues, and my regiment gone without me!" What was to be done? He might offer himself as a volunteer to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, but it was reported that the King had forbidden, and that the Duke had set his face against, volunteering. He "resolvod, however, to try, and was received in the kindest manner." Six weeks afterwards the English, under Lord Granby, joined the camp at Dulmen, in Westphalia; and the General then appointed Lord Brome an aide-de-camp on his personal staff. 1758-61.

Nothing could have pleased the young soldier better than this, for there was an opportunity of seeing service under the happiest auspices. After little less than a year's campaigning, it was his fortune to be present at a great action, in which the English took a conspicuous part. On the 1st of August, 1759, the battle of Minden was fought—not wholly to our national glory—and Lord Brome rode beside the Commander of the British forces. Soon after this affair, he was promoted to a company in a newly-formed regiment, the Eighty-fifth, and was compelled to join it in England. There he remained until 1761, when, in his twenty-third year, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and placed in command of the 12th Foot, which was then with the army in Germany. Hastening to join the camp of Lord Granby, he found his old friend preparing for active operations against the enemy. The French General, Broglie, had been joined by the Prince de Soubise, and they were meditating an attack on the English and Hanoverian lines near Hohenower. On the evening of the 15th of July, Broglie flung himself with desperate resolution on Lord Granby's outposts, feeling well assured that he would carry everything before him. The English General, not forgetful of his old aide-de-camp, gave Lord Brome an opportunity of distinguishing himself, by sending him to the support of the picquets; and he did his work so well that the enemy were repulsed with heavy loss, and next day, when the action became general, were fairly beaten. Throughout the

1761—65.

remainder of this year and the earlier part of 1762, Lord Brome saw much service with his regiment in Germany, and was repeatedly engaged in minor affairs with the enemy. The Twelfth was one of the best regiments in the field, and was always in the front when there was work to be done.

But the famous Seven Years' War was now drawing to a close. France was exhausted; England was weary; and Prussia had gained, or rather retained all that she desired. The time had come for serious negotiation tending to a favourable issue. In the personal history, too, of Lord Brome an important conjuncture had arisen. On the 23rd of July, 1762, his father died, and he became Earl Cornwallis. In the course of the following November he took his seat in the House of Lords. But his heart was with his old regiment, and he still clung to his military duties. He loved country quarters better than the atmosphere of Parliament and the Court, and he went with the Twelfth from one country town to another, with no wish to take part in the strife of political factions, or in the intrigues surrounding the throne of the young King. He was at no time of his life a very vehement partisan. Loyal to the core, he supported the Sovereign and his Ministers when he could do so with a safe conscience. If he followed any man, it was Lord Shelburne, with whom he had lived on terms of intimacy, when they were brothers-in-arms on the great battle-fields of Germany, and who had laid down the sword for the portfolio, and entered upon that career of statesmanship which led him in time to the Premiership of England.

In 1765, the Rockingham Ministry was formed, and the new Prime Minister being anxious to conciliate Lord Shelburne by serving his friends, appointed Lord Cornwallis a Lord of the Bedchamber. A few weeks afterwards he was made an Aide-de-camp to the King. In the following year he was appointed Colonel of the Thirty-third Regiment, and one of the Chief Justices in Eyre, a conjunction of offices which may appear to the uninitiated reader strange and inconsistent, but the functions of the Chief Justiceship, which was a relic of old feudal times, mainly relating to the matter of forest rights, had long since fallen into desuetude, and the office had become a sinecure.

In the month of July, 1768, being then in his thirtieth year, Lord Cornwallis married a daughter of Colonel Jones, of the Second Regiment of Guards. With this lady, who was eight or nine years his junior, he lived for some time in a state of almost unclouded happiness. In March, 1769, a daughter was born to them. He does not appear to have taken, at this time, much part in public affairs. The American question was then beginning to assume gigantic proportions, and no man could help having, or avoid expressing opinions on such a subject. The sympathies of Lord Cornwallis were with the Americans and Lord Chatham. In March, 1766, a few months before that great statesman was raised to the Peerage, the young Earl had voted in a minority of five against the asserted right of taxing the American colonies. It is probable, however, that he was not sorry to absent himself as much as he reasonably and properly could from the House of Lords, that he might not vote against the King. What was the precise character of his relations with Government, it is impossible to say. But in the early part of 1770, when the Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister, he was appointed to the lucrative office of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, the duties of which were performed by deputy, and before the end of the year he was made Constable of the Tower. There was something strange and inexplicable in his position, which did not escape remark; and the great anonymous writer, whose malignant vigilance nothing in high places could escape, fell upon him with remorseless vigour.*

The American question.

* What Junius, under the acknowledged signature of "Domitian," said of him was this: "My sincere compassion for Lord Cornwallis arises not so much from his quality as from his time of life. A young man by his spirited conduct may atone for the deficiencies of his understanding. Where was the memory of the noble Lord, and what kind of intellect must he possess, when he resigns his place, yet continues in the support of the administration, makes a parade of attending Lord North's levee, and pays a public homage to the deputy of Lord Bute? Where is now his attachment, where are now his professions to Lord Chatham, his zeal for the Whig interest of England, and his detestation

of Lord Bute, the Bedfords, and the Tories? Since the time at which these were the only topics of his conversation, I presume he has shifted his company as well as his opinions. Will he tell the world to which of his uncles, or to what friend—to Phillipson or a Tory Lord—he owes the advice which has directed his conduct? I will not press him further. The young man has taken a wise resolution at last, for he is retiring into a voluntary banishment in hopes of recovering the ruin of his reputation." This letter was dated March 5, 1770, at which time Lord Cornwallis was Irish Vice-Treasurer. The place, therefore, which he is said to have resigned must have been the Chief Justiceship in Eyre,

1770—76.

From the close of the year 1770 to the dawn of 1776, during which England drifted into the American war, there is but little trace of the public career of Lord Cornwallis. He continued to hold the office of Constable of the Tower, but in May, 1771, the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland passed from him. He was very happy in his domestic life, and his happiness was increased, in the course of the year 1774, by the birth of a son. If he had followed only his own tastes and inclinations at that time, he would have retired altogether from public life; for he was very little incited by ambition, and there was not a taint of avarice in his nature. But England was now on the eve of a great crisis, and the King had need of the best energies of all his servants. It was not a good cause for which Cornwallis was now again called upon to unsheath the sword; he had publicly, indeed, proclaimed his antipathy to the measures out of which had arisen the bitter strife which could now be allayed only by the last arbitrement of arms. In such a conjuncture there will, perhaps, always be some conflict of opinion among honourable men with respect to the right course of individual action. Lord Chatham, by temporarily withdrawing his own son from the King's army, demonstratively asserted the doctrine that no man ought to use his sword in an unrighteous cause. But Lord Cornwallis believed that it was his first duty, as a soldier, to obey the orders of his King; and to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, at any sacrifice both of private judgment and of private convenience. It was a sore trial to him, for his wife importuned him not to go, and even, it is said, by the help of a powerful relative, prevailed upon the King to release him from his obligations. But he would not avail himself of this permission to remain in England. He took up the commission of Lieutenant-General, which had been bestowed upon him, and at the beginning of 1776 took command of his division, which was under orders to embark at Cork.

which he had ceased to hold in the preceding year. The reference can scarcely be to the appointment in the Household, which he had resigned some four years before. Mr. Ross says that it is "impossible to explain" the letter of "Domitian," as Lord Cornwallis was present in the House of Lords as frequently as in former years, and all his votes on

American questions were "adverse to the well-known wishes of the King." It is suggested that "absence from London on account of regimental duties," might have, to some extent, interfered with regular attendance in Parliament, but this could not have extended beyond March, 1766, when Lord Cornwallis became a full Colonel.

1777.

the English posts at Delaware, to capture our guns, to make prisoners of nearly all our men, and to occupy the place with rebel troops. The English and the Hessians had been keeping up Christmas somewhat freely, and the American General found them in a helpless state of drunkenness or sleep. Cornwallis had by this time put his troops into winter-quarters, and, believing that the operations of the season were at an end, was meditating a visit to England, when news of the enemy's success reached him at New York, and he at once abandoned his design. Starting on New Year's day from New York, he reached Prince-town on the same evening; took command of the British troops in Jersey, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. Before nightfall on the 2d he had reached Trenton. The Americans evacuated the place, and bivouacked on the opposite bank of a creek which ran through the town. The night was spent by the two Generals in reflections of a very opposite character. Cornwallis was thinking how best to bring on a general action next morning; whilst Washington, clearly seeing that the odds were greatly against him, and victory hopeless, determined to escape under cover of the night. He could not recross the Delaware, for a thaw had set in, so doubled back towards Prince-town, hoping to get into the rear of Cornwallis's army; but in the thick fog of the January morning he had the mischance to fall in with a body of British troops, who gave him battle, and, in spite of their inferiority of numbers, threw the American battalions into confusion, and inflicted a severe chastisement upon them. There were but two English regiments, and neither was numerically strong; so the advantage gained at the outset was not followed up, and before Cornwallis could proceed to their support, the enemy had made good their retreat, had crossed the Millstone river, and destroyed the bridge in their rear. It is not necessary to pursue the narrative. The winter was rendered disastrous to the King's party by the activity of Washington and the paralysis which had fallen upon Howe. Cornwallis received the especial thanks of his Sovereign; but he felt that there could not be a worse field of distinction than that which lay before him in the American provinces.*

* I read with much pleasure your commendation of Lord Cornwallis's services during the campaign, and I am to acquaint you that the King very much

applauds the ability and conduct which his Lordship displayed, &c. &c.—Lord George Germain to Sir W. Howe, March 3, 1777.—*Cornwallis's Correspondence.*

But the time had passed for him to proceed to England during that winter; so the year 1777, almost to its close, saw Lord Cornwallis in the command of his division. Of the little that was done well during that year, he did the greater part. Sir William Howe was an easy, good-natured, popular man; but his qualities were rather of a social than a military character, and excessive sloth was the characteristic of the British army under his command. It was his habit to move too late and to halt too early for any useful purpose. The military annalists are continually reciting the successes which were within the reach of the British troops, but which were always abandoned just at the point of attainment. It is admitted, however, that Lord Cornwallis was more prompt and rapid in his movements than the other British Generals, and it appears that when there was real work to be done he was ever the man to be sent to the front. He did the work well, too—as far as he was permitted to do it. One instance will suffice to show the quality of the General. In the burning month of June, it seemed to the English Commander that circumstances were favourable for an attack on Washington's force; and Cornwallis was sent forward, in command of the van of the British army, to give him battle. He had not marched far before he fell in with the leading columns of the American army. No orders were now needed from higher authority, so Cornwallis flung himself upon the enemy with so much impetuosity that they staggered at the first onset, and were soon in a state of inextricable confusion. Leaving behind them their guns and their killed and wounded, they fled in disorder from the field.

But the winter came round again, and Cornwallis, disappointed in the preceding year, was now eager to return to England. Sir William Howe sent him home with a commission to communicate with the King's Government regarding the general history and conduct of the war. On the 18th of January, 1788, he disembarked from the *Brilliant*, and hastened to embrace his wife and children. The joy of meeting even then was clouded by the thought of the coming separation. Brief was the time of absence allowed to him, and there was much in that little time to be done. The months of February and March and the earlier weeks of April passed rapidly away in the transaction of business with

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the King's Ministers, in attendance at the House of Lords, and in sweet communion with his family. The prospect before him was not cheering. His sentiments were unchanged. He had heard with reverential sorrow the dying voice of Chatham lifted up in a last despairing effort to save his unhappy country from an ignominious peace; but he did not the less deprecate the causes of the war, or disapprove of the manner in which it was conducted. He had seen everything going wrong, when there was only an undisciplined militia to be coerced by the best troops of the King, and now France was lending her aid to the cause of American Independence. It was true that General Howe, who had done so much to favour the triumph of the rebels, was about to resign the command of the King's forces in America. But the General's place was to be filled by one whom he did not like so well as a man, and whom he did not trust much more as a commander. So he went to the place of embarkation, at the end of the third week of April, in a state of sore depression of spirit, with nothing but the one abiding sense of his duty as a soldier to sustain him.

Death of Lady
Cornwallis.

His wife and children accompanied him to Portsmouth. The parting was very painful, and Lady Cornwallis went back to Culford utterly weighed down by the burden of her grief. She had lived in strict retirement during the first absence of her lord, and now she relapsed into her old solitary ways, grieving and pining as one without hope, until her health gave way beneath the unceasing weight of her sorrow, and she said that she was dying of a broken heart. In this piteous state, a strange fancy seized her. She desired that a thorn-tree might be planted over her grave in the family vault at Culford, just above the spot where her poor broken heart would be laid, thus emblematising the fate of one whom the "pricking briars and grieving thorns" had torn and pierced in the tenderest parts of her humanity. This was to be her epitaph. Not a word was to be graven on her tomb.

In the mean while Lord Cornwallis had rejoined the King's army in America. He found that Sir Henry Clinton was on the point of evacuating Philadelphia, and that there was small chance of his ever being able to co-operate harmoniously with his chief. He was now second in command, and he held a

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void that was left in his heart and to appease its cravings. After a brief interval of mournful retirement, he looked the world again in the face, and tendered his services to the King for re-employment in America.

The offer was eagerly accepted, and again Lord Cornwallis was appointed second in command and provisional Commander-in-Chief in America. He was now forty years of age, in the very vigour of his manhood; and if he was not stirred by any strong impulses of ambition, there was not one of the King's servants who was sustained by a higher and more enduring sense of duty. Duty, indeed, was now every thing to Cornwallis. The wreck of his domestic happiness had endeared his work to him, and that which had before been submission to a hard necessity, now became, in the changed circumstances of his life, a welcome relief from the pressure of a great sorrow. Perhaps even certain painful peculiarities in his situation were not without their uses in distracting his mind, and breaking in upon the monotony of his distress.

Rupture with
Clinton.

How it happened I cannot very distinctly explain, but the King's Ministers had assuredly placed him in a position which rendered a conflict with Sir Henry Clinton sooner or later inevitable. As second in command, with a provisional commission to succeed to the chiefship of the army, it was not easy altogether to keep clear of jealousies and rivalries; but as the King's Government had authorised him to correspond directly with them, as though he held altogether an independent command, there was a vagueness about the limits of authority, which was sure to create perplexity and to excite antagonism between the two Generals. It is probable that Clinton foresaw this, for he asked permission to resign. If there were, however, any bitterness of feeling in his mind, he veiled it with becoming courtesy. "I must beg leave," he wrote to Lord George Germain, "to express how happy I am made by the return of Lord Cornwallis to this country. His Lordship's indefatigable zeal, his knowledge of the country, his professional ability, and the high estimation in which he is held by this army must naturally give me the warmest confidence of efficacious support from him in every undertaking which opportunity may prompt, and our circumstances allow. But his presence affords to me another source of satisfaction. When

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16th of August, Cornwallis and Gates found themselves within reach of each other. The English General commenced the attack, and, after a sharp conflict, totally defeated the enemy, and took their guns, ammunition, and baggage. "In short," wrote the English General, "there never was a more complete victory." But victories, in those days, however complete, did not lead to much. After the battle of Camden, Cornwallis determined to execute the design, which he had previously formed, of advancing into North Carolina. But he had not proceeded farther than Charlotte-town, when he found that the situation of affairs was such as to preclude all hope of the success of offensive operations. There was a scarcity of carriage; there was a scarcity of stores; and, worse than all, there was such a scarcity of active loyalty in North Carolina, that even the most sanguine of generals could have seen but little brightness in the prospect before him. The militia of so-called "loyalists," raised in America, were not to be trusted. They were as likely as not to forsake the standard of King George in a critical moment, and go over bodily to his enemies. The people who would have remained true to the parent State were disheartened by the want of vigour with which the war had been prosecuted by the King's Government, and found that there was no safety for them except in adhesion to the "rebel" cause. Whilst things were in this state, a serious disaster occurred to a detachment of loyalists under Major Ferguson, which dispelled all doubt upon the subject of the comparative strength of the two parties in North Carolina; so, as it was now the month of October, Cornwallis determined to take up a defensive position, and to place his army in winter-quarters. He had himself fallen sick; a severe fever had seized him; and he was incapacitated for a while for service in the field.

During the winter months, Lord Cornwallis remained inactive, with his forces, at Wynnesborough; but the advance into North Carolina had been deferred, not abandoned, and his mind was busy with the thought of the coming campaign. The new year found him with restored health and renewed eagerness for action. It was scarcely, indeed, a week old, when he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton that he was ready to begin his march. But the new campaign rose, as the old had set, in a

cloud of disaster. A force of all arms, sent forward under Colonel Tarleton "to strike a blow at General Morgan," received itself such a blow from the American, that it reeled and staggered, and was so sore-stricken that it never recovered again. At the first onset the enemy's line gave way, and retired; but when the King's troops went in pursuit, the "rebels" faced about, and delivered such a sharp fire that both our Infantry and our Cavalry were thrown into confusion, and were soon in a state of panic flight. The Artillery, after the fashion of that branch of the service, stood to their guns, and surrendered them only with their lives. 1781.

This disaster at Cowpens was as serious as it was unexpected; and, although it incited Cornwallis to redouble his exertions, he never wholly recovered from its effects. When the news reached him, he pushed forward with all possible despatch, hoping to overtake Morgan; but the American General had a clear start, and was not to be caught. So Cornwallis planted the King's standard at Hillsborough; but, forage and provisions being scarce in the neighbourhood, he crossed the Haw River about the end of February, and posted himself at Allamance Creek. There, at the beginning of March, he gained tidings of the movements of the enemy under General Greene, and was eager to give them battle. On the 14th, the welcome news came that the enemy had advanced to Guildford, some twelve miles from the British camp. The following morning saw the army under Cornwallis pushing forward to meet the American forces, or to attack them in their encampments. They were soon in sight of each other. An hour after noon the action commenced. The country, bounded by extensive woods, was unfavourable to open fighting, and afforded little scope for any complicated generalship. But the simple dispositions of Cornwallis were admirable, and the English troops, among which, conspicuous for their gallantry, were the Guards, covered themselves with glory. They were greatly outmatched in numbers.* The American General had chosen his ground, had disencumbered himself of his baggage, and had ample time

* In a letter to General Phillips, given on the morning of March 15, shows that in Mr. Ross's work, Lord Cornwallis he had nearly two thousand men, and says that the enemy were "seven times the enemy had about seven thousand. his number." But his "present state,"

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to concert his plans before the English had come within reach of his guns. In short, everything was against the English Commander. But his own coolness and confidence in the face of these heavy odds, and the unflinching courage of his men, made inferiority of numbers and disadvantages of position matters only of small account. Throughout the long series of military operations which preceded the disruption of the American colonies from the parent State, no battle was better fought by the English, no victory was more triumphantly accomplished, than that which crowned this action at Guildford. The Americans, disastrously beaten at all points, fled from the field of battle, and when, at a distance of eighteen miles from the scene, Greene was able to rally his disordered troops, he found that he had few except his Regulars with him. The American historians admit that this was a signal illustration of the steadfastness and courage of the English troops when effectively commanded; whilst the English annalists of the war relate that nothing grander was seen at Creçy, Poitiers, or Agincourt.* In this action Cornwallis was wounded; but he would not suffer his name to appear in the list of casualties.

But it was one of the sad and sickening circumstances of this unhappy war, that when the King's troops gained a victory—and they were victorious in well-nigh every pitched battle—they could never turn it to account. In effect, it was commonly more like a defeat. Regarding it solely in its military aspects, no success could have been more complete than that which crowned the day's hard fighting at Guildford; but it hurt the British more than the Americans. So shattered and sore-spent was Cornwallis's little army after that unequal contest, that to follow up the victory was impossible; nay, to fall back and refit was necessary. There was no forage in the

* Stedman, after describing in glowing terms the victory of Guildford, says: "History, perhaps, does not furnish an instance of a battle gained under all the disadvantages which the British troops, assisted by a regiment of Hessians and some Yagers, had to contend against at Guildford Court House. Nor is there, perhaps, in the records of history, an instance of a battle fought with more determined perseverance than was shown

by the British troops on that memorable day. The battles of Creçy, of Poitiers, and of Agincourt—the glory of our own country and the admiration of ages—had in each of them, either from particular local situation or other fortunate and favourable circumstances, something in a degree to counterbalance the superiority of numbers; here, time, place, and numbers, all united against the British."

neighbourhood; there was no shelter. The troops were without provisions, and the people in the vicinity were afraid to supply them. Having done the best he could, therefore, for his wounded, which was but little, he determined to fall back to a more desirable resting-place. Three days after the battle he marched out from Guildford. But he could find no convenient halting-place nearer than Wilmington; so there he planted his army on the 7th of April, and in no very sanguine mood began to meditate the future of the war.

The prospects before him were anything but cheering. ^{If Prospects of the war.} If it were true in this instance that those who were not with him were against him, nearly the whole population of the American colonies was now arrayed against King George. There was but little loyalty left in the country, and that little was afraid to betray itself. The colonists who would have supported the King's cause by passive submission, if not by active assistance, were weary of waiting for the deliverance they expected; and as his enemies were waxing stronger and stronger every day, and with increased strength gathering increased bitterness, it had become absolute ruin to be on the King's side. But, hopeless as was the issue, the King's Generals were constrained to continue the war as best they could; and to Cornwallis it seemed best to carry it into Virginia. "If," he wrote to Lord George Germaine, "it should appear to be the interest of Great Britain to maintain what she already possesses, and to push the war in the Southern Provinces, I take the liberty of giving it as my opinion that a serious attempt on Virginia would be the most solid plan, because successful operations might not only be attended with important consequences there, but would tend to the security of South Carolina, and ultimately to the submission of North Carolina." And there were immediate considerations which rendered it expedient that he should put his plans into execution without any loss of time. "My situation here is very distressing," he wrote from Wilmington to his friend General Phillips, on the 24th of April. "Greene took the advantage of my being obliged to come to this place, and has marched to South Carolina. My expresses to Lord Rawdon on my leaving Cross Creek, warning him of the possibility of such a movement, have all failed; mountaineers and militia have poured into the

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back part of that province, and I much fear that Lord Rawdon's posts will be so distant from each other, and his troops so scattered, as to put him into the greatest danger of being beat in detail, and that the worst consequences may happen to most of the troops out of Charles-town. By a direct move towards Camden, I cannot get time enough to relieve Lord Rawdon; and, should he have fallen, my army would be exposed to the utmost danger, from the great rivers I should have to pass, the exhausted state of the country, the numerous militia, the almost universal spirit of revolt which prevails in South Carolina, and the strength of Greene's army, whose continentals alone are at least as numerous as I am; and I could be of no use on my arrival at Charles-town, there being nothing to apprehend at present for that post. I shall, therefore, immediately march up the country by Duplin Court House, pointing towards Hillsborough, in hopes to withdraw Greene. If that should not succeed, I should be much tempted to try to form a junction with you."* On the following day he marched from Wilmington; but at that very time Lord Rawdon was in hot conflict with Greene at Hobkirk's Hill. The English troops, according to their wont, were victorious in action; but they could make nothing of their victory, and the enemy, though beaten, escaped.

Advance into
Virginia.

The ground, however, was clear for Cornwallis's advance, and, during the space of three or four weeks, he marched uninterruptedly right through North Carolina into the Virginian provinces. He had spoken of the attempt, in the letter above quoted, to form a junction with Phillips only as a contingency, but he appears in reality to have determined upon it; and on the 20th of May he was at Petersburg. He arrived with a heavy heart; for, as he entered Virginia, he learned that his friend, whom he was advancing to relieve, and on whose co-operation he had relied, was lying cold in his grave. It was, indeed, a heavy loss both to himself and to his country, and it cast a cloud over the prospects of the campaign. He had at no time been very hopeful of the issue; but he saw that the only thing to be done was to carry the war into Virginia, and so he proceeded at once to map out his operations. "I shall now pro-

* This letter is printed at length in the Appendix to Lord Cornwallis's "Reply to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative," published in 1783.

ceed," he wrote to Clinton on the 26th of May, "to dislodge La Fayette from Richmond, and, with my light troops, to destroy any magazines or stores in the neighbourhood which may have been collected either for his use or General Greene's army. From thence I purpose to move to the neck at Williamsburg, which is represented as healthy, and where some subsistence may be procured, and keep myself unengaged from operations which might interfere with your plan for the campaign until I have the satisfaction of hearing from you. I hope I shall then have an opportunity to receive better information than has been in my power to procure relative to a proper harbour and place of arms. At present, I am inclined to think well of York."* He had already, indeed, commenced his march, and was pressing on towards Richmond when he wrote. Once he contrived to draw La Fayette into battle, and gave him so warm a reception, that if night had not fallen on the conflict, he might have taken the Frenchman's whole corps. But from this time the tide of fortune turned, darkly and sadly, against the English Commanders. The eventual success of the King's troops had long become hopeless. All the seeds of a great failure were in the very nature of the business itself, and it needed but one adventitious circumstance to develop them speedily into a great harvest of disaster. Small chance is there that a military expedition should prosper at any time, when the leaders are divided against themselves. There was need, at this time, for the most perfect unity of action. But Cornwallis and Clinton were operating, in different parts of the country, without any common plan of action. The communications between the two forces were extremely defective, and it is doubtful whether the Generals cared to improve them. It was for years afterwards a subject of vehement controversial discussion whether Clinton had or not approved of the expedition into Virginia at all. Irritated, and perhaps not without reason, by the permission given to Cornwallis to correspond directly with the King's Government, the Commander-in-

* The truth is, that not feeling certain that he would succeed, he was unwilling to raise expectations in Phillips's mind which might not be realised by the result; but he wrote at the same time to the King's Government that he

had "resolved to take advantage of General Greene's having left the back part of Virginia open, and march immediately into that province to attempt a junction with General Phillips."

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Chief said sneeringly that he did not know but that his Lordship had received his orders from the Secretary of State; and Cornwallis declared that the style of Clinton's letters to him was so offensive, that he would have thrown up his command in disgust, had the circumstances of the war at that time been of a less critical character. It is not necessary to pursue the story of these dissensions. It is enough that whilst the power of the English was rapidly crumbling away, the Americans were gathering fresh strength for the contest. Large reinforcements were coming in from France; and the military genius of the colonists was in course of rapid development. It was plain that the Allies were meditating a grand attack upon the English forces; but so imperfect was our knowledge of their movements and their designs, that it was uncertain whether the great descent would be made on Clinton's position at New York or on Cornwallis's on the York River. So each General was eager to be reinforced by the other, and the energies of the British troops were wasted in embarkations and disembarkations and fruitless preparations for contingencies that never occurred.

All idea of offensive operations in Virginia had now been abandoned. Cornwallis had posted his troops at York and Gloucester, two small towns or villages on opposite banks of the York River, and there he began at once to throw up defensive works. On the 22nd of August he wrote to Clinton, saying that "his experience of the fatigue and difficulty of constructing works in that warm season, convinced him that all the labour that the troops there would be capable of without ruining their health would be required for at least six weeks to put the intended works at this place in a tolerable state of defence." And as time advanced, and the works proceeded, it was manifest that he would have need of all the defensive power that he could create; for in the early autumn it became certain that Washington was about to concentrate all his energies upon a decisive attack on Cornwallis's position. In truth, he was now in imminent danger—and all that he could do was to work and to wait. "While fleets and armies," writes one of the historians of the war—"Frenchmen from Rhode Island and the West Indies, and Americans from North, South, East, and West—were gathering round him, Lord Cornwallis continued to for-

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paigns in America. When our people made a gallant sortie upon the destroying batteries of the enemy, and spiked their guns, complete as was the first success of the brave exploit, it was as profitless as all our other successes. The guns were soon made serviceable again, and our position was more sorely pressed than before. Then Cornwallis saw clearly that there was no longer any hope of a successful issue to his defensive operations. The month of October was fast wearing away, and there was no appearance of the promised succours. There were only two ways of saving the army under his command. One was by surrender, against which his soul revolted, and the other was by cutting his way through the enemy; and this, hazardous as it was, had far greater attractions for him. So he resolved, under the cover of the night, to embark his troops, to cross the river, and to force his way through the enemy's lines on the opposite bank. It was a resolution worthy of a brave man; but Providence forbade its successful issue. The attempt was made, but it failed. A violent storm arose, and baffled the enterprise midway towards completion. The boats which had crossed the river with a portion of the force could not be sent back to bring over the remainder, and before the wind had moderated the favouring darkness had passed. All that Cornwallis could then do was to withdraw the regiments that had passed over from their perilous position on the opposite bank of the river, and to seek safety behind the lines of York Town.

But there was no longer any safety to be found there. The works were crumbling to pieces. The ammunition in store was well-nigh exhausted. Sickness had broken out among the troops, and there was barely enough effective strength in garrison to man the lines. The longed-for succours were now past hoping for; and the last throw of despairing heroism had failed. In this extremity, on the 18th of October Cornwallis called a council of his chief officers and engineers; but no man could speak words of comfort to him, or fortify him with assurances that there were any means of resisting the assaults of the enemy, which were then hourly expected. "Under all these circumstances, I thought," he wrote afterwards to Sir Henry Clinton, "it would have been wanton and inhuman to the last degree to sacrifice the lives

of this small body of gallant soldiers, who had ever behaved with so much fidelity and courage, by exposing them to an assault which, from the numbers and precautions of the enemy, could not fail to succeed. I therefore proposed to capitulate."

A letter was, therefore, addressed to Washington, who answered that, ardently desirous to spare the further effusion of blood, he would willingly discuss such terms of surrender as he might consider admissible. The terms agreed upon were that the British garrison should march out of York Town "with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating"—the cavalry with swords drawn and trumpets sounding—and that then they were to ground their arms, and to become prisoners of war. The officers, however, were to be allowed to retain their side-arms.* In effect, this humiliating reverse brought the war in America to a close, though it was feebly maintained for a space of more than another year. Cornwallis had attempted to negotiate terms, permitting the officers and men under him to leave America for England or Germany on parole. To this Washington would not accede, and so the prisoners of war were to remain on the scene of the disaster, under the supervision of the allies. The French in this conjuncture behaved with a generosity that it is pleasant to record. "The treatment in general," wrote Cornwallis, a few days after his surrender, "that we have received from the enemy has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that have been shown to us by the French officers in particular—their delicate sensibility of our situation—their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount—has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power." Good words, and worthy to be remembered; a generous recognition of conduct right generous in an enemy, becoming the chivalry of the two foremost nations of the world.

But Cornwallis was not doomed to remain long a captive in America. It happened that one of the commissioners ap-

* There were several other subsidiary articles, but it is necessary only to recite the above.

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pointed by Washington to negotiate the terms of capitulation was Colonel John Laurens, whose father, Henry Laurens, President of Congress, had been captured by the English, and was then a prisoner in our hands. Nay, more—having been committed to the Tower, he was nominally in the custody of Lord Cornwallis, who still retained the office of Constable. So it was thought that an exchange of these two illustrious prisoners might be effected. Cornwallis, therefore, was allowed to leave America on his parole. He arrived in England a few days after the dawn of the new year. But the negotiation of the exchange was a long and weary business, and dragged painfully all through the year. The Americans denied that they had promised to release Cornwallis in exchange for Laurens, and having taken another English General,* who might be exchanged for their countryman, thought it would be well to continue the parole of the first, and at one time threatened to recal him to America. All this disquieted him greatly. There was at the same time, too, another source of trouble. Sir Henry Clinton had returned to England, and had commenced a war of pamphlets, in which Cornwallis felt himself obliged to take part in self-defence. The main question so acrimoniously discussed was whether Clinton had, or had not, sanctioned the operations in Virginia which were brought to so disastrous a close. A large mass of correspondence was produced by both disputants in support of their several assertions, with the result that generally attends paper-warfare of this kind. Neither party was convinced by the other; public opinion was divided; and the question remained at the end of the controversy in the same state as when it was commenced.

But the discussion came to an end without a duel, and at last Cornwallis was released from his parole. He then became eager for re-employment in the line of his profession. He had little taste for party politics, and his position was not a pleasant one, for the most cherished of his personal friends, and those with whose sentiments he most sympathised, were in Opposition;† and as he held an appointment under Go-

* General Burgoyne.

Prime Minister from July, 1782, to

† Lord Shelburne, whom he always regarded as his political leader, was April, 1783, when his ministry was overthrown.

1783. the services of Cornwallis. Fox, indeed, though in no wise his friend, private or political, paid him the highest possible
 Nov. 18, 1783. tribute in the course of his speech on the India Bill.* But there was a change of Ministry, followed by a general election; and the reins of empire were now securely in the hands of Mr. Pitt. The new year found Cornwallis manifestly reluctant to take service in India. "Should any proposals be hereafter made to me relative to India," he had written to Colonel Ross in December, "I do not feel at all inclined to listen to them. I am handsomely off, and in the present fluctuating state of affairs at home, with violent animosities about India, I can see no prospect of any good. I am aware that present ease may have some weight, but it requires great resolution to engage a second time in a plan of certain misery for the rest of my life without more substantial encouragements." The change of Ministry rendered it certain that the offer would be renewed; and as soon as the abatement of popular excitement at home allowed Mr. Pitt and his friends to give a thought to the remote dependency of India, they began to sound him as to his willingness to turn his face towards the East Indies.

Dec. 1783.

Ministerial overtures.

May 9, 1784.

It appears to have been, at this time, in contemplation to invite Lord Cornwallis to assume the chief command of the army in that country. But the idea was not an attractive one to him. "The more I turn it in my mind," he said, "the less inclination I feel to undertake it. I see no field for extraordinary military reputation, and it appears to me, in every light, dangerous to the greatest degree. To abandon my children and every comfort on this side the grave; to quarrel with the Supreme Government in India, whatever it might be; to find that I have neither power to model the army or correct abuses; and, finally, to run the risk of being beat by some Nabob, and being disgraced to all eternity, which from what I have read of these battles appears to be a very probable thing

* "A learned gentleman (Mr. Dundas) last year proposed to give the most extraordinary powers to the Governor-General; he at the same time named the person who was to fill the office. The person was Earl Cornwallis, whom he (Mr. Fox) named only for the purpose of paying homage to his high character.

The name of such a man might make Parliament consent to the vesting of such powers in a Governor-General; but certain he was that nothing but the great character of that noble Lord could ever induce the Legislature to commit such powers to an individual at the distance of half the globe."

1784.

But he was very doubtful at this time whether the conditions of the proffered employment in India would be such as to satisfy him that he could be of substantial use to the State. His American experiences had painfully impressed upon him the fact that there are conditions of service which may frustrate the best efforts of zeal and ability of the highest order; and the reports from India, which from time to time had reached him since his return from the West, did much to confirm this impression of the evil of divided authority and responsibility, and the impossibility of escaping unsoiled from the antagonism of jealous rivals. Pitt was now about to bring in a new India Bill, and much would depend upon the extent of the power to be conferred upon the Governor-General. The bill was a very good bill;* but the framers of it had striven rather to perfect the machinery of the Home Government, and to establish just relations between its several parts, than to institute a system of government in India so contrived as to prevent those desperate collisions which had yielded such a growth of scandals during the protracted administration of Warren Hastings. The bill did not fulfil the conditions under which alone Lord Cornwallis believed that he could be serviceable to the State. Even before it had passed through committee, the King's Government had offered him any appointment under it that he might be inclined to accept. He might go out as Governor-General, or he might go out as Commander-in-Chief; but he could not hold both offices. The "favourite passion," of which he had spoken in the letter quoted above, was a desire for military glory. He was very reluctant to

Pitt's India
Bill.

* Lord Russell, in his *Memoirs of Charles Fox*, has observed with infinite truth: "It was easy for Mr. Fox, with his vast powers of reasoning, long exercised on this subject, to prove that these two authorities must be always in conflict; that, with two supreme heads confronted, confusion must ensue, and that the abuses of the Indian Government must be perpetuated under so strange and anomalous a system. The experience of seventy years, however, has blunted arguments which could not be logically refuted. The real supremacy of the Ministers of the Crown, usually kept in the background, but always ready to be exerted, has kept in check the adminis-

tration of the Company, and placed the affairs of India under that guarantee of ministerial responsibility by which all things in Great Britain are ordered and controlled. The Directors of the East India Company have not ventured to connive at acts which a Minister of the Crown would not sanction, and a Minister of the Crown would not sanction acts which he could not defend in Parliament. Thus silently, but effectually, the spirit of the British Constitution has pervaded India, and the most absolute despotism has been qualified and tempered by the genius of representative government."

leave the line of his profession. But he could not bring himself to accept the chief command of the Indian Army, because, as he said, "in the present circumscribed situation of the Commander-in-Chief, without power or patronage, an officer could neither get credit to himself nor essentially serve the public;" and, as to the Governor-Generalship, he said that if he should relinquish the profession to which he had devoted his life from his youth upwards, and had "abandoned every consideration of happiness," he might find himself "in competition with some person whose habits of business would render him much more proper for the office."* Lord Shelburne had offered him the Governor-Generalship, together with the Chief Command of the Army, and he was now resolute, for these reasons, to accept both offices or none.

The decision was conveyed in August to his old friend Lord Sydney, then Secretary of State.† Cornwallis had distinctly declared, on this and other occasions, his desire for promotion in the military service of his country, to which, as both the King and the King's Ministers freely admitted, no man had a better claim. George, indeed, had blurted out that it was a shame that Lord Cornwallis had not a better military appointment. But when some vacancies occurred at this time—as the Colonelcy of the Grenadier Guards and the Governorship of Plymouth—the King's Ministers, in a spirit of the most inexcusable jobbery, nominated men whose pretensions were confined to their family connexions or political influence. This injustice Cornwallis resented with becoming dignity. He told Lord Sydney, and he told Mr. Pitt, that if they had informed him it would be for the benefit of the King and the King's Government that his claims should be ignored in favour of others, he would not only have consented cheerfully to the arrangement, but have given up a part of his fortune, if required, to the recipients of the royal patronage. But he had been rudely set aside without explanation. So he left the presence of Lord Sydney, who had stammered out some lame excuses, with an intimation that the friendship between them was at an end; and he wrote to Mr. Pitt, saying, "I still

Treatment of
Lord Corn-
wallis.

* Lord Cornwallis to Lord Sydney, August 4, 1784. — *Cornwallis Correspondence*. Ross.

† Lord Sydney was the Tom Towns-

hend of Cornwallis's boyhood days. The "dear Tommy" to whom he addressed the letter quoted at page 5.

1784.

admire your character. I have still hopes that your abilities and integrity will preserve this distressed country; I will not be base enough, from a sense of personal injury, to join faction, and endeavour, right or wrong, to obstruct the measures of Government; but I must add—and with heartfelt grief I do it—that private confidence cannot easily be restored.” But it was restored—after a lapse of only two days. Cornwallis and the young Minister met by the request of the latter; and Pitt offered him the post of Constable of the Tower, which he had before held for many years. Cornwallis declined the offer. But when Pitt said that nothing had been further from his intention than to slight one who had rendered such distinguished service to his country, and that if he had unwittingly offended, he could only ask pardon, and offer any reparation in his power, the generous nature of the soldier was satisfied; he accepted the appointment; and there was an end of the rupture between him and both Sydney and Pitt.

1785.

This was in November, 1784. The new India Bill was by this time in full working order; and Mr. Dundas had become the Indian Minister, as the working member and real autocrat of the Board of Control. Cornwallis did not predict that much good would result from the arrangement; for he thought that Dundas, though “a very clever fellow,” was “but a short-sighted politician.” But the latter was sufficiently far-seeing to be anxious to secure for India the services of so good a man as Cornwallis; and the new year was not many weeks old, when Pitt wrote a friendly, flattering letter, pressing the Governor-Generalship again upon him, and earnestly requesting an interview. The result was, that Pitt asked him to talk the matter over with Dundas. When he met the Minister, Cornwallis thought that he espied trickery and intrigue; that it was intended to smoothe down some ministerial difficulty, and had little reference either to what was due to him or what was due to the public. In order to propitiate him, Dundas said that it would be easy to amend certain provisions of the India Bill which restricted the powers of the Governor-General. But Cornwallis still thought that the whole affair savoured of an arrangement; and so, after deliberating with himself for four-and-twenty hours, he respectfully declined the offer.*

* Lord Cornwallis to Colonel Ross, are: “I easily found out from him Feb. 23, 1785.—The words of the letter (Dundas) that, after having lost sight

On the 8th of February, 1785—almost at the very time when Pitt was pressing the Governor-Generalship on Lord Cornwallis*—Warren Hastings, amidst a shower of valedictory addresses, carrying with him the good wishes of large bodies of people, of all races and professions, walked down to the river-side at Calcutta, and embarked on board the pinnace which was to convey the departing Governor-General to the vessel then waiting to bear him to England. He was succeeded in the government by Mr. John Macpherson, the senior member of Council. In the course of the summer of that year, Lord Macartney, who had been Governor of Madras, went round to Calcutta, where, being determined to set the young gentlemen of the settlement an example of frugality and endurance, he walked out in the sun without an umbrella, and nearly died from the effects of his devotion. This was not, however, the only incident which distinguished his visit to Bengal. He received there a letter from the Court of Directors addressed to him as Governor-General.† The refusal of Lord Cornwallis to accept the office had been followed by the nomination of Lord Macartney, who had the claim of good Indian service, and who was on the spot to take up the reins of office. But the arrangement was not palatable to all the members of the King's Government; and I suspect that the "momentary rub among themselves," of which Cornwallis had spoken as the cause of the renewal of the offer to him, was in reality a difference of opinion regarding the expediency of selecting Lord Macartney. But the latter nobleman had no greater desire than the former to be the successor of Warren Hastings. He required rest; he required, after the dangerous experiment of walking in the sun, a visit to a milder climate for the restora-

of my going for six months, it was now taken up to prevent some disagreement of the Cabinet. He told me that if I would say I would go, many things which I objected to in the bill should be altered. I was well aware of the danger of a declaration of that sort, and indeed from their manner of conducting business ever since their bill passed, their disagreements at home, and the circumstances attending the appointment of their generals, and the present sudden application to me, merely to get rid of a momentary rub among them-

elves, I was convinced it would be madness in me to engage; so that, after taking twenty-four hours to consider, I gave a very civil negative."—*Cornwallis Correspondence. Ross.*

* In the above letter, dated Feb. 23, it is said that Pitt made the offer "a fortnight ago."

† Lord Macartney was appointed Governor-General of India by a resolution of the Court, dated Feb. 17, 1785. The votes for and against were equal, and the decision was arrived at by lot.

1785.

tion of his shattered health; so he turned his face towards England, and left the interregnum of Mr. Macpherson to continue for another year.

Cornwallis in Prussia.

In the mean while, work of another kind had been found for Lord Cornwallis. The continental relations of Great Britain were at that time in a state which it was impossible to regard without some apprehensions of evil. We were in a condition of most discouraging isolation. Our only friend and ally was Prussia; and Frederick was not very eager to boast of the connexion. It was thought, however, that he might be persuaded to put aside the over-cautious reserve which stood in the way of a closer alliance between the two countries, and that this object might more readily be attained through the agency of some unaccredited Englishman of rank, than through the ordinary official channel of the British Minister at Berlin. It happened that Lord Cornwallis had been contemplating a continental tour with the avowed object of improving his professional knowledge by visiting the great Prussian Reviews. He was just the man, therefore, for the purpose, as one not likely to awaken the suspicions of the King. Solicited by our Ministers, he readily undertook to do his best, and at the end of the summer he crossed the Channel. His instructions inculcated caution. He was to listen rather than to talk; to receive rather than to give; to draw Frederick into an avowal of his wishes rather than to declare those of his own Court. But it was soon apparent to him that he was not likely to make much political progress in Prussia. He was disappointed with everything; disappointed with his reception, disappointed with the reviews, and very glad when the time came to return to England. Before he set his face homewards, however, he had accomplished an interview with Frederick, which resulted in a clear declaration of the views and wishes of the great King. The growing infirmity of monarchs is the best security for peace. What Frederick might have said, years before, we can only conjecture; but, in his decrepitude, he longed to be left to his repose, and the policy which suited him best was that which was most certain to have a pacific issue. He said, in effect, that England and Prussia were not strong enough to contend with France, Austria, and Russia, and that any open alliance between the two first-named powers might result in a

Interview with Frederick the Great.

disastrous war. If Russia could be weaned from the Austrian connexion, a tripartite alliance might do something; but England and Prussia alone would be powerless against those three great states, with all their lesser allies. England would have to bear the brunt of the war by sea, and Prussia by land; and the astute monarch saw plainly that nothing but ruin could result from such a combination against him.*

Lord Cornwallis returned to England before the end of the year. On the 9th of January, 1786, Lord Macartney arrived from India. The question of the Governor-Generalship was now to be definitively settled. Lord Macartney had been formally appointed Governor-General; but he desired to attach to his acceptance of the office certain conditions to which the King's Ministers demurred. He was an Irish Peer. He asked for an English Peerage. The Government thought that this should be rather a reward for good service done than a "bid" for good service to be done, and therefore refused to comply with his request. It would seem that they were not sorry to split with him. He had some enemies in the Cabinet, and external influences had been brought to bear against his succession.† Moreover, there was a growing conviction that Lord Cornwallis was the right man to be sent to India, if his

Return to
England.

* Memorandum by Lord Cornwallis. — *Cornwallis Correspondence*. Ross.— The following extract from the "Heads" of Conversation is interesting, on more than one account. "The King said that he knew France was trying to hurt us everywhere; that she had sent people to India to disturb the tranquillity of that country, but they had returned without effecting anything; that she was busily employed in Ireland. He hoped we would lose no time in putting our affairs there on so safe a footing as to be in no danger of a civil war, which, on an appearance of a foreign one, France would not fail to use her utmost efforts to foment." This interview took place on September 17, 1785. Carlyle, in his "History of Frederick the Great," makes no mention of it; but it was well worthy of mention. He, however, speaks of a royal dinner-party, on a previous day, after a review at Gross-Tinz, at which entertainment were present "La Fayette, Cornwallis, and the Duke of York."

† This is very clearly stated in the following passage of a letter from Mr. Dundas, given in "Barrow's Life of Macartney:" "You are rightly informed when you suppose that the appointment of Lord Macartney was not a favourite measure with several members of the administration. Neither was it popular with a great body of the directors and proprietors of the East India Company. I need not mention that it was not agreeable either to the partisans of Mr. Hastings or of Sir John Macpherson. When, therefore, against such an accumulation of discontent and opposition Mr. Pitt was induced by me to concur in the return of Lord Macartney to India as Governor-General, it was not unnatural that both of us should have felt hurt that he did not rather repose his future fortunes in our hands than make it the subject of a *sine quâ non* preliminary. And I think, if Lord Macartney had known us as well then as he did afterwards, he would have felt as we did."

1786. scruples could be overcome. He had always believed that unless large powers were vested in him, he could render no service to his country. He desired to hold in his own hands both the supreme civil and the supreme military authority; and, seeing that if thwarted, as Hastings had been by a factious opposition in the Council, he would have no real power of any kind, he declared it to be an essential condition of his acceptance of the office that he should be empowered on great occasions to act upon his own responsibility, against the votes of the majority of the Council. To these conditions Pitt and Dundas readily consented. They could not have placed these extended powers in any safer hands than those of Lord Cornwallis; and in safe hands this extension of authority could not be other than a public good. So at last Cornwallis consented to be Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India.*

Acceptance of the Governor-Generalship.

“The proposal of going to India,” he wrote on the 23rd of February to Colonel Ross, “has been pressed upon me so strongly, with the circumstance of the Governor-General’s being independent of his Council, as intended in Dundas’s former bill, and having the supreme command of the military, that, much against my will, and with grief of heart, I have been obliged to say yes, and to exchange a life of ease and content, to encounter all the plagues and miseries of command and public station. I have this day notified my consent, and shall go down to-morrow for a few days to Culford.”† It was all settled now. There was an end to the doubts, and questionings, and obstinate self-conflicts of years.

Of the two nominees, the rejected one was, probably, far the happier of the two. Lord Macartney is said to have been delighted with the result. “That he had a strong disinclination to accept the appointment,” says his biographer, Mr. Barrow, “and that the conditions on which only he could accept it were made solely on public grounds, the following anecdote, obligingly communicated by Lady Macartney, is an unequivocal proof. Her ladyship being one evening at a large party, Lord Macartney came in, and being impatient to communicate some intelligence to her, took out a card, and

* Lord Cornwallis was appointed solution of the Court of Directors, dated Governor-General by an unanimous re- February 24, 1786.

† Cornwallis Correspondence. Ross.

wrote with a pencil on the back of it as follows: '*I am the happiest man in England at this hour. Lord Cornwallis, I hear, is Governor-General of India.*' The card is still in her ladyship's possession, with the pencil writing upon it."*

The King's Ministers kept their promise, and prepared at once to bring in a supplementary Act of Parliament, explaining or amending the objectionable clauses in the India Bill of 1784.† It was certain that it would be opposed. The party who saw, or pretended to see, only a constitutional safeguard in such opposition as that with which Francis and Clavering had held in restraint the independent action of Governor-General Hastings, were alarmed and indignant at the thought of placing such large powers in the hands of a single man. It was to establish a gigantic despotism. So against this measure Edmund Burke lifted up his voice, declaring that it contemplated the introduction of an arbitrary and despotic government into India, on the false pretence of its tending to increase the security of our British Indian possessions, and to give fresh vigour, energy, and promptitude to the conduct of business, where before had been only weakness, decrepitude, and delay. To this Dundas replied in a convincing speech,

* Barrow's Life of Macartney.

† The following is the portion of the bill which relates to the extension of the powers of the Governor-General. It was "enacted, that when and so often as any measure or question shall be proposed or agitated in the Supreme Council at Fort William, in Bengal . . . whereby the interests of the said United Company, or the safety or tranquillity of the British Possessions in India, are or may be essentially concerned or affected, and the said Governor-General . . . shall be of opinion that it will be expedient either that the measures so proposed or agitated ought to be adopted or carried into execution, or that the same ought to be suspended, or wholly rejected, and the several other members of such Council then present shall dissent from such opinion, the said Governor-General, . . . and the Members of the said Council, shall communicate in Council to each other in writing, under their respective hands (to be recorded at large on their Secret Consultations), the respective grounds and reasons of their respective opinions; and

if, after considering the same, the said Governor-General, . . . and the other Members of the said Council, shall severally retain their opinions, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor-General . . . to make and declare any order (to be signed and subscribed by the said Governor-General . . .) for suspending or rejecting the measure or question so proposed or agitated, in part or in whole, or to make and declare such order and resolution for adopting and carrying the measure so proposed or agitated into execution, as the said Governor-General . . . shall think fit and expedient; which said last-mentioned order and resolution, so made and declared, shall be signed, as well by the said Governor-General . . . as by all the other Members of the Council then present, and shall be as effectual and valid to all intents and purposes as if all the said other Members had advised the same, or concurred therein." The words omitted relate to the extension in like manner of the powers of the Governor of Madras and Bombay.

1786.

which must have touched, in a sensitive place, Philip Francis, who had endeavoured to introduce a bill of his own—that arbitrary and despotic government might result from the action of two or three, no less than from the action of one; and that it was certain that all the mischief and misfortune that had, for many years, afflicted India, had arisen from the existence of party feelings and factious behaviour among the different members of Council. The bill was passed by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament.

1786.

Embarkation
for India.

Before this bill had passed into law, Lord Cornwallis had sailed for India. He embarked on board the *Swallow* packet in the first week of May,* accompanied by his staff, which then consisted of his dear friend Colonel Ross, Captain Haldane, and Lieutenant Madden. It happened that among the passengers on board the *Swallow* was one of the ablest and most esteemed members of the Company's Civil Service. After many years of good work in India, where he had chiefly distinguished himself in the Revenue Department, John Shore had returned to England in the hope of ending his days there in the enjoyment of the very moderate competence which he had earned by honest exertion. But the high character which he carried home with him had recommended him to the Court of Directors for employment in a more important situation than any which he had yet held; and they had invited him to return to India to fill a coming vacancy in the Supreme Council. He had accepted the offer with manifest reluctance; but he had not proceeded far on his voyage, when the prospect before him sensibly brightened, and the regrets with which he had abandoned ease and happiness in England began to lose half their poignancy. He was soon in habits of intimacy with Lord Cornwallis—of intimacy cemented by mutual esteem; and there was in the disposition of the new Governor-General, and in the high sense of public duty which he was

John Shore.

* Lord Teignmouth, in his life of his father, says that Mr. Shore "sailed from Portsmouth on the 12th of April;" but it is obvious, from a letter in the Cornwallis Correspondence, that the vessel had not left Portsmouth on the

80th. It is probable that Shore went on board in the river, and that the vessel sailed for Portsmouth on the 12th. The point, however, is of no importance.

1786.

The voyage to
India.

and no man knew better the eminent services which he had rendered to his country. But he had a keen sense, also, of the errors which Hastings had committed both in his public and his private life, and he felt that the political and social morality of the English in India alike demanded a sweeping reform.

Upon general subjects of this kind, and upon more particular questions of administration, Shore had so much to say, and Cornwallis was so well disposed to inquire and to listen, that the new Governor-General found that his voyage to India by no means covered a period of lost time. When he reached Calcutta, he was as well informed on Indian affairs as any man could be who had been fighting the battles of his country so long in the opposite hemisphere, and had never thought that Providence would cast his lot in the Eastern world. But, even in circumstances the most favourable, it is a strange and perplexing situation in which a man, whose experiences of other countries, however great, can neither guide nor help him, finds himself, when first called upon to administer the multitudinous affairs of our Eastern Empire. That empire, compared with the extent which it has now attained, was, when Cornwallis entered upon its government, one of very limited dimensions. But that which then contracted the sphere of our internal administration enlarged the scope of our foreign policy, and the unsettled state of our relations with the Princes and Chiefs of the neighbouring dominions was a source of even greater anxiety than the disorders which obstructed the domestic government of our own possessions. To be a little staggered and bewildered at first is the necessary condition of humanity in such a conjuncture; and Lord Cornwallis was not one to form more than a modest estimate of his individual power to cope with the difficulties which beset his position.

Arrival at
Calcutta.

On the 11th of September, 1786, the *Swallow* anchored in the Hooghly, and on the following morning Lord Cornwallis disembarked with his staff. All the principal people of the settlement, headed by Mr. Macpherson, went down to the river-side to welcome him and to conduct him to the Fort, where his commissions were read, and he took the oaths of

office.* It was a great event for Bengal; a great event for India. For the first time, an English nobleman of high rank and high character had appeared in Bengal, fresh from the Western world, knowing nothing of India but what he had read in books or gleaned from conversation; bringing a new eye, a new hand to the work before him; and having no regard for the traditions and the usages which had given the settlement so unsavoury a reputation. What had been heard of him before his coming was not much; but the little was of a nature to win the respect of some, perhaps to excite the alarm of others, and there was a general feeling of a coming change. It was known before his arrival, that in England, beset by petitioners for place and patronage as he was from the very moment of his acceptance of office, he had resolutely refused to make any promises even to his nearest friends.† And now it soon became apparent that he was proof against all similar importunities in India. He knew that he had a great work before him, and that he could do it only with the cleanest hands. If he had been followed to India by wistful hangers-on and hungry parasites, he could have accomplished little; but the purity and disinterestedness of his conduct were so

* The following is the account of the Governor-General's arrival, as given in a cotemporary Calcutta journal. I am indebted for it to an interesting volume of extracts from the Indian newspapers of the last century, published by my friend Mr. Seton-Karr, now a judge of the High Court of Calcutta:

"Thursday, Sept. 14, 1786. Calcutta. —On Monday last arrived in the river the Right Honourable the Earl Cornwallis, and on Tuesday morning he came on shore. His Lordship was met at the water-side by a party of the body-guard; from thence he walked into the Fort, where he was received by the late Governor-General with every respect due to the dignity of his rank and character. The troops were under arms, and received his Lordship as their future Commander-in-Chief with all the military honours. His Lordship's commission investing him with the extensive powers of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief was then read, after which he retired to breakfast, when several gentlemen had the honour of

being introduced to his Lordship. With Lord Cornwallis came Mr. Shore (though indisposition prevented him from attending his Lordship in person), Colonel Ross, Captain Haldane, and Mr. Madden, a nephew of his Lordship."

† "Earl Cornwallis has conducted himself, since his appointment, with singular reserve. To the numerous solicitations which have been poured in upon him from all quarters, he has given the most peremptory refusal, and has informed his friends that it is his determined purpose not to make any arrangements, nor to give any appointments, until he is seated in his government. The noble Earl takes out but three friends: Colonel Ross, who is to be his secretary, Captain Halden, and Captain Maddox. Colonel Tarleton has come home in the prospect of securing an appointment from Lord Cornwallis, but the Colonel has received the same answer with all the other applicants, that the noble Lord had it not in his power to make a single appointment in England."—*Calcutta Gazette*.

1786.

apparent from the beginning, that people soon began to acquiesce in that which, however inconvenient to them, they knew had its root only in the public virtue of their new ruler.

He was a kind-hearted man, hospitable and courteous, and the social amenities ever due from the Governor-General to his companions in exile were dispensed with no niggardly hand. At that time, the spacious and imposing edifice on the skirts of the great plain of Calcutta, which now receives the Viceroys of India on their arrival, was only a design for future execution. Lord Cornwallis occupied a house of inferior pretensions to many that were held by the leading servants of the Company. But he was always averse to pomp and display, and was well content to divest himself as much as possible of the accessories of State. "My life is not a very agreeable one," he wrote soon after his arrival, "but I have ventured to leave off a good deal of the buckram, which rather improves it." The inconvenience of limited space, as an impediment to hospitality on a grand scale, was obviated by a resort on great occasions to one of the public buildings of Calcutta. The guests of the Governor-General were received in the "Old Court House."* At these entertainments there was no lack of geniality, but an example of moderation was set which permanently influenced the social usages of the English in India. It was soon known that hard drinking and high play were distasteful to Lord Cornwallis, and would be discountenanced by him. And from that time a steady improvement supervened upon the social morality of the Presidency. People began to keep earlier hours; there was less of roystering and of gambling

* The following is the account of the English Government House, given by a cotemporary French writer, M. Grand-pré: "The Governor-General of the English settlements east of the Cape of Good Hope resides at Calcutta. As there is no palace yet built for him, he lives in a house on the Esplanade, opposite the Citadel. The house is handsome, but by no means equal to what it ought to be for a person of so much importance. Many private individuals in the town have houses as good; and if the Governor were disposed to any extraordinary luxury, he must curb his inclination for want of the necessary

accommodation of room. The house of the Governor of Pondicherry is much more magnificent." There is a question at this time as to the spot on which the old Government House stood. An ingenious writer in the *Calcutta Review* (the Rev. Mr. Long, I believe) says: "Opinions differ as to the precise locality of the old Government House. Some say it was where the Treasury is now, and others at the south-east corner of Government-place." The "old Court House," which also did duty for a town-hall, stood on the site now occupied by the Scotch church. It was pulled down in 1792.

1786.

Behold the child, by nature's sickly law,
 Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw ;
 Some livelier plaything gives his youth delight,
 A little louder, but as empty quite ;
 Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage,
 And beads and prayer-books are the toys of age.

But I can assure you, upon my honour, that I neither asked for it nor wished for it. The reasonable object of ambition to a man is to have his name transmitted to posterity for eminent services rendered to his country and to mankind. Nobody asks or cares whether Hampden, Marlborough, Pelham, or Wolfe were Knights of the Garter." This is very pleasant in its good sense, its good feeling, and, above all, its undeniable truth. It is, moreover, essentially characteristic of the writer ; for he was the least ambitious and self-seeking of public men, and if he could only serve the State and benefit his family, he was content. The Blue Riband was really nothing to him. He could afford to laugh at it. "I am a Knight and no Knight," he wrote in another letter to his son ; "for my stars, garters, and ribands are all lost in Arabia, and some wild Arab is now making a figure with *Honi soit qui mal y pense* round his knee.* I hope you have got French enough to construe that, but I own it is not a very easy sentence. If I continue to hear good accounts of you, I shall not cry after my stars and garters. . . . I think, upon the whole, as you intend your bay horse for a hunter, you were right to cut off his tail."

Thoughts of this kind keep men alive in India. In few breasts have the domestic affections been more deeply rooted than in that of Lord Cornwallis. The burning sun of India took nothing from their greenery and freshness. Amidst the incessant toil and anxious responsibility of his twofold office,

* They seem, however, to have been recovered, or another set of insignia was sent ; for the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 15th of March, 1787, says : "We had the pleasure of announcing to the public in last *Gazette* the arrival of the Blue Ribbon, and all the insignia of the Order of the Garter, for the Right Honourable the Governor-General. His Lordship, having been authorised to make his own choice of the persons to perform the ceremony of investiture, was pleased to nominate the Honourable Charles Stuart and John Shore, Esquires, two members

of the Supreme Council, to execute that office, and to fix on Thursday last for the purpose. Accordingly, in presence of a numerous and splendid company, his Lordship was invested at the Government House with the Ribbon by Mr. Stuart, and by Mr. Shore with the Garter, when a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from Fort William, and his Lordship received the congratulations of the company present, on being honoured with so distinguished and well-earned a mark of his royal master's regard and approbation."

he was sustained by thoughts of his Suffolk home. "Let me know that you are well, and that you are doing well," he wrote to his children, "and I can be happy even in Calcutta." He had found that his work was very onerous and his duties very unpleasant—especially unpleasant, it may be said, to a good-tempered, kindly hearted man, who was always very happy when he was doing some good office to another—for his public duty was continually bringing him into conflict with private interest. There was necessarily much perplexity in the newness of his situation, and many points upon which time alone could enable him to form self-satisfying and conclusive opinions. But amidst 'all the doubts and uncertainties which distracted him, one clear demonstrable truth gleamed out from the surrounding darkness. He had an overpowering conviction that the prosperity of the British Empire in India depended more upon the character of the European functionaries employed in its administration than upon anything in the world beside. He could see, somewhat indistinctly, perhaps, at first, that the system itself was bad; but he knew that the best systems in the world must fail if its agents were wanting in wisdom and integrity. What Mr. John Macpherson had called—a little too blandly, perhaps—the "relaxed habits" of the public service of India was an insuperable obstacle to successful administration. There was nothing strange or inexplicable in the state of things which then existed. In good truth, it was the most natural thing in the world—to be accounted for without any large amount of philosophic penetration. The East India Company had not at that time learnt to appreciate the great truth, which soon afterwards became the very root of their marvellous prosperity, that good pay is the parent of good service. They had granted to their servants only a small official pittance, with the tacit understanding that the small pay was to be atoned for by the great opportunities of official position. It was a very old story; but so curious, that even now it may be worth telling in detail.

When, in the reign of James the First, Sir Thomas Roe Rise and progress of the Company's Civil Service went out as Ambassador to the Court of the Mogul, and took a comprehensive survey of the Company's establishments, his

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quick eye hit the blot at once. He saw that their servants, being permitted to trade on their own account, neglected the affairs of their masters. How could anything else be expected? What did they leave their homes for?—for what did they banish themselves to a wretched country, and consent to live far away from all the amenities of civilisation? The Private Trade was naturally more to them than the Public Trade. The ambassador, therefore, recommended the Company to prohibit it altogether, and to grant sufficient salaries to their servants. “Absolutely prohibit the private trade,” he said, “for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they care not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from. But then you must make good choice of your servants, and have fewer.” He was a great man—obviously in advance of his age! But it took nearly two centuries to ingraft this truth on the understanding of the Company.

And so their servants, as they settled down, first in one factory, then in another, took their bare wages, and made what money they could by trade. It had not been made worth their while to be diligent and honest servants; and, cut off from their employers by thousands of miles of sea, which it then took five or six months, and often more, to traverse, they did not stand in much fear of the controlling authority at home. Every now and then some one was sent out with special powers to set the different factories in order, and to reform the establishments; but it was a mercy if, in a little time, he did not mar what he was sent to mend, and, being more powerful than all the rest, become more profligate too.

Still, if there was not much order, there was some form. A system of promotion was established which, with but slight variation, lasted not far from two centuries. It was laid down in London in the following terms, and carried out at all the factories: “For the advancement of our apprentices,” said the Court of Directors, “we direct that, after they have served the first five years, they shall have 10% per annum for the two last years; and, having served these two years, to be entertayned one yeare longer as writers, and have writers’ sallary; and having served that yeare, to enter into the degree

of factors, which otherwise would have been ten years. And, 1600—1700. knowing that a distinction of titles is in many respects necessary, we do order that when the apprentices have served their times, they be stiled *writers*; and when the writers have served their times, they be called *factors*; and factors having served their times, to be stiled *merchants*; and merchants having served their times, to be stiled *senior merchants*." After a time, the style and rank of apprentice ceased, but the title of "writer," "factor," "junior merchant," and "senior merchant," lasted long after the civilians had ceased altogether to trade—lasted, we may say, almost as long as the Company itself.

A clear idea of one of the Company's establishments, at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, may be derived from a little volume of travels written by one Charles Lockyer, and published in 1711. The most flourishing of their settlements at that time was Madras. Mr. Lockyer says, "that it was the grandest and the best ordered. As it surpasses their other settlements in grandeur, so the orders of the Council are more regarded and punctually executed, and each member has a respect proportionably greater than others shown to him." The civil establishment consisted of a president, with a salary of 200*l.* per annum, and gratuity of 100*l.*; six councillors, with salaries from 100*l.* to 40*l.* a year, according to rank; six senior merchants, 40*l.* each; two junior merchants, at 30*l.* per annum; five factors, at 15*l.*; and ten writers at 5*l.* per annum. Married men were allowed "diet money" besides their pay, at a rate of from five to ten pagodas (say from 2*l.* to 4*l.*) a month. "But for inferior servants, who dine at the general table, they have only washing and oyl for lamps extraordinary." The Company's servants lived together in the old fort. "The Governour's lodgings," says Mr. Lockyer, "take up about a third part of the inner fort, is three stories high, and has many appartments in it. Two or three of the Council have their rooms there, as well as several inferiour servants; the 'countant's and secretary's offices are kept one story up; but the consultation-room is higher, curiously adorned with fire-arms, in several figures, imitating those in the armory of the Tower of London." There were two common tables; one at which the Governour

1600—1700. and the higher servants dined; another appropriated to the factors and writers—"differing only in this," says Mr. Lockyer—"here you have a great deal of punch and little wine; there what wine you please, and as little punch." The Governor went abroad with an escort of native peons, "besides his English guards to attend him," with two Union flags carried before him, and "country musick enough to frighten a stranger into a belief the men were mad."*

This account of the factory at Madras may, with slight variations, be held to describe also the factory at Surat, the only one which at that time could vie with it. The salaries were nearly the same, and the customs of the settlement almost identical. It would appear, however, that all the Company's servants (sitting according to their rank) dined at one table, which is said to have been kept up in great style—"all the dishes, plates, and drinking-cups being of massive and pure silver." A band of music attended the President at dinner, and when the kabobs came in after the soup, and the curry after the kabobs, there was a flourish of trumpets to announce each arrival.

The cost of all this was doubtless very small, and the parade thereof very modest, judged by the standard of the present times. But those were the early days of the Company, who started from small beginnings, and were proceeding upon what was then called a "purely mercantile bottom." They were, therefore, not very well pleased when the ship-captains carried home to them grievous accounts of the pomp and extravagance of their servants; and so they set themselves to work, heart and soul, to correct this licentiousness. Next to the matter of good investments, it was for a long time to come their leading idea to inculcate personal economy and purity of life; and though the thrift was somewhat exaggerated, it cannot be said that there was not some reason for the uneasiness that they felt.

The seventeenth century closed in darkly and turbulently upon the Company's establishments in all parts of India. East and West it was all the same. Bengal vied with Surat in the

* This writer gives a minute account of the trade carried on by the Company's servants. He says, that as it was no uncommon thing to make fifty per cent. by a venture, money borrowed at twenty-five per cent. from a native capitalist turned out very well.

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lawlessness and licentiousness of the English factories. The fierce internecine contentions which arose among the Company's servants were the greatest scandal of all. Now-a-days, when members of Council fall out, they write strongly-worded minutes against each other, content with a war of words. At the end of the eighteenth century they "went out," according to the most approved laws of honour, and fired pistols at each other; but at the close of the seventeenth they used their fists, supplemented by an occasional cudgel—the *argumentum baculinum* being held in great esteem in the English councils. The President kept his councillors in order with a staff, and sometimes enforced his authority with such a lavish expenditure of blows, that human nature could not bear up without complaining. One unfortunate member of the Civil Service of the period complained that he had received from the President "two cuts in the heads, the one very long and deep, the other a slight thing in comparison to that; then a great blowe on my left arme, which has enflamed the shoulder, and deprived me of the use of that limbe; on my right side a blowe in my ribs, just beneath the pap, which is a stoppage to my breath, and makes me incapable of helping myself; on my left hip another, nothing inferior to the first; but, above all, a cut on the brow of my eye." Truly a hazardous service; but there were greater dangers even than these cudgellings, for it was reported home to the Company, in 1696-97, that there had been a plot among their servants at Surat to murder the President. "There is strong presumption that it was intended first that the President should be stabbed; when hopes of that failed by the guards being doubled, it seems poison was agreed upon, and all bound to secrecy upon a horrid imprecation of damnation to the discoverer, whom the rest were to fall upon and cut off."*

In Bengal, matters were in no better state. That settlement was not then what it afterwards came to be—the chief seat of English trade and English government—but was looked upon, by reason of its remoteness, as a sort of outlying factory of no great credit or promise. The Company's establishment was then at Chuttanutty, which has since come to

* MS. Records.

1700—1800. be called Calcutta, a place then of no great account; and the Company's servants, under the chieftainship of Job Charnock, had not lived together more peacefully than their brethren at Surat. Charnock appears to have been a bold bad man, half a heathen, immoderately addicted to fighting, and not only contentious himself, but the cause of contention among others. As a man of business he was slothful in the extreme, hated writing letters and recording "consultations" for the perusal of his masters at home, and therefore threw himself into the hands of a fellow named Hall, "captain of the soldiers," who kept a punch-house and a billiard-table, and soon came to rule the settlement. There were besides, at that time, among the chief servants of the Company, a Mr. Ellis, who is said to have been as ignorant as Charnock was slothful; and one Charles Pale, who was as fond of fighting as his chief, and "whose masterpiece," it is said, "was to invent differences between man and man, and deeply swear to the most extravagant lies he could invent." Things were, indeed, in so bad a state, that Sir John Gouldsburgh went round from Madras to reduce them to order. Before he arrived, Charnock and Pale had died; and so two obstacles to the reformation of the settlement were removed.

The equanimity of the Company was at this time much disturbed by the bad writing and the bad morals of their servants. Whether there was any connexion discovered between the two is not very apparent, though more unlikely relationships have ere now been detected. It would be hard to judge by their penmanship some public men whom I could name. But in the early days of the East India Company's establishments, bad writing may have been the direct result of bad morals—the feeble, shaky, indistinct letters of the morning clearly reflecting the debauch overnight. Be this as it may, the managers at home wrote out in their general letter of the 5th of January, 1710-11: "We find the papers, in the packets and other writings, are very badly performed. We expect this to be remedied; and if any of the writers don't write so good hands as might be expected, we hope they will improve and do better. If, through pride or idleness, they, or any other with you, will not, give them fair warning, and if they don't mend, dismiss them our service.

1700—1800 weight to the contrary, when we hear them you shall know our minds in future." Then the instruction proceeds in a right good paternal spirit: "Our main danger in this is to remove all occasions from our servants of debauchery, and being tainted by ill example, which is very infectious to young people; also, to keep them under a regular and virtuous course of living, and thereby to have our own business better minded, and the interest of the Company promoted. And to render this our design more effectual, we direct that you, the President and Council, do, at certain standing seasons, set apart a time to inquire into the behaviour of all our factors and writers, of the persons under whom they are; and, calling them severally before you, let them know the account you have of them, and, as they deserve, either admonish or commend them." Then comes another practical remedy for licentiousness. It was thought as desirable that the younger Company's servants should lodge under a general roof as that they should board at a common table: so the Company issued a prohibition against promiscuous lying, or, as they called it, *laying*, up and down in the town: "We positively direct that all our unmarried young people do lodge in our own factory, if there be accommodation for them, and not lay up and down in the town, which exposes them to several inconveniences." Neither these rules nor these admonitions appear to have had much effect; for the Company soon afterwards were driven to prescribe a penalty for the infraction of their mandates. If any Company's servant proved to be incorrigible, he was to be sent home. "If any factor or writer," says the Court's general letter of the 2nd of February, 1712-13, "proves not diligent, but idle or vicious, send them home; don't let them stay to infect others; we know no better way to deal with them."

Meanwhile, however, the President and Council of Bengal contrived to give their masters some "reasons that have greater weight to the contrary," in respect of the alleged advantages of the "general table," especially protesting that it was by no means an economical institution; so the Court gave way, especially, they said, "as in your consultations you make it plain that we shall, in your opinion, be great savers by the diet money." "Let us find," they add, "you will all

1700—1800. money in the course of a night. For whatever the intended meaning of the interdict may have been, the actual prohibition seems only to have extended to the staking of 10*l.*, or upwards, on any one game. Any difficulty on this score, however, does not seem to have occurred to the Company, who regarded rather the obstacles in the way of the detection of the offenders, and therefore offered a premium to those who would inform against their comrades. "We easily foresee," they wrote, "that the reproach of being an informer may keep back persons who may know of such gaming from discovering of it: to prevent this, we direct and order that you enter into your consultations a particular account, from time to time, of the persons who shall be proved guilty of such gaming" [they were before ordered to be sent home], "as also of the accuser or accusers; and for the encouragement of such accuser, if he be a covenant servant, we direct that he shall have a year's standing allowed him in our service, and be further entitled to our favour as a person inclined to check this vile practice." This was clearly an error, and a very base one. If the Company were to have either gamesters or informers in their service, I would have given them the former for choice. Did the Company think to take away "the reproach" of betraying a friend and companion by paying the betrayer for the dirty job? Would "a year's standing" wash him white? He, who would take the forty pieces, would not only game but cheat at cards or at dice.

But gaming was only one kind of extravagance of which the Company's servants were, in the opinion of their masters, guilty to a most reprehensible extent. There were others which demanded suppression by the strong hand of authority. The civilians were waxing proud, ostentatious, and self-indulgent—keeping many servants, horses, and equipages, in a faint attempt at Oriental pomp. Quiet homely men were they in Leadenhall-street, and they could not tolerate the airs of their factory servants. So, in December, 1731, they wrote out to Bengal, saying, that none the least of the complaints from that place were of the "extravagant way of living" common among their servants. "We can only recommend it very seriously," they said, "to our President, that he shows a good example of frugality, by keeping a decent

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and more troublesome as time advanced, living extravagant lives, and running into debt with native merchants, "so as to bring you under dependency to them." The Company were continually writing out to their Presidents to set a good example to their junior servants, and to report their misdeeds. But the Presidents appear to have done neither the one thing nor the other. So the Company again wrote out, in language of grave remonstrance to their servants. In the Court's general letter of the 8th of January, 1752, they say: "Much has been reported of the great licentiousness which prevails in your place [Bengal], which we do not choose particularly to mention, as the same must be evident to every rational mind. The evils resulting therefrom to those there and to the Company cannot but be apparent, and it is high time proper methods be applied for producing such a reformation as comports with the laws of sound religion and morality, which are in themselves inseparable. We depend upon you who are principals in the management to set a real good example, and to influence others to follow the same, in such a manner as that virtue, decency, and order be well established, and thereby induce the natives round you to entertain the same high opinion which they formerly had of the English honour and integrity—a point of the highest moment to us." But these sermons were worse than profitless; for instead of their producing any reformatory effect upon the lives of the Company's servants, the rebellious civilians laughed at their masters, and ridiculed their homilies outright. It would appear that there were never wanting persons to inform the Directors at home of what was going on in their distant settlements. These were, probably, the ship-captains who brought home the news of the factories, together with the merchandise of the East, and probably ingratiated themselves with their employers by condemning the irregularities of their brethren. At all events, the Court were credibly informed of the manner in which the letter last quoted was received in Bengal: "We are well assured," they wrote out again, in January, 1754, "that the paragraph in our letter of the 8th of January, 1752, relating to the prevailing licentiousness of your place, was received by many of our servants in superior stations with

the great contempt, and was the subject of much indecent ridicule; but whatever turn you may give to our admonitions—call it preaching, or what you please—unless a stop is put to the present licentious career, we can have no dependence on the integrity of our servants, now or in future; for it is too melancholy a truth that the younger class tread too closely upon the heels of their superiors, and, as far as circumstances will admit, and even farther, copy the bad examples which are continually before their eyes.” It was plainly, the Directors continued, no use to expostulate any further, so, as supreme masters, they were determined to put forth their authority, and to dictate commands which “all who value their continuance in our service” were called upon to obey. I now give these commands in their integrity. They illustrate very forcibly the simplicity of the Directors of those days, who appear readily to have believed that such instructions as these would have a mighty effect upon the morals of their servants :

“That the Governor and Council, and all the rest of our servants, both civil and military, do constantly and regularly attend the divine worship at church every Sunday, unless prevented by sickness or some other reasonable cause, and that all the common soldiers who are not on duty, or prevented by sickness, be also obliged to attend.

“That the Governor and Council do carefully attend to the morals and manner of life of all our servants in general, and reprove and admonish them when and whenever it shall be found necessary.

“That all our superior servants do avoid, as much as their several situations will allow of it, an expensive manner of living, and consider that, as the representatives of a body of merchants, a decent frugality will be much more in character.

“That you take particular care that our younger servants do not launch into expenses beyond their incomes, especially upon their first arrival; and we here lay it down as a standing and positive command, that no writer be allowed to keep a palanquin, horse, or chaise, during the term of his writership.

“That you set apart one day in every quarter of the year, and oftener if you find it necessary, to inquire into the gene-

1700—1800. ral conduct and behaviour of all our servants below the Council, and enter the result thereof in your Diary for our observation.”

The conquest of Bengal imparted a new aspect to the character of the Company's service. Indeed, it may almost be said that the Civil Service proper dates from that momentous epoch. Up to that point in the history of our Indian Empire the Company's servants had been almost exclusively merchants. Then they grew into administrators. What were known as the “Company's affairs” had been simply affairs of trade—buying and selling, the provision of investments. But after this new compact with the Soubahdar there was revenue to be collected, and justice to be administered, and relations with native Princes to be established. It was a great turning-point; and if the Company had been wise in their generation, they would have looked the position in the face, and placed their servants on an entirely new footing with respect to their permitted sources of emolument. Nearly a century and a half had passed away since Sir Thomas Roe had recommended them to give “great wages, to the content” of their servants; “for then you know what you part from,” but they had not taken the hint. And even now, when they found that they had emerged from the proprietorship of a few factories into the sovereignty of great provinces, they still could not recognise the wisdom of detaching their servants from trade, and depriving them, by the grant of liberal salaries, of all pretexts for receiving bribes from the natives of the country. In 1758 they thought they were straining their liberality by raising the pay of a writer to 40*l.* per annum. “We do hereby direct,” they wrote out to Bengal, “that the future appointment to a writer for salary, diet money, and all allowances whatever, be four hundred current rupees per annum, which mark of our favour and attention, properly attended to, must prevent their reflection on what we shall further order in regard to them, as having any other object or foundation than their particular interest or happiness.” They then referred to their letter of the 23rd of January, 1754, the instructions contained in which they were determined to enforce, “from a persuasion that the indigence of our junior servants, which may too often have been the effect of their vices and the

imitation of their seniors, hath not a little contributed to increase that load of complaints which have been so strongly and repeatedly urged by the Nabob in regard to the abuse of *dusticks*, a practice we have ever disclaimed; and are determined to show in future the strongest marks of our resentment to such as shall be guilty of, and do most positively order and direct (and will admit of no representation for your postponing the execution of it) that no writer whatsoever be permitted to keep either palanquin, horse, or chaise during his writership, on pain of being immediately dismissed the service."

In this despatch the Company spoke of "the distressed situation of our once-flourishing settlement of Fort William." But the settlement was flourishing as it had never flourished before. The Company's servants had taken up a trade beside which every other was poor and unremunerative. They had become king-makers, and untold wealth was flowing into their coffers. The English were now the dominant race in Bengal, and there was nothing that they could not do. For the first time they knew their power, and they turned their knowledge to profitable account. The feeble natives could not resist the white men, but they could buy them. It was soon seen that they all had their price. The situation was new to the Company's servants, and it dazzled them, so that they could not, or they would not, see right from wrong. Large fortunes were made in an incredibly short space of time. It was the blackest period of all in the whole history of the Indian service.

There is nothing strange in the picture. The Company's servants were unaccustomed to power, and they did not know how to exercise it with moderation. Between the date of the conquest of Bengal and Clive's return to Calcutta in 1765, there was more money made and more wrong done by the Company's civilians than in any like number of years twice told. But Clive went out again, resolute to "cleanse the Augæan stable;"* and whilst he was instituting great reforms, the honest Directors in Leadenhall-street were still maundering

* We print in the Appendix a portion of a despatch, signed by himself alone, which he addressed to the Court of Directors in 1765. Only a few sentences are given in Malcolm's "Life of Clive."

1700—1800. about the irregularities of their younger servants. It always distressed them greatly to think that their young writers were not so thrifty in their habits or so regular in their lives as they might have been; and they were continually exhorting their high functionaries to bring the mischievous youngsters to account. Send us home the names, they said, of those who will not obey you. But Clive was sending home his lists at this time, and they contained the names of men, not low down in the roll of the Company's establishment, but up among the great merchants. Still the Company kept to their text; and, still solicitous for the morals of their young men, wrote out to the Governor, in 1765, that all superior servants were to lodge in the new fort so soon as accommodation could be provided, and not, as they did of old, "to lay up and down in the town." Of course Government were no longer to make them "an allowance of house-rent." Although this was imperatively directed to be a standing order, it does not appear to have been very strictly obeyed; for it is certain that when John Shore went out to India soon afterwards, he lodged, not in the fort, but in the town of Calcutta.

The measures which were taken to check illicit gains appear to have compelled some of the servants of the Company to draw bills on their friends at home. When news of this reached the Directors, they were greatly distressed, for they suspected that such as had not these resources were getting into debt to their native Banyans, and thus rendering themselves "liable to be tempted to infidelity in the offices they were trusted with." But instead of deducing from these things the inference that their servants should have better pay, they still clung to the old idea of the excessive extravagance of the writers, and again strenuously insisted on the necessity of sumptuary regulations. It was imperatively enjoined that no writer should keep a palanquin unless "absolutely necessary for the preservation of health;" that no writer should keep "more than one servant besides a cook;" that no writer should be permitted to keep a horse without the express permission of the Governor; and that no writer should be permitted, either by himself or jointly with others, to keep a country-house. "With respect to table liquors," they added, "we cannot pretend to form regulations for

them," nor "with respect to general extravagance in dress," of which sad accounts had reached home; but the Governor was to keep a watchful eye upon them, and to see that they conformed to that system of economy which had been so often prescribed.*

Lord Clive's cleansing mission to India did much to put an end to the reign of the adventurers, who had no connexion with the graduated service of the Company. Ever since the conquest of Bengal the cupidity of England had been excited, and men of all kinds had gone forth with letters of introduction in their pockets, and perhaps a clue to some desperate job, by which they might enrich themselves in a year or two, and return to England as nabobs of the real mushroom type.†

* These sumptuary regulations were always a chronic source of amusement to the Company's servants, who evaded them, and sometimes with a good deal of humour in the manner of evasion. For example, at Madras, where the restrictions appear to have been greater than at Calcutta, an order had gone forth against the use of umbrellas as protections against the sun. These sunshades, principally made of broad leaves or split bamboos, were called roundels, from their shape. These being prohibited by name, the young writers had their umbrellas made square, and set forth that, although they knew that roundels were prohibited, there was nothing in orders against *squaredels*. On another occasion, a regulation having gone forth against the use of gold lace on the coats of the writers, a young civilian, when brought up for infringing the law, and asked if he did not know the regulation, said that he was aware of an order against gold lace, but he did not think that it was *binding*!

† The following anecdote, very illustrative of the history of the adventurers of those days, was related by Macaulay, in his speech on the second reading of the India Bill of 1858: "These were the sort of men," he said, "who took no office, but simply put the Governor-General to a species of ransom. They laid upon him a sort of tax—what the Mahrattas call chout, and the Scotch black-mail; that is, the sum paid to a thief in consideration that he went away without doing harm. There was a tradition in Calcutta, where the story was

very circumstantially told and generally believed, that a man came out with a strong letter of recommendation from one of the Ministers during Lord Clive's second administration. Lord Clive saw that he was not only unfit for, but would positively do harm in, any office, and said in his peculiar way, 'Well, chap, how much do you want?' Not being accustomed to be spoken to so plainly, the man replied, that he only hoped for some situation in which his services might be useful. 'That is no answer, chap,' said Lord Clive; 'how much do you want? Will one hundred thousand pounds do?' The person replied, that he should be delighted if by laborious service he could obtain that competence. Lord Clive then wrote out an order for the sum at once, and told the applicant to leave India by the ship he came in, and, once in England again, to remain there. I think the story is very probable, and I also think that the people of India ought to be grateful for the course Lord Clive pursued; for though he pillaged the people of Bengal to give this lucky adventurer a large sum, yet the man himself, if he had received an appointment, might both have pillaged them and misgoverned them as well." I have taken this passage, *verbatim*, from Hansard; but I believe that the sum named should have been, not a hundred thousand pounds, but ten thousand pounds. My own recollection of the speech—and sitting under the gallery I heard it most distinctly—is, that Macaulay used the words, "a lakh of rupees."

1700—1800. These interlopers were in the way of the regular service, whom they deprived of some of the best pickings which the country afforded. A letter from a Minister in England, or from an influential member of the Court of Directors, often stood in lieu of all covenants and indentures. But, as a body, the latter were convinced that these irregular appointments were injurious to their interests; and in 1773, having expressed their satisfaction that their settlement in Bengal had been “put into a train of reform,” wrote out that the next thing to be done was “to revert to the old system, when the business of your Presidency was principally performed by our own servants, who then had knowledge of our investments, and every other department of our concerns. You will, therefore, fill the several offices with the writers and factors on your establishment.” And from that time the Company’s own servants had it pretty well to themselves.

But a far more powerful body of men than the Court of Directors of the East India Company were now seriously considering the character and conduct of the Company’s servants. The Houses of Parliament, instructed by the King’s Ministers, had begun to take heed of the dark histories on which then a new light had been thrown, and among other great reforms instituted by them they prohibited all further acceptance by the Company’s or other servants of presents from the Princes or other inhabitants of India. The famous Act of 1773 declared “that, from and after the first day of August, 1774, no person holding or exercising any civil or military office under the Crown or the Company in the East Indies shall accept, receive, or take, directly or indirectly, by himself or any other person or persons on his behalf, or for his use or benefit, of and from any of the Indian Princes or powers, or their ministers or agents (or any of the natives of Asia), any present, gift, donation, gratuity, or reward.” On conviction of any infraction of this law, the offender was to forfeit double the value of the present, and to be amenable to deportation from the country.*

* In 1784 these penalties were rescinded; but the Act of 1793 made the demanding or receiving presents of any kind, even for the use of the Company, a misdemeanor. In 1833 this was again modified, and the offence limited to the receipt of presents “for his own use.”

And so the matter stands at this time. Large quantities of presents are received from the native Princes and chiefs; but they are thrown into a common store and sold, and from their proceeds return-presents are purchased to be given to the donors.

1700—1800. the Company. In the next paragraph, however, Captain Price goes beyond this, for he asserts that the young civilians were much less profligate than youths of the same standing at home. "The study of the country languages," he says, "and the daily duties of the office to which they are, from their first arrival, allotted, find employment enough for the most active mind; and in Asia, as in all other parts of the world, the man who best attends to the duties of his station and situation succeeds best in life. But as to dissipation, and corruption of manners and morals, a merchant's or banker's clerk of twenty years old in London is further gone than the Company's servants in Asia during their whole life." It is right to add that this statement, though of questionable accuracy, is confirmed by another writer, Mr. Robert Lindsay, of the Company's service, who tells us that idleness rather than extravagance was the besetting sin of the civilians at that time. "It was not then the fashion," says this writer, "to fatigue ourselves with hard labour; there were abundance of native scribes in all the offices to do the drudgery, and our taskmasters were not strict. Under these circumstances, it was not a matter of surprise if many of us were more idle than otherwise. I followed the tide, and a merrier set could not be found. There was fortunately little or no dissipation amongst us." Elsewhere, Mr. Lindsay says that "the public business was transacted by a few able individuals, and the younger servants had full leisure to amuse themselves."*

And they had not only leisure to amuse themselves, it would appear, but they had still leisure, and were allowed, to enter into commercial speculations on their own account. Mr. Lindsay had large dealings in salt, taking in a native capitalist as his partner, "provided I would appear as the ostensible person." By one fortunate speculation, or, as he calls it, "well-timed energy," he was enabled to pay off all the debts he had contracted during a long residence in Calcutta, and "to put a few thousand rupees in his pocket." Encouraged by this venture, he launched, whilst a revenue collector in the

* A very good idea of the state of civilianism in India, during the administration of Warren Hastings, may be derived from these autobiographical notes of the Hon. Robert Lindsay, which are given in the third volume of that very entertaining work, the "Lives of the Lindsays."

1786-87: determined at once to apply. He was convinced that it would be a wise economy in the end to place within the reach of the Company's servants such lawful and recognised gains as would enable them to disregard the temptations and opportunities which surrounded them. So he decreed that they should receive high official salaries, and should be wholly cut off from personal trade. "I am sorry to say," he wrote to Mr. Dundas at the Board of Control, "that I have every reason to believe that at present almost all the collectors are, under the name of some relation or friend, deeply engaged in commerce, and by their influence as judges and collectors of Adaulut, they become the most dangerous enemies to the Company's interests and the greatest oppressors of the manufacturers. I hope you will approve of the additional allowances and the commission that we have given to the collectors, for without them it was absolutely impossible that an honest man should acquire the most moderate competency."* And at a later period he wrote to the same correspondent, with reference to the Company's civil servants, "There are some as honourable men as ever lived. They have committed no fault but that of submitting to the extortion of their superiors. They have no other means of getting their bread. I sincerely believe that, excepting Mr. Charles Grant, there is not one person in the list who would escape prosecution."

To the earnest recommendations of the Governor-General—recommendations which, indeed, he had practically anticipated—the Court of Directors gave their assent, but it was a grudging one. They had great notions of economy; but their economy was based upon the extravagant principle of "penny-wise, pound-foolish." They were slow to comprehend the truth, that of all things in the world that which is best

* In another letter (addressed to the Court of Directors) he said: "When you consider the situations of your servants in this country, the very high responsibility now more particularly annexed to the office of collector, the temptations of the situation, the incessant labour of his office, and the zeal which must be exerted to promote the prosperity of the revenue and country at large; when, on the other hand, you advert to the solemn restrictions imposed upon him by the Legislature, as well as those in the public regulations and the separate orders already noticed, abso-

lutely precluding him from any emolument whatever, excepting such as are publicly allowed, and when you are further pleased to consider that, excepting instances of extraordinary merit, your servants cannot in future expect to obtain the office of a collector under a period of twelve years spent in your service, we trust that we shall be found to have consulted your true interests with every compatible attention to economy; and that you will approve the allowances and commission fixed by us for your servants in the Revenue Department."

worth paying for is good service, and that even in its narrowest financial aspect it is wise and prudent for the State to consider the prosperity of those upon whom its own prosperity depends. So convinced was Cornwallis of this, that he wrote to Dundas, that the Company might advantageously save the salary of the Governor-General if they would not give better pay to their inferior servants, for that under the old system it would be easy to find a man to take his place for nothing. "If the essence of the spirit of economy," he said, "of the whole Court of Directors could be collected, I am sure it would fall very short of my earnest anxiety on that subject. But I never can or shall think that it is good economy to put men into places of the greatest confidence, where they have it in their power to make their fortune in a few months, without giving them any salaries. If it is a maxim that no Government can command honest services, and that pay our servants as we please they will equally cheat, the sooner that we leave this country the better. I am sure that, under that supposition, I can be of no use, and my salary is so much thrown away: nothing will be so easy as to find a Governor-General of Bengal who will serve without salary."*

In another letter, written at a later period, he said: "I have been a most rigid economist in all cases where I thought rigid economy was true economy. I abolished sinecure places, put a stop to jobbing, agencies, and contracts, prevented large sums being voted away in Council for trumped-up charges, and have been unwearied in hunting out fraud and abuse in every department. As a proof that I have succeeded, you will see this year, what never happened before, that our expenses have fallen short of our estimates. But I shall never think it a wise measure in this country to place men in great and responsible situations, where the prosperity of our affairs must depend upon their exertions as well as their integrity, without giving them the means, in a certain number of years, of acquiring honestly and openly a moderate fortune."

But, do what he might in India, it was difficult to restrain the tide of attempted jobbery, which was continually pouring in from England. From all the high places at home—from the King's Court, from the council-chamber of the King's Ministers, from the Houses of Parliament, from the lobbies of

* Cornwallis Correspondence: Ross.

1786—87. the India House—solicitations on behalf of all sorts of people kept streaming into Calcutta. Men and women of rank and influence in London had been so long accustomed to get rid of troublesome petitioners for place and patronage by sending them out to India with a letter of recommendation in their pockets, and the plan on many occasions had been found so successful, that the evil habit was not to be readily abandoned. To Cornwallis, who would not perpetrate a job to please the King himself, and who could with difficulty find honourable employment for these adventurers from England, all this was very distressing. His correspondence bears the impression of the vexation which it occasioned him. “Lord Ailesbury (Queen’s Chamberlain),” he wrote to his friend Lord Sydney, “has greatly distressed me by sending out a Mr. Ritso, recommended by the Queen; but I have too much at stake. I cannot desert the only system that can save this country even for sacred Majesty.” And again: “I told you how Lord Ailesbury had distressed me by sending out Mr. Ritso. He is now writing in the Secretary’s Office for two hundred or two hundred and fifty rupees a month, and I do not see the probability of my being able to give him anything better, without deserving to be impeached. I am still persecuted every day by people coming out with letters to me, who either get into jail or starve in the foreign settlements. For God’s sake do all in your power to stop this madness.” He was a very kind-hearted man, but the state of things was so bad, and it was so necessary to arrest it, that he wrote to the men himself who came begging to him for a place, after this formula: “If I was inclined to serve you, it is wholly out of my power to do it, without a breach of my duty. I most earnestly advise you to think of returning to England as soon as possible. After the 1st of January next, I shall be under the necessity of sending you thither.” If anything in the world could have arrested the evil, this would have done it. The remedy was severe, but it was effectual.

The Company, I am afraid, were not much better than the Court. The Directors were not disinclined to perpetrate little private jobs of their own. But to applications from Leadenhall-street the Governor-General sent back only threats of resignation. “I must beg leave,” he wrote to a member of the Direction, “to observe that I do not conceive any man

1786—87. of applause even from those whose immediate interests have been injuriously affected by it. The correspondence of Mr. Shore in the years 1786-87 indicates that the new Governor-General soon lived down the unpopularity which attended his first efforts to purify the administration. "I live upon the happiest terms with Lord Cornwallis," wrote the Councillor in November, 1786. "I love and esteem his character, which is what the world allows it. The honesty of his principles is inflexible; he is manly, affable, and good-natured; of an excellent judgment; and he has a degree of application to business beyond what you would suppose. I could not be happier with any man. His health is sound; for he has not had an hour's indisposition since first I saw him. If the state of affairs would allow him to be popular, which he is most eminently at present, no Governor would ever enjoy a greater share of popularity. . . . Natives and Europeans universally exclaim that Lord Cornwallis's arrival has saved the country."

And again, writing a few months afterwards to Warren Hastings, he said: "The respect, esteem, and regard which I have for Lord Cornwallis might subject my opinion of his government to a suspicion of partiality. Yet I cannot avoid mentioning that it has acquired the character of vigour, consistency, and dignity. The system of patronage which you so justly reprobated, and which you always found so grievous a tax, has been entirely subverted. The members of Government, relieved from the torture of private solicitations, have more time to attend to their public duties; and the expenses of Government are kept within their established bounds. On these principles, I acknowledge it difficult to gratify my wishes with respect to my own friends, or those who, from recommendations, have claims upon me; and I cannot expect to escape reproaches for a conduct which the interest of the Company renders indispensable. With Lord Cornwallis I have had the happiness to live constantly on terms of the most intimate confidence, and on this account, as well as by a knowledge of his character, I am precluded from making any solicitations but such as are warranted by the strictest propriety. You will learn from others how well his time is regulated, and of his unremitting application to business. . . . His situation was uncomfortable on our arrival; he now re-

receives the respect due to his zeal, integrity, and indefatigable application."* 1787.

In August, 1787, Lord Cornwallis started on a tour in the provinces—eager to see for himself the state of the country and the progress of the administration, and to inspect the troops under his command. Holding, as he did, the double office of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, and his natural tastes, no less than his antecedent experiences, inclining him towards military rather than civil affairs, he had from the first taken into his consideration the condition of the army, which was at that time not very encouraging. "I am now going up the river to visit the military stations," he wrote to his friend Colonel Fox, with whom he had attended more than one review of the Prussian Army. "The Company's Europeans are not exactly like what we saw two years ago. On the whole, everything goes on in this country as well as I could reasonably expect. I have made great and essential reforms, and, I think, without unpopularity. Bad as the evil was, I think the abuses of the army were the greatest, not one of which Sloper† had attempted to correct." He wrote this on board his pinnace working up the river. It was a propitious season for clearing off arrears of private correspondence; and amongst others to whom he wrote, as the government party tracked up the Ganges, was his old friend Lord Shelburne, now Lord Lansdowne, to whom he said: "As I must lay my coming to India to your door, and

Tour in the
Upper Pro-
vinces.

* *Life of Lord Teignmouth, by his Son.*—In another letter, written in 1789, the same writer said: "The task upon which Lord Cornwallis and myself embarked was reformation and improvement. We had inveterate prejudices and long-confirmed habits to encounter. To serve our constituents, it was necessary to retrench the emoluments of individuals, and to introduce system and regularity where all before was disorder and misrule."

† General Sloper had been sent out as Commander-in-Chief to Bengal before the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, and had been superseded by that nobleman. He had been tried in the balance, and found wanting. He had exhibited in his

conduct an almost unexampled aptitude for jobbery. On his supersession, he went home, and was received with open arms by the Princes of Wales. A contemporary journalist says: "The reception of General Sloper by the Prince of Wales was flattering to the General beyond conception. The Prince met him in Pall-Mall, as the General was going into London. He rode up, stopped the chaise himself, shook the General by the hand, and seemed overjoyed to see him; and in every place where they have met since his Royal Highness has paid him the most pointed and marked attention." No one, after reading this, will be surprised to learn that Lord Cornwallis had the worst possible opinion of him.

1787.

as you are consequently in a great degree responsible for my conduct, I think it fair to tell you that I flatter myself I have not yet disgraced you. I can safely say that I have not been idle; I have selected the ablest and honestest men in the different departments for my advisers, and I am not conscious that I have in any one instance sacrificed the public good to any private consideration. . . . I have already told you that I had patronised Fonbelle; I have likewise brought forward the two Kenneways, who are both very deserving men; the soldier is my aide-de-camp, the other I have put into the Board of Trade, where he is rendering most essential services. . . . I am now going to visit the Upper Provinces and the stations of the army, which is, I am sorry to say, still in a most wretched condition, almost, indeed, without subordination.”*

In those days travelling in India was slow and tedious. The river was full after the rains, and everything was in his favour; but it was held to be a great achievement that he reached Benares on the 29th of August, “in the course of a month from the day on which he left the Presidency”†—a distance now accomplished in twenty-four hours. In the middle of the following month he was at Allahabad. He visited Futtehgurh, Cawnpore, and other principal stations, where he inspected the troops in cantonments, and formed an opinion not very favourable to any part of the Company’s establishment, except the Artillery. But if the Commander-in-Chief was active at this time, the Governor-General was thoughtful. For as he proceeded up the country, vague rumours of hostile designs on the part of the great Mahomedan usurper of Mysore came to him from Southern India. They greatly

* “Lord Cornwallis is gone up the country to review the military stations, and has left Stuart and myself to go on with the business. . . . What I feel most is the distress of numbers with whom I am connected. The former extravagance of the service has produced this consequence. . . . The principles upon which we act will make me more enemies than friends; but how can I help it? There is no serving God and Mammon.”—*John Shore to H. I. Chandler, August 3, 1787. Life of Lord Teignmouth, by his Son.*

† “By the last accounts received from some of the Right Honourable the Governor-General’s suite, we have the pleasure to announce his Lordship’s arrival at Benares on the 29th ultimo. His Lordship has had a very favourable passage, as, including the several days he has stopped at different settlements, he will have got to Benares in the course of a month from the day he left the Presidency.”—*Calcutta Gazette, Sept. 6, 1787.*

1787. may alarm the jealousy of the Poonah Ministry, and welcome them more readily to take part with us."

State of Oude.

He was then sailing down the river, on his return journey to Calcutta. Among the other duties which he had imposed upon himself, was a visit to Oude, then, and for years afterwards, in a state of disorder, aggravated by the intense jobbery of English adventurers, sometimes with the stamp of the Company upon them, who entangled the unfortunate Newab-Wuzeer in half-fraudulent pecuniary transactions, and then endeavoured to obtain the aid of the sword of Government to cut the Gordian knot of the complications they had adroitly contrived for their own advantage. This was not the only evil. The connexion between the Company's Government and the Newab was one which was certain, in the end, to engulf him and his people in ruin. Lord Cornwallis brought a clear unbiassed judgment to bear upon the past history of Oude; and he could not help sympathising with the distressed condition of the ruler of that fair province. "I was received at Allahabad," he wrote to the Court of Directors, "and attended to Lucknow by the Vizier and his Ministers with every mark of friendship and respect. I cannot, however, express how much I was concerned during my short residence at his capital, and my progress through his dominions, to be witness to the disordered state of his finances and government, and of the desolated appearance of the country. The evils were too alarming to admit of palliation, and I thought it my duty to exhort him in the most friendly manner to endeavour to apply effectual remedies to them." And then, after some further observations on the disorganisation of that unhappy province, he said, with the unflinching sincerity which distinguished all his utterances, "I shall avoid making any remarks upon the original grounds, or supposed right, which induced us to interfere in the details of that unfortunate country, and shall only say that I am afraid it has done us no credit in Hindostan; but that the imperfect manner in which we did or could interfere could hardly fail of being attended with the consequences that have been experienced—that of giving constant disgust and dissatisfaction to the Vizier, without producing a shadow of benefit or relief to the body of the inhabitants." He was the first, indeed, to hit that great glaring

blot, which afterwards was discerned for more than half a century, and was the source of all kinds of protests, remonstrances, and menaces, but which at last could be removed only by the sharp knife of annexation. 1787.

Early in December Lord Cornwallis was again in Calcutta. Return to Calcutta.
 "I was so fortunate," he wrote to the Duke of York, on the 10th of that month, "in wind and weather, that I completed my expedition, during which, by land and water, I travelled above two-and-twenty hundred miles in less than four months, without omitting any material object of my tour, civil or military." He had brought back with him, from this tour of inspection, a very high estimate of the military qualities of the Company's Sepoys, but the worst possible opinion of their Europeans. "A brigade of our Sepoys," he said, "would easily make anybody Emperor of Hindostan." "The appearance of the native troops," he added, "gave me the greatest satisfaction; some of the battalions were perfectly well trained, and there was a spirit of emulation among the officers, and an attention in the men, which leaves me but little room to doubt that they will soon be brought to a great pitch of discipline . . . ; but the Company's Europeans are such miserable wretches that I am ashamed to acknowledge them for countrymen." To any one considering the manner in which the Company's regiments were recruited, there could be nothing surprising in this. The refuse of the streets was swept up and shovelled at once into the ships. Embarked as rabble, they were expected to land as soldiers. No experiment could be more hopeless. Yet it was clear to Lord Cornwallis that the permanence of our Indian Empire depended upon its defence by a fixed establishment of well-ordered European troops. "I think it must be universally admitted," he said, "that without a large and well-regulated body of Europeans, our hold of these valuable dominions must be very insecure. It cannot be expected that even the best of treatment would constantly conciliate the willing obedience of so vast a body of people, differing from ourselves in almost every circumstance of laws, religion, and customs; and oppressions of individuals, errors of government, and several other unforeseen causes, will, no doubt, arouse an inclination to revolt. On such occasions it would not be wise to place great dependence upon their

1787—88.

countrymen who compose the native regiments, to secure their subjection." He wrote this, in a strongly-worded letter, to the Court of Directors, telling them that it was absolutely necessary, for the correction of this evil, that a better system of recruiting in England should be established, and that the officers of the Company's Europeans should be permitted to rank equally, according to the dates of their commissions, with those of his Majesty's troops. He saw that the depressed state of the Company's officers at that time was most injurious to the public interests, and that nothing could be more fatal to the general efficiency of the army than the "jealousies subsisting between the two services." "I recommend," he wrote to the Court, in another letter, "that they may be put, as nearly as possible, on a footing of equality in every respect, whenever they may happen to be employed together on the same service."

Administrative
reform.

Whilst these recommendations were travelling to England, Lord Cornwallis, at the head-quarters of his government, was assiduously superintending the details of its internal administration. There was still much to be done in the way of what was called "the correction of abuses;" and in this he had a zealous and an active fellow-labourer in Mr. Shore. It was a happy circumstance that at this time all immediate apprehensions of a war with Tippoo had passed away with the old year. On the 7th of January, Cornwallis wrote to England, saying: "Our alarm from Tippoo's preparations has ceased, and there is no reason to believe from General Conway's* conduct that he has any desire to foment disturbances to promote a war in this country. . . . No man can be more seriously interested in the continuance of peace than myself; we have everything to lose and nothing to gain by war; and a peace for these next three years will enable me to put this country into such a state, that it will be a difficult task even for a bad successor to hurt it materially." "If, however," he wrote a few days afterwards, "the politics of Europe should embroil us with the French, I lay my account that Tippoo will be ready at the shortest notice to act in concert with them against the Carnatic." It was therefore necessary to make

* General Conway, a French officer of Irish extraction, was then Governor of Pondicherry.

quiet preparations for the too probable contingency of war. But there was abundant time for the business of administrative details, and in the years 1788-89 Lord Cornwallis assiduously applied himself to them, eager to reform altogether the revenue and judicial systems of the country. In this great work of amelioration he had, on all questions of land-tenure, the advice and assistance of Mr. Shore. In matters connected with the administration of justice, and generally with the law or regulations of the British settlements, he was guided primarily by the advice of Mr. George Barlow,* one of the Government secretaries, and one of the ablest and most promising members of the Company's Civil Service. Cornwallis had from the first discerned Barlow's great merits, and had placed unbounded confidence in him. With the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Charles Grant, whom to know was to honour, and Mr. Jonathan Duncan, who was rising into eminence as an administrator, mainly by the force of an overflowing humanity and an honesty and simplicity of character rarely surpassed, there was no man in the Company's service of whom Lord Cornwallis entertained a higher opinion than of George Barlow. And it may be added that, with the exception of the members of his own "family," or staff, there was no man for whom he felt a warmer affection. Barlow worked with all his might at the elaboration of a new Code of Regulations. And there was another man from whom, in legislative difficulties, the Governor-General was fain to apply for advice and assistance—a man whose name is very dear to literature and to learning, the accomplished Sir William Jones.

I do not purpose, at this point of the narrative, to write in detail of the administrative reforms which were instituted by the Government of Lord Cornwallis. It is enough to say that these two years were spent by him in hard, continuous work, not unenlivened by the exercise of those social amenities which are among the duties, as they are among the privileges, of the Chief of the Government of India. He had it very much at heart to improve the social morality of the English in India; for though very much better than it had been some years before, it was, notwithstanding the assertions of Captain

* Afterwards Sir George Hilario Barlow, Governor-General *ad interim*, and subsequently Governor of Madras.

1787-89.

Price and Mr. Lindsay, considerably in want of reform. The narrow limits of his residence, as I have before observed, compelled him to entertain the society of Calcutta in one of its public buildings. The newspapers of the day contain frequent notices of Lord Cornwallis's banquets and balls.* It may be gathered from a variety of cotemporary sources, that, though greatly respected as one who had the true nobleman stamp upon him, he was very popular in the settlement. For he was one who ever maintained the dignity of his station, without personal arrogance or exclusiveness; and who rendered his own good example more potential for good by the kindly consideration with which he treated his inferiors. The kindness of his heart and the courtesy of his manners compelled his countrymen to regard him with equal affection and respect.

And year after year—it might not untruthfully be said, month after month—a progressive improvement was observable in the morality of English residents in Bengal, which was soon communicated to the other presidencies. One characteristic illustration of this is worthy of notice. At the Calcutta balls, before the coming of Lord Cornwallis, there had seldom been much, if any, dancing after supper. The gentlemen-dancers were commonly too far gone in drink to venture upon any experiments of activity demanding the preservation of the perpendicular. But, when Lord Cornwallis set his mark on Anglo-Indian society, all this was changed. The Indian journals remarked that many “young bloods,” who had before remained at the supper-table, returned to the dancing-room, and the ladies had all proper respect. At the same time there was a manifest diminution

* Take the following (from a Calcutta newspaper), drawn from Mr. Seton Karr's volume, as an example of Cornwallis's hospitality: “A very large and respectable company, in consequence of the invitation given by the Right Honourable the Governor-General, assembled on Tuesday (New Year's Day) at the Old Court House, where an elegant dinner was prepared. The toasts were, as usual, echoed from the cannon's mouth, and merited this distinction from their loyalty and patriotism. In the evening the ball exhibited a circle less extensive, but equally brilliant and beautiful, with

that which graced the entertainment in honour of the King's birthday. Lady Chambers and Colonel Pearse danced the first minuet, and the succeeding ones continued till about half-after eleven o'clock, when the supper-tables presented every requisite to gratify the most refined epicurean. The ladies soon resumed the pleasures of the dance, and knit the rural braid, in emulation of the poet's sister graces, till four in the morning, while some disciples of the jolly god of wine testified their satisfaction in strains of exultation.”—*January, 1788.*

of gambling; and as necessary results of less drink and less play, duelling and suicide ceased to furnish the ghastly incidents of the preceding years.*

The personal habits of Lord Cornwallis were at all times very simple. He was not at all addicted to official display, and perhaps on the whole, in his daily life, fell somewhat short of the outer stateliness which should environ the position of a Governor-General. He was fond of horse-exercise, and he had a partiality for high-trotting horses, perhaps because he was sensible that it would profit him to check his natural tendency to obesity. His companion in these rides was commonly his dear friend and cherished associate, Colonel Ross, whose society was a continual solace to him. Between the morning and the evening rides he worked hard. He told his son that it was all clockwork. "My life at Calcutta," he wrote, in January, 1789, to Lord Brome, "is perfect clockwork. I get on horseback just as the dawn of day begins to appear, ride on the same road and the same distance, pass the whole forenoon after my return from riding in doing business, and almost the same exactly before sunset, then write or read over letters or papers of business for two hours, sit down at nine, with two or three officers of my family, to some fruit and a biscuit, and go to bed soon after the clock strikes *ten*. I don't think the greatest sap at Eton can lead a duller life than this."

But the dulness was not to continue much longer. Already ^{Prospects of war.} were there ominous mutterings of a coming storm. The peace which had been so long threatened was now about to be broken by the unscrupulous conduct of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore, who was eager to swallow up the territories of our faithful ally, the Rajah of the Travancore. This was not to be borne. There was no difference of opinion in the council-

* An English clergyman named Tennant, who wrote a book about India under the title of "Indian Recreations," speaking of the improvements in the social morality of the English in India at the end of the last century, says: "A reformation, highly commendable, has been effected, partly from necessity, but more by the example of a late Governor-General, whose elevated rank and noble birth gave him in a great measure the guidance of fashion. Regular hours and sobriety of conduct became as decidedly the test of a man of fashion as they were formerly of irregularity." (The writer means to say "as irregularity formerly was.") "Thousands owe their lives, and many more their health, to this change, which had neither been reckoned on, nor even foreseen, by those who introduced it." I have not the least doubt, however, that Lord Cornwallis clearly foresaw it.

1789.

chamber of Calcutta. The honour and the safety of the British empire in India alike demanded that we should resort to arms. But, unfortunately, there was at that time a very feeble state of government at Madras. Mr. Holland, though continually warned that war was not merely probable, but inevitable, had done nothing to prepare for it. Lord Cornwallis knew that in such an emergency he was not to be trusted, so he determined to proceed to Madras, and take charge of the civil government and the command of the army. But, before he was able to execute this design, he received intelligence that his friend General Medows had been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Madras. The tidings were received by Lord Cornwallis with mingled emotions of gratification and regret. He rejoiced that his old friend Medows was coming to the Coast, but he could not help being sorry that there was no longer a laudable pretext for taking personal command of the army which was about to march into Mysore. His sentiments have been so clearly recorded in an official minute which he wrote on receiving intelligence of the appointment of General Medows, that I cannot do better than transcribe his words. After speaking of the deplorable state of the Madras Government, he proceeded to say: "Under the impressions which I have described, I thought myself called upon by a sense of duty to the Company, as well as by an attention to the general interests of my country, to stand forth and endeavour to avert the misfortunes with which negligence and misconduct, or jealousies between the civil and military departments, might be attended. With that view, and upon the ground of state necessity, it was my intention to take the responsibility of an irregular measure upon myself, and to propose that the Board should invest me with full powers to take a temporary charge of the civil and military affairs at the Presidency of Fort St. George, by exercising the functions of Governor as well as those of Commander-in-chief. * * * * * It is, however, with great satisfaction that I congratulate the Board on the arrival, in the mean time, of the advices by the *Vestal* frigate, by which we have been informed that the commission appointing General Medows to be Governor of Fort St. George was on board that vessel, and as the *Vestal* proceeded from

1790. his financial reforms swept away by a sudden tempest: "It is of a melancholy task to write all this, and to see all the effects of my economy and the regulation of the finances, which cost me so much labour, destroyed in a few months. But I am pretty well inured to the crosses and vexations of this world, and so long as my conscience does not reproach me with any blame, I have fortitude enough to bear up against them."^{*}

General
Medows.

I must pause here to devote a few sentences to the brave and noble-hearted man to whom Cornwallis was now prepared to delegate the command of the army of Mysore. He was one of the most chivalrous of soldiers, and the most generous and gentle of men. He had served with distinction in the American war, and had built up a character in the eyes of his comrades, in which a masculine courage, almost reckless in its hardihood, was not less conspicuous than a womanly kindness of heart and tenderness of manner. He was so much beloved by the soldiery, that there was not a man who, having once served under him, would not have followed him delightedly all over the world. When he was first ordered to America, having been appointed to a new regiment, he received permission to take as many men from his old corps as might volunteer to accompany him. Accordingly, he drew up the regiment in line, and, after a few words of explanation, stepped on one side, and exclaimed, "Let all, who choose to go with me, come on this side." The whole regiment to a man accepted the invitation; the corps went over bodily to the spot on which their beloved commander was standing—a proof of their attachment which affected so sensibly his warm heart that he burst into tears.

On service, wherever danger was to be found, Medows was sure to be in the thick of it. In the battle of Brandywine, when leading on his grenadiers to the charge, with orders to reserve their fire, he received in the sword-arm, just above the elbow, a shot, which went out at his back; and, falling from his horse, he broke his collar-bone on the other side. Major Harris† found him in this situation almost insensible; but the well-known voice of his friend seemed to restore him; he tried

* Cornwallis Correspondence—Ross.

† Afterwards General Lord Harris.

1790.

In the course of the year 1788, General Medows, mainly on the recommendation of Lord Cornwallis, was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bombay. Accompanied by Colonel Harris as his Secretary,* he sailed in the early part of the year for that presidency; but he had not long discharged the duties of his station when he was transferred in a similar capacity to Madras. This change had been in contemplation from the first, and indeed the King's Ministers had intended that he should eventually succeed to the Governor-Generalship—an arrangement which, it was felt, would be gratifying to Cornwallis.† But Medows, who was no courtier, and who scorned to purchase promotion by servility, contrived to give offence to the Directors in Leadenhall-street, and for some time it appeared to Lord Cornwallis that his friend had thrown away his chance of succession. In April, 1790, however, General Medows was formally appointed, on the recommendation of Mr. Pitt, to “succeed to the Govern-

* The circumstances of this appointment are worthy of record, especially in connexion with the history of the conquest of Mysore. Happening shortly after his appointment to meet Harris in St. James's-street, General Medows asked his old friend and comrade what he had been doing. Harris replied that he had been to the Army Agents to arrange the sale of his commission, and that he was about to make preparations to emigrate with his family to Canada, as he saw little chance of advancement in the service. The General heard the story with manifest vexation and impatience, and then asked his friend if the sale had been actually effected and the money paid? The reply was that there would be a day's delay, owing to the death of the Princess Amelia. “Then,” said Medows, “you shall not sell out. I am going as Governor to Bombay, and you shall go with me as secretary and aide-de-camp. I will stop the sale of the commission.” He did so at once, and consummated his kindness by lending his friend a large sum of money to enable him to insure his life. And from this accidental meeting in St. James's-street came the gradation of circumstances and events which turned the despairing soldier into the conqueror of Mysore and the founder of an illustrious family.

† The following extract of a letter from Mr. Dundas to Lord Cornwallis, dated July 22, 1787, places this beyond a doubt: “We are all agreed that military men are the best of all Governors for India, and our wish is to persuade General Medows to accept the Government of Bombay, with a commission of Commander-in-Chief of that settlement. He will remain till Campbell leaves Madras, and can be appointed to that settlement when Campbell leaves it; and there he can remain till you leave India, and be ready to succeed you when you choose (which I hope will be as late as you can) to leave it.” What Cornwallis thought of the plan is equally clear: “I should now be inclined to say,” he wrote to Mr. Dundas, “you had better stick to your plan of military Governors, and have done with the civil line, if I did not remember there have been some military characters in this country that have not been very correct. I hope, however, at all events, that Medows will be my successor—not that I mean to run away whilst the house is on fire; for much as I wish to return to England next year, I would not do it unless the Company's possessions were in a state of security.” —*Cornwallis Correspondence*. *Ross*. Feb. 7, 1790.

1790.

reputation and success; but it must be prepared for hardships, and to endure them—for difficulties, and to surmount them—for numerous enemies, and to beat them."

But the noble soldier is not always the accomplished General, and the high qualities which distinguished Medows were not those which command success in such operations as were now confided to him. He took the field under many disadvantages. His army was ill equipped; the country and the mode of warfare were new to him. He was imperfectly acquainted with the resources of the enemy, and was too eager for action in detail to take a comprehensive view of the general demands of the campaign before him. He was blamed for dividing his forces in such a manner as to expose them to disaster by the impossibility of supporting them when engaged with superior bodies of the enemy; and it is not to be doubted that the army was harassed and wearied without attaining any proportionate results.* Lord Cornwallis had from the first entertained some private misgivings as to the wisdom of his friend's plan of operations; but he had waited patiently for the fuller development of the scheme, and had passed no hasty judgment upon it. But month after month passed, and it was plain that Medows was making no way towards the subjugation of Tippoo, and, in spite of his eager wish for hard fighting, had failed to bring the Sultan to a general action. At last, the imminent danger to which the force under Colonel Floyd was exposed, in the half-glorious, half-disastrous affair of Sattemengulum, where the gallantry of our troops was far more conspicuous than their success, roused the Governor-General from his generous delusion that the conduct of the war was in good hands. Moreover, it required good and experienced management to keep our allies, the Nizam and the Peishwah, up to the mark of good faith and vigorous action under the depressing influences of an unsuccessful campaign. So, after much self-communing and some consultation with

* The following passage in Major Price's narrative, drawn from his contemporary journals, is significant: "On this subject I find it here rather boldly remarked for a subaltern of nine years' standing, how much it derogated from the judgment of the Roman Brutus, to whose vigorous example General Me-

dows had some time since referred, to have thus exposed his army to be cut off in detail by placing so valuable a division of it, in defiance of so many fatal examples, so far beyond the possibility of support. It was, however, the general opinion at the time."

1790. tidings of his supersession by the Governor-General. It is possible, indeed, that he may have seen in this new distribution of authority increased opportunities of personal distinction; for he was one who, in these days, would covet a Victoria cross more than a peerage, and a wound received at the head of a storming party more than all the prize money in the world. By Lord Cornwallis himself the noble bearing of his friend was held in all due honour. "I hope," he wrote to Dundas, "you will give Medows full credit in England for his generous and noble conduct on the trying occasion of my superseding him in his command. I knew the excellence of his temper and of his heart, but he has really, in this instance, surpassed my expectations. It is, besides, but justice to him to observe that, owing to untoward accidents, the first intelligence he received of my coming was attended with the most mortifying circumstances; for although I had, out of delicacy, kept my resolution a profound secret for three weeks after I had written my intentions to him, it unluckily happened, owing to the interruption of the posts, that he first heard of it from the Madras Board."

Cornwallis at
Madras.

On the 12th of December, 1790, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Madras. He found, in the civil administration of that presidency greater abuses than he had discovered in Bengal. "The whole system of this presidency," he wrote, "is founded on the good old principles of Leadenhall-street economy—small salaries and immense perquisites; and if the Directors alone could be ruined by it, everybody would say they deserved it; but unfortunately it is not the Court of Directors, but the British nation that must be the sufferers. We must, however," he continued, "put an end to the war before we can attempt any serious reform, and my thoughts for some months to come will be wholly occupied in endeavouring to reduce the overgrown power of Tippoo."

1791. From Madras, on the 22nd of January, 1791, he wrote to Mr. Barlow, after some observations on the new scheme of civil administration: "I have led a life of the greatest anxiety, in the first place from the disappointment in the arrival of our ships, and the total failure of the monsoon, which has not,

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lantry of the English forces prevailed. Bangalore was taken by assault. Large numbers of the enemy were bayoneted in the works, and Tippoo, surprised and disheartened by the seizure of so valued a stronghold, withdrew the force with which he had hoped successfully to support the besieged, and fell back towards Seringapatam.

The advance on
Seringapatam.

A more cautious general than Lord Cornwallis—one less eager to do his work by bringing the enemy to action—would now, perhaps, have hesitated to attempt to bring the campaign to a close in the existing season. The line of country before him was far more extensive than that which he had already traversed, and his resources were far less. During the operations against Bangalore, he had lost a considerable part of his carriage cattle. Large numbers of his draft bullocks had been killed to supply his European troops with food, and a still greater number had died. But these formidable obstacles did not deter Cornwallis from advancing. He knew the chances and the cost of failure, but he balanced them against the immense advantages of success. At any moment a letter might have been brought into his tent announcing that France and England were again at war with each other—in which case the French in India would have given their best help to the Sultan of Mysore. So he determined, after forming a juncture with the Nizam's cavalry,* to push forward into the

Thomas Munro, when a young officer with the army. He says that Lord Cornwallis, "from his uniform steady conduct, deserved success: he never lost sight of his object to follow Tippoo; neither did he, in the different cannonades, ever permit a shot to be returned." "On the 17th, in the morning, Lord Cornwallis was visiting the batteries, when, about eight o'clock, fifteen guns opened suddenly on the left wing. The nature of the country, which is full of hollow ways, had enabled Tippoo to advance unperceived, and the report of the guns was the first notice that General Meadows had of his being so near. The line formed without striking tents, and the troops sat on the ground whilst the enemy kept up a brisk cannonade, which, though distant, did a good deal of execution among the followers crowded together in the centre of the camp, between the two lines of infantry, and it also killed or wounded fifty or

sixty men in the ranks, which so far got the better of his Lordship's temper, that he determined to advance, and was giving directions to that effect when Tippoo drew off his army."—*Gleig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro.*

* I cannot help thinking that this was by far the greatest error which Cornwallis committed. He lost exactly a month by it, when time was everything to him, by going round to pick up a body of horse, whose co-operation was not likely to be of much use to us when obtained. Munro says: "We had already seen that they would distress us greatly by destroying our forage, as they would not venture beyond our outposts to collect it; and that they could have been of no use to us, as the whole of them would not face five hundred of the enemy's horse." This statement is amply confirmed by Lord Cornwallis's own correspondence.

very heart of Tippoo's dominions, to invest the capital, and to dictate terms of peace under the walls of Seringapatam. Before the middle of May, he was within ten miles of that city; but, although he was strong enough to beat the enemy fairly "in the open," he saw at once that he had not the means of carrying so formidable a place as that which now stood, in proud defiance, before him. On the 15th of May he was in some measure rewarded for all the toil and anxiety of his difficult march to the Mysore capital, by the occurrence of the long-coveted opportunity of drawing Tippoo into action in the field. He accomplished this, and aided by the Nizam's troops, who fought better than he had expected, he fairly beat and dispersed them. But he was not in a position to follow up the victory. The junction which he had expected to form with General Abercromby, the Bombay Commander, was not immediately practicable. The elements were hostile, and the material resources of the army were failing him. Bitter, indeed, was the mortification which overwhelmed him, when he found that just at what he had believed to be the point of victory, he was compelled to retire. But he had neither stores nor provisions for a long siege; and to have attempted, at the end of May, to carry the place with such insufficient means, would have been only to court a disastrous failure. So he determined to break up his siege train, and to fall back upon Bangalore.*

Then Lord Cornwallis began to experience, in all their bitterness, the horrors of a hot-weather campaign in India, with insufficient appliances for the maintenance and protection of his army. An epidemic disorder broke out among his cattle. Numbers fell by the way, and the remainder with difficulty struggled on with their burdens. Grain was so scarce, that the famished camp-followers were compelled to

Retirement
the army.

* Munro thus describes the situation of Cornwallis's army: "We had by this time lost the greatest part of our cattle; the guns had for the two last marches been brought forward with much difficulty by the assistance of the troops, and the battering-train had seldom got to its place before ten at night. The weather, too, which had been unfavourable ever since our leaving Bangalore, had now all the appearance of a

settled monsoon. The remaining bullocks, it was apprehended, would hardly be able to drag the field-pieces back to Bangalore, and we had only twelve days' rice at half-allowance. In this situation it became absolutely necessary, on the 22nd, to burst our heavy cannon, to bury the shot, to throw the powder into wells, and to destroy all the other besieging materials."—*Oleig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro.*

1791.

feed on the diseased carcasses of the bullocks. The cavalry horses were reduced to such a state that they could not carry their riders, and many were shot as useless incumbrances. The officers, who had given up the greater part of their private carriage for public uses, suffered so severely, that in many cases they were compelled to ask for the rations which were served out to the privates. The tents were little better than tinder; and the clothes of officers and men were reduced to mere rags. "The ground at Camiambuddy," wrote Major Dirom, the historian of the war, "where the army had encamped but six days, was covered in a circuit of several miles with the carcasses of cattle and horses; and the last of the gun-carriages, carts, and stores of the battering train, left in flames, was a melancholy spectacle which the troops passed, as they quitted the deadly camp."

It was not strange that, in such distressing circumstances, the spirits of the commander should begin to droop. There was a necessary suspension of operations, for the rains had set in; and there is nothing so wearisome and enervating as the inactivity of camp-life in an unhealthy season of the year. His constitution, on the whole, bore up bravely; but continued anxiety began to tell upon him. "My health," he wrote to his brother on the 13th of July, "has not suffered, although my spirits are almost worn out, and if I cannot soon overcome Tippoo, I think the plagues and mortifications of this most difficult war will overcome me." Six long, dreary weeks of waiting passed away; and he still felt sad and sick at heart. "If Tippoo," he wrote to his son, on the 8th of September, "does not offer reasonable terms before that time, I hope to oblige him to do so by a successful attack on Seringapatam in November next; but however favourable a turn our affairs may take, I cannot now expect, consistently with the duty I owe to my country, to leave India before January, 1793, and I trust that my evil stars cannot detain me longer than that period. I grow old and more rheumatic, and have lost all spirits, and shall only say when I return:

'A soldier, worn with cares and toils of war,
Is come to lay his weary bones among you.'

"You remember Wolsey's speech, but I shall have an

RECOMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

easier conscience than he, probably, had." And on the day he wrote to his friend Mr. Grisdale, saying: "God knows when our war will end—I hope and trust it will end soon, it will end me. I do not mean that I am sick. I have stood a burning sun and a cold wind as well as the youngest of them; but I am plagued and tormented and wearied to death."

The time, however, had now come, for the commencement, at least, of those minor operations which were necessary to secure the success of the grand march upon Seringapatam. Some forts were to be taken at no great distance from Bangalore, where the army was encamped; stubborn, obstinate places, of immense natural strength, which the enemy believed to be impregnable. One of these places, known as Nundydroog, was to be carried at the end of September. The fortress was described as standing on a rocky mountain, 1700 feet in height, "three-fourths of its circumference being actually inaccessible." After some weeks, however, a practicable breach was made, and then General Medows, who had all this long weary time been panting for an opportunity of personal distinction, offered his services to command the detachment that was to proceed to the assault, and Lord Cornwallis accepted them. On the 18th of October everything was ready for the advance of the stormers. General Medows placed himself at the head of his men, and the word had been given to move forward upon the breach, when some one vociferated that there was a mine beneath it. "If there be a mine," cried Medows, "it is a mine of gold;" and he called on his men to push forward. And amidst a continued hail of heavy stones from the impending precipice, more formidable than the fire of the guns, the storming party entered the breach; and so a place which, in the hands of the Mahrattas, had defied Hyder Ali for three years, was wrested from his sons after a siege of a few weeks.

The cold weather, so eagerly looked for, came at last; and the interval of repose, wearisome and dispiriting though it was, had been turned to the best possible account. The army, which was now about to take the field, was very different from the army with which, in the hot weather, Lord Cornwallis had retired from Seringapatam. Great prepara-

1791.

tions had been made for the renewal of the war. Bengal had been drawn upon for artillery and carriage cattle—especially elephants. A large supply of specie had come from England. Success was now almost a certainty. The army was set in motion again, and, as it advanced, the spirits of Lord Cornwallis rapidly revived. There was something to be done before the great crowning work of the investment of the Mysore capital was to be accomplished. The great stronghold of Savindroog—more formidable, even, than that of Nundydroog—was to be carried by assault. As long as it remained in the enemy's hands our lines of communication could not be secured, and our convoys might, at any time, have been intercepted. Tippoo had laughed to scorn the idea of such a place being carried by human agency; and the garrison, which he had posted in it, relied mainly on its natural strength. But the batteries which opened on the 17th of December had soon effected a practicable breach, and on the 22nd the place was carried by assault. Cornwallis was overjoyed at the result. "I have been fortunate," he wrote to his brother on the 29th, "in taking, in a very few days, and with very little loss, the important fortress of Savindroog, the possession of which was absolutely necessary to enable us to maintain a secure communication with Bangalore when we advance to the attack of Seringapatam. The speedy reduction of this place, which has been considered all over India as impregnable, has struck great terror into the enemy's other garrisons; for, in the three days subsequent to the assault of Savindroog, three other strong forts in its neighbourhood, each of them capable of making a good resistance, fell into our hands. By these successes we have now a frontier-line by which our supplies may with ease be brought forward within fifty miles of the enemy's capital. God send that we may soon see a happy termination of this war, of which I am most heartily tired."

1792.

The new year found the army full of heart and hope, eager to advance. The arrangements of our Native allies, always tardily effected, were at last complete, and the armies of the Nizam and the Peishwah were ready to accompany us to the Mysore capital. On the 25th of January the junction with the Confederates had been formed, and everything was ready for a combined advance on the capital of Mysore. The army

Capture of
Savindroog.

marched, and on the 5th of February Seringapatam was again in sight. No painful doubts and anxieties now assailed the mind of the Commander. Confident of success, he was eager to do his work quickly; and whilst Tippoo was congratulating himself on the thought that time would be his best ally, Cornwallis was taking it by the forelock, and making his dispositions for an immediate attack on the enemy's camp. Seringapatam stands at one extremity of an oblong island formed by two branches of the Cauvery river. Between the northern bank of the river and a strong "bound hedge," Tippoo's army was posted, under the shelter of the guns of the fort and the batteries of the island. Once assured of their position, Cornwallis determined to dislodge them. His best hope lay in a prompt and vigorous movement at an unexpected time; so in the course of the 6th of February he made his arrangements for a night attack by a lightly-equipped body of Foot on the enemy's camp and the works which they were constructing. General Medows was to command the right, Colonel Maxwell the left, whilst Cornwallis himself took command of the centre division of the force.

To our Native allies this movement seemed to be nothing less than a spasm of madness. That a few regiments of Infantry, without guns, should be sent forward to attack the enemy in position in a fortified camp, under the shelter of their guns, and that the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief should go with the fighting party, as though he were a common soldier, were eccentricities of warfare unaccountable in their eyes save by the hypothesis of the insanity of the Lord-Sahib. But never in his life did Cornwallis go about his work more sanely—never with a cooler calculation of the chances, or a juster appreciation of the immense advantages, of success. He started in high spirits. It was a fine, still, moonlight night, and unencumbered as they were they moved forward rapidly and quietly, and soon came in front of Tippoo's astonished army. The story of that eventful night has often been told before. The left and the centre divisions were completely successful; but the right division, under General Medows, "by one of those accidents to which all operations in the night must be liable," failed to accomplish the work entrusted to it. Medows found himself

1792.

before a well-defended redoubt, the assault of which was not a part of the intended plan of operations, and before he could carry it, and proceed to support the Commander-in-Chief, day had broken, and Lord Cornwallis had done his work.*

But although the English General had accomplished more than he had ventured to hope, and Tippoo, who had seen, first with incredulity and then with dismay, the long line of English Footmen advancing under the silence of the night into the very heart of his camp, had shut himself in his fort, the daylight did not bring with it any cessation of the strife. Our troops had effected a lodgment on the island of Seringapatam, and detachments there and on the other side of the river in rear of Tippoo's camp were now exposed to the attacks of the enemy, who in vain endeavoured to dislodge them. There was some hard fighting throughout the day, the result of which made it clear to the Sultan that the game must now be played out by him behind the walls of Seringapatam; so he withdrew his troops from all the outlying redoubts, and abandoned every part on the north side of the river. So that now, in the words of the military historian of the war, "the proud city of Seringapatam, which we could scarcely discern from our first ground, was now in forty-eight hours strongly and closely invested on its two principal sides; the enemy's army broken and dispirited; ours in perfect order, and highly animated by their success."

Preparations were now made for the commencement of the siege. But Tippoo had, by this time, measuring rightly the resources of the English, begun to think of the expediency of not risking conclusions with the formidable force which had just routed his best troops, and was now preparing to attack his stronghold. But one despairing effort might yet be made, if not by fair means, by foul, to cast confusion into the ranks of the enemy. In the eyes of an Oriental potentate, to destroy the leader of an expedition, is to destroy the expedition itself. If Lord Cornwallis, who, in his own person, represented the su-

* During a great part of the operations, Cornwallis was personally exposed to the fire of the enemy. He was wounded in the hand, but not severely. It is related that when Meadows joined him, he said, alluding to the mistake he

had made, "I, my Lord, not you, should have had that rap over the knuckles." The main brunt of the fighting must have fallen on the centre division, for it lost 842 men killed and wounded out of a total of 535.

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had added : " I will never quit this country till I have commanded the storming party at Seringapatam."* And now he was more than ever anxious to lead his men to the assault, for he felt that there was a stain upon his character to be effaced. The request was readily granted, and the prospect of new glory buoyed him up for a time ; but only to make more unendurable his subsequent disappointment.

With bitter anguish of heart, therefore, did he learn, towards the end of February, that the negotiations had so far succeeded, that Tippoo had consented to send two of his sons into the British camp as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms of the peace. What follows is one of the saddest things in Indian history. I tell it, as it was told, on the same day, by an officer on Lord Cornwallis's staff, writing to a friend in Calcutta. † " Tippoo," he said, " has, this afternoon, commenced the execution of the preliminaries of peace, by sending to camp his second and third sons as hostages, conformably with one of the articles ; and this act was made particularly interesting and satisfactory to Lord Cornwallis, by Tippoo, without mentioning any of the other confederates, insisting that his children should be carried directly to his Lordship's tent, and there delivered into his arms, with a request that he would, during their absence from their father, consider them, and treat them as his own children. It would at any time have been impossible to witness such a scene, which marked

* The passage of the letter to the Court of Directors, in which Medows declined the Governor-Generalship, is altogether so characteristic, so honourable alike to him and to Lord Cornwallis, that some further passages of it may be given in a note : " Though the elements, more faithful allies to Tippoo than either the Nizam's troops or the Mahrattas to us, have obliged us to defer the siege of Seringapatam, I still flatter myself it is only postponed, and not put off further than from June to January, when, if he does not make a peace, which I take to be so much the interest of all parties, the loss of his capital, I hope and expect, will be soon followed by the loss of his kingdom. Lord Cornwallis, who sees everything, who does everything, and who is everything, will, I hope, have the peace in such forwardness by January, as to enable me to go home with propriety,

while he stays another year, to complete the great and arduous undertaking he so happily began, has so nobly continued, and, I have no doubt, will so perfectly conclude, to his own honour and your satisfaction. But should things take another turn, and there should not be peace, though I beg leave to decline going to Bengal after January, 1792, I will never quit this country till I have commanded the storming party at Seringapatam, or until the war is over. When, after the handsome and independent fortune I shall have made in your service (I should guess about forty thousand pounds, but I will tell you the uttermost farthing the moment I know it), entirely by proper saving from your liberal appointments, if you shall think 'the labourer worthy of his hire,' I shall be most amply compensated."

† MS. Correspondence.

so great a change in their father's fortunes, without certain reflections on the instability of human grandeur. But all sensations of that nature were almost totally absorbed in the melancholy damp into which we had been thrown a few hours before, by a fatal act that General Medows had committed upon himself. The column that the General commanded on the night of the 6th did not execute precisely what was allotted to it. But he has, by his uniform conduct through life, established his character with all mankind as the essence of honour and courage, and the mistake on that night was never considered, by any man in the army, in any other light than as one of those errors to which night attacks have been, and ever will be, liable. The General, however, notwithstanding every consolation which his Lordship could give him, continued dissatisfied with himself, and allowed this unlucky affair to prey continually upon his spirits, till this morning, when it seems he could bear it no longer, and discharged a pistol loaded with three bullets into his body. He is still alive, but there can scarcely be hopes that he will recover. You will be able to judge of the severity of this blow upon Lord Cornwallis, when I tell you that there are few men in the world whom his Lordship more esteems and loves. This cruel stroke has poisoned all our enjoyment of the present favourable appearance of public affairs." These gloomy anticipations, however, were not realised. "Most miraculously," as the same officer afterwards wrote, "General Medows recovered, and became perfectly reconciled to himself and all the world." *

* The following cotemporary account of this painful circumstance is given in the "Memoirs of a Field Officer," written by Major Price, formerly Judge Advocate-General of the Bombay Army. It has the strongest possible impress of the truth, and as it was not published till nearly fifty years after the event occurred, it may be assumed that the current story of the day was confirmed by later information: "To account for this rash and extraordinary act, in an individual so eminently distinguished, it is only necessary to explain, that on the night of the memorable attack on the enemy's lines of the 6th February, the General commanded the column which formed the right of that attack.

This column had been directed to penetrate the enemy's lines towards their extreme left. Unfortunately, the head of the column, instead of entering the bound-hedge, became engaged in an attack upon the Eidgah redoubt—sometimes called Lally's—where the defence turned out so obstinate and protracted, and occasioned so great a delay, as might have produced results the most disastrous. For, during the untoward delay it was that the enemy from the left were permitted to bear down upon the centre column, commanded by Lord Cornwallis in person. His Lordship had successfully penetrated the line in his front; and having detached the greater part of his column in pursuit of the

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On the 18th of March, after much negotiation, and many hitches and obstructions, which every now and then threatened a general break-down, the definitive Treaty was sent out of the Fort, "signed and sealed by Tippoo," and was delivered to Lord Cornwallis on the following day under a salute from a Park of British Artillery and from the guns of Seringapatam booming together. Some considerable accessions of territory to the British Empire in India were the result of this war, but it belongs rather to the historian than to the biographer to write of these things in detail.* Lord Cornwallis returned to

enemy towards the river-side, was for some time exposed to the greatest jeopardy of being cut off by the superior force which now poured upon him. Providentially the troops that remained about his Lordship's person fought with such devoted steadiness and resolution that the assailants were repelled with loss; and it was only about break of day, when not far from the foot of Carigaht Hill, that General Medows made his appearance with the right column of attack. It is said that in the irritation of the moment a sharp interrogatory dropped from his Lordship as to 'where General Medows had been disposing of himself?' It has never been satisfactorily explained why it was, that after silencing the Eidgah redoubt, the column was led to the left *without*, rather than, as directed in the plan of the attack, *within*, the bound-hedge. Some, indeed, have asserted that it was through the cowardice or treachery of the guides. This, however, has been denied; and that, although the General was spoken to on the subject, he, as it was said, persisted in moving to the left, *without* the hedge. Harassed by the reflection of the tremendous mischief that might have occurred, had anything fatal occurred to Lord Cornwallis and the column in the centre in consequence of this unfortunate deviation, a mind so sensitive as that of General Medows sunk under the impression; and he felt it beyond all endurance. He had looked forward to the hope that the Sultaun would have held out to extremity; and that he must, of course, have been the officer selected to command the storming party. He had, indeed, been frequently heard to repeat that 'a storm was necessary

to his peace of mind.' When, therefore, these hopes were frustrated, and that peace was determined upon, he gave out a report that he was going home in the *Dutton* East Indiaman, then about to sail for England. On the very morning on which he made the lamentable attempt he had conversed privately, and with apparent indifference, with Mr. Uthhoff on the subject of his voyage. The day which had been determined upon by Lord Cornwallis to receive the first visit of the two hostage Princes was the one fixed upon for the perpetration of this act of extraordinary desperation. The moment the salute was firing, on the approach of the Princes, was that chosen by the General to put a period to his existence. His pistol had been loaded with slugs, three of which had lodged in his body. Two of them were promptly extracted. He is said to have expressed the deepest regret for what he had done, as well as his unreserved approbation of every measure adopted by Lord Cornwallis, and that nothing on the part of that noble person had had the slightest influence on his conduct on this melancholy occasion. He could, indeed, be sometimes facetious on the subject, remarking that 'Mr. Medows had had a misunderstanding with General Medows, that had terminated in a duel, in which matters had been amicably adjusted.'

* Thomas Munro, writing of the peace, says: "In this situation, when extirpation, which had been talked of, seemed so near, the moderation or the policy of Lord Cornwallis granted him peace on the easy terms of his relinquishing half his dominions to the Confederates. Tippoo accepted these conditions on the 24th of February, and

Madras, and was detained there some time for the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic. It was not until the 17th of July that he was able to write to Mr. Dundas: "I have at length settled everything with the Nabob, and I believe in the best manner that it could have been done, unless we had kept possession of the country; but that point could only have been carried by force, without the least shadow of reason or justice, and consequently was not to be attempted." Soon after this he sailed for Calcutta.

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The generosity and humanity of his nature were signally displayed, in many ways, during this campaign, but in none more than in his tender regard for the interests of the soldiery, who looked up to him as their leader. He was a man of a kind heart and a compassionate nature, and the meanest soldier in the camp was in his eyes an object ever worthy of his most thoughtful care. When he first joined the army, he saw, to his dismay, that the Sepoy regiments of the Madras force had no hospital doolies (litters) attached to them, and that their sick and wounded were carried in the rude blankets or horse-cloths of the country. "It is hardly credible," he wrote from camp to the Governor of Madras, "that so shocking a practice should have existed so long, and that successive Generals could, without making the strongest remonstrances, have seen their wretched soldiers, either with a broken bone or a violent fever, squeezed into a blanket and carried by two of their comrades." It was not so in the Bengal Army; so Lord Cornwallis at once directed the deficiency to be supplied. Not long afterwards, it happened that an army surgeon was tried by court-martial, and convicted, of neglecting to dress the wounds and to take proper care of the Europeans who had been wounded at Seringapatam—"for which heinous breach

Cornwallis as a
Commander.

orders were instantly issued to stop all working in the trenches. The words which spread such a gloom over the army, by disappointing, not so much their hopes of gain, as of revenge, were these: 'Lord Cornwallis has great pleasure in announcing to the army that preliminaries of peace have been settled between the Confederate power and Tippoo Sultan.' But the young critic

presently adds: "So much good sense and military skill has been shown in the conduct of the war, that I have little doubt that the peace has been made with equal judgment." His natural leanings, however, towards the more vigorous course of action were too strong to be altogether repressed, and he soon broke out again into the language of doubt and reproach.

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of duty," said Lord Cornwallis, in a general order, "and offence against the strongest and most affecting ties of humanity, which forcibly plead in every generous breast in favour of men who have shed their blood in the cause of their country, he is condemned only to be suspended from his rank and pay in the service for eight months, and to be reprimanded in public orders." "It is incumbent upon Lord Cornwallis," continues the order, "to show that he sets a higher value upon the lives and limbs of the soldiers than to expose them again to the hazard of falling under the charge of a man who has been guilty of such gross neglect. And he therefore declares to the army that he shall recommend it to the Governor of Fort St. George to continue Mr. —'s suspension until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known; and that he shall order the Paymaster to give no share to Mr. — of that gratuity which was obtained by the blood of those brave men, whom he afterwards suffered either to perish or to languish miserably for several weeks by an inhumanity which, by any person unacquainted with the evidence that was produced against him, would be scarcely credible."

It happened that the same court-martial sat in judgment upon an officer of one of the King's regiments, who had acted with great brutality towards a native of the country. The officer owed money to the poor man, and when he was asked for it, paid the debt, not in coin, but in blows. It is an old story—a common mode of requital, I am afraid, familiar to many generations. The man was sent back again, by order of the commanding officer, accompanied by the Adjutant of the regiment, and the debtor received him, "with the money that was due to him and the stick that was prepared to beat him lying on the same table," and administered a second correction to him, which "divided his ear." But the sympathies of the court were all with the white man, and he was acquitted as though this "new way to pay old debts" were quite in consonance with the acknowledged usages of officers and gentlemen. But Lord Cornwallis branded the man's conduct "as partaking both of ferocity and injustice, and no less unworthy of the manners of gentlemen than disgraceful to the character of officers;" and whilst severely censuring the

Court, and reminding it that "true humanity consists not in screening the guilty, but in protecting the innocent and redressing the injured," he told the culprit that if he should "persevere in the shameful practice of beating his creditors instead of paying them, he should not on a future occasion escape the punishment that such conduct deserves." Cruelty, whether active or passive, evincing itself in brutal outrages, or in negligence scarcely less brutal, filled him with measureless indignation.

But it was not only by words such as these, and by the due exercise of his authority, that he manifested his kindly and generous consideration for all who looked up to him for protection. He was a large-hearted man, capable of heroic self-sacrifice for the good of others. To go to India, in those days, was to go in quest of money. Large fortunes were rapidly made; and men returned to England to buy estates, and to found families. There were many ways to wealth in the last century, lawful and unlawful; honourable and dishonourable. Among the former—among the most lawful and the most honourable means of attaining wealth, the only lawful and honourable way of attaining it *per saltum*—was the acquisition of prize-money. If Lord Cornwallis had at one stroke added 50,000*l.* to his fortune, by receiving his "share" of the booty taken in the war, it would have been simply so much honourable gain, which the world would have said he fairly deserved. He was not a rich man. His estate, indeed, was scarcely adequate to the due maintenance of his title;* but he gave up to the army serving under him his own magnificent share of the prize-money as Commander-in-Chief; and General Medows, as second in command, followed his illustrious example.

The unqualified approval of the King and his Ministers was conveyed to him in the most flattering words and in the

* It should also be recorded that during the war he found his expenses far heavier than during peace, and was able to add little to his savings. "You will judge," he wrote to his brother, "from the savings of other years, that I must have been considerably out of pocket by the war when I tell you that I spent 27,860*l.* (reckoning the current

rupee at two shillings) between the 1st of December, 1790, and the 31st of July, 1792, besides the wine from England, and two Arabian horses, for which I am to give English hunters. The immaculate — understood making war in India better, or he would not have paid off the mortgage on one estate in Scotland, and bought another."

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most practical manner, for his services throughout the campaign. The King conferred a marquisate on Earl Cornwallis, and Mr. Pitt offered him the seals of one of the State Secretaryships on his return to England. He had, however, lived too much in the camp to qualify him for parliamentary statesmanship, and he doubted whether his want of skill and practice as a debater would not mar his utility as a member of the Cabinet. "I will freely own to you," he wrote to the great minister, "that if anything could induce me to come forward in a state of business and responsibility at home, it would be the allurements which would be held out to my vanity by being enrolled as a member of an administration, the uprightness of whose principles, and the wisdom and vigour of whose conduct, I so truly respect. I have, however, always been of opinion that no man, who has a regard for the consideration in which he is to stand with this country, should produce himself, even in the House of Lords, as an efficient member of the administration, without possessing such powers and habits of parliamentary debate as would enable him to do justice to a good cause, and defend his measures as well as those of his colleagues. This maxim of *orator fit*, which has produced so much bad speaking and so much *ennui* in the world, may be true in some instances; but he is not to be made *à quovis ligno*, and I should doubt whether the timber ought to undergo the seasoning of above half a century."* In this the extreme conscientiousness of the man was apparent. These considerations have not, in a later, and, it is said, a purer generation, deterred men, wanting in the power of expression, from accepting high office under the Crown. And I cannot help thinking that it would be a misfortune to the country if great administrative powers were, in all cases, subordinated to natural rhetorical gifts.

Civil administration.

On the return of Lord Cornwallis to Calcutta, it was his duty to gather up a number of official threads. It would have pleased him much better if the exigencies of war had never drawn him from Bengal, where all the energies of his mind were devoted to the completion of a great scheme of civil ad-

* Cornwallis Correspondence. Ross.

ministration. I have said elsewhere, that "Lord Cornwallis is the first Indian ruler who can properly be regarded as an administrator. Up to the time of his arrival, the English in India had been engaged in a great struggle for existence. Clive conquered the richest province of India. Hastings reduced it to something like order. But it was not until Cornwallis carried to that country the large-minded liberality of a benevolent English statesman, that our administrative efforts took shape and consistency, and the entire internal management of the country under our rule was regulated by a code of written laws (or regulations) intended to confer upon the natives of India the benefits of as much European wisdom and benevolence as was compatible with a due regard for the character of native institutions." Aided by Mr. Barlow, then secretary to Government—afterwards Provisional Governor-General, and for some years Governor of Madras, he drew up a code of laws, or as he, correcting the language of the secretary, called them "Regulations," now known to history as the Regulations of 1793, which have since been the basis of our civil administration of India. Sir William Jones, to whom the scheme was submitted, declared that it was worthy of Justinian, and another eminent English lawyer said that they were "worthy of every praise which can be bestowed upon them, and would do credit to any legislation of ancient or modern times."*

It is plainly beyond the scope of such a narrative as this to enter minutely into the details of the reforms which Lord Cornwallis introduced into the judicial and revenue systems of the country. The general principle on which the former were based was years afterwards so well described by the man who, of all others, was most competent to speak on the subject, in an autograph memorandum in my possession,† that I cannot do better than insert a portion of it. "Great misunderstandings," wrote Sir George Barlow, "have prevailed with regard to the new constitution for the civil government of the British possessions in India, established by the Marquis Cornwallis in 1793, and completed by his successor, Marquis Wellesley. The change did not consist in altera-

* Mr. Advocate-General (afterwards Sir William) Borloughs.

† It has been already quoted in a previous work by the present author.

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tions in the ancient customs and usages of the country, affecting the rights of person and property. It related chiefly to the giving security to those rights, by affording to our native subjects the means of obtaining redress against any infringement of them, either by the Government itself, its officers, or individuals of any character or description. . . . Lord Cornwallis made no innovations on the ancient laws and customs of the people. On the contrary, the main object of the constitution which he established was to secure to them the enjoyment of those laws and customs, with such improvement as times and circumstances might suggest. When he arrived in the country, the Government was, in fact, a pure despotism, with no other check but that which resulted from the character of those by whom the Government was administered. The Governor-General not only was the sole power for making all laws, but he exercised the power of administering the laws in the last resort, and also all the functions of the executive authority. The abuses to which such a system of government is liable, from corruption, negligence, and want of information, are too well known to require being particularised. It is, in fact, from the want of a proper distribution of these authorities in different hands that all abuses in government principally proceed. His Lordship's first step was to make it a fundamental law (1793) that all laws framed by the Government should be printed and published in the form prescribed by Regulation 43, and that the Courts of Judicature should be guided by the laws so printed and published, and no other. It had before been the practice to carry on the affairs of the Government, and those of individuals, by a correspondence by letter with all the subordinate officers."

The important Revenue measures which were introduced into Bengal during the administration of Lord Cornwallis, though necessarily occupying a large space in the history of his government, are so little akin to the general scheme and purport of this book, that any detailed account or discussion of them would be out of place. I think that, perhaps, the merit or the demerit of the great Zemindarry settlement has been assigned overmuch by some writers to the peculiar tastes and tendencies of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. James Mill, in his great history, has said that, "full of thé aristocratical

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But although these great administrative arrangements may be passed over thus briefly, something must be said in this place of the efforts which Lord Cornwallis made to secure their effective execution. "We have long been of opinion," he wrote, "that no system will ever be carried into effect so long as the personal qualifications of the individuals that may be appointed to superintend it form the only security for the due execution of it. The body of the people must feel and be satisfied of this security before industry will exert itself, or the moneyed men embark their capital in agricultural or commercial speculations. There are certain powers and functions which can never be vested in the same officers without destroying all confidence in the protection of the laws. This remark is particularly applicable to the various functions vested in the present Collectors." And upon these grounds it was resolved that all judicial powers should be withdrawn from the Collectors. Not only had the judicial and the fiscal offices been blended, but the former was altogether subordinated to the latter. The Collector "received no salary as Judge of the Court of Justice or as magistrate of the district. These two offices were considered as appendages to that of Collector, and the duties of the two former stood still whenever they interfered with those of the latter."* That the separation of the offices was an important administrative step, and tended much to the purity and efficiency of the service, is not to be doubted.

The reform of the military service of the country engaged also much of his attention during these last days of his rule, but it had been arranged between the Governor-General and the King's Government that the discussion of the subject should be deferred until Lord Cornwallis's return to England, and it was not, therefore, until November in the following year that he placed on record his views on this important subject, in an elaborate letter to Mr. Dundas, which contains the following suggestive passage: "As the above propositions not only secure a competent income to the military officers serving in India during the early periods of their service, but also the substantial advantage and gratification of an opening being made for their attaining high military rank, as well as

* Minute by Lord Cornwallis.

the indulgence of being enabled to visit Europe occasionally without relinquishing their pay, and the satisfaction of having it in their power to spend the latter part of their lives in their native country, either by retiring on their full pay, by selling their commissions, or by remaining in the service until they obtain the command and emoluments of a regiment. All ideas must be given up in the army of looking for perquisites or advantages in any shape whatever beyond the open and avowed allowances which shall be allotted to the respective ranks, and if any officer shall be detected in making such attempts, he ought to be tried by a general court-martial for behaving in a manner unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, and, if convicted, dismissed from the service." Nothing did more to improve the character of the officers of the Indian Army than this important reform.

He resigned his seat at the head of the Government to his old friend John Shore, who had come out with the appointment a short time before the date fixed for his Lordship's departure. Of all the servants of the Company he was the one whom Cornwallis would most warmly have welcomed as his successor; but it was his opinion that the Governor-Generalship should be reserved for men of high position in England, who had not been connected with Indian administration.* At one time Dundas himself had thought of going out to India to take the supreme direction, but he had the Company's new charter to carry through Parliament, so he could not leave England in time to relieve Lord Cornwallis. In conjunction with Pitt, therefore, he recommended Mr. Shore for the provisional appointment to the Governor-Generalship, with the understanding that if it was afterwards considered advisable to send out a statesman from home, Shore would

* "It is very difficult for a man to divest himself of the prejudices which the habits of twenty years have confirmed, and to govern people who have lived with him so long on a footing of equality. But the Company's servants have still greater obstacles to encounter when they become Governors, for the wretched policy of the Company has, till the late alterations took place in Bengal, invariably driven all their servants to the alternative of starving or of taking what was not their own; and

although some have been infinitely less guilty in this respect than others, the world will not tamely submit to be reformed by those who have practised it in the smallest degree. . . . A man of upright intentions, with ability and application, that would undertake this government for six or seven years, might do great things for the public, and save a considerable fortune for himself. If you cannot tempt such a man with these prospects, I have no effectual remedy to propose."

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take the second seat in Council. When he arrived, Cornwallis was agreeably surprised to find how much he had improved. "I have had the pleasure," he said, "since I wrote last, of receiving my friend Shore, whose mind is become much more enlarged, and whose sentiments are greatly improved by his visit to England."* And in one of the last letters he wrote from India, he assured his friend of his hearty support. So, hopeful of a bright future, he made his preparations for his final departure from Calcutta; and in the autumn of 1793 proceeded to Madras, where he was detained for some time, in consequence of the King's ship bearing the admiral's flag, in which he was to have been conveyed to England, having been compelled to go into dock at Bombay. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, as his military secretary wrote, "took his chance on the *Swallow*;" and sailed from Madras on or about the 10th of October, 1793.

So ended the first Cornwallis administration. It had embraced a period of seven years, during which much good work had been done both in the Camp and in the Council Chamber; and now, as he turned his face homeward, he thought with well-grounded pride and satisfaction of the great changes which had been wrought during his tenure of office, and, most of all, perhaps, of the improved character of the public service of our Indian Empire. If he did not make the military and the civil services of India altogether what they were in the last years of the Company, he so purified, elevated, and invigorated them, that there was no chance of their ever again relapsing into corruption or imbecility. A healthy progress from that time was ensured. It is scarcely too much, indeed, to say that but for the chastening influences of Cornwallis's good seven years' work, it would not have

* Marquis Cornwallis to Mr. Dundas, March 24, 1793.—(*Cornwallis Correspondence. Ross.*) To this Lord Cornwallis added: "He has been perfectly fair and good humoured about the Permanent Settlement, and his declaration that he will persevere in the present system of external management, and, above all, his approbation and resolution to support and enforce the late domestic arrangements, have afforded me the greatest satisfaction, and induce me to

hope that I shall have grounds to retract the opinion I before gave, and to admit him as an exception to my general rule. He did not appear to be in the least disappointed by my resolution to retain the government till August, but offered me his cordial assistance whenever I might wish to employ him." Shore was always of opinion that it was a mistake to make the Settlement permanent in the first instance. He would have commenced with a Decennial Settlement.

1794. cult and hazardous situation in the busy scene on the Continent."

These anticipations were soon fulfilled. Before the end of May, Lord Cornwallis had received the expected summons from the King's Government to proceed to Flanders. On the 2nd of June he landed at Ostend; but his mission was not a successful one. He had interviews with the Emperor of Austria at Brussels, but his Imperial Majesty was obdurate, and could not be induced to comply with the wishes of the British Government. Before the end of the month he was recalled to England; and was, on his arrival, in frequent communication with Pitt and Dundas on the subject of the prosecution of the war. "I have taken Lord Hertford's house in Lower Grosvenor-street," he wrote to his brother in July, "completely furnished, for one year, for six hundred guineas, which gives me time to look about me. My expedition has not been a profitable one, but my baggage, horses, and wine are returned; and I shall keep everything in readiness till the end of the war, that I may not be subject to another expensive equipment." It was then in contemplation to confer upon him the military command in Flanders, to counteract the incapacity of the Duke of York; but the appointment never took effect, and it was well for him that it did not, for it would have placed him in an anomalous and trying position, in which he might have acquitted himself with honour, but scarcely with success. It was, therefore, a great relief to him to find that the scheme was abandoned. "I should have been," he wrote to Mr. Dundas, "in the most embarrassing and dangerous situation possible, with every prospect of ruin to myself, and very little probability of rendering any essential service to my country." Indeed, he feared that the mere suggestion might have done him injury at Court. "I conclude I am now completely ruined at St. James's," he said. "Indeed, I could not be much worse than I was before; but that is a circumstance which will not disturb my rest, nor abate in the smallest degree my attachment and affection for the great personage from whom I have formerly received much favour and kindness."

He was now eager to escape into the country, but the critical situation of affairs on the Continent detained him in London till the beginning of September, when he betook him-

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in which it was possible a man could be placed, it so happened that I had no share in the last disastrous and disgraceful campaign. But still the prospect of public affairs is exceedingly gloomy, and the ruin which so imminently threatens my country, and all that are most dear to me, presents itself constantly in the most alarming colours to my imagination. Notwithstanding all this, and the great pressure of business which my office of Master-General of Ordnance has imposed upon me, I have sometimes talked to Mr. Dundas about our Regulations, and often to Beaufoy, and to the latter I have given a copy, with your observations, and as he has nothing to attend to but the business of the Board of Control, I have desired him most carefully to watch the correspondence, and not only to be on his guard to prevent any counteraction from design or ignorance, but to see that all instructions were in perfect unison with our general plan, and to consult me whenever he entertained the smallest doubts."

The following year (1796) still found him writing in the same strain. The critical state of affairs in Europe so occupied the minds of the King's Ministers, that they gave no heed to Indian affairs, and Cornwallis himself felt that he was powerless to interfere to any advantage. He was, at this time, disquieted by apprehensions that the system of civil administration, which he had introduced into India, would not be maintained inviolate, and he wrote to his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Barlow, encouraging him in the good work which they had both so deeply at heart. "I have received your letters to the 28th May," he wrote, on the 23rd of January, 1796, "and have read them with the enclosures with great attention, and with the warmest gratitude to you, both public and private, for upholding a system which is of such infinite consequence to the cause of humanity, as well as to the British interests in India, and which, without your powerful support, could never have been carried into useful effect. Sorry I am to say that I can render no further service than to endeavour to prevent mischief, for in the present critical situation of affairs, when we are surrounded by so many pressing difficulties and dangers, it is impossible to call the attention of Mr. Dundas and the principal members of administration to so remote and so peaceable a subject as the good government of

India ; and until we can obtain peace at home, I see no prospect of succeeding. At the same time, I must request that you will not be discouraged from persevering in a conduct which must reflect the highest honour on yourself, whilst it renders the most essential service to your country, and from which your benevolent mind will ever derive the most gratifying reflections. Whilst Mr. Beaufoy lived, I could by his help get some paragraphs prepared for approbation, but there is now no officer under the Board of Control that knows anything about India, or that can be a useful instrument to me in any respect. The department over which I preside keeps my hands full of business ; but if I had more leisure, I could not act from myself, or, *without invitation*, take a part in the official line of the Board. Mr. Dundas and I are, however, the best friends possible, and I have no doubt that when the present anxieties which occupy his mind are past, I shall obtain all reasonable attention."

But the time was now approaching when there was to be also a "critical state of affairs" in our Indian possessions. State of the Indian Army. The officers of the Bengal Army were on the brink of mutiny. They dreaded a serious invasion of their rights, and were banding, or, as it was said, "conspiring" together to maintain them. There was a scheme of "amalgamation" afloat, the result of which would have been seriously detrimental to the interests of the Company's officers, and they resisted it, in some instances, with an amount of vehemence not consistent with military discipline. Indeed, the excitement at one time was so great that a very little would have stirred the smouldering fire into a blaze. The state of affairs was alarming, and the alarm communicated itself to the Government in England. It was plainly necessary to do something. The something to be done took the shape of a peace mission from home. Some high officer of the Government was to go out to India, conciliatory but resolute, with the olive branch in one hand, and the *fasces* of the law in the other. But who was to proceed on this mission? The choice lay between Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, and Lord Cornwallis, the sometime Governor-General of India ; and for a while the probabilities of selection oscillated between the two. Mr. Dundas was more willing to go than Lord Corn-

1796—97. wallis ; but the Government, who probably thought also that the latter was the more fitting agent of the two, declared that the services of Dundas could not be spared in that conjuncture at home ; so most reluctantly Cornwallis accepted the mission, and forthwith began to make preparations for his voyage to India. “ You will, no doubt,” he wrote from Culford, to a friend in India, on the 31st of January, 1797, “ be much astonished at the news of my return to India, but my earnest solicitude for the welfare of my country, and my particular apprehensions lest our Asiatic possessions should either be torn from us, or rendered a useless and unprofitable appendage to the British Empire, have induced me to sacrifice every personal consideration, and to gratify the wishes of Government, and I may venture to say of the public at large, by coming forward again, at this late period of my life, to endeavour to restore our affairs in India to the prosperous state in which I left them. As I am not quite certain that Scott or Robinson may be at the Presidency, I have thought it more safe to address myself to you, to request that you will apply to them, or, in their absence, to some friend who will undertake the commission, to provide for me against my arrival three good and quiet saddle-horses, such as Robinson or Scott, or those who were in the habit of riding with me, may judge to be likely to suit me. I shall likewise want a set of servants for the house upon a similar plan to the establishment I formerly had. The Consomah who was before with me was a good man. I shall also want a palanquin, a phaeton, and a good coach, or chariot, with six carriage-horses, two of which must be very quiet and proper for the phaeton. I shall bring my successor out with me, and I shall hope that the object of my mission may be attained in about a twelvemonth, as you will easily conceive that a long residence in India will not suit me. It is not probable that any person will come out with me except Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan, of the Bengal establishment, and one aide-de-camp ; you will oblige me, therefore, if you could, on my arrival, point out any young man who would act as my private secretary in Haldane’s situation, and take a degree of superintendence of my household. I think if Mr. Phillips is settled in Calcutta, and not engaged in commercial concerns, that he would be a proper person.”

But this special mission to India belongs only to the "History of Events that never happened." The danger subsided, and with it the alarm. The officers of the Company's army, under sedative assurances, and satisfying concessions, began to return to their allegiance, and it was not necessary to apply the special remedies, of which I have spoken, to a disease which was dying out by itself. Instead of Lord Cornwallis going out to India as Governor-General, with his successor in his train, Lord Mornington was selected to be Governor-General in succession to Sir John Shore. The change delighted Lord Cornwallis. At the call of his King and his country, he was ready to go to India—as he would have gone anywhere, under a strong sense of duty—but he thankfully withdrew from the mission when he was no longer bound by these loyal considerations to undertake it. He had faith in the young statesman who had been selected for office; and he saw him depart with pleasure.

"When the shameful conduct of the Bengal officers," he wrote to Mr. Barlow, in October, "threatened India with immediate ruin, and it was thought that my services might be of consequence, I did not refuse to come forward. The business of my instructions was ill-managed here, and the favourable turn of affairs in Bengal rendered my presence less necessary. It is not wonderful, therefore, that I should avail myself of so fair an excuse to decline an arduous task, which, from untoward circumstances, I should have undertaken with peculiar disadvantage. Lord Mornington, your new Governor-General, is a man of very considerable abilities, and most excellent character. I have known him from his childhood, and have always lived on the most friendly habits with him. He goes out with the best and purest dispositions. He is an enthusiast for the preservation of that plan of government which, without your powerful assistance, could never have been either formed or maintained. His Lordship has no private views, nor a wish to do anything but what is for the public good; and I have taken upon myself to answer that you will have no reserve with him, either in regard to men or measures. Having assured you that Lord Mornington thinks exactly as I do both about India and yourself, I have only to add my sincere good wishes for your health and prosperity, and to ex-

The new
Governor-
General.

1798. press my hopes that when our dangers are over, we may meet happily in this country."

And now we come to an epoch in the great and varied career of Lord Cornwallis, which, though to the general student of English history more interesting than any other, is the one of which most has been written by others, and of which I am least called upon to write. In a time of the greatest trouble and difficulty he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. Mr. Pitt said that, in accepting the office, Cornwallis had "conferred the most essential obligation on the public which it can, perhaps, ever receive from the services of any individual." For it was one of those situations in which no virtue and no wisdom can preserve a man wholly from reproach. He had to combat a great rebellion, and in combating it he was as merciful as he was resolute and courageous. But it was a necessity of his position in such a conjuncture that, in the eyes of some, he should have done too much, and that in the eyes of others he should have done too little. Of all the posts which he ever held, this was the one the tenure of which was least gratifying to his feelings. "The violence of our friends," he wrote to General Ross, "and their folly in endeavouring to make it a religious war, added to the ferocity of our troops, who delight in murder, most powerfully counteract all plans of conciliation. The life of a Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland comes up to my idea of perfect misery; but if I can accomplish the great object of consolidating the British Empire, I shall be sufficiently repaid." And again, soon afterwards, to the same correspondent: "Of all the situations which I ever held, the present is by far the most intolerable to me, and I have often within the same fortnight wished myself back in Bengal." One of his troubles was the Irish Militia, who had all the characteristic cruelty of cowards. "The Irish Militia," wrote Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, "are totally without discipline, contemptible before the enemy when any serious resistance was made to them, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches either with or without arms come within their power; in short, murder appears to be their favourite pastime." The intemperate language of the ultra-loyalists was another source of inquietude to him. "The

minds of people are now in such a state," he wrote to the Duke of Portland, "that nothing but blood will satisfy them; and, although they will not admit the term, their conversation and conduct point to no other mode of concluding this unhappy business than that of extirpation." There were others whose tendencies were towards the opposite extreme; but Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to steer a middle course, and when he wrote to the Duke of Leinster, saying: "I hope and trust that to every candid mind the system of my government will appear conciliatory and moderate; but if I were to insult the feelings of the loyal, and to protect the characters and properties of those who attempted to destroy them, such conduct would not be called moderation, but criminal weakness"—I think when he said this he expressed a well-grounded confidence in the success of his measures, and in the rectitude of principle which inspired them. 1799—1801.

Engaged in these great measures, firstly of suppression and then of conciliation, Lord Cornwallis remained at his post in Ireland up to the end of May, 1801. He had not much leisure to think of India, but a letter from Lord Wellesley, announcing the conquest of Mysore and the death of Tippoo Sultan, for a while revived his old interest in the country which he had so long governed. "This is, indeed, a great event," he wrote to General Ross, "and perfectly secures us in that part of the world; for I think, even if Zeman Shah could get to India, that he could not succeed when deprived of the co-operation of Tippoo." Soon afterwards the gratifying intelligence came to him that the army which had taken Seringapatam, not less mindful, perhaps, of his personal generosity, in foregoing his prize-money, than of his military exploits in the first Mysore war, had voted him an address, and presented him with the sword and turban of Tippoo. He was sometimes appealed to in matters connected with Indian government, and his interposition was sought, but he was unwilling to interfere, and he was personally reluctant to place himself in opposition to Mr. Dundas, who, he said, had behaved to him "in a more fair and friendly manner than any other member of the Cabinet." 1801.

Lord Cornwallis, as I have said, crossed the Channel at the end of May, 1801, but the blessing of repose was not then

1801—1802.

The Peace of
Amiens.

within his reach. A French invasion was at that time expected, and he was placed in command of the Eastern division of the army—"eight weak regiments of militia," as he said, "and two regiments of dragoons." "In our wooden walls alone," he wrote, a day or two afterwards, "must we place our trust; we should make a sad business of it on shore." But instead of an invasion, there was peace. And Lord Cornwallis was selected to be the British Plenipotentiary who was to proceed to Amiens to negotiate the treaty with Napoleon. On the 3rd of November, 1801, he crossed over to Calais. On the 18th of November he wrote to his friend Barlow, in Calcutta, saying: "I have been so constantly occupied, and my mind has been so much agitated by the critical state of public affairs, and the very important part which I was obliged to take in the great questions of the Union, and the privileges proposed to be granted to the Catholics of Ireland, that I could attend to no other matters. On my return to England, on the change of administration, where I expected (after winding up the Irish business, and pacifying those who had claims for services in the Union contest) to retire and enjoy some quiet, I was called upon, in consequence of the serious preparations which the French were making to invade us, to accept the command in the Eastern District, and by the date of this letter you will see that I have now undertaken to put the finishing hand to the work of peace, which was most ardently desired by the nation, and which appeared to me to be necessary for the preservation of our country. . . . The Definitive Treaty will, I hope, be concluded in a few weeks. Bonaparte has, for the present, tranquillised France. The people are kept in excellent order: would to God that the discontented in England could see the *state of liberty* which this country, so much the object of their envy, enjoys! All persons here speak with horror of the Revolution."

At last it seemed that the long-coveted season of repose was really at hand. The peace of Amiens was concluded; and Lord Cornwallis returned to England, and betook himself to the country. "For a long time past," he wrote from Brome, in September, 1802, to the same correspondent, "I have been out of the way of knowing what was going forward respecting India, and it was not until Lord Castlereagh called on me last

1804.

1804, putting the whole case in a few pregnant sentences: "By the last accounts from India, affairs appear to be in a most prosperous state. You have dictated the terms of peace, and have obtained every possession in India that could be desired. The question here from many persons is, Have we not too much? But I hardly know, when the power was in our hands, what part of our acquisitions we could prudently have relinquished." He little thought, when he wrote this, that out of the state of things that had then arisen in India, there was growing up that which in a very little time would draw him again from his retirement, and compel him to go forth once more with the harness on his back. But so it was. Lord Wellesley had been playing the great game with such success, that he had brought our Indian Empire to the very verge of bankruptcy. And the game was not yet played out. What, then, was to be done? Lord Wellesley was ambitious. Lord Wellesley was insubordinate. The advisers in whom he most trusted counselled him not to throw up the cards. But there was no money even to carry on the Trade; for the war engulfed every rupee. To the Directors in Leadenhall-street the crisis of ruin appeared to be imminent. They stood aghast at the prospect before them. It was necessary to do something—and that speedily. Nothing but a change of government would suffice to meet the difficulties of the case. Orders might be sent to India; but it was one thing to draft instructions, another to secure obedience to them. It had been arranged that Sir George Barlow should succeed Lord Wellesley in the Governor-Generalship. But Barlow was a member of Lord Wellesley's Government; and the Court of Directors were, therefore, alarmed at the thought of his succession. The King's Ministers concurred in opinion with the Company that it was desirable to send out an English statesman with no leanings towards the prosecution of the war—a safe man, moderate but resolute, and if clothed with the authority of a great foregone career, so much the better. It was only in the common course of things that the thoughts of the Government should have turned at once to Lord Cornwallis. There was a difficulty—an emergency—and again they turned to the old quarter for help.

What followed may be told in the words of Lord Cornwallis. Writing from Culford, on January 6th, 1805, to Sir George Barlow, he said: "I can hardly figure to myself the astonishment which you must feel at hearing that I am again returning to the station of Governor-General, and, lest you should suppose that I can in the smallest degree have altered my sentiments with regard to yourself, and have ceased to think you capable of discharging the duties of that office to your own credit, and to the honour and advantage of the Company and of your country, I take the earliest opportunity that offers to explain to you in a few words the circumstances which have produced this extraordinary event. You will recollect that in the course of last year I informed you that Lord Wellesley's neglect and contemptuous treatment of the Court of Directors was exceedingly embarrassing to the King's Government at home. A line of conduct on his part somewhat similar has of late extended itself to that very Government, and his Majesty's Ministers have been liable to be called upon to account for measures of great importance, of the causes of which they were totally ignorant, although opportunities had offered for communication. I shall enter no further into these matters, but pass over to what immediately concerns yourself and my appointment. A few weeks ago Lord Castlereagh came down to this place, and after some previous conversation about India, informed me that the dissatisfaction of the Court of Directors with the conduct of Lord W. had risen to such a height, that it was absolutely necessary that he should be desired to leave the Government, that Ministers were very uneasy at the present state of matters, and expressed the earnest wish of his Majesty's confidential servants, that I would for a short time take the direction of affairs in that country. I answered, that I had not been in the habit of refusing my services, whenever they might be thought useful, but that I was too old for such an undertaking, and I felt it to be the more unnecessary, as the person named for the succession to the Government was, in my opinion, more capable of making a satisfactory arrangement than myself. He then informed me that the appointment of any Company's servant to the Government-General

1804—1805. was *at this moment* out of the question ; and in the particular case alluded to, it was the more impossible, as the Court of Directors could by no means be brought to consent to the succession of a member of Lord Wellesley's Government. After some discussion upon this subject, I proposed to undertake the present mission, provided that on my leaving the country I could be assured that you were to succeed me. Lord Castlereagh declared that an assurance of that kind was not to be expected, and could only say that my going would open the only chance for your succession. Unemployed as I have long been, and appeared likely to remain, in the line of my profession, and, in its present state, useless to my own family, I have consented to take the rash step of returning to India, by which, if I should ultimately be the means of placing the charge of our Asiatic Empire in your hands, I shall feel that I have rendered an essential service to my country."

Truly was it a hazardous duty, which he had thus undertaken at the age of sixty-five. There was nothing for which he longed more than for rest. He had an ample store of honour—he had an ample store of wealth. It was intended that he should sojourn only for a little while in India, and he could add but little, therefore, to either store. The service, indeed, upon which he was going, was an unpopular and a thankless one. He was going upon a service of peace and retrenchment. Many private interests were likely to suffer grievously by the course of severe economy on which he was about to enter ; and people, in such a case, rarely discriminate between the authors and the agents of the measures which injuriously affect them. War is always popular in India ; and there was scarcely a man in the two services, from the veteran warrior Lake, to the boy-civilian Metcalfe, who did not utterly abhor and vehemently condemn the recreant policy of withdrawing from the contest before the great game had been played out. It is scarcely possible to conceive a mission less attractive than that on which the fine old soldier now set out, leaving behind him all that he held most dear, because he felt that it was his duty to go. It has been said that he "caught with the enthusiasm, which belongs to good and great minds, at the prospect of performing one more important service to his country before he died ;" and that he

1805.

gulf which lay between the old policy and the new, so as to mitigate as much as possible the evils of an abrupt and violent transition—to make the new ruler thoroughly understand the measures of the old, and to reconcile the old to the measures of the new. In this he succeeded with wonderful address. The fact is, that Lord Wellesley had already begun to see plainly that it was wholly impossible to play the great game any longer with an exhausted treasury, and with our credit at the lowest ebb.*

Last days.

Attended by some of the chief officers of the Secretariat, and by the members of his own personal Staff, Lord Cornwallis embarked on board his state-pinnace, and proceeded up the river. But it was very soon apparent that he was breaking down. Day by day the executive officers who attended him saw that he was growing more feeble, and that sustained labour was becoming a greater difficulty and a greater pain. There were times when he could converse clearly and forcibly on the state of public affairs, and communicate to his chief secretary, Mr. Edmonstone, the instructions which he wished to be conveyed to the leading functionaries, civil and military, in different parts of the country; but at others he was wholly incapable of holding the helm, and the orders which went

* At the commencement of a memorandum before me in the handwriting of Sir George Barlow, I find it written: "With a view of giving to Lord Cornwallis a correct view of the arrangements which Lord Wellesley had it in contemplation to make with Scindiah respecting the territories conquered from him in Hindostan, Sir George Barlow drew up a letter on the subject addressed to Lord Cornwallis. This letter was dated the 7th of August, 1805, at which time both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Wellesley were present at Calcutta, the latter waiting only the completion of the arrangements for his embarkation for England. Previous to sending this letter to Lord Cornwallis, he enclosed the draft to Marquis Wellesley, who returned it with a note in his own handwriting in the margin. This note Sir George Barlow incorporated with the [] paragraph of his letter numbered 26, and then sent the fair draft to Lord Cornwallis. This letter affords evidence (which must supersede whatever has

appeared at variance with it) that it was Lord Wellesley's intention, whatever might be his immediate impressions on the subject, to renew our alliances and connexions with the petty states in the north-west of India as soon as (but not before) *he had come to a settlement with Dowlut Row Scindiah*. A lasting peace with Scindiah was the paramount consideration in his Lordship's mind, and there is every presumption that he would not have allowed any fanciful theories of supposed advantages from taking all these petty states under our protection as allies to have interfered with the great objects to be accomplished by a permanent and satisfactory peace with Scindiah. It is probable that when he had come to a full knowledge of the gross misconduct of the Rajah of Jergnagur, he would not, as was the case with Sir George Barlow, have allowed his interests to have stood in the way of the conclusion of that arrangement."

forth in his name, though based upon the sentiments which he had been able to express at intervals, were never supervised by him. I have before me the daily bulletins of the Governor-General's health, written by his private secretary, Mr. George Robinson,* to Sir George Barlow, throughout the whole of September up to the hour of Cornwallis's death. It is obvious that at the beginning of the former month little hope was entertained of his final recovery, for he frequently, in the mornings, fell into fits, attended sometimes with convulsions, and more frequently with deadly chills; and although he improved as the day advanced, and gained some strength under the influence of stimulants, it was plain that his vigour was gone, and that he was gradually sinking. The actual disease which had developed itself was dropsy; but his medical attendants were more fearful of the results of general debility, of which this specific complaint may have been more a consequence than a cause. And for many hours together there was often extreme languor, and then a sudden outburst of unexpected physical and intellectual vigour. Mr. Edmonstone received his political instructions whenever he was capable of issuing them; and though there was a varying amount of clearness and distinctness in them, it was plain that he always thoroughly comprehended the question under consideration. About the middle of the month there were apparent symptoms of improvement; but it was considered advisable, as the pinnacle laboured up the river, that, although it might on some accounts be advantageous that the Governor-General should be landed, it would, on the whole, be better that he should remain on board, to escape the fatigue and distraction of deputations and addresses, which would pour in at different points, if it were known that he was on shore. As the month advanced, there were very manifest fluctuations, which sometimes encouraged his friends to hope that he might yet rally; but towards the close of it these favourable anticipations ceased, and it was necessary to send for Sir George Barlow to take up the reins of government. On the 1st of October, Mr. Robinson wrote to him, saying that he feared the hopes they had encouraged were delusive, "for Lord Cornwallis," he added, "has had a very restless night, attended

* Afterwards Sir George Robinson.

1805.

with a considerable difficulty in breathing, and though he perseveres in not taking to his bed entirely, and probably will do so to the last, I feel no confidence in his existence being prolonged even from hour to hour, so extremely feeble and weak is he become. Yet in this state, his anxiety for the accomplishment of those objects to which his valuable life will ultimately fall a sacrifice, adheres to him still; he is impatient of detention here, speaks of the impropriety of delays, has inquired after Edmonstone, and asked whether any news was received to-day from Malcolm. I have no idea, however, that he can survive to the period of your arrival, and in his present weak state I cannot say I wish he should, as it could only wound your feelings, as much as it does ours, to see him in a condition which precludes all rational hope of a recovery. I shall watch, however, his most conscious moments, and many such occur through the day, to tell him that you entirely concur in all the principal points of the plan, submitted by way of outline at first, but subsequently put into the form of official instructions to Lord Lake, for a final arrangement with Scindiah; and if anything can afford him satisfaction, I think the assurance of this will." On the 3rd, the report was that the Governor-General was growing weaker and weaker; and on the 5th of October it was announced that, at a quarter past seven on the evening of that day, "our most revered friend quitted the world without pain or struggle." He seemed to have died from absolute exhaustion.

And so passed away one of the best and most blameless men that have ever devoted their lives to the service of their country. He was not inspired by any lofty genius, but in no man, perhaps, in the great muster-roll of English Heroes, can it truly be said that there were more serviceable qualities, more sterling integrity, and a more abiding sense of Public Duty. For Duty he lived and he died. I do not know in the whole range of our history a more reliable man—a man who in his time was more trusted for the safe performance of duties of a very varied character. But, as I have said at the outset of this sketch, I have selected his life for illustration because no man did more to purify the public services of India, and to make the writing of such a book as this a privilege and a pleasure to the biographer.

SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

[BORN 1769.—DIED 1833.]

A SHORT hour's walk from the thriving little town of 1769. Langholm, in Dumfries-shire, there lived and toiled an in-^{Birth and} dustrious farmer, named George Malcolm, who cultivated an ^{parentage.} estate known as "Burnfoot," and lived there, on the beautiful banks of the Esk, surrounded by a fine family of children at that time far from complete. He was a man of more than common enlightenment for his station, for he had been trained for the Church, and, better still, of sterling integrity of character. His wife, too—a member of the Pasley family—was a woman excellent in all domestic relations, and of intelligence of a high order. As they dwelt together there, at Burnfoot, on the 2nd of May, 1769, a fourth son was born unto them, who in due course was christened John. It happened that on the very day before there came into the world one who was afterwards one of John Malcolm's closest friends, and the greatest man of the age in which he lived—Arthur Wesley, or Wellesley, known to a later generation as the Duke of Wellington—the "Great Duke."*

I have no passion for the discovery of juvenile phenomena. I do not know that John Malcolm differed much from other healthy, robust, intelligent boys, such as swarm in all parts of our country. He was very good at "padding in the burn," from which the name of the paternal estate was derived. Perhaps he was rather prone towards mischief, and not as industrious as could have been wished. He was rather given to the bad habit of putting off the learning of his lessons until he was fairly on the start for the parish school, when he trudged

* Napoleon the First was born in the same year.

1780.
Early educa-
tion.

up the hill book in hand, and eye intent on the page. The schoolmaster used to say, when any wild pranks of mysterious origin had been committed, "Jock's at the bottom of it." There was not always good evidential proofs of this, but worthy Archibald Graham had ever a strong conviction of the fact, and solemnly enunciated his belief that Jack, who was indeed the scapegrace, perhaps the scapegoat, of the family, was profoundly "at the bottom of it"—deep in amidst the mud, not of the transparent Esk, but of some slough imagined by the worthy preceptor of Westerkirk.*

It is not forbidden to us to believe that Promotion cometh from the North. In those days an astonishing amount of patronage fell upon the striving inhabitants of Scotland and the Border. It may seem strange that a yeoman of Dumfriesshire should have the power of providing, in all the finest services open to the nation, one after another, for a number of brave, clever Eskdale boys. But so it was. Robert, the eldest, had permission from the East India Company to go out to shake the pagoda-tree, as a member of their Civil Service. James, the second son (afterwards Sir James), received a commission in the Marines. For the third son, Pulteny (afterwards Admiral Sir Pulteny), a midshipman's berth was provided. And John, as soon as he was old enough, was set down for the Company's military service. He was only eleven years old when his father received, through the Johnstones of Alva, an offer of an appointment in the Indian Army; but John was then too young to go abroad. Soon afterwards, however, his uncle, John Pasley, a thriving merchant, carried him up to London, and was anxious, above all things, to qualify him to "pass at the India House." But the good uncle, in November, 1781, wrote that, although tall of his age, Johnny would certainly not pass. In this he was altogether wrong. The experiment was made. John Malcolm went up, nothing daunted, before an august assemblage of Directors. They were pleased by his juvenile appearance and his good looks, and one of them said, "My little man, what would you do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?" "Do!" said

* Mr. Graham lived to see his old pupil recognised by the world both as a man of thought and a man of action. Malcolm is said to have sent him a copy of the "History of Persia," with "Jock's at the bottom of it" written on the title-page.

1784—90. commissioned officer and his own master at an age when, in England, boys were commonly subjected to the discipline of the flogging-block—that if he did not at first make use of his liberty and his pseudo-manhood in the most virtuous and forbearing manner, there is nothing very surprising in the failure. He was assailed by many temptations, and, being of a frank, open, unsuspecting nature, he went astray before he knew whither he was tending. He was generous, open-hearted, and open-handed. He got into debt, and suffered for it. He did not, as some are wont to do in such an extremity; he did not wipe out old obligations by incurring new. But he set to work right manfully to extricate himself. He stinted and starved; and it is recorded of him that an old native woman in the regimental bazaar, taking compassion upon his youth, implored him to receive supplies from her, to be paid for at his convenience. For this act of kindness and humanity he was ever grateful; and it did not merely take the shape of words, for, in after days, he settled a pension on her for the rest of her life.

Soon better days began to dawn upon him. He was contrite, and confessed his errors; and he wrote home that he was afraid his parents would think that all their good advice had been quite thrown away upon him. "I must own, to my shame," he said, "that you had too much reason to think so. All that I now expect is, that my friends will forget the past part of my conduct." And from that time (1788) he never relapsed, but went forward steadily to the great goal of honourable success.

The war
with Tipoo.

A life of active service was now before him. The peace was at an end. Tipoo had broken it by ravaging the country of our ally, the Rajah of Travancore, and Lord Cornwallis had taken the field against him. Of the events of the two campaigns which followed I have spoken in the preceding Memoir. The regiment to which John Malcolm was attached was ordered to co-operate with the troops of the Nizam. On this service he was exposed to great hardships, and first learnt the realities of Indian war. There was little resistance, however, to the progress of our troops until they came to Copoulee. There he saw how a strong Indian fortress may resist for months the fire of European artillery. For six months

1791.

entries, scattered over a large collection of manuscript books, may be seen at how early a period he formed, and how consistently he clung to, the opinions of that best school of Indian statesmanship of which he lived to be one of the greatest teachers. He was only a subaltern in a Sepoy regiment when he wrote: "An invariable rule ought to be observed by all Europeans who have connexions with the natives of India—never to practise any art or indirect method of gaining their end, and, from the greatest occasion to the most trifling, to keep sacred their word. This is not only their best but their wisest policy. By this conduct they will observe a constant superiority in all their transactions; but when they act a different part—when they condescend to meet the smooth-tongued Mahomedan or the crafty Hindoo with the weapons of flattery, dissimulation, and cunning, they will of a certainty be vanquished."

I have said that it was John Malcolm's great ambition to obtain an appointment in the Political Department. After a while, he thought that he saw an opening. A subordinate post was vacant; he applied for it, and was just half an hour too late. It had been bestowed upon another young officer. His disappointment and vexation were great. He went back to his tent, flung himself down on his couch, and gave way to a flood of tears. But he lived, as many a man before and since has lived, to see in his first crushing miscarriage the crowning mercy of his life. The officer who carried off the prize so coveted by John Malcolm, went straight to his death. On his first appearance at the Native Court, at which he was appointed an assistant to the Resident, he was murdered. This made a deep impression at the time on Malcolm's mind, and was ever afterwards gratefully remembered. He often spoke of it in later days, as an illustration of the little that man knows of what is really for his good, and he taught others, as he himself had learnt, never to repine at the accidents and mischances of life, but to see in all the hand of an all-merciful Providence working benignly for our good.

1792.

First staff
appointment.

In God's time, however, that which he sought came; and John Malcolm received his first appointment. "I served," he wrote many years afterwards, "as a regimental officer, with European and Native corps (without ever having one week's

1795—96. did not last long. General Clarke was transferred to the chief command of the army in Bengal, and there were circumstances which prevented him from appointing John Malcolm to the military secretaryship in that Presidency. But though his old master was gone, the office which he had held was not lost to him also, for Sir Alured Clarke's successor invited Malcolm to remain as his Secretary and Interpreter. The Colonel Harris of the preceding Memoir, who had served on the Staff of General Medows, was now General Harris, Commander-in-Chief and temporarily Governor of Madras;* and he was glad to receive Malcolm into his house, and to welcome him as a member of his family.

In this situation John Malcolm was sufficiently happy; but the personal staff of a Commander-in-Chief, or even of a Governor, or Governor-General, afforded no great scope for the development of his powers, and he still longed for employment in the diplomatic line of the service. His next advancement, however, was in the military direction, for he was appointed Town-Major of Madras—in those days, an honourable and a lucrative office. But his hopes were about speedily to be realised, in a manner wholly unexpected. Lord Wellesley—then Lord Mornington—went out to India as Governor-General, and, on his way to Calcutta, touched at Madras. There he made the acquaintance of John Malcolm, by that time a captain in the army, who sent his Lordship some reports which he had drawn up, on our relations with the native states of India, especially the state of Hyderabad in the Deccan. The result was, that soon after his arrival in Bengal, the Governor-General offered him an appointment as assistant to the Resident at the Nizam's Court; so, without loss of time, Captain Malcolm proceeded to the chief city of the Deccan, and was soon in the thick of an exciting political contest.

Political employment.

At the Court of Hyderabad the French had for some time been making effectual progress. French officers had disciplined, and now commanded, several battalions of the Nizam's troops.

* Colonel Harris had gone home with Sir William Medows at the end of the first Mysore war, but had returned to India at the end of 1794 to rejoin his regiment in Calcutta. Soon afterwards he was appointed commandant of Fort

William, but lost his command on promotion to the rank of Major-General. He was about to return home, when he received an intimation that he had been appointed Commander-in-Chief at Madras.

“Assignments of territory,” it has been said, “had been made for their payment. Foundries were established under competent European superintendence. Guns were cast. Muskets were manufactured. Admirably disciplined and equipped, Raymond’s levies went out to battle with the colours of revolutionary France floating above them, and the Cap of Liberty engraved on their buttons.” Such a state of things could not be suffered to endure, on the eve of a great war with Tippoo; so Lord Wellesley determined to make a bold stroke for the destruction of the French force at Hyderabad. The consent of the Nizam was obtained; but it was still necessary to do it by a *coup d’état*, for which the British must be responsible. There was a considerable body of British troops at no great distance from the Residency, and with these Kirkpatrick, the Resident, and his assistant, Malcolm, determined to accomplish their object. Fortunately, it happened that at the critical moment the troops were mutinying against their officers, because they were in arrears of pay, and had made a prisoner of their French commandant. Malcolm was sent down to allay the tumult; but the crowd would not listen to him. They said that they would treat him as they had treated their own officers. And they were about to lay violent hands upon him, when some Sepoys of the French battalion, who had formerly been in the Company’s Army, and served in John Malcolm’s regiment, recognised him, and remembering many old kindnesses done to them by their English officer, went at once to the rescue. They lifted him up above the crowd, and bore him on their heads to a place of safety, out of the reach of the exasperated mob of mutinous Sepoys.

How the French corps was afterwards dispersed, without the shedding of a drop of blood, is a matter of history, on which, however interesting, I cannot afford to enlarge. It was Malcolm’s first great lesson in the stirring business of that “political department,” whose concerns often savour more of war than of diplomacy, and are more peril-laden than the fiercest conflicts in the field. But the Governor-General had summoned him to Calcutta; and, the French corps dispersed, he set out with all possible speed to join the Vice-Regal Court in the great City of Palaces. He carried with him, as a palpable embodiment of success, the colours of the annihilated

1798—99.

French battalions. At the capital, he was warmly welcomed. The Governor-General—no mean judge of character—saw at once that he was a man to be trusted and to be employed. In truth, this meeting with Lord Wellesley was the turning-point of John Malcolm's career. From that day his future was made. He found in the Governor-General a statesman after his own heart; and Lord Wellesley listened attentively to all that was said by the political assistant, because he found in John Malcolm's ready words fit and forcible expression of the opinions which were taking shape in his mind.

The Mysore
war.

Eager for action, the young Governor-General, on his first arrival in India, had contemplated the immediate renewal of the war with Tippoo, and had directed the authorities of Madras at once to commence hostilities. Mr. Webbe, whom the Duke of Wellington afterwards described as one of the ablest and honestest men he ever knew, was Chief Secretary. He knew what were the resources of the Government better than any man in the country; he knew that there was an empty treasury and an army on a peace establishment; and he was so startled by the announcement that the Governor-General purposed at once to plunge into war with so powerful an enemy as Tippoo, that he declared he could see nothing in the prospect but the most shocking disasters to our arms and the impeachment of Lord Mornington for his temerity. General Harris, with the true instinct of the soldier, prepared at once to obey orders, and said that he would use his own funds for the purpose, to the last rupee, if there was no money in the Treasury. But he strongly protested against the immediate commencement of hostilities, as something hazardous in the extreme; and the Governor-General had consented to pause. There was then a season of active preparation; and when Malcolm reached Calcutta, he learnt that there was no thought of further delay. The disarming of the French corps at Hyderabad had removed not the least of our difficulties, for there was hope now of effective assistance from the Nizam. The want of money had been a grievous stumbling-block; but what the public treasury could not supply, private patriotism and liberality readily advanced. The Governor-General set the example by subscribing a lakh and twenty thousand rupees towards a new loan—an example which was

nobly followed by a large number of European and native money-holders ; and so, from private sources, within a short time, a considerable sum was raised to defray the expenses of the war. Thus treasure was found. Stores of all kinds had been collected ; carriage had been drawn from every part of the country ; and the scattered components of the Coast Army gathered into one effective whole, well organised, well equipped, and well commanded.

The time had now come when the personal presence of the Governor-General at Madras was needed, either to negotiate peace or to expedite war ; so at the end of the year, Lord Mornington, accompanied by Malcolm and others, sailed for Madras to meet the new Governor, Lord Clive, and to take counsel with him and the Commander-in-Chief. He found those two authorities acting zealously and harmoniously together. He had great confidence in Harris, and he at once offered him the command of the expedition. But, with rare modesty, the General mistrusting his own powers, suggested the expediency of placing the chief conduct of operations in the more experienced hands of Sir Alured Clarke. The Governor-General recommended him not hastily to decline a command which might lead him to fame and fortune, but to take a night to consider well, and to weigh against each other, all the consequences of the acceptance or rejection of such an offer, and to announce his decision on the morrow. On the following morning, when he went in to Lord Mornington, the cheerfulness of his countenance rendered words unnecessary, and, before he had spoken, the Governor-General had congratulated Harris on his decision, and commended his wisdom in accepting the command.*

For Malcolm himself, employment had been marked out, and of a kind to demand all his energies. He was appointed to accompany the Hyderabad troops, which, in accordance with our engagements with the Nizam, were to cooperate with the British Army in the invasion of Mysore and the assault of Seringapatam. In effect, this political superintendence was little less than the military command of the Nizam's force, and he hastened to join the Head-quarters of the Allies, assured that there was stirring work before them.

* Lushington's Life of Harris.

1799.

It was no easy matter to enforce discipline among a body of Sepoys, large numbers of whom had belonged to the old French corps; so Malcolm was not surprised that one of his first duties was to quell a dangerous mutiny that threatened to turn the Nizam's army into a vast rabble. He accomplished this hazardous work with a mixture of courage and address, which won the admiration of the Nizam's commander, Meer Allum, and of another far greater man. The British subsidiary force, which had marched at the same time from Hyderabad, had consisted wholly of Company's Sepoys. But afterwards it was considered advisable to attach an European regiment to this force, and his Majesty's 33rd Regiment, then stationed at Vellore, was selected for this duty. The regiment was commanded by Colonel the Honourable Arthur Wellesley, brother of the Governor-General, who took command of the whole force; and the friendship which then commenced between Colonel Wellesley and Captain Malcolm endured, without intermission, until, nearly thirty-five years afterwards, the Duke of Wellington mourned, with all the tenderness of his heart, the death of his old comrade, General Sir John Malcolm.

The Head-quarters of the Army were fixed at Vellore; and on the 29th of January, General Harris assumed command. The season was far advanced for the commencement of such an expedition, and he could not contemplate the work before him without some gloomy forebodings. The disastrous retreat of the army under Lord Cornwallis some eight years before—a calamity of which the General had been a witness and a partaker—recurred forcibly to his recollection; the evil consequences of a scarcity of carriage and provisions in the enemy's country were ever present to his mind; and he steadfastly resolved that nothing should draw him aside from the main object of his expedition—nothing induce him to waste his time and his resources on the march to Seringapatam. It was his fixed resolve to march straight upon the capital, never pausing, unless compelled by the positive opposition of Tippoo's army intercepting his line of march, to strike a single blow by the way. To this resolution he steadily adhered. The army commenced its march. It was a splendid force. "The army of the Carnatic," wrote Lord Mornington

1799.

crowned with complete success. Whilst Tippoo was looking for the advance of the British along the direct road to Seringapatam which had been taken by Lord Cornwallis, the British troops were crossing the Cavery and encamping near the fort of Soosilly. When the Sultan discovered that he had been so completely out-generaled, he was filled with alarm and despair. Summoning his principal officers, he exclaimed, "We have arrived at our last stage—what now are we to do? What is your determination?" They all replied that they would die with him.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the delight and gratitude of General Harris on finding himself, with his fine army and splendid battering train, under the walls of Seringapatam. The march had been long and hazardous; the *impedimenta* of the expedition far more cumbrous than any that had ever accompanied an Anglo-Indian Army in the field. An untoward check might at any hour have baffled all the plans of the British Government, and sent back this immense army to the point from which it started, after enduring all the misery of a long, disastrous, and discreditable retreat. It was necessary that the force should reach Seringapatam within a certain time; an obstruction of a few weeks would have rendered it impossible for any human combination of energy and skill to bring the war to a successful termination. Had the march of General Harris been lengthened out until the setting in of the monsoon, he must have retired, *re infectâ*, across the confines of the Company's dominions. But now the proud heights of that renowned fortress, from which Tippoo had so long snorted defiance at the British Government, rose up before the eyes of the delighted commander. There was great work for him to do, and, under Providence, he felt equal to its accomplishment.

On the 4th of May all was ready for the assault. The storming party had been told off, and the hour fixed for their advance had nearly arrived, when Malcolm entered the tent of the Commander-in-Chief. The General was sitting alone, very gravely pondering the important work before him and the great interests at stake. "Why, my Lord, so thoughtful?" cried Malcolm, congratulating him, by anticipation, on the peerage within his reach. The lightness of his tone was not

1799.

might have excited the sympathies of our English statesmen in India. But whether it were mere policy, or whether there were blended with it any sense of justice, or any feeling of compassion, it was decreed that a large portion of the conquered country should be erected into a new Hindoo principality, under the government of a descendant of the old Rajahs of Mysore. A descendant was found—a mere child; and his legitimacy was acknowledged. So the British took a slice of the conquered country; the Nizam took another slice; and each Government surrendered a great part of its share of the territorial spoil to establish the new Hindoo kingdom of Mysore. On a given day, Colonel Kirkpatrick, as the representative of the British Government, and Meer Allum, as the representative of the Nizam, each taking one hand of the boy-prince, placed him upon the *guddee*; and, as I write, the aged Maharajah is the only actor in that scene who now survives.

The arrangement thus briefly described was wrought into enduring shape by a Commission, of which John Malcolm was one of the secretaries. His associate was Thomas Munro, who rose afterwards to the highest seat in the Government of Madras, and for whom Malcolm ever entertained both the warmest affection and the highest respect.* The members of the Commission were General Harris, the two brothers of the Governor-General, Arthur and Henry Wellesley, Colonel Kirkpatrick, and Colonel Barry Close. The Commission was in work only for a single month, in continual communication with the Governor-General, who tarried at Madras; but in that space two treaties were negotiated, which placed the division of the conquered country, and the provision to be made for Tippoo's family, upon a footing so permanent, that up to the present time the results of that May-day fighting have never ceased to be an ever-recurring source of trouble and perplexity to the Governments of India at home and abroad. There are no documents to which more frequent references are made than to the Partition and Subsidiary treaties of Mysore.

* Sir Thomas Munro was so emphatically a "representative man," that I should have included him in this series of biographies, if my friend the Chap-

lain-General had not so entirely exhausted the subject—so pleasantly and so instructively—as to leave me nothing new to say about his hero.

1806. little acquainted. Of the little information we have received respecting its ancient history from the Greeks, you will form an idea when I assure you that, with the exception of Alexander's conquests, which are related by the authors of both countries (though in a very different manner); there is no fact recorded by the Greeks of which Persian histories make the least mention, nor is there one name that the Greeks have given to either the Persian Generals or Towns that can be understood by any Persian. Indeed, there are many so foreign to the idiom of the language, that he cannot pronounce them when repeated. I shall, I trust, collect materials that will either enable myself, or some one better qualified, to give much information on this subject. The climate of this country is delightful. Had it the constitution of Great Britain, its inhabitants need not sigh for Paradise. As it is, I would rather live on Douglan Hill." From Ispahan, he again wrote, on the 9th of October, to the same correspondent, that the mission was prospering. "All goes on swimmingly," he said. "Attention increases as I advance. The entertainment given me yesterday by the Begler Bey exceeds all I have yet seen. The illuminations and fireworks were very grand; and, to crown all, when we were seated in an elegant apartment, one side of it, which was chiefly formed of mirrors, opened, and a supper laid out in the English style, with tables and chairs, presented itself to our utter astonishment, for we little expected such apparatus in the middle of Persia. The difficulty of feasting us in our own style made the compliment the greater."

Treaty-
negotiations.

On the 16th of November Malcolm was presented to the Shah at Teheran. Some days afterwards he laid before his Majesty the magnificent presents with which he was charged. But he was in no hurry to enter upon the political business of his mission. He exhibited his diplomacy by leading on the Persian Ministers to make their proposals for the establishment of treaty-negotiations between the two powers. The result was, that after a good deal of skirmishing, two treaties, the one commercial, the other political, were drawn up and discussed. There was little need now to make a grand combination against Zemaun Shah, for in truth that unhappy ruler, who had threatened such great things, was, in a political sense, very nearly at his last

gasp. But very potent were the French; so, after disposing of the Afghans, the treaty ruled that if any people of the former nation should endeavour to effect a landing on Persian territory, the Persians and English together should make short work of them; and that the King of Persia would never allow the French, or any European power in alliance with them, to build a fort or to settle in any part of the Persian dominions. Whether these treaties were ever really in force is matter of historical doubt. But at all events a good understanding was established between the two countries. The Persians were well pleased with the magnificence of the presents which were lavished upon them; they derived from them a grand idea of our national wealth; and it must be added that the personal belongings of the Envoy himself made a profound impression on the Persian Court. His fine stature, his commanding presence, and the mixture of good humour and of resolute prowess with which he conducted all his negotiations, compelled them to form a high estimate of the English people. He was in their eyes a "Roostum," or hero of the first magnitude.

On his return to India, Captain John Malcolm was greeted by letters from the Governor-General, directing him to proceed at once to Calcutta. * His reception at Government House was most cordial. Lord Wellesley bestowed his unqualified commendation on what had been done, and promised to give him, on the first opportunity, a high appointment in the political service. Meanwhile, he requested him to act as his private secretary, during the absence of Henry Wellesley, who had gone on a special mission to Oude. All this, it may well be conceived, filled with delight and gratitude the hearts

Visit to
Calcutta.

* Or rather from Henry Wellesley, the brother and private secretary of the Governor-General, who wrote: "While I was in England, I frequently heard Mr. Dundas and other great men speak of you in a manner which gave me great pleasure, and ought not to be less gratifying to you. . . . All wise people in India think that very satisfactory consequences are likely to result from your embassy. There are not wanting some who are disposed to blame it, as tending to give umbrage to the Court of St. Petersburg; but these are of that description of person who never look at a

measure but with a view of condemning it." . . . And then in a postscript came the important words: "My brother" (Lord Wellesley), "hearing I was writing to you, has this moment desired me to summon you to the Presence." A later letter from the same writer conveyed to him the gratifying intelligence of the full approval of the Governor-General. "I cannot help writing to tell you," he said, "that my brother fully approves of all your proceedings, and that he thinks you have conducted the whole of your negotiations in a very masterly manner."

1801—1802.

of the family at Burnfoot. "The account of your employments," wrote his father to him, "is like fairy tales to us. . . . Your filial effusions brought tears of joy to the eyes of your parents. A good head will gain you the esteem and applause of the world, but a good heart alone gives happiness to the owner of it. It is a continual feast."

Special mis-
sions.

In the capacity of private secretary, John Malcolm accompanied Lord Wellesley on a tour to the Upper Provinces; but he had not proceeded farther than Allahabad, when certain complications of a personal character at Madras caused the Governor-General to depute Malcolm, on a mission of much delicacy, to that Presidency. He did his work not only well—but nobly. For the arrangements, which were considered good for the public service, involved a great sacrifice on *his* part. He had been promised the Residency of Mysore; but he yielded his claims with cheerfulness, in order to induce that excellent civil officer, Mr. Webbe, to remain a little longer in India. This done, he returned with all possible despatch to Calcutta, and met the Governor-General on his way back to the Presidency. But he did not remain long at the great man's elbow. Whenever any difficulty arose, it occurred to Lord Wellesley at once to send Malcolm on a special mission to set it right. So when, in July, 1802, the Persian Ambassador, who had come to India about the ratification of the treaties, was unhappily shot in an affray at Bombay, Malcolm was despatched to that Presidency to endeavour to make the best of so untoward an occurrence.

1803.

Making all speed, by land, to Bombay, he arrived there in October, and did everything that could be done to appease the expected resentment of the Persian Court. He wrote letters of explanation and condolence to the Shah and his Ministers; and made such liberal grants of money to all who had suffered by the mischance, that it was said afterwards in Persia that the English might kill a dozen Ambassadors, if they would always pay for them at the same rate. By the end of November the work was done, and Malcolm returned to Calcutta. He found the Governor-General and his advisers immersed in the troubled politics of the great Mahratta Courts. On New Year's-day, 1803, he wrote to Colonel Kirkpatrick that "the line was taken." He thought it no great matter to settle the business

1803.

Wellesley and Malcolm was the restoration of the Peishwah, Badjee Rao, to the throne of Poonah. This accomplished, Malcolm fell sick. He struggled against his increasing infirmity—but in vain. The hot weather had come on, and he could not resist its baneful effects. “I am out of all temper with myself,” he wrote on the 26th of May, to Mr. Edmonstone, “at being unwell at a moment like the present. However, everything will soon terminate prosperously and gloriously.” A month later he was in Wellesley’s camp, “a little recovered;” but in July he was again struggling against physical weakness, and at last even his spirits began to fail him. “I feel incapable,” he wrote, “of holding out much longer in camp against an accumulation of such disorders.” And at last, in the middle of August, to his intense disappointment, he was compelled to yield to the solicitations of General Wellesley and other friends, and to quit the camp for Bombay just as active business in the field was commencing. What it cost him it is hard to say, for during his absence the great battle of Assye was fought and won; and it was long afterwards a thorn in his flesh to think that he had been absent from the side of his friend in such a glorious conjuncture.

But Malcolm was not long absent from his post. On the 16th of December he returned to camp, and was warmly welcomed. Though everything had gone well with the army, the aspect of social affairs about the General’s Staff, if not actually gloomy, was a little stately and solemn. It was all work and no play; and there was little laughter in the English tents. But when Malcolm reappeared among them, all this was changed. It was like a gleam of sunlight. He arrived in high spirits; he was overflowing with lively humorous talk; he had many rich stories to tell; he had a joke for every one, white or black; and no man left him without a smile upon his face. He was “Boy Malcolm” still. It was impossible to resist the fascinations of his genial presence. I do not know how the story can be told, better than in the words in which it was narrated to me, half a century afterwards, by Mountstuart Elphinstone: “I joined,” wrote the veteran statesman, “the camp, as you suppose, immediately after the surrender of Ahmednuggur. I think Malcolm had gone before I arrived. I left camp on the 28th of December, three or four days before

the conclusion of the treaty. The negotiations had been going on for some time, but had not taken a definite shape till Wittul Rao, Scindiah's Prime Minister, came into camp, on the 23rd of December. Malcolm had arrived about a week before, and was present at all the conferences with him. He (Wittul Punt) was an elderly man, with rather a sour, supercilious countenance; but such as it was, he had a perfect command of it, receiving the most startling demand, or the most unexpected concession, without moving a muscle. Malcolm remarked on him that he never saw such a face for playing 'Brag.' The name stuck to him; for long afterwards, when Malcolm met the Duke in Europe, and was asking him about the great men of France, his answer about Talleyrand was, that he was a good deal like 'old Brag,' but not so clever. I do not remember any anecdotes about the proceedings, but I well remember the effect of Malcolm's arrival, in enlivening head-quarters life. There had been a great deal to do; everybody was busy in the daytime, and more or less tired at night. The General, when not on other duty, was shut up all day writing in his private tent, and was too much absorbed in the many things he had to attend to, to talk much at table, except when there was anything interesting to excite him; so that, although there was no form or ceremony in his party, there was not much vivacity. When Malcolm came, he pitched his tent (with two or three of his own people of the Mysore Residency) close to the line of the General's Staff, which soon presented a very different scene. His health seemed (for the time) completely restored, and he was in the highest possible spirits; just come among old friends from comparatively new places, with much to hear, and more to tell, and doing his business by snatches, so that he seemed to be always idle. He had frequent visitors at and after breakfast, when he remained talking to the company, showing off the Arab horses he had brought with him from Bombay, or regaling them with some of the beer or other rarity he had supplied himself with, and joking them about the starving condition in which he found them. When the strangers were gone, he went on with other subjects, but with the same flow of spirits; sometimes talking politics, sometimes chit-chat; sometimes reading political papers he had drawn up, and sometimes senti-

1808. mental or ludicrous verses of his own composition ; but ready at all times to receive any one—European or native—gravely or gaily, as the occasion required. To the natives, in particular, he used either to address elaborate compliments, or good-humoured jokes, as he thought best suited to their humour, and seldom failed to send them away pleased. Even bodily suffering did not take away his sociable feelings. When he was at his worst—at Poona, I think—and was exhausted and depressed, when a bachelor of thirty-four might have wished himself at the bottom of the sea, and any one else would have been solitary and morose, his exclamation was, ‘ Heigho ! I wish I had a wife and twelve children ! ’ ”

1804. His health, however, was not perfectly restored ; and he was still haunted by apprehensions of another break-down, necessitating his second departure from the camp. But there was much work to be done, and he struggled against his infirmity. The beginning of the year 1804 found him negotiating a treaty with Scindiah, the conclusion of which was delayed by a number of vexatious and frivolous obstructions, which, however, never disturbed the good humour of the negotiator. There were, indeed, occasional incidents to amuse him, by their absurdity ; and he was one ever thoroughly to appreciate such compensations. His first personal interview with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, then a youth, was enlivened by a curious accident. “ We were well received,” wrote Malcolm to General Wellesley, “ by the Maharajah, who is a good-looking young man. He preserved great gravity when we first went in ; and probably we might have left him without seeing that his gravity was affected, had not a ridiculous incident moved his muscles. A severe shower took place whilst we were in his tent. The water lodged on the flat part of the tent, under which Mr. Pepper was seated, and all at once burst in a torrent upon his head. From the midst of the torrent we heard a voice exclaim ‘ *Jasus !* ’—and soon after poor Pepper emerged. The Maharajah laughed loud, and we all joined chorus. A shower of hail followed the rain, and hailstones were brought in and presented in all quarters. My hands were soon filled with them by the politeness of Dowlut Rao and his Ministers ; and all began to eat, or rather to drink them. For ten minutes the scene more resembled a school at

the moment when the boys have got to play, than an Eastern Durbar.* We parted in great good humour; and, as far as I can judge from physiognomy, every one in camp is rejoiced at the termination of hostilities."

Soon after this Scindiah fell sick, and when he recovered he was more inclined for pleasure than for business. A meeting had been arranged between him and Malcolm, which the former, having heard of a tiger some nine miles off, desired to postpone, and asked the Englishman to go out hunting with him. It was a sore denial to John Malcolm, ever a mighty huntsman, to be compelled to say that he was "afraid to venture in the sun." But he wrote to the young Maharajah that he would pray for his success, and, to ensure it, he sent the Prince his best rifle. He wrote this to General Wellesley on the 20th of February; and a week afterwards he was in high spirits at the thought of having despatched a draft of the Treaty to Calcutta. Scindiah was equally pleased, and determined to celebrate the occasion by a frolic. "I am to deliver the Treaty to-day," wrote Malcolm to General Wellesley, "and after that ceremony is over to play *hooley*,† for which I have prepared an old coat and an old hat. Scindiah is furnished with an engine of great power, by which he can play upon a fellow fifty yards' distance. He has, besides, a magazine of syringes, so I expect to be well squirted." The sport was of a kind to delight "Boy Malcolm;" and we may be sure that he was not worsted in the playful encounter. But it did him no good. He was not strong enough for such rough work; and he wrote afterwards to Merrick Shawe that the "cursed hooley play" had given him a sharp attack of fever.

But it was not all play-work for Malcolm at that time. Even whilst he was scattering the red powder, uneasy thoughts

* This incident greatly amused General Wellesley, who wrote an account of it to the Governor-General, in which he says: "It rained violently, and an officer of the escort, Mr. Pepper, an Irishman (a nephew of old Bective's, by-the-by), sat under the flat of the tent, which received a great part of the rain which fell. At length it burst through the tent upon the head of Mr. Pepper, who was concealed by the torrent that fell, and was discovered after

some time by an 'Oh, Jasus!' and a hideous yell. Scindiah laughed violently, as did all the others present; and the gravity and dignity of the Durbar degenerated into a *Malcolm riot* — after which they all parted on the best terms." — *Wellington Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 701.

† This consists mainly of the interchange of civilities, by throwing red powder and squirting coloured water at everybody within one's reach.

1804. assailed him, for he was uncertain whether the treaties which he had negotiated would be approved by the Governor-General. For Lord Wellesley, though one not slow to express gratification when he felt it, was a man not easily pleased; and, in those days, a negotiator cut off from the seat of Government by hundreds of slowly-traversed miles was altogether de-centralised and self-contained, and obliged to face responsibilities which in later times have been evaded by the help of the electric telegraph. It was Malcolm's doctrine, that "a man who flies from responsibility in public affairs is like a soldier who quits the rank in action; he is certain of ignominy, and does not escape danger." He never did shrink from responsibility; and, it may be added, that he was, for the most part, a man of a sanguine, confident, self-reliant nature, not commonly disposed to depreciate his own work or to predict failure. But he had at this time a treacherous liver; he was melancholic and hypochondriacal, and unlike himself; and everything that he saw before him had the tint of jaundice upon it. There were moral causes, also, to increase his depression, for he had just received from England the sad tidings of the death of his revered father. Moreover, he knew that at this time Lord Wellesley, stung by the opposition of the Court of Directors, and the probability of being deserted by the King's Ministers, was in a frame of mind more than usually irritable and captious, and hard to be pleased. Malcolm was in no wise, therefore, surprised to learn that some part of the Subsidiary Treaty was, on its first perusal, disapproved by Lord Wellesley. "I was fully aware," he wrote to Mr. Edmonstone, "when I was appointed to negotiate this treaty, of the heavy responsibility that I incurred; and that responsibility was much increased by the uncertainty of communication with General Wellesley during the latter part of the negotiation—a circumstance which deprived me of the benefit of his instructions on several points on which I was anxious to receive them. I nevertheless ventured to conclude the treaty in the form it now has. The difference between it and engagements of a similar nature (which I knew Lord Wellesley had approved) did not appear to me of sufficient consequence to warrant my risking the success of the negotiation. As far as I could understand,

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rank in life for me which I shall probably never attain ; but a knowledge that he indulged such expectations made me make every exertion of which I was capable. I am still sensible of what I owe to myself, to my friends, and to my country ; but I am no longer that enthusiast in the pursuit of reputation that I formerly was, and I begin to think that object may be attained at too dear a price. My mind has, perhaps, been more inclined to this way of thinking from the state of my health, which continues indifferent. However, as I have fully accomplished all the objects for which I was sent to this Court, I expect soon to be released, and to be enabled to repair to the sea-coast, where, I have no doubt, a short residence will make me as strong as ever.”*

These personal distresses were soon blended with new official anxieties. The conclusion of the peace with Scindiah was attended with some political difficulties arising out of those territorial redistributions which so frequently result from our Indian wars. The most perplexing question of all was that which related to the disposal of the fort of Gwalior and the territory of Gohud. It was Malcolm's opinion that, whatsoever might be the advantage to British interests in otherwise disposing of them, the surrender of both to Scindiah was clearly an act of justice. But it was soon manifest that the cession would be distasteful in the extreme to Lord Wellesley. Convinced that he was right, Malcolm took high ground. He said that nothing could shake his convictions—“first, because there is some room for doubt upon the subject, and if we determine a case of a disputable nature in our favour

* What follows must not be altogether omitted. It is so redolent of that good home-feeling, that tender regard for family ties, which is observable in the lives of most men who have risen to eminence in India : “I see from my last letters from Scotland that you were expected at Burnfoot in July. Your affectionate kindness will console my dearest mother, and make her more resigned to her great loss, and your presence will restore the whole family to happiness. Your own feelings, my dearest uncle, will reward you for such goodness ; may you long live to enjoy the gratitude and affection of a family who owe all their success and happiness

to your kindness and protection ! I know not what arrangement you may think best for my mother and sisters. You are acquainted with my means. I have 10,000*l.* in my agent's hands in this country ; about 3000*l.* is due to me, which I shall hereafter receive. Of the amount in your hands I cannot speak, as I know not how much of it has been applied ; but I have directed 400*l.* to be remitted annually, 800*l.* of which I meant for my parents, and 100*l.* for my sisters. You will now judge what is sufficient, and dispose of all, or any part of what I possess, as you think proper ; above all, let my dearest mother enjoy affluence.”

The case of
Gwalior and
Gohud.

because we have power, we shall give a blow to our faith that will, in my opinion, be more injurious to our interests than the loss of fifty provinces. What has taken us through this last war with such unexampled success? First, no doubt, the gallantry of our armies; but secondly—and hardly secondly—our reputation for good faith. These people do not understand the laws of nations, and it is impossible to make them comprehend a thousand refinements which are understood and practised in Europe. They will never be reconciled to the idea that a treaty should be negotiated upon one principle and fulfilled on another.* Truer and better words have seldom been uttered by an Indian statesman; but I fear that, as warnings, they have been given to the winds. Sixty years have passed since they were written; but England has not yet ceased, in her dealings with India, to determine cases of a disputable nature in her own favour, or to negotiate treaties on one principle and to fulfil them on another.

I have said that Lord Wellesley, at this time, was in a very irritable state of mind. The abrasions which had been caused by constant collision with the “ignominious tyrants of Leadenhall-street” were very sore; and he was sensitive in the extreme to any opposition which might have the effect of convincing his persecutors that the agents of his policy were more moderate than himself.† General Wellesley had said: “I declare that, when I view the treaty of peace and its con-

* Very similar words—words which have obtained far more extensive currency—were written by Arthur Wellesley. “I would sacrifice Gwalior,” he wrote to Malcolm, “or every frontier of India ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith and the advantages and honour we gained by the late war and peace; and we must not fritter them away in arguments drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations, which are not understood in this country. What brought me through many difficulties in the war and the negotiations of peace? The British good faith, and nothing else!” The two passages are so similar that a comparison of dates is interesting: Malcolm wrote from Boorhampore on March 30; Wellesley from Bombay on March 17, 1804.

† This is rendered very plain by a letter from Major Merrick Shawe, Lord Wellesley’s secretary, in which he says: “Whatever your motives may have been, your conduct has certainly placed Lord Wellesley in a very embarrassing situation, and, when that is the case, God knows that he is always inclined to vent his feelings freely against those who have occasioned him difficulty and trouble. Your having shown a great disposition to admit the justice of Scindiah’s right to Gwalior and Gohud, is likely, Lord Wellesley thinks, to give his enemies in Leadenhall-street room to found an accusation against Lord Wellesley of injustice and rapacity, in marching upon and retaining these possessions contrary to the opinion of the Resident.”

1804.

sequences, I am afraid it will be imagined that the moderation of the British Government in India has a strong resemblance to the ambition of other Governments." And now Malcolm was turning against his master—very painfully and sorrowfully, but with a resolute manliness, which, whether he were right or wrong, is entitled to be held in respect as an example to the public service. I think that Malcolm was right.* If what he recommended was not more politic, it was at all events more generous, and indeed more just, than the opposite course. But the Governor-General was not a man to brook opposition of any kind, and for a while he withdrew his smiles from his favourite lieutenant. But all this soon passed away. Lord Wellesley wrote him a long and very friendly letter, assuring him of his unbroken confidence—telling him that he was at full liberty to return to Mysore, to join the government party in the upper provinces, to prepare for another mission to Persia; or to go home to recruit his health, as he might think best. "You may be assured," wrote Lord Wellesley, "that,

* It must be admitted, however, that the case is not without its difficulties, and that something may be said on the other side. Fifty years afterwards, Mr. Elphinstone, writing to me on the subject, said: "I think Malcolm was quite right in the Gwalior controversy; but right or wrong, his strenuous opposition to the Governor-General in defence of what he thought the cause of justice and good faith, would have done honour to him in any circumstances; in those of the case, when the Governor-General was his patron, and the man for whom, above all others, he felt the sincerest admiration and devotion, it was an exertion of public virtue such as few men of the sternest character could have attained to. He knew very well that Lord Wellesley was at all times impatient of opposition and jealous of respect, and that at the time he was intoxicated with success, so that he must have foreseen all the consequences of his resistance, which were either an open rupture or a complete estrangement, till near the end of Lord Wellesley's government, when there was a meeting at Calcutta, and a reconciliation, at which both parties seem to have been much affected; but of all this you will probably find better accounts than

I could give among your papers."—*August 28, 1855.* But two days after he had written this, Mr. Elphinstone wrote again to me, saying: "I wrote to you on the day before yesterday that I thought Malcolm quite right in his difference with Lord Wellesley about Gwalior; but I have since looked at some of the papers regarding it, and find the case by no means so clear. I had no personal knowledge of the affair, and the merits of it depend a good deal on the dates and terms of engagements, and other circumstances not readily ascertained. But what shakes my confidence in my first opinion, is contained in the following papers, many of which I do not think I had before read." (List of documents in Wellesley and Wellington correspondence given.) "General Wellesley's letter to Scindiah of May 20, 1804, in particular, expresses opinions so different from those given in his earlier letters to Malcolm, that it is impossible not to conclude that, on mature consideration, he had given up his first conclusions. But all this does not affect Malcolm's claim to high respect for his independent and conscientious opposition to proceedings which he thought unjust."—*August 30, 1855.*

1804.
Visit to the
coast.

Malcolm's first duty was now to regain his health ; so, when he left Scindiah's camp, he went down to the coast, determined to cease for a while from business ; and before the autumn was far advanced he wrote from Vizagapatam that he was "growing quite stout," and that he "enjoyed idling in perfection." But news of stirring events came to him in his retreat. Scarcely had Scindiah's account been settled, when Holkar began to cause us fresh trouble ; and Malcolm then earnestly hoped to accompany General Wellesley again into the field. He had lost one grand opportunity of military distinction, and he panted to gain another. "My health is now well restored," he wrote from Ganjam in November, "and two months of the cold weather will make me as strong as ever. Ingledew says, that by returning to camp I shall bring back the whole train of my complaints ; but I am not of his opinion, and, if I were, it should not prevent my accompanying the General to the field, if he will permit me. I feel (almost as a stain) my unfortunate absence from Assye and Argaum ; and I shall rejoice in the most distant prospect of attending the General on similar occasions." But it was not so to be ; Arthur Wellesley's Indian career was at an end. The two friends met at Madras, and proceeded together to Mysore. But the General, who was about shortly to sail for England, soon returned to the Presidency, and Malcolm then settled himself down at Mysore, intending to turn his leisure to good account by writing the history of Persia, of which he had formed the design and collected some materials in that country.

But his studies were soon broken in upon by a summons to Calcutta. Lord Wellesley wished to see him at the chief Presidency ; so he closed his books, put aside his papers, and soon (April, 1805) found himself again an inmate of Government House. The Mahratta war had entered a new phase, and Malcolm's counsel was again in requisition. "To make a long story short," he wrote to General Wellesley, "soon after you sailed I was called to Calcutta. I lost no time in obeying, and arrived on the 17th of April. I found it was determined that Close* should remain in the Deccan, where he was invested with the political and military control, and

* Colonel, afterwards Sir Barry, Close.

that I should proceed to Dowlut Rao Scindiah. During my short stay at Calcutta I had enough of discussion. All the old ground was gone over. After much heat, if not violence, we were all of the same opinion; and I left Lord Wellesley on the 30th ultimo—I believe as high in his good opinion as I have ever been since our first acquaintance. Lord Lake had at that date disengaged himself from Bhurtpore. Scindiah was advanced to the Chumbul, near Dholpore, and that arch-scoundrel, Surjee Rao Ghautka, had moved forward on a pretended mission to Lord Lake, but with a real view of reconciling Holkar to Scindiah. He succeeded, and carried that chief back with him to Dowlut Rao's camp. It was resolved that Lord Lake should insist on Scindiah's retreating—that he should further require the dismissal of Ghautka, as an indispensable condition of our maintaining those more friendly relations of friendship that had been established by the treaty of defensive alliance. If this was agreed to, Scindiah was to be immediately vigorously supported. If not, and he committed no act of aggression, the more intimate relations of friendship were to be suspended, and the Resident withdrawn, until his counsels were more to be depended upon; but the treaty of peace was to be maintained. In the event of Scindiah committing any hostile act, or maintaining himself on the frontier after he had been desired to withdraw, he was of course to be attacked."

The policy being thus determined, his personal services were again required. In the conjuncture which had then arisen, it seemed to Lord Wellesley more desirable than ever to "send Malcolm." So, at the end of a fortnight, Malcolm was sent to join the camp of General Lake in Upper India. Putting himself in a palanquin, he journeyed northward through the sultry summer weather, sorrowing most of all that he should look upon the face of Lord Wellesley no more in that part of the world (for the Governor-General had determined upon a speedy departure from India), and at times distracted by doubt as to whether he would not accompany his old master to England. That Lord Wellesley desired this, is, I think, certain. For some time he oscillated between two opinions. Now, it appeared to him that it would be better for Malcolm to remain in India as the active exponent of his policy, so far

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as it was possible to execute it, in the face of the opposition of the Court of Directors; and again, that it would be greater gain to him to have Malcolm at his elbow in England to explain and to defend that policy to the overthrow of his enemies at home. But for Malcolm at that time to have gone to England would have been to have injuriously interrupted, if not to have abandoned, his career. It was natural that he should hesitate; wise that he should decide in favour of continuing his Indian work. So he wrote to Lord Wellesley, as he had before written to his Private Secretary, a manly, straightforward, candid letter, stating that neither on public nor on private grounds would it be desirable that, at such a time, he should leave his post and return to England; and I am convinced that the dispassionate opinion of the Governor-General must have endorsed the decision.*

Operations
against
Holkar.

The head-quarters of the British Army were then upon the banks of the Chumbul; but the scorching hot winds of the month of May compelled a season of inactivity, and they could do little but talk about the future. Grave and anxious talk it was, for news had come that Lord Cornwallis, with stringent instructions to adopt a pacific course of policy, had been a third time appointed Governor-General of India, and was expected shortly to arrive. The work was only half done, and to bring it to an abrupt, might be to bring it to a disastrous, close. Lord Cornwallis came, and the war was ordered to be wound up with the utmost possible despatch. The conduct of

* In the letter to Lord Wellesley (dated August 6, 1805), Malcolm says: "From the long conversation I had with your Lordship previous to my leaving Calcutta, you must have perceived that I am not insensible to the voice of ambition. To your Lordship, whose encouraging condescension has ever accustomed me to speak in the language of confidential friendship, I did not hesitate to own that the proudest object of my life was to obtain a mark of honour from my Sovereign, as the declared reward of public services (on other terms I could not value it), and my exertions during my public employment will continue to be prompted by the same hopes of honourable distinction. If I succeed, I shall be gratified; but if I fail, I shall not be disappointed.

Nor do I think the want of success will diminish one iota my future comfort, happiness, or respectability. Your Lordship is fully aware of my desire to return to Persia; and the information which you must lately have received of affairs in that quarter, will have enabled you to judge of the necessity of such a mission. I should, if sent with a letter or credentials from the Throne, undertake it with the sanguine hope of rendering important services to my country." In these days, when honours are bestowed comparatively with a lavish hand, it may seem strange that no kind of distinction had up to this time been conferred on Malcolm. And many more years were destined to elapse before his services were recognised by the Crown.

the Mahratta chiefs, however, rendered certain farther operations on our part absolutely necessary. The insolence of Holkar demanded chastisement; but his courage was not equal to his pretensions, and as the army advanced he deemed it expedient to seek safety in flight. He crossed the Sutlej; and our troops pursued him, Malcolm accompanying the force, and ever in the van. It was doubted whether the Hindoo Sepoys would cross the river. There were signs, indeed, of wavering, and it is said that the leading companies sat down on the banks, when Malcolm rode up to them, spoke in his brave hearty manner a few cheering words, reminding them that the holy shrine of Umritsur was in advance, and asking them if they would shrink from such a pilgrimage. And the story runs that such was the magic effect of these words, that the recusant Sepoys started up to a man, crossed the river, and soon, followed by their comrades, were in full march into the Punjab.

But, although ever ambitious of military distinction, and eager to be in the thick of it when there was service to be done in the field, Malcolm hoped, at this time, that Holkar would be brought to battle and that the opportunity lost to him at Assye would be recovered, his duties lay in the direction rather of diplomacy than of war, and he was soon busy at the old work of treaty-making. Holkar saw plainly that his game was up, and sent his envoys to the British camp to negotiate the terms of peace.* A new treaty was also con-

* The Sikh chiefs also sent their envoys to the British camp, and it is with reference to one of their visits that the following characteristic story has been told: Malcolm was giving an audience to two or three of these agents, when his friends, Gerald Lake and Norman Staflp, suddenly entered his tent, and, regardless both of ceremony and of business, told him that there were two large tigers in the neighbourhood. The interruption came at a moment when Malcolm was in some perplexity with respect to the answers to be given to the envoys, so the interruption was not unwelcome. Starting up and seizing his ever-ready gun, he cried out to the astonished Sikhs, "Baug! baug!" ("A tiger! a tiger!"), and, ordering his elephant to be brought round, rushed out of the tent. Joining his friends and

two or three others, he went in pursuit of the game, shot the tigers, returned with the spoil, and then, replacing his gun in the corner of his tent and resuming his seat, took up the thread of the conversation as if nothing had happened. The envoys, in the mean while, had been declaring that the English gentleman was mad. "But there was method," it has been said, "in such madness. He had done more than shoot the tigers. He had gained time. He had returned with his mind fully made up on an important point, which required consideration. And the envoys received a different and a wiser answer than would have been given if the tiger-hunt had not formed an episode in the day's council." The Honourable Arthur Cole and the late Sir W. R. Gilbert were of the hunting-party.

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cluded with Scindiah, by which the much-agitated question of Gwalior was set at rest. Then there was other and more onerous work to be done in the disbandment of the irregular levies, which had been called into life by the necessities of the war, and the expenses of which were now eating into the very vitals of the State.* But that which vexed him most was the abandonment of some of our less powerful allies; and although he worked—as he ever did—with all his might, he was sometimes beset by serious doubts and perplexities as to whether he ought not to retire from the scene, and to leave it to others to work out a policy in consonance with their own views. He asked himself whether, with opinions at variance with those of his employers, he could do his duty to the State, and be any longer a profitable servant to them. Presently these obstinate self-questionings found expression in a letter to Mr. Edmonstone, then Political Secretary, who, in reply, cited his own case in support of the argument that servants of the State, acting in a ministerial capacity, are bound to do their best to carry into effect the measures of the responsible head of the Government, without reference to their own individual sentiments. To this Malcolm rejoined, and with much sound discrimination, that the case of a Secretary at the elbow of a Governor-General and that of a Political Agent at a distance from the seat of government, were not analogous. “Your station and mine,” he wrote, “are, my dear friend, widely different. As an officer of Government, acting immediately under the Governor-General, you have, in fact, only to obey orders, and are never left to the exercise of your own discretion and judgment, as you have a ready reference in all cases that can occur to the superior authority, with whom, of course, every responsibility rests. Under such circumstances, a secretary that chooses to be of a different opinion—that is to say, to *maintain* different opinions—from a Governor-General, has, in my opinion, no option but to resign; and his resignation would, on such occasion, appear extraordinary to every person acquainted with the nature of his office, which is obviously one of an executive, not of a deliberate nature. Now look at my situation. Placed at a

* These proceedings necessarily occupied a considerable period of time—partly before, and partly after the death of Lord Cornwallis.

1805.

great distance from the Governor-General, and acting upon instructions of a general nature—obliged constantly to determine points upon my own judgment, as there is no time for reference—liable to be called upon by extraordinary exigencies to act in a most decided manner to save the public interests from injury, it is indispensable that the sentiments of my mind should be in some unison with the dictates of my duty, and if they unfortunately are contrary to it, I am not fit to be employed, for I have seen enough of these scenes to be satisfied that a mere principle of obedience will never carry a man through a charge where such large discretionary powers must be given, with either honour to himself or advantage to the public.”

This was written on the 6th of October. On the preceding day, Lord Cornwallis had sunk under the accumulation of disorders which for weeks past had rendered his demise only a question of time. Malcolm grieved for the fine old soldier-statesman, thus dying with the harness on his back. “You have been witness,” he wrote to Mr. Edmonstone, “to a most extraordinary and impressive scene, the close of the life of a great and good man, who has continued to the last to devote himself to his country. Few have lived with such honour; no one ever died with more glory. I feel satisfied in thinking that Lord Cornwallis was fully satisfied of my zeal, and that our proceedings here have met with his approbation.” The event produced no change of policy. Sir George Barlow, “aided by Mr. Edmonstone, had indeed been for some time at the helm; and stern necessity compelled our perseverance in a line of political conduct which, as I have before observed, had been sanctioned by Lord Wellesley before his departure from the country.”* There was much in it all that was distasteful in the extreme to Malcolm; but he worked as best he could, and remained at his post in Upper India as long as there was anything to be done, cheered to the last by the friendship and sympathy of that fine old soldier, Lord Lake.

In the hot weather of 1806, Colonel Malcolm was again in

* *Ante*. Memoir of Lord Cornwallis.— Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote to Malcolm that no one could be a judge of the necessity of peace in India who had not sat in the House of Commons. “I really believe,” he added, “that, in the opinion of the majority of people in this country, it would have been better to cede the whole of Oude to Holkar than to continue the war.”

1806.

Calcutta, and in constant communication with Sir George Barlow and Mr. Edmonstone. The war was at an end; but it had left a crop of trouble behind it, and there was still much work to be done. To Malcolm this period of his life was not a grateful one; for his opinions were not those of the Government, and he frequently found himself the antagonist of Barlow, and sometimes of his friend Edmonstone. In truth, Malcolm and Barlow, though each admirable after his kind, seemed to be sent into the world expressly to war with each other. They were essentially unlike in almost every feature of their several characters, save in honesty and courage, which both possessed in an equal degree, but evinced after different fashions. Malcolm often longed for one hour of Wellesley—in his prime; and he tried hard to tempt “brother Arthur” back to India. When that event, known in history as the massacre of Vellore, startled the English in India from one end of the country to the other, he wrote to Sir Arthur Wellesley, saying, “My opinion is fixed beyond all power of being altered, that upon your appointment to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras the actual preservation of that part of our British Empire may, in a great degree, depend.” To Lord Wellesley he wrote in the same strain, adding, “Your Lordship knows I am no alarmist. This is the first time I have ever trembled for India. It is one of those dangers of which it is impossible to calculate either the extent, the progress, or the consequences.” But Sir Arthur Wellesley had taken the measure of Indian service and of himself far too well to wish to return to Madras. He would have gone, if the sacrifice had been required from him, but happily he was not called upon to make it. “I don’t think it probable,” he wrote to Malcolm, “that I shall be called upon to go to India; the fact is, that men in power in England think very little of that country; and those who do think of it, feel very little inclination that I should go there. Besides that, I have got pretty high on the tree since I came here, and those in power think that I cannot well be spared from objects nearer home. At the same time, the Indians in London are crying out for my return.”

Those were days when Indian service even of the best kind was almost habitually ignored. Malcolm, who had done so

much for his country, had risen to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel by seniority; but, for all that he had done, he had received no mark of distinction from the Crown. There were times when Malcolm was keenly sensitive of this neglect—not only as it affected himself, but as it affected the whole service to which he belonged. In the lives of most men—and of *all* men, it may be said, who have long dwelt under the depressing influences of an Indian climate—there have been seasons of painful despondency. When, therefore, in the cold season of 1806-1807, Malcolm returned to Madras, intending to re-join his appointment in Mysore (for he was still Resident at that Court), he told himself that his service was nearly at an end, and that another year of work would be enough for him. He was at this time in a poor state of health, and compelled to keep his room; but crowds of visitors, including “all the great,” turned the sick-room into a levee. “These honours do not turn my head,” he wrote to his old friend Gerald Lake, “for the sentiment of my mind is more of pity than of admiration of some of our first characters here.” He was now eager to proceed to his Residency and to rest. The state of his mind at this period, influenced, doubtless, by physical weakness, may be gathered from his correspondence. “I mean to proceed in eight days more,” he wrote to Lord Wellesley on the 4th of March, “to Mysore,* where I anxiously hope I may be permitted to stay during the short period I mean to remain in India. Those motives that would have carried me dawk over the world exist no longer.” “I anticipate with pleasure,” he said in another letter, “the prospect of one year’s quiet; and that is, I trust, the extent of the period that I shall remain. God knows that I should be glad to abridge even that, if possible. I do not think it at all likely that any event can arise that would lead the Governor-General to wish me to move again. But if there should, I must trust to your endeavours to prevent it, for every consideration concurs to make me now as desirous to avoid active employment on the public service as ever I was to court it. I need not state to you the proofs I have given of not being deficient in public zeal. I have been rewarded, I admit, by distinction in the service; but if a man is wished to go on, further stimulus must

* His departure was subsequently delayed. He started on the 21st of March.

1807. be found, and I confess, as far as I can judge my own case, I have every inducement to stop, and not a solitary one to proceed. . . . My mind is as full of ambition as ever; but I have determined, on the most serious reflection, to retire, and avoid all public employment, unless a period arrives in which I can be certain that my services will be justly appreciated and rewarded. And if it is conceived that any ability, knowledge, or experience I possess can be usefully directed to the promotion of the public interests, I must be stimulated to exertion by a fair prospect of just and honourable encouragement."

Marriage.

But never was the great truth that Man proposes and God disposes, more emphatically inscribed on any man's life than on the life of John Malcolm. He spoke of his career as though it were nearly at its close; but in truth it was only in its beginning. He had not very long returned to Mysore, when a great change came over his life. To settle down at the Residency for a little quiet was in effect to settle in another way. He had been so constantly on the move for many years that he had seen little of female society; but his warm, affectionate nature was sensible of the want of a helpmate; there were times when he felt very isolated and companionless—a solitary man in a strange land—and his heart often turned restlessly to England, as though there alone the blessing of domestic life was to be found. But in this he was mistaken. He found that what he wanted was already within his reach. He gave his affections to one altogether worthy of the gift; and on the 4th of July, 1807, he married Charlotte, daughter of Colonel Alexander Campbell (afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army), a lady in whom, it has been said, "the charms of youth and beauty were united with a good natural understanding and a cultivated mind." This union was productive of much happiness to both. But nothing could ever relax John Malcolm's zealous activity in the public service. Single or married, he was ever hungering for employment; and in the course of the following year he was equipping himself for a second embassy to Persia.

For some time the King's Ministers had contemplated the expediency of sending another mission to Persia—a mission which was to be despatched directly from the Court of St. James's; and Sir Arthur Wellesley had warmly recommended that Malcolm should be placed at the head of the embassy. "Government have some thoughts of sending an embassy to Persia," wrote the General in February, 1807, "Baghdad Jones as the ambassador. I put a spoke in his wheel the other day, I think, in conversation with Tierney, and urged him to get Lord Howick to appoint you. God knows whether I have succeeded in the last object, although I made it clear that Jones was an improper man, and that you were the only one fit for the station." This advice, however, was thrown away, as was nearly all the advice on Indian affairs which at that time emanated from the Wellesleys;* and Mr. Harford Jones, having been created a baronet for the occasion, was despatched to the Court of the Persian Shah. He went from London with credentials from the King, and he was to have proceeded through Russia to the Persian frontier, but a sudden and startling change in the politics of Europe disconcerted his arrangements at the very outset of his ambassadorial career. Russia had ceased to be our friend and ally. She had been fighting for dear life against the growing power of Napoleon, and we had hoped that she would aid us in our efforts to checkmate France in the East. But the peace of Tilsit, as if by magic, changed all this. After the bloody fights of Eylau and Friedland the two armies had fraternised, and the two Emperors had embraced each other on a raft floating on the surface of the river Niemen. Among the vast projects of conquest which they then formed was a conjoint campaign "contre les possessions de la compagnie des Indes." The territories of the East India Company were to be divided between these two great continental potentates. It was believed that the attack would be made by land rather than by sea, and that Persia would become a basis of operations against the North-Western Provinces of India. The danger was not an imaginary one. It was the harvest-time of great

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The second
Persian
mission.

* Sir Arthur Wellesley, a few months before, had written to Malcolm, saying: "As for India, I know but little respecting it. If I had been employed in North America, I might be informed and consulted about the measures to be adopted in India, but as it is, that is out of the question."

1807-1808. events, and the invasion of India by a mighty European force did not seem to rise above the ordinary level of the current history of the day.

So Sir Harford Jones was compelled to betake himself to a new route; and it seemed to the eye of authority in India that the embassy from St. James's, if not folded up altogether, would be so long delayed as to be very nearly useless. Lord Minto was at that time Governor-General of India. He had not long taken his seat at Calcutta before he began to consider the expediency of sending a mission from India to the Persian Court; and to send such a mission was synonymous with sending Malcolm at the head of it. Barry Close sent him a hint to prepare for such an invitation; but Malcolm was inclined to think at that time that the Governor-General was of too cool and cautious a temper to send a mission to Persia without orders from home. In this, however, he was mistaken. Lord Minto soon made up his mind to send Malcolm to the Persian Gulf, with a commission of a vague character, half military and half political—to threaten, if not to negotiate, and to wait for the lessons written down in the great chapter of accidents. At the end of January, he wrote to Malcolm, saying: "I did not conceal my own sentiments in England concerning the name to be selected for that most important mission—a mission which required qualifications hardly to be found united in more than one name that I have ever heard. That name has been the subject of very clear and strong representations from me to the authorities at home since I assumed this government. In the mean while, my own hands were effectually restrained by the two considerations already mentioned—the connexion between English and Russian politics, and the actual appointment of another person. I am now released by the separation which there is reason to apprehend between Great Britain and Russia, and by the growing necessity of the case in Asia. We have not heard of Sir Harford Jones's arrival in Persia; and, indeed, all that I yet know of his mission is, that he was ordered to repair in the first instance to St. Petersburg, in order to carry with him from thence, if it could be obtained (of which there was little prospect), the consent of that Court to the mediation of Great Britain between Russia and Prussia. If there is a

rupture between Russia and England, as there is much reason to suppose, I do not know by what route Sir Harford Jones can penetrate to Persia. At all events, your commission is framed in such a manner as not to clash with a diplomatic mission to the King of Persia, if you should find Sir Harford Jones at that Court. You will perceive that I have not admitted into this measure any doubt of your consent to it. Knowing as I do your public zeal and principles, and without reckoning on the knowledge you have lately afforded me of the manner in which you are affected towards this particular commission, I may safely and fairly say, that neither you nor I have any choice on this occasion. I *must* propose this service to you, because the public interests (I might perhaps use a stronger word) indispensably require it. You *must* accept for the same reason. I am convinced that the call of public duty is the most powerful that can be made on your exertions."

To a man of Malcolm's temperament, a letter from supreme authority, in such a strain as this, was not likely to be thrown away. He at once responded to the summons; and with characteristic energy and activity began to make the necessary preparations for his expedition to the Persian Gulf. As the French had at that time a magnificent mission at Teherati, it was expedient that England also should appear in an imposing character; so Malcolm was to be attended by a considerable staff of military and political officers, and was to be the bearer of sumptuous presents to the Court of the Shah. By the middle of April everything was ready. Malcolm sailed from Bombay, and just as the island was receding from his view, a King's ship, with Sir Harford Jones on board, was making for the port which the military ambassador had so recently quitted.

Departure for
the Gulf.

On the 10th of May, Malcolm reached Bushire in high spirits; and for a time it seemed to him, always cheerful and sanguine as he was, that everything was going well, and that another great success was before him. "I have not only received the most uncommon attention from every one here," he wrote to Sir George Barlow, who, on the arrival of Lord Minto, had succeeded to the Government of Madras, "but learnt from the best authority that the accounts of my mission

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have been received with the greatest satisfaction at Court. The great progress which the French have made, and are daily making here, satisfied me of the necessity of bringing matters to an early issue. I have a chance of complete victory. I shall, at all events, ascertain exactly how we stand, and know what we ought to do; and if I do not awaken the Persian Court from their delusion, I shall at least excite the jealousy of their new friends. I send Captain Pasley off tomorrow for Court—ostensibly with a letter for the King, but he has secret instructions, and will be able to make important observations. . . . I have endeavoured to combine moderation with spirit, and to inform the Persian Court, in language which cannot irritate, of all the dangers of their French connexion. Captain Pasley will reach Court on the 28th of June, and on the 15th of July I may be able to give you some satisfactory account of his success.”

But Captain Pasley never reached Court; and the anticipated success was a mortifying failure. The French were established too securely in Persia for their supremacy to be shaken by the announcement of another mission from the Government of India. They were drilling the Persian troops, and casting cannon, and instructing the army in all the scientific accomplishments of European warfare. The appearance of the English mission perplexed the Persian Court, but thus fortified by their French allies, and by further support from Russia, the statesmen of Teheran were not alarmed. They determined, if possible, to keep the English out of Teheran, and to this end the provincial governors were directed to procrastinate, and by all possible means to amuse and cajole our envoys. So Captain Pasley, having penetrated as far as Shiraz, was detained at that place, and told that he or his chief might open negotiations with the Prince-Governor of the province.

When tidings of this reached Malcolm he chafed sorely, and was by no means inclined to brook the insult. His vexation was the more intolerable, as he cordially hated the French, and felt that our enemies would exult in our abasement. He had a genial temper, and he generally took a cheerful view of the prospect before him, but he was not one of the patient and long-suffering class of envoys, and he

thought that the great nation which he represented ought not, in the presence of insolent enemies, to wait upon circumstances, and to beg for what it had a right to demand. So, right or wrong, he determined to mark his sense of the indignity to which he had been subjected by withdrawing his ambassadorial presence from so inhospitable a country.* "From the letters I received this day from Captain Pasley, at Shiraz," he wrote on the 11th of June, "I was concerned to observe the Ministers there not only continued to throw obstacles in the way of his progress to Teheran, but declared they had orders from the King directing me to carry on my negotiations with the Prince-Regent of the province of Fars, and they had heard, without being moved from their purpose, all those reasons which Captain Pasley had in the most firm and spirited manner urged to satisfy them. I would never consent to an arrangement of so humiliating a nature towards myself and the Government I represented as one which allowed a French embassy to remain in the Presence while it directed one from the English nation to treat with an inferior

* Whilst Malcolm was in the Persian Gulf he received much gratifying attention from the Imaum of Muscat, who sent complimentary messages and presents to him on board. An old Muscat acquaintance of Malcolm was the bearer of these; and the account of their meeting, as recorded in Malcolm's journal, contains a passage so characteristically descriptive of the English officer, that I cannot forbear from quoting it: "You have been all over the world," says he to me, 'since I last saw you.' 'I have travelled a little,' I answered. 'Travelled a little!' he exclaimed; 'you have done nothing else; we heard you were with the great Lord Welleley at Calcutta. When there in a ship of the Imaum's, I went to see you: Malcolm Sahib was gone to Madras. Two years afterwards I went again to Bengal, and thought I would find my friend: no, Malcolm Sahib was gone to Scindiah, and we heard afterwards you went with Lord Lake to Lahore. However, four months ago, we heard you had come to Seringapatam and married a fine young girl, the daughter of some Colonel. And now,' says he, 'after travelling all the world over, and then marrying, you are come again to your

old friends the Arabs and Persians.' I told my friend Mahomed Gholam I was quite flattered with the interest he appeared to have taken in my welfare, and rejoiced to see him in such health and spirits, and enjoying the favour of his Prince. I then reminded him of some former scenes, particularly one in which he had been much alarmed at the conduct of one of the gentlemen with me. He laughed, and said he was glad I recollected old times and old friends, and that I would find, as I proceeded, that all those I had before seen perfectly remembered me. He then begged me to take some letters for him to Bushire, and began writing a postscript to one of them. I saw him smiling, and asked him to tell me (like an honest Arab) what he was writing, as I was sure it was about me. 'I will tell you without hesitation,' said he, 'for why need I be ashamed of the truth? I knew my friends would expect some account of you, and I could not give it till I saw you. I have informed them that this is exactly the same Malcolm we had before, the only difference is, that he was then a Captain, and is now a General.'

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Government. . . . These circumstances convinced me that nothing short of the adoption of some very strong measure would produce a change in the conduct of a Court which was evidently acting under the influence of our enemies, and it appeared particularly necessary that measure should be of a nature that would remove an impression which the French had endeavoured to produce in Persia—viz. that England had not an ally in the world, was reduced to the last stage of distress, and consequently was soliciting the friendship of the King of Persia from an inability to preserve without his aid its possessions in India. I determined, in consequence of these reflections, to strike my camp next morning and to go on board the *Deris*, and write to Captain Pasley to inform the Ministers of the Prince at Shiraz why I have done so, informing them that I never should re-land in Persia unless he was allowed to proceed to Court, and I was assured of being treated with less suspicion and more friendship.”

Visit to the
Governor-
General.

Having done this, Malcolm determined to proceed to Calcutta, and to take counsel with Lord Minto. In pursuance of this resolution he sailed from Bushire on the 12th of July, leaving Pasley, who narrowly escaped being made a prisoner, to represent the British mission, and “hold on” as best he could. It was a sore trial to him to be compelled to pass Bombay, where his young wife was then residing, without touching at that port. “The resolution to pass Bombay,” he wrote to Mrs. Malcolm, “believe me, was not taken without pain; but my duty called for the sacrifice, and you will be pleased that I had virtue and firmness enough to make it. I hope to be at Calcutta about the 1st of September. I shall leave it for Bombay about the 1st of October, and arrive with my dearest Charlotte about the 10th of November. How long I stay there is a speculation; but believe me the present step is the only one I could take to enable me to do justice to the great interests committed to my charge. These, by the blessing of God, will yet prosper; and I shall have the credit, if the victory is won, of having not been sparing of exertion. A month with Lord Minto will do wonders.”

It was indeed a very trying period of his newly-born domestic life; for Malcolm, with those mingled sensations of anxiety and delight which are common to our civilised

humanity, was anticipating, in this particular epoch, the birth of his first child. "Good God," he said, in one of his letters, "what a state of torturing suspense I am in! But I trust I shall soon be relieved from all my fears, and then my joys will be excessive." And relief was coming to him, even at that time, more nearly than he thought. At the mouth of the Gulf they spied a vessel, and bore down upon her. She proved to be bound from Bombay, and, on boarding her, Malcolm received a parcel of letters, in one of which there was the cheering announcement of his wife's safety and the birth of an infant daughter. It was an additional delight to him to learn that the child had been called Margaret, after his mother. "God bless you for giving her that name!" he wrote in a letter full of love and thankfulness to his wife; "it may not be so fine to the ear, but it has, from belonging to one of the best and most respected of women, a charm in it which will preserve our darling, and make her all her parents could wish."

On the 22nd of August, Malcolm landed at Calcutta. The Governor-General's boat had been sent to meet him in the Hooghly, and he was received, on his arrival at Government House, with the utmost kindness and cordiality by Lord Minto, of whose public and private character he sent to his wife a felicitous sketch, which the most studied biography could not excel in fidelity of portraiture. He had the pleasure, too, of meeting several old friends, with whom he had been familiar in the days of Lord Wellesley—Colebrooke and Lumsden (then members of Council), and "my excellent friend John Adam," who was advancing to high honour in the Secretariat. Everybody was anxious to see and to converse with Malcolm; but the visit-paying and the hospitality were not sufficient to interfere with business, and the envoy had "several long discussions with Lord Minto, and all satisfactory." "I am quite overwhelmed with Lord Minto's kindness," he wrote to his wife. "All people here seem to struggle who shall show me greatest kindness. These marks of general esteem are pleasing, but they would be a thousand times more so if you were here to share them."

Malcolm was one of those men who thoroughly understand and appreciate the great doctrine of Compensations. He

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could discern "a soul of goodness in things evil;" and every year taught him to see more and more clearly, in the crosses and vexations of life, some compensatory benefits, either inherent in themselves, or sent simultaneously by a benignant Providence to mitigate their severity. The cheerfulness for which he was so remarkable was the growth of an unfailing sense of gratitude to the Almighty. At this particular time he had been crossed in the concerns both of his public and his private life; but with a signal reversal of the famous Lucretian sentiment, he found the *dulce aliquid* surging up *medio de fonte dolorum*. There came to him at this time most opportunely a shower of those dear home-letters, which, before steam had vulgarised them by rendering their receipt a mere matter of the calendar, were to the Indian exile the refreshment and revival which preserved his heart from becoming "dry as summer's dust." They were from relatives and friends of all kinds—the nearest and the dearest, including his mother and Arthur Wellesley—and were full of congratulations. "If a fellow had written a novel," he wrote to his wife, "and had puzzled his brain for a twelvemonth to make his hero happy in the last chapter, he could not have been happier than I was yesterday to hear such accounts of you and Margaret, and to receive such letters from my relatives—so full of joy and affection—to find that they all, without one exception, met you with that warm welcome of the heart which is beyond all welcomes valuable." And then he sighed to think that the day seemed to be so remote when it would be permitted him to embrace his mother and sisters in England. "I am now," he said, "more deeply than ever involved in public affairs—more honourably because more largely."

The result of Malcolm's conferences with Lord Minto was that Sir Harford Jones was ordered to remain at Bombay, and that Malcolm was instructed to return to the Persian Gulf, and to establish himself, in a menacing attitude, on the island of Karrack. He was to go to Bombay, pick up a small army, and threaten Persia from the sea-board. Lord Minto said to him, after a long farewell interview, "Your duties, General Malcolm,* are not to be defined. All I can

* The rank of Brigadier-General had been given to him whilst employed in Persia.

say is, you are placed in a situation where you are as likely to go wrong from prudence as from the want of it." There was nothing that Malcolm liked better than such a hint as this. He went forth full of enthusiasm—fired, more than ever, by the thought that he was about to engage in a great conflict with the French. To all such stimulants there was the additional one, of which he was ever sensible, derived from his new relations as a husband and a father. He said of his public duties and his private happiness, "They are in such complete union, that I should not be worthy of the blessings I enjoy from the one if I were not devoted to the other. What individual of my rank of life was ever called to act in so great a scene? . . . If opportunities offer, neither you nor your children, my dearest wife, shall ever blush for my conduct."

But even as he wrote a great disappointment was about to fall upon him. He had not proceeded farther than Kedgeree, on the Hooghly river, when he was recalled by Lord Minto, who, just after Malcolm's departure, had received intelligence that Sir Harford Jones had started for Persia. This was, doubtless, a very awkward fact. "Karrack," wrote Lord Minto, "must necessarily be suspended. We cannot commit hostilities on Persia while the King of England is negotiating with the King of Persia." The logic of this was indisputable. Malcolm bowed to it; and, ordering his baggage to be transferred to another vessel, returned to Calcutta to take counsel with Lord Minto. His sudden reappearance at the Presidency caused great surprise, and excited much curiosity.* It was soon, however, resolved in council that Sir Harford Jones should be repudiated or ignored.

* Malcolm has recorded an amusing illustration of this. In a letter to his wife, he says: "Your acquaintance, Mrs. W——, happened not to have been introduced to Lord Minto when she dined here, and, mistaking him for another, she said, 'Do you know the cause of General Malcolm's return to Calcutta?' 'I believe I can guess,' was the Lord's reply. 'Pray, then, tell me,' said the lady. Lord Minto hesitated till after we were seated at table, and then said, 'We had better give the General plenty of wine, and we shall get this secret out of him.' The lady,

who had now discovered his rank, began to make apologies. 'I assure you, my Lord, she said, 'I did not know you.' 'I am delighted at that compliment,' he replied. 'Not to be known as Governor-General in private society is my ambition. I suppose,' he added, laughing, 'you thought I looked too young and too much of a puppy for that old grave fellow, Lord Minto, whom you had heard people talking about.' I mention this anecdote as very characteristic of that playful pleasantry which makes Lord Minto so agreeable."

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Malcolm at first chafed under his detention in the "vile place without the consolation of Charlotte's letters;" but in his nature the sun was never long behind a cloud, and he was very soon as cheerful and playful as ever. "I have been employed," he wrote on the 13th of October, "these last three hours with John Elliot and other boys in trying how long we could keep up two cricket-balls. Lord Minto caught us. He says he must send me on a mission to some *very young* monarch, for that I shall never have the gravity of an ambassador for a prince turned of twelve. He, however, added the well-known and admirable story of Henry IV. of France, who, when caught on all fours carrying one of his children, by the Spanish Envoy, looked up, and said, 'Is your Excellency married?' 'I am, and have a family,' was the reply. 'Well, then,' said the monarch, 'I am satisfied, and shall take another turn round the room.' And off he galloped, with his little son flogging and spurring him, on his back. I have sometimes thought of breaking myself of what are termed boyish habits; but reflection has satisfied me that it would be very foolish, and that I should esteem it a blessing that I can find amusement in everything, from tossing a cricket-ball to negotiating a treaty with the Emperor of China. Men who give themselves entirely to business, and despise (which is their term) trifles, are very able in their general conception of the great outlines of a plan, but they feel a want of that knowledge which is only to be gained by mixing with all classes in the world, when they come to those lesser points upon which its successful execution may depend. Of this I am certain; besides, all habits which give a man light, elastic spirits, are good."

Organisation of
the expedition.

On the 26th of October, Malcolm embarked for Bombay. The voyage was rendered tedious, and to Malcolm very trying, by baffling winds off Ceylon, and it was not until the last day of November that the vessel entered Bombay harbour. He had then a few days of domestic happiness; but the work in hand soon demanded all his care. He had to organise the force which he was to carry with him to the Persian Gulf. The officers of the East India Company have seldom been wanting in this power of organisation, and Malcolm was a

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barked upon a sea of troubles, with a knowledge that they, whose interests it is my incessant labour to promote, view all my efforts with an eye of prejudice."

His surmises were not baseless. Already Lord Minto was beginning to think that the project so hastily formed was not one of very wise conception; and before the end of the month he had come to the determination of suspending the expedition to the Gulf. There were many good reasons for this, but the Governor-General could not help feeling that some apology was due to Malcolm, who had been placed in a false position, out of which he could hardly extricate himself without incurring some of that ridicule which, reasonably or unreasonably, commonly attends all such collapses as this; so, after entering at some length into an explanation of the circumstances which rendered the expedition to the Gulf at such a time one of doubtful expediency, he proceeded with characteristic kindness to say, "Knowing how your mind and all its powers have for such a length of time been devoted to the great interests involved in the affairs of Persia, and generally in the Persian Gulf, knowing how instrumental I have myself been in disturbing the tranquillity, public and domestic, of your prominent station of Mysore, and of kindling the very ardour which this letter is to extinguish, I cannot but feel extreme regret and disappointment at a termination which, on one hand, withdraws such talents as yours, with all the energy that belongs to your character, from the great field on which they were to be displayed, and, on the other hand, may seem to blight the rich fruits of honour and distinction which you were on the point of gathering. These are sentiments in which I hope and am convinced you firmly believe, while I rely on the rectitude as well as strength of mind which distinguish you, for feeling that they are sentiments which may be permitted to follow, but which could not be allowed any share in forming, our resolution on this great public question."

Mutiny of the
Madras officers.

It would not be true to say that Malcolm was not disappointed; but for such a man there were always compensations close at hand, and he very soon reconciled himself to a loss out of which might be evolved much gain of another kind. He might now, he thought, return to the Mysore

Residency, to solace himself there with the delights of domestic life and the amenities of literary leisure. At such times, the many-sidedness of the man was very pleasantly manifested. If he could not make any more history, he could write it. His intercourse with Sir James Mackintosh fired anew his literary ambition; and he was thinking now of making great progress with his *History of Persia* and with his *Political History of India*. But to such a man as Malcolm repose was not very readily granted. He had scarcely returned to Madras when his services were again required in an imminent conjuncture. The European officers of the Madras army were in a state of revolt. The crisis was a very alarming one; and, perhaps, we do not even now know how nearly the State was wrecked. At Masulipatam, especially, there was a perilous state of things, for the Madras European regiment was garrisoned there, and it was believed that the men would follow their officers, and hoist the flag of sedition. Sir George Barlow was then Governor of Madras. The presence of Malcolm was most opportune. If any man could restore discipline to the troops at Masulipatam, he could do it. He was asked, and he consented to go. He took ship at the beginning of July, 1809, and was soon landed at Masulipatam. He found that the exasperation of the officers was even greater than he had expected. But he resolved to confront it with that frank, cheery, popular manner so peculiar to himself, by which he had so often worked his way to success. He met the officers, talked the matter over freely and candidly with them, admitting as much as he safely could (for in part he sympathised with them), and afterwards joined them at Mess. After dinner, a young officer, flushed with wine, proposed as a toast, "Our Common Cause." With characteristic readiness of address, Malcolm rose and said, "Ay—the common cause of our country." The amendment was received and drank with enthusiasm, and soon afterwards his own health was toasted with universal applause. This seemed to be the turning-point. On the following day the leading officers of the garrison discussed the whole subject calmly with him; and, though it was not easy to allay their irritation, he held them in check, and endeavoured by mild persuasions, not wanting in dignity and resolution, to lure

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them back to their allegiance to the State. Sir George Barlow thought that he was too conciliatory—that such rebellion as theirs should not have been so treated. He sent a general officer, named Pater, to take command at Masulipatam, and Malcolm returned to Madras. A controversy then arose, which was maintained in vital force for some years. Some thought Malcolm was right, some thought that he was wrong in principle; but practically, at least, he gained time; and I am inclined to think that, if he had adopted any other course, the Masulipatam officers, followed by their men, would have formed a junction with the mutineers at Hyderabad, Jaulnah, &c., and that the danger would have risen to a point which, under the more conciliatory system, it was never suffered to attain.

The Government of Sir George Barlow took an adverse view of Malcolm's conduct, and recorded a strong opinion on the subject, the justice of which he never admitted. "Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm"—so ran the official despatch—"appears to have adopted a course of proceeding entirely different from that which we had in view in deputing him to Masulipatam. He abstained from making any direct communication to the men, and when we authorised him, with the view of detaching the troops from the cause of their officers, to proclaim a pardon to the European and Native soldiers for the part which they might have taken in the mutiny, he judged it to be proper to withhold the promulgation of the pardon from an apprehension (as stated in his letter to our President, dated the 18th of July) of irritating the minds of the European officers, and driving them to despair. To this apparently unreasonable forbearance, and attention to the feelings of officers who had, by their acts of violence and aggression, forfeited all claims to such consideration, may, we conceive, be ascribed Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm's failure in the establishment of any efficient control over the garrison; and he appears to have been principally occupied during the period of his residence at Masulipatam in negotiations with the disorderly committees, calculated, in our opinion, to compromise rather than establish his authority, and in fruitless attempts to induce them by argument to return to their duty and abandon the criminal combination in which they had engaged."

The question is one, on both sides of which much may be

said, and I do not purpose here to examine it in detail. It is more to the purpose of this biography to say, that Malcolm dealt with the immediate business entrusted to him in the manner in which a man of his character and temperament might be expected to deal with it. It was his wont always to appeal to the better part of men's natures when there was a fair chance of doing so with success. He had some not inexcusable pride in his powers of conciliation, and it pleased him in this instance to turn to account the feeling of comradeship which he inspired. If he yielded too much, it is to be remembered that the alternative was one terrible to contemplate. Had it been attempted to subdue the mutinous spirit of the officers by force, the power of the soldiery must have been employed against their old commanders—a remedy almost worse than the disease. Looking at the matter coolly and dispassionately from a distance, Sir James Mackintosh, I am disposed to think, took a right view of the question and of its difficulties, when he said: "An appeal to the privates against their immediate superiors is a wound in the vitals of an army. The relation of the private soldier to the subaltern is the keystone of the arch. An army may survive any other change, but to dissolve that relation is to dissolve the whole. There begins the obedience of the many to the few. In civil society this problem appears of most difficult solution. But there it is the obedience of the dispersed and unarmed many. It is rare, and in well-regulated communities almost unfelt. In military bodies it is the hourly obedience, even to death, of the armed and embodied many. The higher links which bind subalterns to their superiors, and these to one chief, are only the obediences of the few to a fewer, and of these fewer to one. These things are easily intelligible. Honour and obvious interest are sufficient to account for them. But the obedience of the whole body of soldiers to their immediate officers is that which forms an army, and which cannot be disturbed without the utmost danger of its total destruction."

The anxiety and distress which Malcolm suffered at this time were not, however, of long continuance. He had scarcely returned to Madras, when he again received from the Governor-General a summons to proceed to Persia. In the estimation of Lord Minto, Sir Harford Jones had been doing

1809. his work in a manner so undignified, and so unworthy of the great nation which he represented, that it required the best exertions of an ambassador of another kind to restore our tarnished reputation. So he wrote to Malcolm, saying: "I need not tell you all that has been done through the zealous ministry of Sir Harford Jones to lower the rank and estimation of the British Government of India within the sphere of his influence. I am entirely convinced that the empire at large is deeply interested in maintaining, or rather, I must now say, in restoring the British dominion in India to that eminence amongst the states of Asia on which the mission of Sir Harford Jones found it established. But if I had any doubts of my own upon that point, I should still think it amongst my first duties to transmit to my successor the powers, prerogatives, and dignities of our Indian Empire in its relations—I mean with the surrounding nations—as entire and unsullied as they were confided to my hands; and I should esteem it a disgraceful violation of my great trust to let the most powerful and the noblest empire of the East suffer in my custody the slightest debasement, unless the commands of my Sovereign and superiors should require in very explicit terms a change so much to be deprecated. I entreat you, therefore, to go and lift us to our own height, and to the station that belongs to us, once more." Lord Minto soon followed his letter to Madras, where he received Malcolm with great cordiality and kindness, and talked over with him the details of the new mission to the Court of the Shah.

1810.
The new mission to Persia.

By the end of the year Malcolm's arrangements were complete; and on the 10th of January he again sailed for the Persian Gulf, attended by a brilliant staff of young officers, full of enterprise and enthusiasm, eager for action, and all fondly attached to their leader. His passage was retarded by contrary winds, but he found compensation even for this in the leisure which it afforded him for the completion of his *Political History of India*. "Five chapters are finished and corrected," he wrote to his wife a month after he had embarked, "and the sixth and last is commenced this morning. I begin now to look forward with great delight to that enchanting word, *Finis*. The moment I cease to write I will have a jubilee. I mean to dance, hunt, shoot, and play, myself,

and let who will write histories, memoirs, and sketches." Four days afterwards Malcolm landed at Bushire, where he was received with becoming respect and attention. Sending forward the letter of which he was the bearer to the King, he encamped himself with his suite, and waited for an answer. Nearly two months were spent at Bushire, but neither unprofitably nor unpleasantly, for Malcolm finished his *History*, and then began, as he said, "to hunt, and shoot, and ride, and revel in all the delights of idleness." The companionship of the fine, high-spirited youngsters who formed his Staff, was very pleasant to "Boy Malcolm;" and many a joyous day of hunting or exploring had they together whilst the *firman* of the King, which was to order them to advance, was slowly making its way from Teheran. It came at last, on the 8th of April, and was received in camp with a royal salute. A few days afterwards the mission commenced its march for the Persian capital.

As the mission advanced, Malcolm found everywhere that the greed for British gold and costly presents, which he had himself ten years before done something to stimulate, had been greatly strengthened by the lavish givings of Sir Harford Jones. "These people," he wrote, "are like ferocious animals who have once tasted blood. Nothing else will satisfy them. They cry out for money as shamelessly as if it were their natural food. I have been obliged to come to very high words, and have no doubt that I have much disgusted them." They were scarcely less anxious to bribe than to be bribed. Whilst Malcolm was at Shiraz, it was intimated to him by the Minister that a costly present of jewels had been prepared as a gift to his wife. Checking his first feeling of indignation, Malcolm replied: "Tell your master that when I was at Mysore, the Minister there would gladly have heaped costly presents upon us; but instead of this, on my persuasion, he made a fine new road that was much wanted, and dedicated it to Mrs. Malcolm. Such are the presents I like."

Malcolm's great difficulty was Sir Harford Jones; but even this was overcome in time, and the unseemly antagonism between the two envoys, to which the Persians looked hopefully in the expectation that they would endeavour to out-bribe each other, brought at last to an end. The King re-

1810.

ceived Malcolm with all due honour in his royal camp at Sultaneah, and both his Majesty and the Prince Abbas Merza paid him the most gratifying personal attentions. On the occasion of his first audience, Futteh Ali welcomed him with the greatest cordiality, told him to be seated, and cut short his ambassadorial speech by telling him to talk about himself. Malcolm was not slow to obey; but they soon branched into a general conversation on the politics of Europe, in which the career and character of Napoleon occupied no small place.

It is not necessary to follow in detail the history of this second mission to Persia, the chief results of which were that, primarily in Malcolm's honour, the order of the Lion and the Sun was instituted, and that additional materials were collected for the long-contemplated *History of Persia*. The Company's Government, in the person of their representative, were sufficiently lustrated; but as the management of our Persian relations was thenceforth entrusted to the King's Ministers, this was not of much importance. The object, however, for which Malcolm had been sent to the Court of the Shah was abundantly attained, and after having received his audience of leave, he was fully entitled to write to Lord Minto, saying: "I cannot but conceive that the conduct of the King towards me must have the best effects towards the full accomplishment of those objects which your Lordship had in view when you deputed me to this Court, as it marked in a manner not to be mistaken his great respect and consideration for the Government which I represented." A few days afterwards he wrote in his journal: "What a happy man I am! It is impossible to look back without congratulating myself on my good fortune at every stage of my late vexatious and unpromising mission. I have now turned my back, and I hope for ever, on deceit, falsehood, and intrigue; and I am bending my willing steps and still more willing heart towards rectitude, truth, and sincerity. I leave all I hate, and am proceeding towards all I love. May God make my journey prosperous!" But there was still a little more trouble in store for him, both from the cupidity of the Persians and their dissensions on the Turkish border; and it was not without some difficulty that he at last made good his route to Bombay.

1811.

There was now at last a brief season of repose for him. He took up his residence at Bombay early in the year 1811, and addressed himself assiduously to the completion of the financial accounts of his mission to Persia, and the composition of his long-contemplated history. There he met, for the second time, Sir James Mackintosh, with whom he entered into the bonds of a lifelong friendship, and was soon joined by his old comrade, Mountstuart Elphinstone, who, after returning from his mission to Afghanistan, had been appointed Resident at Poonah. In the following year, Malcolm, with his wife and children, took ship for England, uncertain about the future. There were times when he thought of retiring from the service, of farming and horse-breeding; but he was then in the full vigour of his manhood, and to abandon such a career at the age of forty-three required such strong inducements and substantial reasons as even the love of country and the charms of a happy home could not supply. But no man could more thoroughly enjoy life in his native country. There was but one drawback to the happiness of his return—one that has turned the joy of too many an Indian exile into sorrow—death had broken into the family circle. Both his parents were dead. He had started from Bombay full of the delightful hope of soon seeing his wife and children in his mother's arms; but news of her death met him at St. Helena, and the blow fell heavily upon him.

In the course of July (1812), he landed in England, and soon, having taken a house near Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, he located his family there, and proceeded to Scotland, to revisit the scenes of his youth. There, in his own native Dumfries-shire, he "went to visit all, high and low, that had known him as a child." "Visited the graves of my parents," he added, in the journal which he kept at the time, "and heard the noblest praise of them from the aged, the infirm, and the poor that they had aided and supported; and to whom the aid and support of the family are still given." At Burnfoot he was received with rapturous delight by all—scarcely less by the old servants and dependents of the family than by his own nearest kindred. On John Malcolm observing to one old servant that there had been many changes, but that he hoped that it was still, as before, a good house to live in, the

1812.
Return to Eng-
land.

1813. man replied, "Faith, it's mair than that—it's the best house to die in of a' Scotland."

Having accomplished this visit to the north, Malcolm returned to London, and before the end of the year he was knighted by the Prince Regent. Soon afterwards, he was examined before a Committee of the House of Commons.* This interested and employed him; and he was working assiduously at his *History of Persia*; but the stirring events of the great war in the Peninsula, and the success of his old friend Arthur Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington, raised within him a desire for active employment, and he asked the Duke if he could not obtain service for him. Wellington told him to go into Parliament. "Although I had long," he wrote, "been in habits of friendship with the public men of the day, and had some professional claims to public notice when I returned to England, I believe that I should have been but little known, and should not be what I am, if I had not gone into Parliament. I would therefore advise you to go into Parliament, if you can afford it, if you look to high public employment." In the following year the great Duke paid a brief visit to England, amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of an admiring nation; but he had not been many hours in London before he made his way to Manchester-street, to shake his dear friend, John Malcolm, by the hand, and excited the suspicions of an incredulous old servant by announcing himself as the Duke of Wellington—a name with which at that moment the whole country was ringing.

1814.

* I shall refer presently to Malcolm's military evidence; but I quote the following as evidencing his prescience and sagacity. But it was not till half a century later that the full truth was apparent. "I think," he said, "of all the powers which are vested in the local Government, there is none more essential to its existence in full vigour and force than that which enables them to restrain the local residence of every individual European to particular parts of the empire. If British subjects were allowed to go in the manner described to India, the effects would be various, agreeably to the places to which they went. If to the Presidencies, where British courts of law are established,

there would be no other danger, I conceive, resulting from them, but what might arise from their great numbers, and the changes in the condition of the society, and eventually and gradually of the Government, from that circumstance; but if they went to any parts where there was no established authority to control them, and if they proceeded into the interior of the country, there would no doubt be much mischief arising from those quarrels which must inevitably ensue with the natives, which mischief would vary from a hundred local causes connected with the character of the natives of the places to which they resorted."

In no man, perhaps, was that feeling of *esprit de corps*, which has so much that is kind, and generous, and noble in it, and which binds men together by the best ties of comradeship in the service of the State, stronger than it was in Malcolm. He never denied the existence in himself of that "infirmity of noble minds," a love of personal distinction. He always said that he was by nature ambitious, and that he desired nothing so much as to see that his services were honourably recognised by the Crown, and that the fountain of honour was not sealed against him. But he did not think only of his own honour. He regarded himself, and rightly, as a representative man, and it was his greatest object of all to make a precedent which would benefit the Company's Army, from generation to generation, so long as the service should endure. He had a strong and not unreasonable sense that good work done in India was in no wise regarded, as it ought to be, in the light of an imperial benefit, to be recognised and rewarded by the sovereign rulers of the empire. In spite of all the great heroic deeds that had been done in India, there was still a tendency to sneer at the Company's Army as a merchant service, and the King's officers, though compelled to recognise both the fine qualities and the noble actions of their comrades in the Indian regiments, somewhat grudged their participation in the honorary distinctions which had been exclusively reserved for the immediate servants of the Crown. The jealousies which Lord Cornwallis so much deplored, and which he had endeavoured so strenuously to remove, were still in active vitality ten years after his death. The Prince Regent had knighted Malcolm, as he might have knighted any other "merchant fellow"—a provincial mayor or an alderman of London, men often very worthy of such honour, but not to be classed with the heroes of the East. What Malcolm coveted was the Order of the Bath; and the feeling that there was any likelihood of its being denied to him, because he was an Indian officer, was rendered all the more painful to him by the fact that his two brothers—James in the Marines, and Pulteny in the Navy—were likely now to be made Knights Companions of the great coveted Order. They had, doubtless, done good service; but not such good service as brother John, and he could not help feeling that if it had not

1814.
Malcolm and
the Service.

1814. been for the stamp of the "Company" upon him, his claims would have been considered at least as good as those of the other Burnfoot boys.

But it was not merely for this claim, on the part of the Company's service, to just participation in the honorary distinctions emanating from the Crown that Malcolm had now to contend. The superior military commands were given generally to the officers of the King's Army. Some of the worst abuses that had existed in the old days of Cornwallis and Wellesley had been reformed; but these very reforms, whilst they had rendered the Company's service less lucrative, had not, externally at least, rendered it more honourable. In the old times, even the military officers of the Company, by means of contracts of different kinds, carried on business very much upon "the mercantile bottom," but when, little by little, this unwholesome system was abolished—the last blow struck at it having roused the Madras officers to mutiny—it would have been sound policy to have increased the number of legitimate professional prizes, both in the direction of lucrative commands and honorary distinctions. It was Malcolm's great object to accomplish this for his comrades in the Indian Army—to be, as it were, the pioneer of their honours. With this hope he had drawn up some elaborate papers for the President of the Board of Control,* and had contrived that some of the questions put to him in his examination before Parliament should be so put as to elicit information respecting the depressed state of the Company's service. With this hope he pointed out that the exclusion of the Company's officers from the honours, especially those of the Bath, so freely bestowed upon the King's service, had "beyond all other causes tended to damp that ardour and high military feeling which are always essential to the cha-

* Malcolm sums up one of these papers by pointing out "the importance of directing the views of the officers of the Indian Army yet more than we have done to England, and of elevating the Company's service, by obtaining for such of that service as may merit it a fair participation in the favour of the Crown, and a full admission of their pretensions to the highest offices (particularly in India), on the ground that

granting to them such consideration is not more necessary to benefit it, by giving it the advantage of all the talent that is reared and matured in its service, than it is to infuse ambition and high principles of military feeling into an army which is now upon a scale that demands the action of such motives to preserve it in a state of discipline and attachment."

racter of an officer, but, above all others, of officers so situated as those of the Company's service are in India.* With this hope, he exerted all his influence to obtain a recognition by the Crown of his own services, well assured that there was no officer in the Company's service who had striven more to deserve it. No man knew this better than the President of the Board of Control, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, who, as Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, had known Malcolm well in India, and what he had done for the State. And his recommendations, aided, perhaps, by the irresistible influence of the Duke of Wellington, obtained at last for Malcolm the honour which he sought. In April, 1814, he was made a Knight Companion of the Bath.† Two months before, the same high distinction had been conferred on his brothers James and Pulteny—a triple honour, of which not only Burnfoot, or Eskdale, or Dumfries-shire, but all Scotland, might well be proud.

Nor were these the only honours in store for him at this period of his career. In the same year, Sir John Malcolm also won his spurs as an historian. His *History of Persia* was published, by Murray, in two magnificent quarto volumes, and was most favourably received by the literary world, both of England and of France. From many of the most distinguished writers of the day, including Byron and Scott, he received warm tributes of admiration, and had every reason to be satisfied with the success of his work. But in the life of Sir John Malcolm literature was only a digression. It is probable, that if he had been less a man of action, he would have been more highly esteemed as a man of letters. Whilst thinking of what he did, we are apt sometimes to forget our obligations to him for what he wrote.

* When asked, "Has any mark of honour or public distinction been bestowed by the Crown on any officer of the Company's Army for military services?" he answered, "I have no recollection of any such mark of distinction within thirty years, except one: the dignity of baronet was granted to Sir John Braithwaite, when he was superseded by a junior officer of his Majesty's service in India, from the command of the Army of Fort St. George, to which he had been pro-

visionally appointed." Colonel Barry Close had been created a baronet, but not on account of his military services. He died in 1813, and the *Annual Register* of that year, after detailing the chief incidents of his career, says that "his eminent services in India were not rewarded with any honours."

† The Order of the Bath was not divided into the three existing divisions of Grand Cross, Knight Commander, and Companion, until the following year.

1815.
Malcolm and
Wellington.

The following year was the great Waterloo year; and, after the battle, Malcolm, like a host of other eager excited Englishmen, went to Paris to see the fun. No one could have gone there under happier auspices, for no one could have been more warmly welcomed by the great man who was then master of the situation. Nothing, indeed, could have exceeded the friendly attention of Wellington to him during the whole period of his stay in the French capital. He met also a most flattering reception from some of the most eminent French savans—especially those interested in Oriental literature—and, sensible of his own deficiency in this respect, he put himself to school to learn the French language. The journal which he kept at this period is most interesting. The following passages are equally illustrative in an historical and a biographical sense. They throw some light on the history of the great battle, and they pleasantly illustrate the lifelong friendship between Malcolm and the Duke.

“*Paris, July 24.*— . . . I went to the Duke’s hotel. He had not returned from the review, so Allan and myself left our names, and the moment he came in (five o’clock), Colonel Campbell brought us a message requesting we would dine with him, and that we would bring Lord John Campbell, who was our fellow-traveller. We found the Duke with a large party seated at dinner. He called out, in his usual manner, the moment I entered, ‘Ah! Malcolm, I am delighted to see you.’ I went and shook hands, introduced Lord John Campbell, and then sat down. I mention this trifle because it showed me at once that his astonishing elevation had not produced the slightest change. The tone—the manner—everything was the same. After dinner, he left a party he was with when I entered, and, shaking me by the hand, retired to one end of the room, where he shortly stated what had occurred within the eventful month. ‘People ask me for an account of the action,’ he said. ‘I tell them it was hard pounding on both sides, and we pounded the hardest. There was no manœuvring,’ he said; ‘Buonaparte kept his attacks, and I was glad to let it be decided by the troops. There are no men in Europe that can fight like my Spanish infantry; none have been so tried. Besides,’ he added, with enthusiasm, ‘my army and I know one another exactly. We have a mutual confidence, and are

never disappointed.' 'You had, however,' I observed, 'more than half of your troops of other nations.' 'That did not signify,' he said, 'for I had discovered the secret of mixing them up together. Had I employed them in separate corps, I should have lost the battle. The Hanoverians,' he added, 'are good troops, but the new Dutch levies are bad. They, however, served to fill gaps, and I knew where to place them.' After some more conversation on this subject he went up to Allan, and began the conversation again. Allan and myself expressed our gratification at seeing the state of the hospitals at Brussels, and told him how delighted we were to find, that through the discipline he had established, and the good conduct of the troops, the English character stood so high that the name was a passport to the houses of those they had conquered. He said that he had done everything he could to effect this object. 'The Prussians,' he observed, 'behaved horribly, and had not only lost character, but their object, for more was destroyed than taken; and in such scenes of indiscriminate pillage and harshness, those who deserved to suffer often escaped, and the benefit, when there was any, generally fell to them who deserved it least. My doctrine has always been the same,' said he; 'to go to work systematically—to play light with individuals, but grind the State.' I remarked that he had taken advantage of an event which staggered credulity—that of an English army occupying the capital of France—to act in a manner that was calculated to soften the asperity and lessen the hatred of two great rival nations. 'That very observation,' he replied, 'was made to me some days ago by Talleyrand.' 'I trust, however,' I added, 'that France will be deprived of *the means of attacking other nations*, particularly the newly-created kingdom of the Netherlands, for they may be termed, as a nation, the most elastic in the world.' He said that was true, and care should be taken; but I thought that he seemed to think dismantling the frontier places was better than giving them up. When I stated that I could not discover any great strength in the position at the battle of Waterloo, but that it seemed the description of ground that might have been impartially chosen to decide a day between two great nations, he replied that there was no advantage; that the French artillery had rather

1815.

the highest ridge. I asked him if he knew the foundation of the assertion made by Lord Bathurst, with respect to his (Wellington's) having surveyed the ground and declared he would fight a battle there if he could. He said that he had directed the ground to be looked at, and in the impression that it might be a good site for a few troops, as it was clear of the forest, and commanded two great roads; but he never had, he said, thought of fighting a battle there. 'The fact is,' he observed, 'I should have fought them on the 17th at Quatre Bras, if the Prussians had stood their ground. My retiring to Waterloo was a matter of necessity, not choice.' I asked him if Blucher had co-operated well. 'Nothing could be better,' he said. 'I sent him word that I knew I should be attacked at Waterloo. He said he would be ready on the 19th.' 'That would not answer,' I replied, 'as I was assured I should be attacked on the 18th, and that I would be satisfied with Bulow's corps. Blucher then wrote or sent word that he would send Bulow's corps and another, and came himself with his whole army to my support.' The Duke said he saw Bulow at three. 'The Prussians had told him,' he said, 'about their Horse.' The Prince Pozzo di Borgo, who dined with us, told me that he was with the Duke through the whole day of the 18th. 'It was one of those actions,' he said, 'that depended upon the commander being continually in the hottest place, for nothing could be neglected. We were a great part of the time,' he said, 'between the two armies; but the coolness of the Duke,' he added, 'is not to be described. Considerable troops of Belgians stationed at Hougoumont gave way. The Duke, turning to me, said, smiling, "Voilà des coquins avec qui il faut gagner une bataille." I was so struck with this characteristic anecdote, that I went to the Duke, and I asked him if it was true. He said Pozzo di Borgo had repeated his exact words. I was much pleased with the conversation of Pozzo di Borgo. He said, speaking of Metternich, that he did not merit the abuse that was given him. 'Some men,' said he, 'direct circumstances, others go along with them. He is not of the first class.' This observation was made in reply to some remarks Sir S. Smith had made upon Metternich's character. Pozzo di Borgo told me, that he had maintained throughout the

whole country that England was lost if her Ministers ever admitted any negotiation that proceeded on the possibility of either Great Britain or her possessions in India being invaded."

1815.

Among other entries in the journal, of a more general character, is the following: "Walter Scott is here. I took him to the Duke, who has been very attentive to him. He wrote me to bring him to dinner to-day (August 19), and that he would make a party to meet him. The poet is happy." It is a misfortune that there is no record of what passed on that evening; for as it is probable that there were no two men, in France or England, at that time, with a larger stock of anecdote between them, than that possessed by Walter Scott and John Malcolm, we may be sure that the table-talk was of a very edifying and amusing kind.

Highly delighted with his continental visit, Malcolm returned to England in the autumn of 1815, and soon began to debate within himself the great question of a return or no-return to India, as he could not take his wife and young family with him to that country. There were strong appeals on behalf of the latter continually tugging at his heart-strings; but it would, doubtless, be for their good that he should return to India, for, notwithstanding his great opportunities, he had amassed but a small fortune. So, after a while, he determined to continue his Indian career, and he took his passage in a ship which was to sail in October. Some months before his departure (June, 1816) Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

On the 17th of March, 1817, Sir John Malcolm landed at Madras. During his absence from India great events had been born in that country, and still greater were taking shape in the womb of time. The Nepal war had been fought out; and vast preparations were being matured for the commencement of another war in Central India. This did not surprise Malcolm, who looked upon the general confusion of political affairs in Hindostan as the inevitable growth of the imperfect settlement which had been effected, under orders from England, by Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow. But it was

1817.
Return to
India.

1817. not easy to see at that time the direction which the war would take, and who would be our enemies in the field. The immediate evil, at which it was a pressing necessity that the Government of India should strike, was that great tyranny of the Pindarrees—a half military, half predatory domination, born of the last war and nurtured by the weakness of the substantive States. These substantive States had been for years festering with suppressed enmity against the English; and it was probable that as soon as our armies should take the field against the Pindarrees, the Princes of Central India, either in anger or in fear, would throw off the mask, assume a menacing attitude, and compel us to attack them. The crisis was a great one; and it was fortunate that at that time the chief direction of affairs was in the hands of a man, who, as Lord Cornwallis had done in the last century, combined in his own person the two offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. That young “Lord Rawdon,” who had served with distinction under Cornwallis in the American War, and who had ever been among the warmest friends and admirers of that soldier-statesman, had gone out to India as the Earl of Moira, holding the chief civil and military authority; and he had now determined, like Cornwallis, to take the field in person against present and prospective enemies. In this conjuncture it was great gain to him to know that Malcolm had returned to India. It was not long, therefore, after the arrival of the latter at Madras that he received a letter from the Governor-General, saying: “Let me assure you that I fully appreciate your talents and energy, and I shall rejoice if I find a fit field for their employment. I hear that for five months to come we must be restricted to Cabinet activity; perhaps in that interval you may be tempted to pay a visit to Bengal, when the opportunity of giving you such an insight into matters as cannot be afforded you by letter, may lead to your striking out a mode in which you may exert yourself with satisfaction.” Upon this hint Malcolm at once took ship for Calcutta. There he was received with the most flattering courtesy and kindness by the Governor-General, and was at once taken into his confidence.

It was a political conjuncture of the most serious character; for a state of things had, by this time, arisen in Central India

which afforded us too much reason to believe that the Pindarree operations would involve us in a war with the substantive Mahratta States. There was not a man in India who knew more about those States than Sir John Malcolm, nor one whom the Governor-General was more eager to employ. After a pleasant sojourn of a few weeks he returned to Madras, with a mixed military and political commission from the Governor-General. "My situation is most flattering," he wrote from that Presidency. "As Governor-General's agent, all political work connected with our operations is in my hands; as Brigadier-General, I am destined for the most advanced force; and, what is really delightful, from the Governor-General down to the lowest black or white, red or brown, clothed or naked, all appear happy at my advancement."

I have reached an epoch of Malcolm's life which is so crowded with incident that it becomes necessary to resort to the utmost degree of compression that is consistent with the intelligibility of the narrative.* In the summer of this year, Malcolm, in pursuance of the objects of his diplomatic appointment, visited the great political Residencies of Southern India, passing from Mysore to Hyderabad, and from Hyderabad to Poonah; sometimes riding long distances on horseback, and at others being carried in a palanquin. At Poonah he took sweet counsel with his friend Mountstuart Elphinstone, and afterwards visited the Peishwah, Badjee Rao, who received him with the most signal courtesy and respect. Malcolm tendered the Prince the best possible advice, and he promised to take it; but he was entirely wanting in steadfastness of character, and when the hour of trial came he utterly disappointed his English friend, who had hoped better things from him. From Poonah, Malcolm returned to Hyderabad to complete the necessary arrangements for the advance of the army of the Deccan. From Hyderabad he hastened to Nagpore, where he met another old friend and associate, Richard Jenkins; and having taken counsel with him, relative to the affairs of that State, he was eager to press on to join the army of the Nerbudda, and to merge his political into his military character.

On the 29th of October he took command of his division

* These events, indeed, belong rather to history than to biography, and a part, at least, of the story is told in the subsequent Memoir of Mr. Elphinstone.

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at Hurda. "I do not contemplate," he wrote, "that the Pindarrees will resist us. Sindiah has long submitted, and ruin must attend any tangible power that opposes us; but still, we shall have much work, and I am to have (for which thank God) more than a common share. I am delighted with the work I have, the object of which is, beyond all wars, to give peace and prosperity to a miserable people and a wasted country." On the 10th of November, Sir Thomas Hislop, who had chief command of the army advancing from that side of the country, joined the force, and on the 15th, Malcolm crossed the Nerbudda in pursuit of the Pindarrees. At the beginning of December he was in chase of the celebrated freebooter, Cheetoo; but he had soon nobler game in view.

War with the
Mahratta
States.

I have said that it was only too likely, from the first, that the war primarily undertaken for the dispersion of the Pindarrees would end in a great conflict with the substantive Mahratta States. Already had it so developed itself. The Peishwah and the Nagpore Rajah had thrown off the mask; and Holkar, or those who guided his councils—for the Prince himself was a boy—had been for some time waiting for a favourable opportunity to cast in their lot with the confederates. Military domination had taken the place of settled government. The Army were in arrears of pay, the Treasury was empty, and as the Peishwah had beguiled them with promises of money, they were eager to take up arms on his side. Before the end of November, Holkar's troops had set out to form a junction with Badjee Rao's Army. Early in the following month intelligence of this movement reached Malcolm, and then desisting from the pursuit of Cheetoo,* he turned his thoughts towards Holkar's camp. Commiserating the condition of the boy-Prince, who was little more than a name in the Durbar, he endeavoured to convince the evil advisers who were leading the Rajah astray, that they were rushing headlong to their ruin; but he felt that negotiation would fail, for they were too far committed to draw back. This was very soon apparent. Malcolm had pushed forward with his division to join the main body of the Army of the Deccan under Sir Thomas Hislop, and on the 12th of December he had formed

* Cheetoo afterwards fled into the jungle, and was believed to have been eaten up by a tiger.

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big game. His irrepressible enthusiasm could not be held in due restraint. He was often, therefore, to be seen in the front of the battle—often where strict discipline forbade the commanding General to be. The officers of his Staff were often alarmed for his safety, but he had never one thought for himself. As he was riding eagerly forward, in the face of the Mahratta batteries, he exclaimed, "A man may get a red riband out of this." "I hope in God," returned Caulfield, who rode beside him, "we may get *you* out of this—safe." At another time, to rectify some error in the advancing line, he rode so far forward that he was in danger of being shot by his own men. His native aide-de-camp, Syud Ibrahim, rode up to Captain Borthwick, and cried, "Look at the General. He is in front of our men, who are firing! For God's sake bring him back!" And Borthwick rode on to save his chief, who returned when he had done his work. His personal courage, indeed, was of the highest order; and there was always on great occasions an irrepressible enthusiasm in him which was, perhaps, a little more impetuous than sound judgment would approve.

There is nothing dearer to the heart of a soldier, who has done his duty well, than the thought of "what will be said at home;" and in Malcolm this good home-feeling was especially strong. He thought, after the battle, of his wife and children, and all his dear friends in Eskdale. To Lady Malcolm he wrote from Medidpore, saying: "On the 20th, at night, I thought of you and the little ones. On the 21st, if ever you came across my mind, it was only how to prove myself worthy of you; but this even, I must confess, was only for a moment, for I was wholly absorbed in the scene and in my duty. You will see by the *Gazette* account, and by my report of the attack of which I had charge (a copy of which accompanies this), what my task was. I ascended the bank of the river with proud feelings. I never before had such a chance of fair fame as a soldier; and if the countenances of white and black in this gallant army are to be trusted, I did not lose the opportunity afforded me. Josiah Stewart, who was with me all the day, and who is a first-rate fellow, and as calm in battle as at his dinner, has written an account, he

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Government had in view without unduly weakening the power of Holkar.* The youth and helplessness of the young Maharajah himself, in the kindly estimation of such a man as Malcolm, entitled him to our especial forbearance. Lord Minto had told Malcolm that he ought not to be sent to negotiate with a Prince more than twelve years old; so he had now one of the right age on whom to exercise his rare powers of engaging the confidence and affection of the young. "I have been lately with my young ward, Mulhar Rao Holkar," he wrote at the end of February, "and certainly the change of a few weeks is wonderful. The fellows that I was hunting like wild beasts are all now tame, and combine in declaring that I am their only friend. All the chiefs of Holkar are in good humour. The boy himself is at present delighted with a small elephant (which he lost, and I recovered and sent him), that dances like a dancing-girl, and a little Pegu pony, of which I made him a present, and which ambles at a great rate. I went out to hunt with him a few days ago, and we had great fun. The little fellow, though only eleven years of age, rides beautifully. He mounted a tall bay horse, very fairly broken, and taking a blunt spear nine feet in length, tilted with two or three others in very superior style, wheeling, charging, and using his spear as well as the rest of them. He expressed grief at my going away, as he discovered that I was very fond of play and hunting."†

* Malcolm thus described the arrangement in a letter to John Adam: "The terms proposed were the confirmation of the engagements with Ameer Khan; the cession to the Company of the claims of Holkar's government upon the Rajpoot States; the cession to Zalem Singh, Rajah of Kotah, of four districts formerly rented by him; the confirmation under the guarantee of the Company of his *jaidad*, amounting to nearly four lakhs of rupees per annum, to Guffoor Khan and his heirs, on the condition of his maintaining a quota of horse; the cession of the tribute of Narsinghur; the cession to the Company of all Holkar's possessions within and to the south of the South-poor range of hills, including Candeish, Ambu Ellora, and all his other possessions in that quarter."

† In another letter we have an equally pleasant glimpse of Malcolm's geniality in his relations, at this time, with the officers of the British Army; "I wish we had you here," he wrote to his wife, "I would show you that I have realised all my plans of making men work, and fight, and do everything men ought to do, and yet be happy and make no complaints. The Pindarrees have gone from this quarter. I do nothing on the march but shoot and hunt. A Bengal corps came near me four days ago. Several officers came to see me; among others, a son of Robert Burns—a very fine young man. We had a grand evening, and I made him sing his father's songs. He has a modest but serious pride of being the son of the bard of his country, which quite delighted me."

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it would have been impossible to have obtained his submission on other terms, and the object of terminating the war was enough to justify all I have done, independent of the consideration connected with our own dignity, and with that regard we were bound on such an occasion to show to the feelings of his adherents, and to the prejudices of the natives of India." To Thomas Munro he wrote a few days afterwards : " You were right in your guess about my reason for thinking you *sackt* (harsh). Your sentiments upon my settlement with Badjee Rao were quite a cordial. I have not been so happy in this case as to anticipate the wishes of the Governor-General. He expected Badjee Rao would get no such terms ; that his distress would force him to submit on any conditions ; and that his enormities deprived him of all right either to princely treatment or princely pension. I think the Lord will, when he hears all, regret the precipitation with which he formed his judgment. In the first place, he will find that, in spite of the report made by every commanding officer, who ever touched Badjee Rao, that he had destroyed him, that the latter was not destroyed, but had about six thousand good horse and five thousand infantry, and the gates of Asseer wide open, all his property sent in there, and half his councillors praying him to follow it, while Jeswunt Rao Lar was positively ambitious of being a martyr in the cause of the Mahratta Sovereign ; add to this the impossibility of besieging Asseer till after the rains—the difficulty of even half blockading it, and the agitated state of the country—and then let the Lord pronounce the article I purchased was worth the price I paid ; and he will find it proved I could not get it cheaper. There are, however, other grounds which I can never abandon, that recommend this course on the ground of policy—our own dignity, considerations for the feelings of Badjee Rao's adherents, and for the prejudices of the natives of India. We exist on impression ; and on occasions like this, where all are anxious spectators, we must play our part well, or we should be hissed. I have your opinion in my favour ; I have Ochterlony's, Elphinstone's, Jenkins's, and many minor men's ; and I think I shall yet force an assent from head-quarters. But they foolishly enough committed themselves, knowing, as they stated at the time, their in-

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satisfied with his reception, even though his claims were disallowed. "I wish I had you here for a week," he wrote to one of his oldest friends, "to show you my nabobs, rajahs, Bheel chiefs, potails, and ryots. My room is a thoroughfare from morning to night. No moonshees, dewans, dubashes, or even chobdars,* but *châr derwazah kolah* (four doors open), that the inhabitants of these countries may learn what our principles are at the fountain-head. My success has been great, beyond even my own expectations; but the labour of public duty in the way I take it is more than any man can bear, and I believe that I shall be grateful to the Directors for relieving me from a life that no human being that sees how it is passed can envy. Of the result of my efforts I will not speak. You will hear from others that have lately quitted this scene. Suffice it to say, that from the highest ruler to the lowest robber, from the palace in the city to the shed in the deepest recess of the mountain forest, your friend *Malcolm Sahib* is a welcome and a familiar guest, and is as much pleased, thank God, with firing arrows and eating roots with the latter, as at the fine durbars and sumptuous feasts of the former." To another friend (Mr. Butterworth Bayley) he wrote: "I wish you and some other friends at Calcutta could take a view, for one week, of my occupations. They are at least curious. No business, however urgent, and no meal, however hungry I am, is allowed to prevent the instant access of any human being, however humble. He is heard and answered, either at the moment or at an hour appointed by myself. First impressions are of too much importance to be hazarded by leaving applications to the common routine of moonshees, mootasordees, jemadars, chobdars, and hurkarahs. I employ all these; but they step aside when any one, from a rajah to a ryot, pronounces my name, with the expression of a wish to see me either from a motive of respect, curiosity, or business." About the same time I find an officer on Sir John Malcolm's staff writing confidentially to a friend: "Nobody that I ever saw or heard of can get over the same quantity of business in the same quantity of time that he does, and his reputation stands so very high with the natives, that his being personally con-

* Native officials of different grades.

cerned in any arrangements goes further in satisfying them than I believe would the interference of any other man upon earth. When we crossed the Nerbuddah in 1817, the state of Malwah was scarcely to be described. It was a country without government, a state without revenue, an army without pay; consequently, a peasantry without protection from the villanies of the troops of their own Sovereign, or the depredators who chose to plunder them; and of these last the country was full. We now see around us the effects of our late operations. . . . A state, though at present reduced in respect of revenue, yet respectable; that revenue increasing, and perhaps the finest country in India again wearing the face of cheerful industry; the inhabitants, assured of protection, returning to their villages and looking forward with confidence to better times. . . . This is Sir John's work, and a most glorious work it has been. His is a noble character, and such as his are required to keep us now on the high ground on which, thank God, we stand in India. . . . I believe, though it is possible that he may be equalled in some points, that in public virtue and useful talent he cannot be excelled by any public servant of any Government at this time existing; and that for whatever time his fame may last in Europe, Malcolm Sahib will be remembered in Malwah as long as regular government exists, of which he has again laid the foundation." And high as was this praise, it was perfectly true; and the prediction was amply fulfilled. The names of Malcolm and Malwah have never since been dis-

And all through the year 1819, Malcolm worked on bravely, and energetically, and with his whole heart, loving his work, and yet not without certain promptings of ambition, which made him look to the something beyond which is the grand stimulus to all exertion in India—whether the thing coveted be a brigade-majorship, a deputy magistracy, or the government of a Presidency. The government of Bombay was about to become vacant, and Malcolm had been encouraged to hope that it would be conferred upon him; but it was given to Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, his junior in the service by many years, and he regarded such a nomination as an unjust supersession of his rightful claims. “No man,” he wrote to

Disappointments.

1819.

his brother Pulteny, "could have more merit than Elphinstone; but I stood on ground that should have defended my fair and encouraged views of honourable ambition from supersession by any man. It is not for me to blazon my services; but they have been honest. Some persons write me that the government of Madras is intended. This, I am assured, is not the case; nor do I look for anything that can compensate the disappointment. I should not be surprised at a pension being granted, but I should certainly feel little gratification or gratitude from it, if it came, as it would, from the efforts of those who had failed me in pursuit of a better object."

He had scarcely recovered from this blow, when another fell upon him. He had said that he did not expect to be appointed to the Madras government, because objections had been raised on the score of his being a soldier—and a soldier, too, of that Presidency. But when the post fell vacant, his old friend, Sir Thomas Munro, who was also a Madras officer, was nominated Governor of that Presidency. It was not strange that this disquieted him greatly. "I could not get Bombay," he wrote to Mr. Elphinstone, "because I was not a civil servant.* The Duke of Wellington, when he asked for Madras for me, was told that I could not have that Presidency because I was a Company's servant. In my excellent friend Thomas Munro they have both a soldier and a merchant's son (as we Eastern Knights of the Bath were called by the *Morning Chronicle*). Now, though I will no more quarrel with Munro's nomination than I did with yours—though I congratulate India on such appointments, I am not, and never will be, reconciled to being so completely thrown

* On this subject of his alleged want of acquaintance with civil duties, he wrote, with justifiable pride: "Has not my life—though I never acted as a judge or collector—been more given to civil than to military duties? Has not the whole government, in all its parts, been my constant study? And what but the knowledge I have gained and put in practice could have brought the whole of this quarter to the state it is now in? Has not my life been given to all the details of revenue settlements and judicial proceedings, Native as well

as European modes of administering justice, and the most minute investigation of everything relating to the rules and institutions, great and small, of this and neighbouring countries? They shall, ere long, see all this in a Report, which will enable me to ask my friends whether I am, or I am not, fit for a civil government. But let them in the mean while take as no slight evidence the condition of these countries, and then ask how much of this remarkable work has been effected by force."

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He was not one, as I have before said, to be long downcast, or to hug his disappointments with unwise tenacity; so we soon find him writing again in the old strain of cheerfulness, thankful for the many blessings he enjoyed. "Let us learn," he wrote to his wife, "in the first place, to be grateful for the extraordinary good fortune we enjoy. Let us habituate ourselves to look down as well as to look up; and then we shall escape many a torturing reflection. When occurrences like these, which have recently happened, cross my path of ambition, I pause for a moment; but a recollection of their causes, of the rank I have attained, of the resources I possess to enable me to go higher should I still desire it, of my admirable wife, my delightful children, my fair fortune, and, what is more, my fair fame, comes upon my mind, and tells me that with all these crosses and jostles I am still among the most fortunate of mankind, and that it is unreasonable, if not impious, to complain. All this I feel consistent with a steady view of my interests in life; and though anger cannot blind my reason, I am not insensible to passing events, nor to the comparative claim upon my regard of real and pretended friends." Moreover, there were palpably before him, at this time, the good fruits of his great work in Malwah. Most successfully had he laboured, and there was ample reward to his heart in the altered appearance of the country. He looked with pride at the many evidences of returning prosperity that surrounded him, and learnt with the purest sensations of delight that the blessings of the people attended him. "The old ruins of this place," he wrote from Mehidpore, "and the celebrated city of Maidoo, have for more than a century been shared by tigers and Bheels, more destructive than the tigers in their ravages. The tigers I shoot; the Bheels are my friends, and now serve in a corps I have raised to cultivate lands. I have made and am making roads in every direction. A great Fair at a holy place which has not been visited for seventy years, was a week ago visited by thirty thousand people. I gave guards at the place and cleared the road; and I confess that I was a little sensible to the flattery of the poor creatures making the air ring with 'Jy, Malcolm, jy!' (Success to Malcolm), &c. &c. This, and the discovery a few days ago, that among the Bheel ladies, tying a string upon the right arm of their children whilst the priest pronounced the

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They had a house in London and a cottage in Kent; but the latter was too small for the family, so he looked about for another country residence, and found one upon the borders of Hertfordshire, twenty-five miles from town, on the road to Cambridge, not far from the town of Sawbridgeworth. It was known by the name of Hyde Hall; and there, after a time, Malcolm pitched his tent—and a very hospitable tent it was, almost as much open, on all its four sides, as that other tent in Central India. There he entertained many visitors from Cambridge, who still cherish the recollection of those days as among the happiest of their lives. Among them, I may cite the honoured names of Whewell, Sedgwick, and Hare, who ever looked back to the days which they spent at Hyde Hall as among the most joyous of their lives.*

But happy as he was at Hyde Hall, he had been too much accustomed to locomotion all his life to remain long in the same place; so he paid a visit to Ireland, where his old friend Lord Wellesley, then Lord-Lieutenant, welcomed him with the cordiality of past times. Those were days of much misery and much trouble in that country, and Malcolm could not help thinking sometimes that his Central Indian system might be advantageously applied to the reclamation of the unhappy people of Ireland. He wrote a long letter to the Duke of Wellington on the subject, in the course of which he said: "In some of the southern counties nothing short of

* Julius Hare has left behind him, scattered over his writings, some tender records of his happy associations with Malcolm. In one passage, speaking of Hyde Hall, he says: "The house in which above all others where I have ever been an inmate, the life and the spirit and the joy of conversation have been the most intense, is a house in which I hardly ever heard an evil word uttered against any one. The genial heart of cordial sympathy with which its illustrious master sought out the good side in every person and every thing, and which has found an inadequate expression in his delightful *Sketches of Persia*, seemed to communicate itself to all the members of his family, and operated as a charm even upon his visitors." And I have heard all this, in language equally enthu-

siastic, from the lips of Whewell and Sedgwick. It was through Hare that Malcolm became acquainted with those two large-brained men, both of whom afterwards came to love him very dearly for his own sake. I wish I could recall the very words in which they dwelt upon the many noble and gentle qualities of the Indian soldier, especially on that wonderful sunny-heartedness that made everything bright and joyous around him. I remember how the accomplished Master of Trinity—whose voice is now still for ever—narrated to me, with enthusiasm, the incidents of one delightful evening, when Malcolm having carried down Schlegel to Cambridge, introduced him to Whewell and Sedgwick in Hare's rooms; and there was such talk as is not often heard even in Trinity.

the exercise of arbitrary power over the proprietors and occupants of the soil, as well as the disturbers of the peace, could effect a speedy settlement of these counties. I wish I had them, as I had some worse counties in Malwah, and that I could act without fear of the Parliament, the Lord Chief Justice, and the hangman, and set about putting the zemindars and ryots to rights." Soon afterwards he set out on an excursion to Scotland, where he visited his kinsfolk at Burnfoot, and many other friends and friends' friends, and delightedly renewed his intimacy with Walter Scott, who by that time had built up his lordly castle on the banks of the Tweed. "I was two days at Abbotsford," Malcolm wrote to one of his daughters, "and most delighted was my friend Sir Walter to see me. We walked together over all his estate, and looked at all his fine castle. We had a large party and many a tale, and Sir Walter declares that I beat him in legends. But his is the wizard's art of giving them the shape that delights the world." From Abbotsford he went to Minto, on a visit to another of the old Governors-General, under whom he had served; and in the following year he went, under the special tutelage of the Duke of Northumberland, our Ambassador-Extraordinary, to see Charles X. crowned King of France in the Cathedral of Rheims. During this visit to the Continent, Malcolm enjoyed much pleasant and instructive conversation with many distinguished personages, including the King, who paid him marked attention. The men in whose society he took most delight were Humboldt and Soult, and he was as much at home with the one as with the other.

Varying his home pleasures with excursions of this description, and finding abundant occupation among his books and papers, the stream of life flowed on very tranquilly; but his ambition had not been laid to rest. If he had sought merely the gratification of his personal vanity, he might, perhaps, have found more to appease it in literary success than in further service as an Indian administrator or diplomatist. It was chiefly as the Historian of Persia that he had been courted and honoured in Continental Europe, and even in the colder atmosphere of England he had not been without reward of this kind. He had more than one literary project in his mind

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at that time, and his friends were constantly stimulating him to new exertions in the pleasant fields of scholarly enterprise. He was writing those delightful *Sketches of Persia*, which have been, perhaps, more extensively read and more highly appreciated than any of his more elaborate works; he was preparing for the general public a revised edition of his Report on Malwah,* and he was collecting materials for his *Life of Lord Clive*. But the desires of a man of his active habits and experiences were not to be thus appeased. Moreover, he had for many years been looking steadily forward at an object which he had not attained, though he had seen others starting from the same point attain it, and was resolute not to retire from the contest with the stamp of failure on his career. Some proud and sensitive natures would have shrunk from all further competition; they would have wrapped themselves in a dignified reserve, and would have waited for the summons of their country. There is, perhaps, no one respect in which men of noble natures differ more from each other than in the manner in which they assert or refuse to assert their just claims to promotion or distinction. All this is as essentially part of themselves as the length of their limbs or the tone of their voices. It would have been impossible for such a man as Sir John Malcolm, who always wore his heart upon his sleeve, who was a great talker, and altogether a robust and rather boisterous person, to have exhibited a scrupulous and delicate reserve on the subject of his public services and his just pretensions to reward. Besides, as I have before said, he looked upon any distinction that was conferred upon him as an evidence of that just recognition, for which he had so long been contending, of the claims of the great Service to which he was proud of being attached. How strongly he felt this, how great and generous was his *esprit de corps*, may be gathered from the fact that his services in Central India, including his generalship at Mehidpore, had placed within his reach either a Baronetcy or the Grand Cross of the Bath. Most men would have chosen the former; but it happened that the first class of the Bath had never been conferred on a Company's officer, and Malcolm was eager, therefore, to make

* Now known as Malcolm's "Central India."

1824—25. more novel story to bring forward in illustration of his case than that of the shepherd-boy and the wolf. "I have heard," he said, "that objections have been given, at both ends of the town, against my nomination to Madras, of which the principal is my having a father-in-law at the Presidency. If Bombay becomes the object, it would be found out that I have a brother there; and should I ever aspire to Bengal, I should be rejected because I have no connexions at that place. But the meaning of the objections started on this occasion will be best explained by a Persian story: 'A man wanted to borrow a horse, but the friend to whom he applied answered, "My horse is black." "I prefer that colour," said the borrower. "But he has large eyes." "I like them better than small ones." "That is an odd taste, but he has hair upon his body." "Oh, I see, you are making excuses." "I think that you might have guessed that by the first reply."' Now, I did guess it from the first; but I will persevere to the last in my efforts to mount myself."

Strongly impressed with a sense of the emptiness of the prize which his friend was pressing forward so anxiously to obtain, the Duke of Wellington tried to persuade Malcolm to abandon the thought of further employment in India, to enter Parliament, and to devote his remaining years to England and English affairs. But Malcolm was not to be persuaded to settle down contentedly at home; so he still pressed his claims upon the Government, looking to the Duke to support them. But the stubborn will of the latter, who, without reference to the fitness of the selection made, commended the determination of Lord Liverpool to adhere to his first resolution, and who conceived it to be his first duty to support his ministerial chief, refused to yield to Malcolm's solicitations.

April 3, 1824. "I received yesterday," he wrote, "your letter of the 1st. When I wrote you the first note to which you refer, in which I begged you not to be too sanguine, I was aware of the desire of Lord Liverpool to promote Mr. Lushington to one of the governments in India. I went to the Cabinet immediately afterwards, and I there found not only that my former intelligence upon the subject was confirmed, but that particular objections existed to your appointment to the office which you particularly desired to fill. Of these objections I

informed you, and I told you what I found to be the fact, that I was not considered a fair judge upon such a question in a case in which you were concerned, as I had taken the field so often and upon every occasion in your favour. So the matter rested. The question then comes before me in this light: there is a vacancy in the Government of India, and Lord Liverpool thinks proper to propose, not that Mr. Lushington should fill this vacancy, but that Mr. Elphinstone, on whose pretensions the Directors were likely to look favourably, should be appointed to Fort St. George, and that Mr. Lushington should succeed to the government of Bombay. In this decision Lord Liverpool thinks proper to pass by your pretensions, and the opinions and wishes of myself and others in their favour. But having thus decided, can I with honour or with any advantage to you take part against Lord Liverpool? Certainly not. In the contest between Lord Liverpool or the Government on the one hand, and the Court of Directors on the other, whatever may be my opinion or wishes of, or in favour of, the individuals put forward by the parties, I can take the side of the Government alone; and I certainly must and will (as it is my duty to do) encourage Lord Liverpool by every means in my power to carry his object, and to consent to nothing unless his object is carried. I am much concerned that his choice has not fallen upon you. But, to tell you the truth, I suspect if it had, he would not have been more successful in his negotiations with the Directors than he has been in favour of Mr. Lushington. You are become popular in Leadenhall-street, not because you deserve to be so, but because you happen to be the fittest instrument at the moment to be thrown in the face of the Government, and to oppose them. But if you had been proposed by the Government, then all the reasons against your appointment would have been urged as strongly as those in favour of it are at present. I told you before, and I repeat it, you cannot succeed if Lord Liverpool does his duty firmly as he ought. I shall regret exceedingly if you and Mr. Elphinstone should have the King's negative put upon your appointments; but I declare positively that if I was in Lord Liverpool's place, knowing both as I do, and appreciating as I have a right to do the talents and fitness of both, I would recommend the

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King, under the circumstances above stated, not to confirm the appointment of either."

This was a characteristic letter, but to Malcolm a very discouraging one. Nothing more could be said—so another chance was lost to him. Mr. Lushington went to Madras; and it almost seemed to Sir John Malcolm as though he were under a ban, and that there was no further work for him in the East. But it often happens that our blessings come upon us when we least expect them—that in the affairs of life, it is the darkest hour that precedes the dawn. It had not been part of Malcolm's philosophy to wait; but now he saw clearly the value of that great lesson of faith, abiding the appointed time, which most men learn sooner or later. That which he so much coveted came to him at last. The government of Bombay was about to become vacant by the retirement of Mr. Elphinstone; and both the King's Government and the Court of Directors were of opinion that it would conduce greatly to the public interests to appoint Sir John Malcolm to the post. The offer was made and accepted. A grand farewell banquet was given to him at the "Albion" by the East India Company; and both Mr. Canning and the Duke of Wellington made impressive speeches in honour of the guest of the evening. It was then that the former, whose great career was about so soon and so suddenly to end, delivered himself of those memorable words: "There cannot be found in the history of Europe, the existence of any monarchy, which, within a given time, has produced so many men of the first talents in civil and military life, as India has first trained for herself and then given to their native country." Not less worthy is the speech of the Duke of Wellington to be held in remembrance: "A nomination such as this," he said, "operates throughout the whole Indian service. The youngest cadet sees in it an example he may imitate—a success he may attain. The good which the country derives from the excitement of such feelings is incalculable." Nothing more true; nothing more deserving of abiding remembrance. When he had said it, the Duke continued: "It is now thirty years since I formed an intimate friendship with Sir John Malcolm. During that eventful period, there has been no operation of consequence, no diplomatic measure, in which my friend has

not borne a conspicuous part. Alike distinguished by courage and by talent, the history of his life during that period would be the history of the glory of his country in India." No words that were ever spoken would have rewarded him so amply for all that he had done. He went home that night happier than he had ever been before, with the words sweeter than honey of one who was the greatest man of the age and the dearest friend of his heart still making music in his ears. When he awoke on the following morning, those words came back upon him with renewed sweetness, and he wrote a letter to the Duke pouring out in a few warm sentences the fulness of his gratitude and joy.

On the 1st of November, 1827, Sir John Malcolm, having arrived at Bombay a few days before, took the oaths of office, and entered upon the government of that Presidency.* It was by no means an eventful period of our history; and there were no great opportunities, therefore, for Malcolm to display his capacity for government. It is generally said that his administration of Bombay was distinguished more by his collision with the Supreme Court than by anything else. This, however, is not strictly true. In a noiseless, unpretending manner, Malcolm did much good, and recorded, out of the fulness of his knowledge and experience, many important minutes, distinguished by a strong sense of justice and a warm sympathy with the feelings of the people of the country. Perhaps he was not a popular Governor, any more than was his cotemporary, Lord William Bentinck, who was carrying on the work of retrenchment as Governor-General of India—

The Bombay
Government.
1827.

* During his voyage out, Malcolm employed his time chiefly in the preparation of his *Life of Clive*. He found Mr. Elphinstone still at Bombay, and during the time that they were there together, they talked as much about English literature as about Indian politics. "I have been busy during the voyage," wrote Malcolm to Sir Charles Metcalfe, "with the *Life of Lord Clive*, all his papers, public and private, having recently been discovered and given to me. I have finished about one thousand pages; and Elphinstone, who is fastidious enough about such works,

is quite delighted—not with my composition, but with the admirable letters of Clive, whom he thinks I have managed to make tell his own story in a way that is both instructive and entertaining. I may have to refer upon some points that may require looking into old public records, or inquiries from natives. Let me know whom you think the best man to correspond with to obtain such information. It must be one who has a *schocq* (taste) for the thing, otherwise he will think me troublesome."

1827—29. work, ever unwelcome, which Malcolm was bound to second and support. It was hard upon them, for they were only the agents of the unpopular measures which, in a paroxysm of economy, the Company had decreed. Malcolm understood this, and was content.

It would be neither interesting nor instructive to recite in detail the history of the conflict with the Judges of the Supreme Court—most prominently with Sir John Peter Grant. Controversy is ever prone to become more than commonly acrimonious in India, where men are constitutionally excitable, and the smallness of the public gives a provincial greatness to little things. I do not mean by this that the principle contended for was not an important one, but that much of the asperity with which it was discussed resulted from the personalities with which it was encrusted. It is not to be doubted that the Judges of the Supreme Court tried to push its authority beyond its legitimate limits, and so to bring the Government into contempt. It was Sir John Malcolm's duty to resist this, and he did resist it. There was, however, perhaps a little too much of the fiery courage of the Scotch clans in the strife between the Malcolms and the Grants, and this was afterwards frankly and honourably acknowledged. Malcolm's natural unreserve in all matters affecting himself, led afterwards to a supplementary discussion of considerable vitality in its day. He received a letter of hearty, genuine support from Lord Ellenborough, who was then President of the Board of Control. The contents of this letter were mentioned at the Governor's breakfast-table, and some one forthwith posted them to Calcutta, where they soon appeared in the *Hurkaru* newspaper; and soon everybody in the three Presidencies was talking about Lord Ellenborough's plan of sending Sir John Grant to Calcutta, in order that he might there be in the position of a wild elephant between two tame ones. The publicity given to the contents of this letter vexed Malcolm as much as the letter itself had pleased him. But, like other episodes of the kind, it was but a brief wonder, and the scandal soon burnt itself out.*

* The only really instructive incident of this affair is the impression made upon Malcolm's mind by the hearty, genuine, inspiring support given to him in Lord Ellenborough's letter. Malcolm's own account of the effect wrought upon

1827—30.

of his son, George Malcolm, who was on his Staff, all the members of his family circle were absent from him; and for a man of his marked individuality we may be sure that the work of government, encumbered as he was by a Council, was scarcely less distasteful to him than the formalities of high official position. He had attained his object. He had afforded another great example to stimulate the ambition of the officers of the Company's Army; and now he was eager for England and for rest. So, when the Governor-General wrote to him, setting forth that under the new charter a Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces would be created, and that Malcolm might have the office if he would, he wrote to Lord William Bentinck, and after expressing very freely his private feelings, said: "Your Lordship will not be surprised that, possessed as I am of an independent fortune, and with such a family and circle of friends as you know me to enjoy, I should be most anxious to return to England. I contemplate, however, no idle life. I have, I trust, a seat in Parliament awaiting my arrival; and on the approaching question regarding the future administration of India, I shall be better able to serve my country than by contending with the prejudices and opposite opinions of officers in India and England. I now, from many causes, regret that I did not follow the opinion of the Duke of Wellington, who was strongly against my coming to India. . . . I have already persuaded myself that whatever disappointment my ambition may suffer from the line which I can perceive your Lordship is likely to adopt, will be more than compensated by decreased hazard to health; and I am not without hope that the period which remains of my existence may be better employed than in keeping the peace amongst wild rajahs and thakoors, and reconciling them to principles of rule which, however liberal, were not known to their fathers and mothers; and all this up-hill work liable to be criticised and condemned by men who had foretold my failure, and whose reputation for foresight and wisdom depended upon the fulfilment of their prophecy." So, on the 5th of December, he turned his back upon India for ever. There was doubtless great happiness in the retrospect. The boy of thirteen, who had gone to India from the Eskdale Farm, had left it as the honoured Governor of a great province. Only one, who had

1831.

where my duties in Parliament will not prevent my being continually with them all. It is rather small, but that is its only fault." "April 25, 1831.—I am no enemy, as you may suppose, to Reform; but that, to be safe, should be very moderate and very gradual. Time, we are told, is an innovator. This is true; but he is an old and a slow one. If we march with him, we are safe; but if we outstrip him, we rush upon danger, if not upon ruin. If not satisfied with the proud and glorious position in which our country stands—if discontented because there is partial distress, though less, comparatively, than any nation ever knew—if, in the vanity of our knowledge, we cast away all the benefits and blessings which have descended from our forefathers—if that reverence for established order, that regard to vested rights, that reluctance to lay a rude and unhallowed hand upon the venerable fabric of our constitution prevails, all those Conservative principles which have hitherto bound us together will be abandoned, and new ties and a new order of things must be established,—I deprecate such sweeping demolition. I expect nothing from such destruction, except that it will be long remembered as an awful instance of the truth of that sacred text which says, 'God maketh the wisdom of men folly.' . . . The consequences my experience leads me to anticipate may not be immediate, but they are, in my mind, certain; and the option appears to be between our fighting the battle or leaving a sad inheritance of a deteriorated and broken constitution to our children. My practical education makes me an unbeliever in these new political lights. I cannot think that the mantle of Francis Bacon has descended upon Jeremy Bentham. I would not consult men in a fever on their own case." "April 28, 1831.—I send you copies of my speech as taken from the *Mirror of Parliament*. . . . It was well received and cheered by the House. I shall, however, speak seldom, reserving myself for Indian affairs. But these, like everything else, if Reform, in its present shape, continue, will be carried by petitions from men who want something but they know not what—by mobs of meetings. By the blessing of God, however, a stout stand will be made for the rich inheritance of the constitution which our fathers have transmitted to us, and which, with all its defects, is the best in the

known world. I shall never forget our revered father when this rage for change was abroad thirty-six years ago. 'I was well,' he said, quoting an old Greek proverb, 'I desired to be better; I took physic, and I died!' I have his warm blood in my veins, and I will do my best to stem the torrent." "August 6, 1831.—I am fighting the revolutionary battle. All Europe is about to fight, and he must be a sage indeed who can foresee the result of the next four years. The evil in this country lies deep. The whole of the lower and numbers of the middle classes have been sedulously taught to regard their superiors not only with envy but hostility, as men that sleep and fatten on their labour and hard earnings. Knowledge without religion or principle has been universally disseminated, and the desire to better their condition through chance of spoliation excited. The designing, who seek change, and the ignorant, who are deceived by them, are active and loud, whilst those who desire the tranquillity of the country are hitherto silent and inert. But the period has come when they must be roused, or England will change her character as well as her constitution."

So, no man rejoiced more than Malcolm when, in the autumn of 1831, the Reform Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords. He was confident of the ultimate triumph of Conservatism;—but it was only a brief gleam of cheerfulness and hope. The following year found the Reformers more resolute in action than before; and the cry of the People was not to be resisted. It then became apparent to him that his days as Member for Launceston were numbered; but the India Committees had now been appointed, and both as a committee-man and a witness Malcolm could make himself useful to his country. His labours in this direction, however, were soon cut short. In June, the Reform Bill was passed. Launceston was disfranchised. There was a general election. Sir John Malcolm was requested to stand for Dumfries-shire, but a little inquiry soon assured him the case was hopeless; so he issued a frank, manly address, and withdrew from the contest.

But he had an ovation of another kind in his native county. The gentry of Dumfries-shire, though they might not accept his politics, were proud of the man, proud of the family; Eskdale

and Ewesdale especially rejoicing in the honour reflected upon them by the deeds of the Burnfoot family. So they gave a great dinner at Langholm to the "three Knights of Eskdale"—Sir James, Sir Pulteny, and Sir John; and toasted them with the heartiest enthusiasm. Sir John, though the youngest of the three, was the most practised speaker, and his brothers asked him to respond to the toast. The speech is said to have been "full of strong feeling and impressive eloquence," warm from the heart, and it drew tears into many eyes. That dinner is still vividly remembered in Langholm; and people relate how, when the three Knights took their seats in the carriage that was to convey them to Burnfoot, the people took the horses out of it, and drew the heroes with shouts beyond the boundaries of the town.*

Then Sir John Malcolm returned to his books and his papers, and betook himself to another occupation in which men of all kinds have found delight. He had purchased an estate in Berkshire, and he was solacing himself with bricks and mortar. He wrote to his friends that his "genius must be employed in reforming an old English fabric;" "which I trust to do," he added, "in a manner that would be a lesson to Ministers, if they had leisure to observe and sense to copy my proceedings! Nothing is subverted, though much is amended, and looking to the good shelter from the storm this home-nest afforded for more than a century to its inmates, I care little for its shape not being accordant with modern rules." Work of this kind was laden with delightful anticipations of a future, in which those dearest to his heart held a happy place. "At Warfield," he wrote in his journal, "directing a few buildings of brick and mortar, and building at less cost various castles in the air, associated with the future enjoyment of this beautiful residence. God grant it may be early tenanted by those whom my busy imagination portrayed as sitting in its chambers or wandering in its walks, while all, according to my fond anticipations, agree in praising the taste and labour that had prepared for them so delightful a home." And with these thoughts were blended others, scarcely less

* There is a statue of Sir Pulteny Malcolm in Langholm, and an obelisk to the memory of Sir John on the heights above the town. It should be added that there was a fourth knight in the Malcolm family—Sir Charles, who was then at Bombay as Superintendent of Marine.

pleasant, of the literary pursuits from which he had been compelled to turn aside under the pressure of public life. He was eager to bring to a conclusion his *Life of Lord Clive*, and he had commenced a new work on the government of India, in which he purposed to set forth the results of an experience of nearly fifty years.

The Company's Charter question was now coming on for discussion, and Malcolm, though excluded from the House of Commons, felt that he could at least do something by making his views known to the public through the medium of the Court of Proprietors of India Stock. He owed little or nothing to the Directors, except the cadetship, which he had turned to such good account. It was his opinion that, as the pupil and friend of Lord Wellesley, who had denounced them as the "ignominious tyrants of Leadenhall-street," they had set their faces against him. This was a mistake; but he was not beholden to them for any special favours, and he could not be accused of any unjust leanings towards them. But he knew how necessary to the welfare of our Indian Empire was the existence of such an intermediate body as the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and he moved, in a long and able speech at the India House, the resolutions in favour of the acceptance by the Company of the governing authority, without the commercial privileges they had enjoyed, "provided that powers be reserved to enable the Company efficiently to administer the government, and that their pecuniary rights and claims be adjusted upon the principle of fair and liberal compromise."

It was the last public act of his long and eventful life. There are many who remember that spring of 1833. The cholera had invaded our island, and, supervening upon it, a dire influenza, even more destructive than the foreign enemy, came to fill our houses with mourning. It was one of the saddest seasons within my recollection.* The whole population of London seemed to be clothed in black. Among other victims, the home-born epidemic seized upon Sir John Malcolm. It weakened him grievously; but, in spite of the

* I went out to India, for the first time, in the midst of it—taking with me Sir John Malcolm's book, from

1832. remonstrances of his friends, he insisted upon going down, day after day, to the India House to watch, if he could not take part, in the debates. But before those debates were brought to an end, Sir John Malcolm was struck down by paralysis in his carriage; was carried home to his house in Prince's-street, and never again gave articulate utterance to his thoughts.

In this state he lay for some time, pitifully feeble and distressed, able neither to speak nor to express his wants and wishes by intelligible gestures. His family were absent from him when the blow fell;* but they hastened to London with all possible despatch, and he was solaced by the tender ministrations of his beloved wife to the last. Though physically prostrate and helpless, his mind had not lost its activity; his thoughts were continually travelling back to the court-room in Leadenhall-street, and the progress of the debate on the Resolutions which he had moved. When Lady Malcolm, rightly interpreting these thoughts, told him that the Resolutions had been carried by a decisive majority, it appeared as though a burden of painful uncertainty had passed away from him, and that he was content. After some weeks he rallied a little; and the principal physician in attendance upon him thought so well of the appearances of recovery that he sent his patient out for a little carriage exercise. But on one of those bitter May days, so common in our English springs, the sick man was chilled by the exposure, without being revived by the change; and the worst symptoms of his malady returned. From that time his decline was rapid, and the hopes which had animated those who watched by his side were stilled for ever. It was now plain that he was dying. It had at one time seemed possible that he might be removed to the new Berkshire home, which he had been so diligently preparing for himself; but now this cherished thought was abandoned, and on the very day on which tidings came to Prince's-street that the mansion at Warfield was ready for his reception, that active, strong, whole-hearted workman closed his eyes upon the world for ever.

Death.

He died upon the 30th of May, 1833, and was buried very

* Lady Malcolm was at Hastings, street, Hanover-square, was about to where Sir John, then residing in Prince's- join her, when he was struck down.

1833.

scribe their characters ; and I do not know that anything can better describe the innermost springs of Malcolm's nature than the following passages of a letter which he wrote to a young friend—a nephew, I believe—who was about to enter upon a career of Indian military service : “ An officer,” he wrote, “ who desires distinction (and he must have a mean, wretched soul who does not), must be alike active in body and mind. He must devote every moment he can spare from duty to the improvement of his education, in the conviction that increased knowledge, if it should not even promote his advancement, must promote his happiness. He should join his companions in every manly exercise and every moderate enjoyment, but shun vicious indulgence and intemperance of every kind, as the bane of all his hopes, and the ruin of all those expectations which his friends had formed. To enable him to do this, I know of nothing more essential than that his heart should always have a home. Cherish your love for your surviving parent, for those who brought you up, for those who will exult in your future good reputation, and whose hearts will bleed for your errors or misconduct. Habituate yourself to have such feelings always in your mind ; they will enable you to withstand temptation, they will impart a fortitude that will overcome difficulties, and they will animate you in the hour of danger. Commence your career with a resolution to be a soldier, and give your mind (if the impression is not already made) the conviction that there is no profession more virtuous, more elevated, or more glorious than that into which you have entered. As a defender of your country, you should feel an importance that will raise you above the motives of those who deem the army a livelihood, and continue in it merely because they can discover no better means of supporting themselves. *Such men never can be enthusiasts, and without real enthusiasm a person in your situation never can rise.** If I could conceive that you ever would sink into one of those jog-trot animals, I should regret that I had not tried to place you behind a counter as a man-milliner. Do not mistake me about enthusiasm. † I mean no light vapouring quality, such as unsteady characters often possess, whose efforts are born

* The reader may advantageously compare this with what Sir H. Lawrence said on the same subject of enthusiasm or romance.—*See Memoir in Vol. II.*

1833.

most trifling, to keep sacred their word. This is not only their best but their wisest policy. By this conduct they will observe a constant superiority in all their transactions; but when they act a different part—when they condescend to meet the smooth-tongued Mahomedan or the crafty Hindoo with the weapons of flattery, dissimulation, and cunning, they will of a certainty be vanquished.”* And these were no mere puerile platitudes, but the strong convictions which were striking root within him, and which never decayed to the last day of his life. At a later period, when he was in antagonism with Lord Wellesley, he wrote, that “if we determine a case of a disputable nature in our own favour because we have power, we shall give a blow to our faith which will, in my opinion, be more injurious to our interests than the loss of fifty provinces.” The maintenance of the good faith of the British Government was ever uppermost in his thoughts, and he strove, justly and generously, to develop this principle in his practical dealings with the Native Princes of India. He was one who would have resisted to the utmost the looser morality and the more short-sighted policy of later days. He loved the natives of India, and he was loved by them; and even in these days his memory is sweet and “blossoms in the dust.”

* *Ante*, p. 134.

1779—93. and many of his kindred, moved by that spirit of adventure which is so powerful an element in the national character, had gone forth to seek their fortunes in the East. His father was a soldier, who rose to be a General Officer and Governor of Edinburgh Castle; but one of his uncles was a Director of the East India Company, and Indian writerships were held to be no unsatisfactory provision for the younger sons of Scotch peers.

The first fourteen years of Mountstuart's life were spent in Scotland; a goodly part of them in Edinburgh Castle. What he learnt either at home or at the High School, which he attended for two years, was probably not much; for he was not a studious boy, but one delighting in manly exercises and somewhat addicted to mischief. Seventy years afterwards there were those who still bore in remembrance the lithe figure and the long curly golden locks of the good-looking, lively, sprightly boy, who outraged the loyal sensibilities of his father and other officers of the Castle, by singing snatches of revolutionary songs learnt from the French prisoners who were confined there. His juvenile principles had a strong republican complexion, and the hair which he wore down his back was intended to be the outward sign of his revolutionary sentiments. And it is related that years afterwards the memory of this juvenile republicanism was a standing joke against him, and that after his arrival in India some of his companions gave it practical demonstration by presenting Mountstuart with a cap of liberty and a tricolor cockade.

When he was fourteen years of age he was sent to England, and placed under the educational charge of Dr. Thomson, of Kensington; with whom he remained until he was taken away to be sent to India, as a writer on the Company's establishment. He spent his holidays at the house of his uncle, Mr. Adam, whose son John was destined for the same service, and who lived to become one of its brightest ornaments. As a stripling, young Elphinstone does not seem to have been more grave in his studies than as a boy. He was said to have been "clever enough for anything," but very idle, full of spirit, and somewhat boisterous in his mirth. But he was fond of reading too—in certain directions; and it is remembered that he delighted in quoting Shakspeare and reciting snatches of

doggrel rhyme, perhaps of his own making. Those were 1795—99.
 days when no one thought of literary examinations or proficiency tests of any kind, and yet they produced public servants unsurpassed by any that have been given to India by Haileybury or the Civil Service Commission.

In July, 1795, Mountstuart Elphinstone, being then sixteen years of age, embarked for India. Among his fellow-passengers was his cousin, John Adam, of whom I have already spoken, and a cadet named Houston, who was going out to join the Bengal Cavalry. The former, in due course, became Secretary to Government, member of Council, and, during a brief interregnum, Governor-General of India. The latter, after doing some good service in India, became Lieutenant-Governor of Addiscombe (where he was known to more than one generation of cadets by the sobriquet of "Black Dick"), and died Sir R. Houston, K.C.B. *

When, early in 1796, young Elphinstone landed at Calcutta, Sir John Shore was Governor-General of India. He was a man of a quiet mind, and the times were eminently quiet. But the historian of his career has one noticeable incident to dwell upon—one not unexciting story to tell—the story of the Oude succession. Sir John Shore set aside the claims of Vizier Ali to the throne of Oude, and the young man from that time cherished a feeling of bitterest resentment against the English. A dangerous and disaffected person, he was held under some kind of surveillance at Benares, but he had a considerable number of followers, with all his own insolence and vindictiveness, and one day in 1799 they fell upon the British officers at the Residency and massacred all within their reach. It happened that at this time Mr. Elphinstone was assistant to the magistrate at Benares. His young Cavalry friend, Houston, was paying him a visit whilst the slaughter was going on at the Residency; and the disastrous tidings reached them in time only for them to mount their horses, and, pursued by Vizier Ali's troopers, to ride for their very lives. There are some men who appear to be born ever to be in the thick of the world's action—ever on the

First days in India.

* I am indebted for these memorials of Elphinstone's early life principally to a very interesting and valuable biogra-

phical sketch contributed by Sir Edward Colebrooke to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*.

1799.

great high road of History, pressing forward, with their loins girt about ; whilst others repose quietly in peaceful nooks, or saunter idly along the byways of life. To the first and the smaller class belonged Mountstuart Elphinstone. This escape from Vizier Ali's horsemen prefigured his whole career. There was now to be a great growth of History ; and ever for more than twenty years he was to be in the thick of it.

A new Governor-General had begun to reign ; and a new era had commenced. Lord Wellesley was a man with a "grand policy," and, scorning all constitutional restraints, he determined to work it out. This grand policy was incompatible with peace ; so in a little time our armies were in motion, firstly in Southern India, where Tippoo was to be subdued, and secondly in Central India, where accounts were to be settled with the Mahratta Princes. To the events which were developing themselves in the latter part of the country, I have now to invite the reader's attention—a wide expanse stretching from Delhi to Poonah, over which Lord Wellesley was extending the network of his diplomacies in days when diplomacy was ever another name for war. For men of action the times were most propitious. The Company's civil servants might "provide the investment," or administer the regulations ; they might be merchants, or magistrates, or revenue collectors, if they desired to live peaceably with good houses over their heads ; but for more adventurous spirits there was a grand outlet through what was officially called the "Political Department," but which in Europe is known as the Diplomatic Service. To that service all the most high-spirited young civilians eagerly betook themselves ; and Mr. Elphinstone among the first of them. His early inclinations had been all towards the military profession ; in his teens he had looked upon the life of a subaltern as the *ne plus ultra* of human enjoyment ; and there was that in him which, had circumstances favoured his wishes, would have made him one of the first captains of the age. But although it was provided that he should live much in the camp, and see, face to face, the stern realities of war, there was no recognised position for him in the battle-field, and therefore only the danger of the fight without its honours and rewards.

But there were honours and rewards of another kind, and

young Elphinstone was fully satisfied. In 1801, he was appointed an assistant to the British Resident at Poonah, or, in other words, an attaché to the British Mission at the Court of the Peishwah—the greatest of the Mahratta Princes. The Resident was Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close; an officer of high distinction, to whom both soldiers and diplomatists looked up with reverence, and under whom any young aspirant might be proud and happy to serve. In the whole range of service there was no post better fitted to call forth and develop the energy and ability of such a man as Mr. Elphinstone. Once appointed to it, he was on the high road to fame and fortune. The times, as I have said, were most propitious for those who panted for action. The Mahrattas, having usurped the power of the Mogul and established their supremacy in Upper India, were now contending among themselves. This was our opportunity. The great game was now to be played with something like a certainty of winning. The disunion of the Mahrattas was their weakness; their weakness was our strength. *Dum singuli præliantur universi vincuntur.* It was Lord Wellesley's policy to interfere in these internal disputes, and he did so, by espousing the cause of the Peishwah, and entering into a friendly alliance with him. Whether the British Governor might not have been content to look on a little longer, without taking a hand in the game, is a question for historians to discuss. It is enough here to say, that, having entangled ourselves in diplomacies, we were soon in the midst of war.

The year 1803 was a memorable one in the annals of India—memorable in the career of Mountstuart Elphinstone—memorable in the career of a still greater man, who then first made for himself a place in history. Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, had taken part in the operations which resulted in the conquest of Mysore; but the qualities which he had displayed were not so conspicuously great as to preserve him from the reproach of being favoured as the brother of the Governor-General. The Mahratta war, however, proved him to be a true soldier. It was the privilege of Mountstuart Elphinstone to watch the dawn of the great captain's glory. It has happened to many a man at the outset of his career to profit largely by an accident

1801—1803.

The first
Mahratta war.

1803

which has been a heavy blow and a great loss to another. It has been told in the preceding Memoir how Major John Malcolm, to whom the Governor-General had entrusted the political conduct of the operations in Berar, fell sick at the commencement of the campaign, and, bitterly disappointed, was compelled, for very life's sake, to quit the camp. Then Mr. Elphinstone was sent to fill his place, and eagerly he went to the front. In August, 1803, he joined General Wellesley at Ahmednuggur; and though he had not been long in camp before sickness fell upon him also, he did not succumb to it. The great battle of Assye found the young civilian with his foot in the stirrup beside his military chief. The flanks of their horses touched each other as they rode, conversing quietly as on parade, through the thick of that hot fight. All his old military ardour was then revived; and such not only was his coolness under fire, but the quickness of his eye and the soundness of his judgment with respect to military dispositions and combinations, that at the close of the campaign Wellesley said of his young friend that he had mistaken his calling, for he was certainly born a soldier.

This was after the siege of Gawilghur, at which Mr. Elphinstone was present, and had again evinced the fine soldierly qualities which had excited the admiration of Sir Arthur Wellesley at Assye. There was then a season in which the negotiator took the place of the military commander, and there were some sharp diplomatic conflicts which demanded the exercise of no common skill and sagacity: for one of the astutest of native politicians was then arrayed against us—the well-known Wattel Punt. Malcolm, as already told, soon returned to camp; but his absence had made Elphinstone's fortune. Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote officially to his brother, in eulogistic language, well deserved, of the services rendered to him by the young civilian. "Upon the occasion," he said, "of mentioning Mr. Elphinstone, it is but justice to that gentleman to inform your Excellency, that I have received the greatest assistance from him since he has been with me. He is well versed in the language, has experience and a knowledge of the Mahratta powers and their relations with each other, and with the British Government and its allies. He has been present in all the actions which have

1807—1809. them, such as in later times were seldom entrusted to them in the earlier stages of their career. The British Government in India, now represented by Lord Minto, had need of all its ablest servants; for it seemed that a conjuncture had arisen of a grave and alarming character, and that England might soon be called upon to contend with other great Powers for the mastery of the East. It happened, as already told, that after the peace of Tilsit in 1807, there was great dread of the results of the close alliance which was then formed between the Powers of France and Russia. So the British Governments in India and in England prepared themselves for the defence of their eastern dominions. This, in the first instance, was to be done, not by the equipment of armies or the erection of fortifications, but by diplomatic address. It was possible to undermine French influence at the Court of Persia; and it was possible to obtain the good offices of the Sovereign Princes occupying the territories between the British and the Persian frontiers. The invading armies must have marched through Afghanistan and Sindh, or through Afghanistan and the Punjab. It was of primary importance, therefore, for the British Government to cement friendly alliances with the rulers of those countries. And Lord Minto wisely determined to send embassies to them. Mr. Elphinstone was then selected to conduct the British mission to be despatched to the Court of Caubul. In these days, there is nothing in such a task as that which then devolved upon the young statesman to lift it out of the regions of common-place. But fifty years ago the great tract of country lying between the Sutlej River and the Hindoo Koosh was almost a *terra incognita* to British travellers. One enterprising Englishman—a civil servant of the East India Company named Forster—had explored those countries, and had published two interesting quarto volumes descriptive of them. But he had travelled in disguise, and crept along his route; whereas there was now to be an imposing embassy, making a great display of the wealth of the British Government and the greatness of its resources. The reigning monarch at that time was Shah Soojah, he with whom at a later period we formed a closer and more disastrous alliance. Mr. Elphinstone was to endeavour to rouse his fears for his own safety, and by showing him that if

The Caubul mission.

Persia entered into a compact with the European Powers hostile to England he would inevitably be destroyed, stimulate him to put forth all his strength to oppose their progress from the westward. It was the policy of our Government to abstain from entering into any offensive engagements with the Court of Caubul; but Mr. Elphinstone was told that "should the contracting these engagements be absolutely required by the King, the eventual aid to be afforded by us ought to be limited to supplies of arms, ordnance, and military stores, rather than troops."

Proceeding by the route of Bikanier, Bahwulpur, and Mooltan, the Mission entered Peshawur on the 25th of February, 1809; and on the 5th of March, Mr. Elphinstone had his first audience of the King.* Whatsoever might be Shah Soojah's character as a ruler or a statesman, the English Ambassador saw plainly that he was a courteous, well-mannered gentleman, and that his feelings towards the British Government were really, as they were professedly, friendly. But he was distracted by domestic cares. He had a dangerous revolution to cope with in his own kingdom. He did not wish the British Mission to proceed any farther into the heart of his dominions, which were in a disturbed state; and, indeed, the best advice he could give to the English gentlemen was, that they should go home as fast as they could, unless they were inclined to help him against his enemies. When a man's own house is on fire, it is no time to alarm him on the score of remote dangers; and he soon found that the British Government would not help him to extinguish these domestic flames.

The Afghan Ministers, it must be admitted, argued the case acutely and not without some amount of fairness. They

* He was attended by a staff of English officers, among whom were Mr. Strachey, as secretary, and Lieutenant Macartney, as geographer; Captain Raper, Mr. Tickell, and Mr. R. Alexander were also attached to the Mission. Macartney died shortly after his return to India, and his loss, of which mention will be found in Sir James Mackintosh's journals, was great to Eastern science. The duties of collating and recording information were divided between these officers, Elphinstone himself taking the

department of "Government and Manners." At a later period, when our officers visited Afghanistan, they generally orientalised themselves as much as possible. But the officers of Elphinstone's Mission took no pains to disguise the outward characteristics of English gentlemen of that period; and they were told that they might have done better if they had only let their beards grow. Elphinstone himself was always a fair, close-shaven man, with nothing in the least oriental in his appearance.

1809. could not see why, if the English wished the King of Caubul to help them against their enemies, they should not in their turn help the King to resist his ; but as it was, they said, all the advantage was on our side, and all the danger on the side of the King. “They stated,” wrote Mr. Edmonstone in a letter to Lord Minto, “that an alliance for the purpose of repelling one enemy was imperfect, and the true friendship between two States could only be maintained by identifying their interests in all cases ; that Shah Mahmoud had not influence over the Douranees, and would be obliged—if he obtained the crown—to put himself under the protection of the Persians to maintain his authority ; that he had before connected himself with that people, and was naturally inclined to them ; and that from the moment of his restoration to the government of this country we might consider the French and Persians as already on the Indus. They said the Afghans were a powerful people against foreign invaders, and that when the French and Persians came, they might not require our assistance, but that we might regret our tardy aid if, before the threatened attack commenced, the present Government of this country was overthrown, and all the fruit of our alliance with it destroyed. Supposing a weaker case, and that Shah Soojah was only able to make head against the rebels without destroying them, they said that an attack from the French and Persians might then be difficult to withstand, and it would cost us millions to effect what might now be done for thousands. Throughout their whole discourse they seemed to consider the invasion of the French and Persians to be by no means formidable, unless aided by intestine divisions ; but they were candid enough to admit that the war with those nations concerned them as much as it did us. In reply to this, I said that my instructions went only to the conclusion of a defensive alliance against the French and Persians, and that I knew your Lordship would never wish to take any part in the domestic quarrels of the Afghans, that your Lordship would of course be anxious that his Majesty’s means of repelling invasion should be strengthened by the removal of the disturbances within his dominions, but unless it could be proved to your Lordship’s satisfaction that the party in rebellion was connected with the

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common enemy, it would be entirely out of your plan to interfere in them. I said that we did not profess to act towards this State merely from motives of disinterested friendship. If we did, the King would have cause to suspect us of harbouring designs which we thought it impolitic to avow. I frequently urged them to bring forward any information they possessed respecting Shah Mahmoud's connexion with the Persians, but they always acknowledged their belief that he had no transactions with that nation."

At the subsequent interviews the Afghan diplomatists repeated these arguments, and besought the English Ambassador to grant assistance to the King to enable him to put down the revolution of Shah Mahmoud. But Elphinstone, ever proceeding with extreme caution, answered these demands by saying that he would refer the question to the Governor-General. They professed to be surprised at this, and told him that they could not understand the object of his embassy, as they saw nothing with which he was charged that could not have been entrusted to a chuprassy. The treaty, they said, was merely a snare for them, and would force them, if they concluded it, either to break their faith or to bear the whole brunt of the war, whilst the English Ambassador was referring for orders. "I answered them," wrote Elphinstone, "by stating in the least offensive manner the utter fallacy of their statements, and the entire misconception of the case into which they had fallen. I said they seemed to think we came to beg or purchase their assistance in a war which concerned us alone, and that our situation was such that we should be ruined if they did not immediately accede to our demands, but that the truth was that the war concerned them more than us; whether the French came as pretended friends or open enemies, the Afghans must fight or lose their country, and the enemy could not approach us till they were subdued either by force or fraud. All I had to add was to show them their danger and offer assistance to repel it. They might tell me what assistance they required, and I would submit to your Lordship. If the British Government had thought their co-operation necessary to its safety, I should have been authorised to purchase it by concessions; at present, your Lordship empowered me to offer aid and to hear

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what they required, but reserved the decision to yourself. In the mean time you depended on your own means of warding off the danger. I then gave a short account of our expeditions to Spain and Portugal, and explained the preparations at Bombay as far as I could with propriety, and concluded by saying that we had often been at war with all the world, and had never suffered in the contest, and that if the French by any means got this country into their power we should still be able to oppose them, as we had been in many more difficult junctures.”*

The Mission remained at Peshawur, watching the progress of events, until the middle of the month of June. As time advanced, the troubles of the King thickened around him. He could not make way against the rebellion of his brother; and in the early summer he was disastrously beaten in a pitched battle. He has himself recorded, in his Autobiography, that he had resolved, on hearing of the rebellion of Mahmoud, “first to place the Company’s ambassadors in a state and place of safety, and proceed to punish the rebels; and then, if God would grant a victory, he intended to return to treat them in a proper manner.” But there was no

* It was not the least difficult part of Elphinstone’s work at this time to convince the Afghan Ministers that the English were not a very weak nation in comparison with the Douranees. The following extract from one of Elphinstone’s letters is highly amusing: “I took this opportunity of enlarging on the openness of the English character, and of showing how little a system of refinement and deceit was suited either to the principles or to the genius of our nation, and complained of the hardship of being suspected of concealment at the time when I was suffering the inconveniences of plain dealing. Moollah Jaffar observed, in reply to what I had been saying, that his Majesty was resolved not to give a passage to the French and Persians, but if he did there seemed no reason to apprehend the dangers I had described. If ten thousand French were in each of the cities of Herat, Candahar, Caubul, and Peshawur, the word of one Moollah would be sufficient to destroy them without the assistance of a single soldier. He said the King did not fear

their intrigues. The Afghans were divided among themselves, but such was their national spirit that a rebel would rather deliver himself up to the King than accept the assistance of a foreign Power. He could not allow that it was so easy for us to repel our enemies on our own frontier. If the King gave them a passage he would join in their enterprise, and we should find a war with the Douranees very different from one with the French. He followed up this ridiculous bravado with a long encomium on the valour of the Douranees, and the absurdity of supposing that any foreign Power could make an impression on them. He said that he did not believe that we intended to impose upon the King, but he did not think that we were so plain as we pretended to be. He said our reputation was very high for good faith and for magnanimous conduct to conquered Princes, but he frankly owned that we had the character of being very designing, and that most people thought it necessary to be very vigilant in all transactions with us.”—*MS. Records.*

such good fortune in store for the unfortunate Prince. He was eminently unprosperous, and in his misfortune he would have made any terms with the English, so long as he could have obtained assistance from them against his internal enemies. But the English would not assist him except with money, and, indeed, as time advanced, it was more and more apparent that the Douranee monarch could do nothing to promote our interests; for things were righting themselves to the westward, and the alliances which we once dreaded were found to be little more than idle menaces. But whilst waiting thus at Peshawur, it appeared to the young English Envoy that we might turn the existing relations between England and Caubul to profitable account, for the future defence of our empire, by entering into a compact for the cession of Shah Soojah's somewhat doubtfully acquired Sindh provinces to the British Government in return for certain money-payments. It was a spasm of youthful diplomatic energy to which, doubtless, in his maturer years, he did not look back with much satisfaction. The suggestion was scouted at Calcutta. There was small chance of a Government, of which Mr. Edmonstone,* though only an irresponsible servant of the State, was, in reality, the informing spirit, giving heed to such promptings for a moment. Mr. Elphinstone was rebuked for putting forth such a proposal. But though an error, it was not an unjustifiable one, and he wrote to Government a full explanation of the motives which had prompted him to this display of injudicious zeal. "The expediency," he wrote, "of accepting of the cession of Sindh has clearly been removed by the change which has taken place in the state of affairs, and the consequent alteration of the views of Government, and I have to beg the Right

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* This is not by any means the first time in which I have referred in this volume to Mr. Edmonstone. But the more I study the history of India, in the transactions of the first twenty years of the present century, the more convinced I am that, among the many eminent public servants who helped to build up the great *Raj* of the Company, he had not a superior and scarcely an equal. He was the great political foreman of a succession of Governors-General. It was

his lot to be, ostensibly, little more than the mouthpiece of others. Seen in official records, therefore, the merit of his best work belongs to others; and it is only by men who have access to those best materials of history—the rough-hewings, as it were, of great measures, traceable from their first inception to their final formal execution—that the measure of his greatness can be justly estimated.

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Honourable the Governor-General's excuse for having at any time submitted a plan founded on such imperfect information. I was induced to do so by the consideration that the slowness of the communication between Peshawur and Calcutta rendered it necessary to lose no time in pointing out the disposition of the Court of Caubul with respect to Sindh, and the advantages which might be derived from it. I trust that the following explanation will make it appear that the plan which I proposed did not involve any step at all inconsistent with the strictest principles of political morality. When I had the honour to address to the Governor-General my letter No. 12, I had not the same information respecting the state of Europe which I now possess, and I was very far from considering any event that had taken place in that quarter of the globe as fatal to the French invasion of India. I understood that the Chiefs of Sindh had given a cordial welcome to an agent of France and Persia, while they had received the British Envoy with coldness and distrust. I had also received intelligence (which has proved to be erroneous) that Mr. Smith had arrived at Hyderabad, and had been immediately dismissed. I had no doubt that the views of the Chiefs of Sindh were entirely repugnant to an alliance, or anything like the terms proposed to them, and I conceived the period to be fast approaching which had been anticipated in the 67th and 68th paragraphs of your despatch, when the submission of the Chiefs of Sindh to the King of Persia would render it just and necessary for our Government to assist in reducing them into complete subjection to the King of Caubul. Considering an attack on Sindh to be in the event of certain probable contingencies determined, I addressed the Governor-General chiefly with a view to show that it was more for the benefit of both States that we should take Sindh for ourselves than for the King of Caubul. Though my principal object was to enumerate the advantages we should derive from the possession of Sindh, I was aware that our obtaining them depended on the conduct of the Chiefs of Sindh, and on the facility with which we could occupy their country, if the state of our relations with them rendered it necessary to attack them; but with these subjects I was unacquainted, and was obliged to content myself with alluding to them, and referring them to his Lordship's

better information." "It did not," he continued, "fall within the range of this discussion to examine the King of Caubul's right to Sindh, and from what I was in the habit of hearing daily, it did not occur to me to question his title. There seemed little or no difference in point of form between the manner in which the King held Sindh, and that in which he holds the countries most subject to his control, nor is there any real difference, except that he cannot remove the governor, and that more of the revenue is withheld on false pretences (of inundation, &c.) than in the other provinces. The King does not appear ever to have renounced his right to the full sovereignty of Sindh. His march in that direction last year was, professedly, at least, for the purpose of settling the province, and the reduction of Sindh is as commonly spoken of as that of Cashmere. On the other hand, I understood the Chiefs of Sindh to acknowledge the King's sovereignty in the fullest manner, and to pretend no right to the countries they govern, except what they derive from the King's Rukkum. These facts would have rendered it necessary for us to attend to the King of Caubul's claims in any arrangement we might make for Sindh, but it was on the supposed transfer of their allegiance to Persia that I conceived our right of interference to be founded. I have said so much on this subject because I am very anxious to show the Governor-General that I did not intend to recommend a wanton attack on Sindh for mere purposes of aggrandisement."

He wrote this from Hussun-Abdul, in the Punjab, on his way back to the British Provinces. He had taken leave of the Afghans a week or two before, and had distributed among them an amount of English money and money's worth which made them look greedily for the coming of another envoy, and caused them bitter disappointment when he came. But before his departure Elphinstone had negotiated a treaty of friendship with the Shah, and had indeed done all that it was requisite to do; for the dangers which he had been sent to anticipate had disappeared by themselves. The King of Caubul undertook to prevent the passage of the French and Persians through his kingdom, and the English undertook to provide money for the purpose. But so little fear was there

1809. of Persia becoming the vassal of France and Russia, and helping those Powers to invade our British dominions in the East, that the King of Kings had already consented to a treaty, binding him "not to permit any European force whatever to pass through Persia, either towards India or the ports of that country."

1810—11. But there were other results flowing from this embassy than those of a diplomatic character. Though Mr. Elphinstone had visited only the outskirts of what was then the kingdom of Caubul, and, according to subsequent distribution of territory, did not enter Afghanistan at all, he contrived to acquire almost as much information relating to the whole country and all classes of its inhabitants, as if he had made the grand tour from Peshawur to Caubul, and from Caubul to Candahar. He returned, indeed, laden with literary spoils, and it is not to be doubted that the fruit was well worth the cost of the gathering, large as was the expenditure upon it. The Government of the day grumbled—as Governments and individuals are wont to grumble in such circumstances—when the bill was to be paid; but the highest praise was bestowed upon Elphinstone, and the most liberal consideration shown to him, when he sought an extension of time to make out his accounts and to complete his reports. This work he performed at Calcutta, where he remained throughout the year 1810. But one of the highest diplomatic appointments in the country was waiting for him. He had been selected to fill the office of Resident at Poonah; and at the beginning of 1811 he set out to join it.

He took ship at Calcutta; and among his fellow-voyagers was that young apostolic chaplain, Henry Martyn, who was setting out on his journey to the Persian Gulf, and to that bourne whence no traveller returns. Widely different as were their lives, their characters, and their objects, they were both men of a high order of intelligence, and united by the common sympathies of genius. It is easy to understand how, after a little while, they mutually agreed between themselves to avoid certain debatable topics of discourse, and to take for their themes such matters of common interest as are never want-

ing when two highly-cultivated minds are brought into contact with each other. If Martyn learnt much from Elphinstone, we may be sure that Elphinstone also learnt much from Martyn. When they landed at Bombay, both were brought up for critical judgment before the learned Recorder Mackintosh, who was continually sitting in literary assize both on books and on men. Malcolm was then at Bombay making out the accounts of his last Persian Mission. He introduced Elphinstone to Mackintosh, and Elphinstone introduced Martyn.* When not interrupted by an incursion of "Vandals"—or common-place, small-talk people—there was much animated discourse at the breakfast-table, or in the evening, between those four—the soldier, the civilian, the lawyer, and the priest—which truly must have been worth hearing.

These conversations, very pleasant as they were to Elphinstone, doubtless caused him to congratulate himself on the zeal with which he had cultivated literature a little time before at Nagpore,† and stimulated him to fresh activity of the same elevating kind. When he left Bombay, and was settled in the Poonah Residency, he very soon renewed his studies, and very much in the old direction. Rising very

Life at
Poonah.

* Elphinstone made a very favourable impression on Mackintosh, who wrote of him: "He has a very fine understanding, with the greatest modesty and simplicity of character."

† *Ante*, p. 239. Some extracts from Elphinstone's private journals (which were not in my possession until after the preceding sheet had passed through the press), illustrative of the studies of this Nagpore period, may be given here: "April 2nd. Rose at four. Read 'Antigone' with Jenkins. Walked on the verandah. Returned to 'Antigone,' and read till half-past seven. I had not time to finish my breakfast before Jesurunt Row came. He stayed till twelve. Then read some of Page's History of the French Revolution, on which I have been employed for these two days. Jenkins tiffed at Close's, where I joined him. I stayed there some time, and read some of Gibbon's Life, my old inspirer and guide. Read some more of Page. He is a republican, and consequently hostile to the royalists, and insensible to their

sufferings, but not, on the whole, furious or partial, as one would expect him to be. April 3rd. Rose at four. Read 'Antigone.' Rode out. Ran a jackal, but did not kill. Breakfasted. Read thirty-six pages of the 'Memorabilia.' Ate sandwiches. Wrote to Sydenham and Kennaway. Read Grotius. Went out in the buggy. April 4. Read three hundred lines of the 'Antigone.' Breakfasted. Put my papers in order. Set off in my palanquin for [illegible] Hall. On the way, finished Mackintosh. He is eloquent and acute, but inexperienced and enthusiastic. Also read some of Page. At the Hall ordered repairs. Read an Idyll of Theocritus, and Jenkins read aloud almost the whole fifth book of Homer. At five rode back. Dined. In bed, read Locke on Liberty and Necessity. April 5th. Finished 'Antigone.' I perceive this to be a very affecting play, though reading it in company does not give it a very fair chance. We begin to read Sophocles with more ease than we did Euripides."

1811—14.

early in the morning, he devoted the first hours of the day to the perusal of some great work of ancient or modern literature. His favourite languages were the Greek and the Italian; the Greek dramatists being at that time, perhaps, the authors in which he most delighted. Among his journal entries for the year (1811) is the following: "August 14. I spent a long time in reading new *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, and have since read, with greater admiration than ever, Bacon's essays. I have just been reading the 'Hecuba' of Euripides. It is, as far as I have read, a noble production, rising at every step in dignity and interest. I have scarcely ever seen a finer turn than that when, after Hecuba has exhausted her eloquence in begging for Polyxena's life without success, and she tells her daughter to make a last effort herself to seize Ulysses' hand, and supplicate his mercy, Ulysses turns away, and hides his hand in his garment, but Polyxena, in a speech full of the sublimest sentiments, tells him not to be afraid, for she is not going to ask for a life which she disdains. Ulysses is too unfeeling, I think, for his character in Homer, and perhaps the play itself would be more pleasing were he more tender; but the effect of the speech I have just mentioned would certainly be weakened, and it is worth while sacrificing everything for it. The Chorus, as usual, is an encumbrance. It may sometimes fill the place of our modern confidant to hear the principal character's confessions, or to soothe his agitation. It may sometimes make those observations which are good for unconcerned spectators, though unbecoming men transported by passion, and which moderns are apt to throw into the mouth of the principal actors; but, in general, it puts one in mind of the Merryman at Astley's, who makes a speech after every feat of the equestrians, to point out something of which you have long before taken notice." A few days afterwards he wrote: "I have finished 'Hecuba.' The interest diminishes after the death of Polyxena. The punishment of Polymnester is barbarous and shocking, and his complaints and fury are somewhat coarse and undignified. The sentiments and maxims throughout are too trite and obvious." And see the following, which, though relating to a later period, may be given here, before I pass on to other things of a more active character: "June 15, 1814.

I have read a volume of the 'Concilio Tridentino,' and am pleased with the impartiality and sagacity of my author, as well as with the plainness of his style. . . . June 28th. I go on idly, or at least like a man at perfect leisure. There is little business at this moment, and my book is gone. I walk about three hours every day, and to-day six hours, planning or superintending improvements. I read Greek two hours or more with Jeffreys, and the 'Concilio Tridentino' at all spare times. I find the doctrinal discussions tedious and useless, and now either skip them or run over them slightly. Besides the penetration which enables Father Paul to unveil all the intrigues to which the Council gave rise, the impartiality which allows him to state them without diminution or aggravation, I am particularly pleased with the shrewd and sarcastic turn of many of his general observations on human nature, and on the modifications of the human character." . . . "August 8th. I have left off Father Paul. I never intended to read all the discussions about points of faith, and these seem to compose the whole of the fifth and sixth volumes. All connexion between the Council and the politics of Europe is over before the end of the fourth volume, and the Fra now declares his intention of giving a diary of the debates of the Council. I do not know what I shall read next. I am reading the third volume of Madame de Staël *ad interim*, and the Greek with Jeffreys goes on to my great improvement. My former studies begin to tell, and I think four months' such study as the present would enable me to read most books in Greek with ease."

From his correspondence at this time, no less than from his journals, it may be gathered that he took as deep an interest in the literature of the Eastern as of the Western world, and that, whilst working strenuously on his own account, he could devote much time and attention to the encouragement and promotion of the labours of others. During his visit to Bombay, he had made the acquaintance of Mr. William Erskine, who had married one of Sir James Mackintosh's daughters, and who held a legal appointment under the Recorder. This gentleman was then preparing his translation of the autobiography of the Emperor Baber, and Elphinstone was exerting himself to obtain different manuscripts of the work at once

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authentic and complete.* To Charles Metcalfe, then Resident at Delhi, he wrote on the subject, saying: "Poonah, June 28, 1813. You and I do not make very good correspondents, and though I write oftenest, I cannot say much for the disinterestedness of my exertions, as I never write but to ask a favour. At present I have one to solicit about which I am very anxious. Mr. Erskine at Bombay is employed in translating the commentaries of the Emperor Baber from a Persian translation of that work, which is certainly the most curious and interesting I ever met with in an Asiatic language. There are, however, several gaps in the translation he has got, and a complete copy in Turkish which I brought from Peshawur was lost in consequence of poor Leyden's death,† so that Mr. Erskine's translation must remain incomplete unless you can get us a complete copy of the translation at Delhi, in which I apprehend you will meet with no difficulty. The august representative of the house of Timour must assuredly possess the commentaries of the most illustrious of his ancestors, and the founder of his empire; but if his Highness should not be able to put his hand on the work, some of the literati of Delhi will probably be able to produce it. It is called the 'Touzooki Bauberee,' and was translated into Persian by the Khan Khanmaun, I believe, in Acbar's time (I mean, Acbar the First's). As you may not be able to procure a complete copy, it is as well to let you know the *lacunæ* which we are anxious to fill up. The first is immediately before Baber's expulsion from his native country, where his last battle with Shyban Khan, and its consequences, are wanting; the second is after Baber's return from Herat to Caubul, where there is a gap of ten years. I dare say Stuart—to whom I beg to be kindly remembered—will be able to give you great assistance in this

* This kindly disposition to aid others in their literary efforts remained with him to the very close of his life. I have before me a very remarkable proof of it, which may be mentioned here the more appropriately as it is illustrative not only of Mr. Elphinstone's character, but of the immediate subject referred to in the text—the literary career of Mr. William Erskine. Shortly after the appearance, in 1854, of Mr. Erskine's posthumously published "History of

the House of Timour," I wrote to Mr. Elphinstone, asking him for some particulars of the life of his former friend, which I wished to introduce into a review I was then writing. After very little delay, Mr. Elphinstone sent me a letter of sixteen closely written pages, containing the desired information in full measure running over. Some passages of this letter will be given at a subsequent stage of the narrative.

† Leyden had written a life of Baber,

search, and his literary zeal will certainly dispose him to afford it. I intended to have written to him, but as all I have to say about Baber must have been a mere repetition of the contents of this letter, your showing him it will do as well. I suppose, by this time, Futteh Khan has got Attock, and made peace with the Sugs; he shows a great deal of spirit, and of the sort of talent that is wanted in his country. If he were a Suddozye, he would make a capital king, and soon restore the Douranee power; as it is, I am afraid the Government wants stability. I beg you to offer his Majesty respectful assurances of the Peishwah's loyalty and fidelity."

"Poonah, Sept. 16, 1813. I am very much obliged to you for getting me Baber. Send him to me by dawk, *viâ* Dick Strachey, who will take good care of him. Let me know the cost, and also the amount of the allowance I begged you to make to Izzut Oollah's brother for his labours. Close desires his best regards."

"Poonah, October 30, 1813. Notwithstanding the unfortunate agreement between your copies of Baber and ours, I must beg you to send them, as they will be useful for collation, and to settle doubts about names, &c. I must impose a fresh task on you, which I hope your literary zeal will make you excuse. It is to obtain through Izzut Oollah a Turkish copy of Baber. It may be had at Peshawur, or certainly at Bokhara. If he could add the Chaghatai dictionary of Meer Ali Beg, or any other Chaghatai dictionary, it would be a great point. I enclose a letter to him on the subject, but I must beg you to add the weight of your recommendation. Jenkins leaves to-morrow for Nagpore, to my great regret. He has improved both in learning and wisdom, and has suffered very little by his long solitude. He desires his love to you. I am really sorry to hear of your being so fatigued with Adawlut; why do you not devolve it on your assistants? You must soon, for I suppose now Lord Moira is come, lamenting that so little is left for him to do, he will not fail to do what there is, and he will probably find more work than he is aware of. In that case, there will be enterprise of great pith and moment for you in your own line. I hear you are the most magnificent of all the vain-glorious tribe of Residents. I should like to see your grandeurs. I wish you could see mine: a tiled palace on wooden posts twelve feet

1813—14. high; two chobdars and two hurkaras; six plated dishes; six dozen silver spoons; two little union flags carried by the gardeners on high days or holidays; but, after all, this place is delightful, the climate and scenery are pleasant, and the business not much otherwise, in spite of the excessive villainy of the people. See my despatches, *passim*. I beg you to secure me a cordon of the Order of the Fish when it is instituted."

But other subjects than these engrossed his mind and directed his pen. His interests and sympathies were manifold, and ranged over a large space. Not only, at this time, was he immersed in the politics of India, but his thoughts often travelled to England, and the strife of parties at home excited him in the Mahratta capital. He had left England as a mere boy; he had been seventeen years in India; communication between the two countries was at that time slow and irregular; but he seems to have had a remarkably keen insight into the state of parliamentary and public feeling in Great Britain, and to have entered into political questions with as much zeal as if he had been frequenting the clubs of Pall Mall and St. James's. In the following letter to Mr. Metcalfe, in which, after briefly touching on the state of the country around him, he suddenly plunges into home politics, there is an interesting exposition of his views: "Poonah, September 16, 1813. Many thanks for your letter of the 14th, which reached me yesterday. The troubles in which we are involved by our petty allies in your neighbourhood are the consequence of our not having completed the system of defensive alliance. If we had gone through with that measure, and had every state on the left bank of the Chumbul connected with us, we could only have been disturbed by some convulsion such as could scarcely have happened under the circumstances in which we should have been placed; but, as things are, it is a wonder to me that we have any quiet at all, or that any peace is maintained among the friends, enemies, and neutrals whom we have so ingeniously assembled together at our own door. The Ministers will, I fancy, defeat the Company on the question about the outports, in which, perhaps, it is well the Company should be defeated. The contest is lucky, as it will draw attention to Indian affairs. I do not agree with you in wish-

ing John Company at the devil. Things do not go on ill now, and under the King I cannot but suppose they would go on abominably. Parliament would not be much check on the Ministers, for Parliament despises India, so much as to grudge the trouble of bullying John Company (who shakes in his shoes whenever he is spoken to), and would never dream of quarrelling with a Ministry about a few millions of black rascals who have no votes. Only observe the different treatment which the interests of this Empire and those of Falmouth receive from Parliament. When the charter was about to expire, the Ministers agreed very well with the Directors, and no words passed about the seventy or eighty millions of Indians whose fate was to depend on the decision of the British Government; but half a score of mendicants in half a dozen seaport towns found out that this same decision would make some difference in their profits, and in a moment all England is in an uproar. The Ministers change their tone to the Directors, the Directors break off with the Ministers, and perhaps the destinies of Asia are about to be altered to accommodate a few traders at the outports. This is a digression from my subject, which was an opinion that there would be less control over the administration of India, if under the Ministers, than there is now. I think the consequence would be enormous abuses. The revenue of this country would be looked on as a vast mass of droits of the Admiralty, of treasure to be spent without being accounted for; and the service would be a snug hole into which everything that was too disgusting to be seen at home might be thrust. Supposing things not to be so bad as I have made them, you cannot suppose that the Prince and the Ministers would attempt less in India, where they would not be opposed, than in England, where they are sure of a contest. Lord Yarmouth would then make an excellent Governor-General, and Colonel Macmahon would do well for Madras; Dr. Dingenan would, perhaps, condescend (after the anti-Catholic war was over) to take a seat in the Council of Fort William, and George Hanger, if he is alive, might be put beyond the reach of the Military Commission, by superseding an obscure wretch, who never was at Carlton House, in the Residency with the Great Mogul, and in the expected honours of the Fish. As to foreign policy,

1813—14. the Company's servants have conquered India, while the King's have been losing America, and all but losing Ireland. I do not mean all this so much for a defence of the Company as for an attack on the Government at home, which is almost always bad, and which is only prevented ruining us by the democratic part of the constitution in which India would have no share. I intended to tell you a great deal (while waiting for a Mahratta writer) about Jenkins, who left me this morning for Bombay; but I have got into a long disquisition on politics, and here is the writer come. I can only say that Jenkins is greatly matured and improved, without having caught any native habits in his long seclusion from European society."*

This was, perhaps, the pleasantest period of Mountstuart Elphinstone's Indian service. He had enough official work to do to keep up an unflagging interest in it, and yet to leave him time for other pursuits invigorating alike to mind and body. "The contiguity of the country under Bombay," he wrote, at the end of a long letter to Metcalfe, detailing the nature of his Residency work, "occasions correspondence with that Presidency, as the same cause sometimes does with Madras, and often with Hyderabad; and these, and numerous little things too trifling to mention, make up my employment. They leave me a good deal of leisure; and as this climate is delightful, and there is good hog-hunting in reach, I like it better than any station I have seen." At this time the pleasant labours of authorship came as a variety and a relief to his other more active work. It has been seen how ready he was to help others in their literary incubations; it is time now to speak of his own.

* The references in this letter are to the discussions which preceded the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813. Much that is said about the scandalous disregard of the true interests of the people of India is, I fear, only too applicable to the state of things at the present time. The condemnation, however, was perhaps a little too sweeping, for there were some men in Parliament who stood up for the rights and interests of the people. Prominent among the few was Charles Grant the younger—afterwards Lord Glenelg—who, in the spring of 1813, concluded

an eloquent speech on our duties to the natives of the country, by saying: "On their behalf, in their name, I venture to address myself to the House. Through me they give utterance to their prayers. It is not my voice which you hear, it is the voice of sixty millions of your fellow-creatures abandoned to your disposal and imploring your commiseration. They conjure you by every sacred consideration to compassionate their condition, to pay due regard to their situation—to remember what contingencies are suspended on the issue of your vote," &c. &c. &c.

During his residence at Calcutta, Elphinstone had brought together and arranged the valuable information he had collected relating to the countries which he had visited beyond the Indus, and those still farther to the northward, which he had never reached. But he had intended, in the first instance, that this information should take the shape only of a report to Government; and it was not until Sir James Mackintosh stimulated him to seek a larger audience and to give the public the benefit of his labours, that he began even to meditate on the possibility of publishing a book of travels. He had by no means made up his mind on the subject, when he quitted Bombay and made his way to the Mahratta capital, taking with him a promise from Malcolm to pay him an early visit. In May, the promise was redeemed. In spite of the hot weather, the two friends, in whom at that time the enthusiasm of the sportsman glowed with equal heat, gave themselves up rather to hard riding and fierce boar-hunting than to literary pursuits. In truth, they had both of them pored too long over their papers, and were fain to brush away the cobwebs in the jungle. It was not till some time after Malcolm had left him, that he began seriously to consider the question of publication; and then he said that his appearance as an author would depend much upon the extent of country which Malcolm intended to embrace in the great work upon Persia which he was then preparing for the press. "It is necessary," he wrote, "that I should know with some precision what you intend to do, or I shall spoil your work and waste my trouble (and no small trouble it is writing quires of paper, let alone writing for the public), while I might be hunting, hawking, reading, and doing my business with much more profit both to myself and the public, even if I did not take in hand the account of India, which you so fully convinced me was required." Malcolm's answer was satisfactory. He purposed to confine his inquiries to Persia; so Elphinstone sat himself down at Poonah to write an account of the "Kingdom of Caubul."

He wrote very carefully and conscientiously, for he was one not easily pleased, and sometimes he was so little satisfied with his work that he felt inclined altogether to abandon his project. He was encouraged, however, by one or two of

1814—15. his correspondents; especially by Mr. Jenkins, who then represented British interests at Nagpore, and to whom the historian from time to time submitted portions of his manuscript, courting the critical revisions of his friend. Jenkins, it would seem, had even a severer distaste for anything like diffuseness and redundancy than Elphinstone, and used the pruning-knife with an unsparing hand. "I am once more at my eternal book," wrote Elphinstone to Jenkins, in 1814, "correcting the duplicate for despatch to England. I see the benefit of your cutting, and am very thankful for the zeal with which you performed that uninviting duty. It is something like a real amputation, where the surgeon has a tedious and disagreeable task, and for the time gets no thanks from the patient." At last the book was finished and sent home; and the great publishing house of Longman and Co. undertook to produce it. And they brought it out in becoming style, as books were brought out in those days—a magnificent quarto, with an elaborate map and coloured engravings, published at a price which would now be sufficient to scare away most purchasers.* It was an undoubted success. It made Mr. Elphinstone's literary reputation; and it is still, after a lapse of fifty years, consulted with undiminished interest and advantage by all who seek information relating to the countries which it so well describes.

At that time, the patience of Indian authors was severely tried by the tardiness and uncertainty of communication with England. The interval between the despatch of the manuscript and the arrival of the printed book was so great, that a writer had almost forgotten his work before it came back to him in type. Mr. Elphinstone's case was no exception to the rule. He had almost begun to think that he should never hear of his book again, when he received from England tidings to the effect that it had been published, that it had been reviewed, and had become the talk of London and Edinburgh. This revived his spirits, and he wrote with all the enthusiasm of a young author, in the first flush of his fame, to communicate his good fortune to the friend who had taken so much interest in the progress of his work. "My immediate

* It is entitled "An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India." It bears date 1815. It has since been published in 2 vols. 8vo.

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object," he wrote to Mr. Jenkins, in May, 1816, "is to tell you of the success of my Travels, in which I am sure you will take as much interest as myself. My letter must in consequence be a mere collection of puffs of my own works, for which this is all the apology you are to expect. First, the *Edinburgh Review*—[It is Sir James Mackintosh, a partial friend, and writing with the professed design of encouraging the Indians, but still it cannot be totally false and delusive]: 'The style of Mr. E. is, in our opinion, very good. It is clear, precise, significant, manly, often nervous, always perfectly unaffected, severely guarded against every tendency to Oriental inflation [*totum munere hoc tuum est*], quite exempt from that verbosity and expansion which are the sins that most easily beset our ingenious countrymen in the East.' . . . Lady Wood writes from Edinburgh that 'the reputation and success of *Cambul* astounded her ears on all sides, &c. The Man of Feeling (Henry Mackenzie) had been to see her on the evening before, and talked of the noise he had heard of this book, and his desire to see it (it had then been out above three weeks).' " Other evidences of the interest which the work had excited and the praises it had elicited are given, and then Elphinstone says: "Malcolm corroborates all these stories, and says that he was at Oxford when the review came there, and that the hakims [wise men] were even more struck with the extracts than with the review. Now," he continued, "as I am sure that you will be glad to hear all this, I tell it to you at the risk of appearing vain and foolish; but though I tell it to you, I do not tell it to all the world; and I beg you to consider well to what persons you whisper the secret that Midas has ass's ears. My conclusion is that the book has answered much above my expectations, which you remember were sufficiently moderate, and that the great reasons are the novelty of the subject and the plainness of the work."

But the time was now approaching when he was to "have a rougher task in hand," and to face more dangerous enemies than the critics of London and Edinburgh. Lord Minto had been succeeded in the government of India by Lord Moira, better known to Indian history by his subsequent title of the Marquis of Hastings. The new Governor-General had taken up the reins in a critical period of our history, and there was

The crisis at
Poonah.

1816—17. plainly much work to be done of the most active and stirring character. Ten years had passed since, under an alarming financial pressure, an unsatisfactory peace had been patched up with the Mahratta powers. It was a conclusion where nothing was concluded, a settlement where nothing was settled. And much of our work had now to be done over again. But before the great game was to be played in Central India, the Nepaulese, according to Lord Moira's programme, were to be fought and conquered. Some of our leading Indian statesmen at that time, including Elphinstone and Metcalfe, thought that it would have been wiser to have settled the Central Indian question first. "We ought," wrote the former to Mr. Jenkins, in February, 1815, "to have settled the centre of India before we began with the Goorkhas." "The grand and irreparable mistake," he added, "was Barlow's peace. Scindiah and Holkar had engaged us with regular armies, they were beaten to the ground, and we had only to impose such terms as should keep them quiet for the future, instead of which we left them entire to profit by their experience. Accordingly, they have employed ten years in adopting a system of war better suited to their circumstances, and we must have another and perhaps a longer tussle, before we get them down again. I should hope Scindiah would stay quiet at present, and let us station a force in Bhopaul, after which we must lie on our oars, and not complete the confederation of the Nerbuddah until we have more leisure. When we once begin in earnest on the protection of the Peishwah's country in that neighbourhood, I think we must have a war with Scindiah; and even if we avoid that, we must one day have a Pindarree hunt, which is the same thing." And then he added, with one of those rapid transitions from politics to literature which are so charmingly frequent in his letters, "I wish your work were done before that time comes. Pottinger's has gone home on a ship that sailed yesterday.* . . . I wish I had mine back again, but as

* The works to which reference is here made are Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Henry) Pottinger's "Account of Beloochistan," and Mr. Jenkins's "Report on Nagpore." The latter, in which Mr. Elphinstone took great interest, and which had the benefit of his revision,

never appealed to the public and the critics, but, printed in an official shape, it has had many diligent students, and has ever been highly appreciated as one of the best Indian monographs in existence.

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lesley more than ten years before; and it was now the dictum of Mr. Elphinstone. Like other Princes, equally vicious and weak, he had thrown himself into the hands of a Minister who was vicious but not weak—a man named Trimbuckjee, who gained an ascendancy over the Peishwah by professing extreme subserviency to him, and declaring that he would commit any atrocity at his master's bidding, including, if so called upon, the great sacrilegious iniquity of killing a cow. In course of time, he proved his sincerity by committing a crime only one degree lower in the Hindoo scale—he murdered a Brahmin. It was a political no less than a religious offence, for the Brahmin was an ambassador from the Guicowar of Baroda. He had offended the Peishwah, so Trimbuckjee caused him to be assassinated in the public streets. This story has often been told before, and need not be related in detail. It was the bloody prologue to other great tragedies, ending in the downfall of the throne of Poonah. From that time the extinction of the power of the Peishwah became only a question of time.

When intelligence of this prodigious outrage reached Mr. Elphinstone, he addressed an earnest and dignified remonstrance to Badjee Rao, and called upon him at once to apprehend the Minister, and cause him to be placed in confinement until his Highness and the Governor-General could have an opportunity of consulting on the subject. “A foreign ambassador,” he said, “has been murdered in the midst of your Highness's Court. A Brahmin has been massacred almost in the temple, during one of the greatest solemnities of your religion, and I must not conceal from your Highness the impunity of the perpetrators of this enormity has led to imputations not to be thought of against your Highness's Government. Nobody is more convinced of the falsehood of such insinuations than I am; but I think it my duty to state them, that your Highness may see the necessity of refuting calumnies so injurious to your reputation. I beg you also to observe, that while Trimbuckjee remains at large, his situation enables him to commit further acts of rashness, which he may undertake on purpose to embroil your Highness with the British Government. He is at the head of the administration at Poonah, and has troops at his command; he is like-

wise in charge of your Highness's districts, which are contiguous to the possessions of the British Government, and of the Nizam and the Gaekwar; and, even though he should raise no public disturbance there, I cannot but consider with uneasiness and apprehension in what manner your Highness's affairs will be conducted. For these reasons, it is absolutely necessary that immediate steps should be taken, as your Highness will be held responsible by the Governor-General for any acts of violence which Trimbeckjee may commit after this intimation. I therefore again call on your Highness to adopt the course which I have pointed out to you, as the only one which can restore confidence to the public ministers deputed to your Court."

Reluctant as he was to surrender his favourite, Badjee Rao was, after a while, awed into submission. Trimbeckjee was given up, and confined in the fortress of Tanna, on the island of Salsette. But his captivity was not of long duration. A Mahratta groom, in the service of the English commandant, contrived to effect his release. One morning, groom and prisoner were absent from their places, and pursuit was in vain. It was suspected that Trimbeckjee had made his way straight to his master's presence, and that for some time he was concealed in the private recesses of the palace. Such privacy, however, was not long endurable by one of his restless, intriguing nature, and his implacable hostility to the British. As the year advanced, there were evidences of his activity abroad in the unsettled state of the country around Poonah. First from one point, then from another, there came tidings of the gathering of armed men, which the Peishwah either wholly denied, or declared to be harmless and unmeaning. Mr. Elphinstone, however, was not a man to be deceived by such assurances as these. He knew that Badjee Rao was hastening to destruction; that the final rupture, which was to cost him his throne, was now only a question of time. Seldom, indeed, had a Minister at a foreign Court, either in the Eastern or the Western world, a more difficult part to play than that which now devolved upon Mr. Elphinstone. Of the treachery of the Peishwah there was no doubt. Not only was he most unmistakably sanctioning, if not actually ordaining, the hostile gatherings which were keeping the

1816—17. country in a state of excitement, but he was endeavouring to corrupt the fidelity of our British Sepoys, and of all the people employed at the Residency. There was an immense amount of money in the Peishwah's territory, and he used it freely for the bribery of our people. He flew at high game, for he tried even to purchase the services or the information of European officers. But Elphinstone knew well what he was doing; and, though he betrayed no symptom of suspicion, he was so thoroughly acquainted with what was going on in the Palace, that Badjee Rao afterwards told Sir John Malcolm that the Resident knew every day precisely what he had for dinner.

So, all through the year 1816 and the early part of 1817, it was hard to say whether it was Peace or War between the Peishwah and the English Government as represented by Mountstuart Elphinstone. It was an occasion that demanded the utmost vigilance on the part of the Resident, and that great union of caution and courage which is only to be found in minds of the highest order. It would be impossible, I think, to speak in exaggerated language of praise of the great qualities which Elphinstone exhibited at this time in the midst of almost unprecedented difficulties. It was his duty to imbue himself with the policy of the Government, and whether he thought that policy were right or wrong, to work it out to the utmost of his power. Both Elphinstone and Metcalfe thought that it would have been wiser not to defer so long the settlement of accounts with the Mahratta chiefs. But as Lord Hastings and his Government had otherwise determined, Elphinstone resolved to do all in his power to stave off as long as possible the inevitable collision with the Peishwah whilst there was other work in hand to engage the attention and to absorb the resources of the State.

But day after day he expected that the hour would arrive when it would be possible to temporise no longer. How difficult it was to avert the final resort to arms may be gathered from the following story, told by General John Briggs, who at that time was one of the assistants to the Resident:* "One

* This anecdote is a contribution to Sir Edward Colebrooke's excellent Memoir. There are few writers of Indian history or biography, in the present day, who are not greatly indebted to General

Briggs for the valuable and interesting information which he has afforded them; and perhaps no one, in a greater degree, than myself.

night, after a day that had been passed in considerable anxiety, owing to reports of troops brought into the town, I received certain information that the cattle for the guns had been sent for, and had arrived an hour before, that the artillery were drawn up in front of the park, that the streets were full of mounted men, and that the Peishwah was in full durbar discussing with his chiefs the subject of immediate war. I hastened to inform Mr. Elphinstone, whom I found sitting in a large tent, engaged in playing a round game of cards with a party, among whom were several ladies. He saw me enter, and observed my anxiety to speak to him, but he continued his game as usual for half an hour, when, after handing the last lady of the party into her palanquin, he came up to me rubbing his hands, and said, 'Well, what is it?' I told him the news, which he received with great sang froid, and we walked together to the Residency office. There we encountered the European Commandant of the Contingent, above alluded to, on which Mr. Elphinstone asked him the latest news from the city. He appeared not to be aware of what was in progress, but observed that the Minister, whom he had just left, had told him that the Peishwah had discharged some of the troops lately enlisted, and that all was quiet. Mr. Elphinstone then called on me to state what I had heard, and distinctly told the Commandant that he did not believe a word that he said. The latter said that his information was from the *Minister himself*, and that as to the troops in the streets, he did not observe any beyond the usual patrols, and knew nothing about the arrival of gun-bullocks. The moment was critical; the Residency was incapable of being properly defended, especially by the ordinary escort, and the idea of attacking the Peishwah at once from the cantonment, though hastily expressed, was subsequently abandoned. Mr. Elphinstone resolved to defer doing anything until the morning, and then to take such precautionary measures as he might deem proper. I believe that neither I nor he had much sleep during that anxious night. The night fortunately passed quietly, owing, as was said, to the opposition to war evinced by some of the Ministers. Badjee Rao was physically an arrant coward; he had always displayed this weakness, and was not ashamed to avow it. No steps were, therefore, taken by either party during the night, but in the morning a requisition for a re-

1817. enforcement was made, and two guns accompanied it to the Residency."

On the 17th of October, Elphinstone wrote to his friend Richard Jenkins, at Nagpore, saying: "I suppose that you are very busy, being so near the scene of action. Are your Mahratta Ministers as intriguing, prevaricating, shuffling, lying, cavilling, grumbling, irritating a set of rascals as mine are here? If I recollect them right, they are not. I think Jeswunt Rao and the rest had some little candour when they were in the right, and some little sense of shame when they were in the wrong, of which there is no trace here. Certainly your sweeping judgment during the last troubles would have been safer in the end than the more moderate course adopted, and not less just." A fortnight later, it was evident that the anticipated rupture had become a question of hours. Appearances were more and more threatening. The enemy were swarming around the English position, waiting for a signal to throw off the mask. The story may best be told in Mr. Elphinstone's own words. On the 30th of October he wrote privately to Captain Agnew, who was an assistant to Sir John Malcolm, and at that time representing his superior with the force under Sir Thomas Hislop: "To prevent your hearing false reports of what has been going on here, I write to you in this form, without waiting to make out an official despatch. You know how the Peishwah has been going on lately, and you also know that I wished to keep everything back as much as possible, for fear of interfering with our negotiations at Gwalior by any appearance of a rupture here. This led me to allow the Peishwah to assemble his troops, which he has done with a degree of celerity that I did not think he could have displayed. I also allowed them to occupy their usual stations, none of which were close to our camp, and though of no consequence while the parties were small, became very threatening in the present state of the Peishwah's army. In spite of all my forbearance, however, the Peishwah's preparations threw the whole country into a ferment. Poonah began to be deserted, and there was an universal opinion that we were speedily to be attacked. During all this time I was watching the Peishwah's intrigues with the Sepoys, and about the 27th I found them going on with increased boldness, and repeated

offers were also made to several of our dependents to join against us, and a large sum of money, with a quantity of shawls, &c., were sent into camp in the night. The Peishwah's troops began to hold themselves in readiness, and it appeared that they were about to execute the plan attributed to them in their dealings with the Sepoys—to attack or overawe our camp so as to enable their partisans to come over and induce those who hesitated to join them. Independently of all temporary circumstances, you must know, by the reports that have been made, the wretched position occupied by our brigade among trees and enclosures close to the town. This, combined with the security which we were obliged to affect for the purpose of keeping off a crisis, put it in the Peishwah's power, if he had the spirit, to surprise our camp any night he pleased, and, even if there were no disaffection, to throw us into irrecoverable confusion. The time, however, was limited; for the Bombay European Regiment was on its march here, and, if allowed to come on as quickly as at first intended, would be here on the 1st or 2nd. It could not be hurried on without disclosing our suspicions; so that it seemed more than probable, both from the reason of the thing and from the Peishwah's proceedings, that if ever he did anything he would endeavour to strike a blow before the regiment arrived. On considering all these circumstances, I thought it best to put the brigade in a posture of defence, which, besides the direct advantage of being on our guard, gave us that of bringing the Peishwah's plots to a crisis at a time when he was not perhaps prepared, and freed us from the appearance of timidity produced by our dissembling the knowledge of proceedings which were the talk of the whole country. I therefore wrote to the European regiment to come on as fast as possible, without regard to anything except the health of the men; and I likewise begged Colonel Burr (who commands here) to keep his men within the lines, and to remove some great defects in the state of our ammunition and provisions. At the same time, I sent to the Peishwah to say that mere military principles required our officers to be on their guard when closely contiguous to another army; that I had therefore authorised them to take the requisite steps, but that I had no suspicion of the Peishwah; and as there were no discussions pending between

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the Governments, he had nothing to do but remain quiet, and everything would go on as smoothly as ever. This created no great sensation at the time, except affected indignation at being suspected; but as soon as it was dark, the whole army got under arms, and I really thought that we should have had a breeze. All, however, is now quiet (at ten A.M.). I expect the European regiment in this afternoon, and shall then encamp the whole brigade at Khirkee—a good position, out of the reach of surprise, and not easily accessible to the agents of corruption. I shall then have nothing to think of but soothing the Peishwah. I shall take the greatest care to keep the matter of the seduction of the Sepoys secret. I do not think it can have gone far.”

In another letter, written to Lord Hastings on the 7th of November, the story is continued: “In pursuance of the system of confidence which seemed necessary to make the Peishwah a useful ally, and even to prevent our enemies from calculating on his assistance, I had allowed his troops to occupy their usual stations round our cantonments. . . . His Highness had always strongly opposed the movement of our cantonments. . . . The moment of our removal would, therefore, in all probability, be the one in which his Highness would proceed to carry his plans into execution. . . . This consideration, and a wish to assist our negotiations in Hindostan by keeping off to the last a rupture with the Peishwah, induced me to postpone the removal of the cantonment till the arrival of the Bombay European Regiment, which was expected on the 2nd of November. . . . There was, indeed, every indication of an intention on the Peishwah’s part to attack it before it should be joined by the European regiment. . . . His preparations were now too open to be explained away, even if Scindiah should enter into our views; and the expense of them was too great for him to support for any length of time. He became bolder in his intrigues both with our Sepoys and dependents, and I received information of his sending fifty thousand rupees and some dresses of linen into our camp on the night of the 27th, as if on the conclusion of a bargain. . . . In consequence of this state of things, I wrote on the 29th to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, commanding the European regiment, to hasten his march, so as

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to arrive on the 30th, and I requested Colonel Burr to the brigade on the alert. At the same time, I sent a message to the Peishwah, representing what I did as a mere military arrangement, adopted (as was the case) at the instance of the commanding officer, intended solely to maintain that state of security which is essential to disciplined troops in the immediate neighbourhood of another army, and unconnected with any design against him. . . . On the 1st the brigade moved to its new ground. The Peishwah sent a message to me on the night of the 31st, to request it might be allowed to remain for a time at least, to which I replied by reminding his Highness that the brigade was moving by orders from Sir Thomas Hislop, but I said that, if his Highness was anxious that it should hereafter return, I would communicate his wish to his Excellency."

After the removal of the British cantonments, the demeanour of the Peishwah's troops became more and more insolent and aggressive;* the cantonments were plundered without obstruction from the Peishwah's Government, and "an officer on the road to Bombay was also attacked, wounded, and plundered in open day, about two miles from Bombay." General Smith, anticipating a rupture with the Peishwah, had concentrated his forces at Phool-tamba, recalling his detachments from the Ghauts. "He likewise," says Mr. Elphinstone, "ordered the light battalion, which was on its route to join him, to return to Seroor. . . . I wrote on the day before yesterday (the 4th) to order the light battalion and one thousand of the auxiliary horse that were at Seroor and march to Poonah." The Peishwah said that "he had heard of the approach of General Smith, and the near arrival of the battalion from Seroor; that this was the third time he had assembled troops at Poonah, and he was determined to

* The movement was believed, or at least declared, to be, of the nature of a flight. Mr. Elphinstone, writing a few days afterwards, said: "On the arrival of the Bombay European Regiment, I moved the cantonment to this delightful position (Khirkkee), and felt quite relieved when I saw it established here; but the impression made in town, and diligently encouraged by Gokla, was, that the Feringhees had fled before the invincible arms of Sreemunt, and would be soon clear out of the country. These feelings were shown with great insolence; our cantonments were plundered, a gentleman was wounded and robbed of his horse at Gunesh Kind, and it became unsafe for an officer to ride even between our old camp and our new."

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bring things to an early settlement." The Peishwah deputed Wiltojee Naik, one of his immediate servants, to make certain demands upon the British Resident for the removal of the cantonments, for the dismissal of the European regiment, and for the reduction of the native brigade. And here Mr. Elphinstone may be left to tell the story himself, in his own words, as contained in a private letter which he addressed to Captain Close, and which has more graphic interest than the official report: "The Peishwah," he wrote on the 11th of November, "who perhaps had been flattered by Gokla that all his preparations should be made without his getting into a scrape, now saw that he must throw off the mask. Accordingly he sent a very bullying message to desire I would move the cantonment to such place as he should direct, reduce the strength of the native brigade, and send away the Europeans; if I did not comply, peace would not last. I refused; but said I was most anxious for peace, and should not cross the river towards Poonah, but if his army came towards ours we should attack it. Within an hour after, out they came with such readiness, that we had only time to leave the Sungum with the clothes on our backs, and crossing the river at a ford, march off to the bridge, with the river between us and the enemy. The Sungum, with all my books, journals, letters, manuscripts, &c., was soon in a blaze, but we got safe to the Khirkee bridge, and soon after joined the line. While the men and followers were fording, we went ourselves to observe the enemy. The sight was magnificent as the tide rolled out of Poonah. Grant,* who saw it from the height above the

* Better known as Grant Duff, author of the "History of the Mahrattahs," in which valuable work the illustration cited by Mr. Elphinstone is to be found. The following passage, in which it is contained, is altogether very striking: "On ascending one of the eminences on which they were forming, the plain beneath presented at that moment a most imposing spectacle. This plain, then covered with grain, terminates on the west by a range of small hills, while on the east it is bounded by the city of Poonah, and the small hills already partially occupied by the infantry. A mass of cavalry covered nearly the whole ex-

tent of it, and towards the city endless streams of horsemen were pouring from every avenue. Those only who have witnessed the Bore in the Gulf of Cambay, and have seen in perfection the approach of that roaring tide, can form the exact idea presented to the author at the sight of the Peishwah's army. It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day, there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard except the rushing, the trampling, and the neighing of horses, and the rumbling of the gun-wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the field, the bullocks

powder-cave, described it as resembling the Bore in the Gulf of Cambay. Everything was hushed except the trampling and neighing of horses, and the whole valley was filled with them like a river or flood. I had always told Colonel Burr that when war broke out we must recover our character by a forward movement that should encourage and fix our own men, while it checked our enemies, and I now, by a lucky mistake, instead of merely announcing that the Peishwah was at war, sent an order to move down at once and attack him. Without this, Colonel Burr has since told me, he would not have advanced. However, he did advance. We joined, and, after some unavoidable delay, the Dapooree battalion joined too. When opposite to the nullah we halted (injudiciously, I think) to cannonade, and at the same time the enemy began from twelve or fifteen guns. Soon after, the whole mass of cavalry came on at speed in the most splendid style. The rush of horse, the sound of the earth, the waving of flags, the brandishing of spears, were grand beyond description, but perfectly ineffectual. One great body, however, under Gokla and Moro Dixit, and some others, formed on our left and rear, and when the first battalion of the 7th was drawn off to attack Major Pinto, who appeared on our left, and was quite separated from the European regiment, this body charged it with great vigour, and broke through it and the European regiment. At this time the rest of the line was pretty well occupied with shot, matchlocks, and, above all, with rockets, and I own I thought there was a good chance of our losing the battle. The first battalion of the 7th, however, though it had expended all its ammunition, survived the charge, and was brought back to the line by Colonel Burr, who showed infinite coolness and courage, and, after some more firing and some advancing, together with detaching a few companies to our

breaking from their yoke, the wild antelopes, startled from sleep, bounding off, and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it moved." From this, and from Mr. Elphinstone's graphic letter to Captain

Close, a just impression of the picturesque grandeur of the scene may be derived. In some parts of the Resident's description, as in "the rush of horse, the *sound of the earth*" (*quadripedante sonitu*, &c.), the reader will discern marks of Elphinstone's classical reading.

1817. right, towards the little hill of Gunesh Kind, we found ourselves alone in the field, and the sun set. I was at first for advancing to the water at the Sait garden, but was persuaded it was better to return, which it was. If we had not made this movement forward, the Peishwah's troops would have been quite bold, ours cowed, and we doubtful of their fidelity; we should have been cannonaded and rocketed in our own camp, and the horse would have been careering within our picquets. As it is, the Peishwah's army has been glad to get safe behind Poonah, and we have been almost as quiet as if encamped on the Retee at Delhi. We did not lose a hundred men altogether, and we have quite set our name up again. That the Peishwah should not give us another field-day before General Smith comes in (which he will by the 14th), is incredible. But the Mahrattas are unaccountable animals." It was characteristic of Elphinstone that he said little about his own achievements. But, in truth, he fought the battle, and was the real hero of the day. He suffered severely too. "All my writing implements," he reported to Government, "with everything I had, except the clothes on my back, have formed part of the blaze at the Residency, which is now smoking in sight." His "writing implements" were his books and manuscripts—his journals and notes—materials for future literary works, with pleasant schemes of which his brain was then teeming. The loss of these last was the nation's loss, and it was wholly irreparable.*

Having had this taste of the quality of our troops, the Mahrattas were disinclined to give us further battle, and for some days active hostilities were suspended. But the interval was fatal to the Peishwah. Reinforcements, under General Smith, were hastening to Mr. Elphinstone's assistance. On the 13th they arrived at Poonah, and arrangements were immediately made for an attack on the Peishwah's camp. The blow, however, was not struck until the 17th; and then it fell upon a routed army. The advance of our divisions was sufficient to scare the enemy; they saw that all hope of resistance was utterly futile; so they broke and fled. The game

* Some of our readers will recall to mind what Cowper wrote of the burning of Lord Mansfield's books and manuscripts—those happy lines ending with :

"Their pages mangled, burnt, and torn,
The loss was his alone;
But ages yet to come shall mourn
The burning of his own."

was all up with the Peishwah and his advisers, and the great city of Poonah lay prostrate and helpless at our feet.*

Then all the humanity of Elphinstone's nature was roused within him, and how to save the city from the fury of the troops became his first care in the emergency that had arisen. There were many circumstances to inflame the passions of the British soldiery, and he scarcely hoped to be able to extinguish them. "After the flight of the army," he wrote to Lord Hastings, "General Smith took measures for reducing the city of Poonah, if necessary, and for saving it, if practicable, from the fury of our troops. This had long been an object of great anxiety to General Smith, and the consideration of it had entered into all his plans for the defeat of the army. The plunder and destruction of our Residency and Cantonments, the losses of many of the Sepoys, the disgraceful circumstances of the murder of the officers at Tulligaum, the massacre of the wives of the Sepoys who had fallen into the enemy's hands on the 5th, the mutilation of a Sepoy who had been taken prisoner while straggling from General Smith's line of march, and many other acts of impotent rage on the part of the Peishwah's Court, had raised the indignation of the men to the highest pitch, and they did not conceal their eager desire to revenge themselves by sacking and plundering the enemy's capital. In this state of the feelings of the army, it appeared difficult to save Poonah in any circumstances, and impossible in the event of resistance. To obviate the last danger, General Smith and I sent letters in duplicate flags of truce to the Peishwah and Gokla offering to protect the town, if evacuated; and warning them of the consequence of holding out. One copy was carried on to the Peishwah and Gokla, who promised an answer, but never sent it; the other was given open to the person in charge of the Peishwah's fortified

* The following characteristic anecdote is related by General Briggs: "As an instance of Mr. Elphinstone's great kindness to others, and attention to the most minute points in times of trouble and turmoil, I cannot help relating that immediately after the battle of Khirkee he sought out my family, which had found refuge in a cow-shed; he procured a table and writing materials, and then and there wrote his despatches. A hasty

meal of tea and bread-and-butter sufficed him after all the labours of the day, and by daylight he started with the troops in pursuit of the enemy. In the first moment of leisure, he caused a list of articles of supplies to be made out, which, together with a tent for my family, he purchased and sent to them. It was thus, in the midst of business, Mr. Elphinstone forgot nothing."—*Colebrook's Memoir in Asiatic Journal.*

1817. palace, who promised an answer by noon. Before he arrived, Hurree-Rao, the banker generally employed by the Company, came to solicit protection for the bankers and merchants, and offered to establish our guards in the city. In this he succeeded, though some contemptible preparations had been made for defence. Guards were posted at the four principal public offices and the Peishwah's palace, which may be considered as the citadel of Poonah. Every arrangement was made by General Smith for the security of the place. Some trifling excesses were committed in the suburbs before there was time to take precautions, but the city suffered no injury, and the loss of property was quite insignificant. Considering all circumstances, the forbearance of the troops deserved high admiration. General Smith's success in protecting Poonah is attended with very important advantages, tending to maintain our general reputation, and to conciliate friends in the present contest, and as preserving a very fertile source of supply both of money and of commodities for the army."*

Settlement of
the Ceded Pro-
vinces.

So Badjee Rao became an outcast and a fugitive; † and Mountstuart Elphinstone, as was sportively said at the time, became Peishwah in his place. A new career now opened itself out before him. He had, up to this time, been distinguished mainly as a diplomatist. In that capacity he had evinced, in a remarkable degree, the sagacity to foresee and to overcome all difficulties, and the high courage which en-

* The fine soldierly qualities of Mr. Elphinstone, as evinced throughout these operations, were thus extolled by Mr. Canning in the House of Commons: "Mr. Elphinstone (a name distinguished in the literature as well as the politics of the East) exhibited, on that trying occasion, military courage and skill which, though valuable accessories to diplomatic talents, we are not entitled to require as necessary qualifications for civil employment. On that, and not on that occasion only, but on many others in the course of this singular campaign, Mr. Elphinstone displayed talents and resources which would have rendered him no mean General in a country where Generals are of no mean excellence and reputation." The Duke of Wellington

had written in a like strain many years before. That Elphinstone fought and won the battle of Khirkee is not to be doubted; but the reader will observe that he assigned all the merit to Colonel Burr, who was, in truth, old and infirm, and little capable of contending with such a crisis. Even the directions which Elphinstone gave for the advance of the British troops, he modestly describes as a fortunate mistake.

† In the preceding Memoir of Sir John Malcolm (pages 203-204), some account is given of the circumstances of Badjee Rao's surrender, and of the cession of his territories to the British Government. The story need not, therefore, be repeated in this place.

counters all dangers with a cool and resolute bearing. But he was now to find another field for the exercise of his great abilities. Henceforth he was to shine as an administrator. The territories ruled by the Peishwah were to become part and parcel of the British dominions. He had forfeited them by acts of treacherous hostility ; and the English Government deemed it essential to their security to curb for ever his power to threaten the paramount State and disturb the peace of the country.

The year 1818 found Mr. Elphinstone entering upon his new duties as "Commissioner," or Governor, of the Poonah territories. I remember once to have heard a distinguished English writer declare his opinion that our Anglo-Indian statesmen had been much overrated, for that it was "very easy to govern people of that kind." There could not be a more prodigious mistake. To govern a people aright, it is necessary that we should understand them aright. And it is anything but an easy matter to understand aright a people, or rather a congeries of peoples, differing from us and perhaps from each other, in their languages, their religions, their political institutions, and their social usages ; least of all is it easy when these communities are to the last degree jealous and exclusive, and both suspicious and resentful of the approaches and inquiries of strangers. That during the years he had spent, as representative of British interests at the Court of the Peishwah, he had gained much serviceable information relating to the character, and the usages, and the institutions of the Mahrattahs, is not to be doubted. But when he began to superintend the internal administration of the country, he acknowledged, with the true humility of wisdom, how much more he had yet to learn. In later days, men forsaking the traditions of the good old school of Munro, Malcolm, and Elphinstone, have ridden their favourite theories rough-shod over both the privileges and the prejudices of people newly subjected to our sway, never questioning their inclination to be measured by the Benthamite foot-rule of the European stranger. But half a century ago our statesmen, in a ceded or conquered country, held it to be their first duty to learn thoroughly the manner in which the natives of India had governed themselves, before prescribing the manner of go-

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verning for them. Now, this matter of native administration was, and is, a very heterogeneous and complicated affair much good mixed up with much evil; and, noticeable above all things by those who care to investigate the truth, such a multiplicity of rights and privileges, derived from different sources and maintained by different tenures, that it demands very cautious treading, on the part even of the wisest and the justest, not to crush some of them under foot. It may be said, indeed, that in proportion as the British Administrator understands and respects these rights and privileges, his administration is successful. These great essential conditions of knowledge and of sympathy, Mr. Elphinstone now, with his strong head and his large heart, most religiously fulfilled. He was not one to regard the overthrow of a Native Government as an unmixed benefit to the people. Indeed, at this time, he was fearful lest, in the conjuncture which had arisen, other native principalities might be overthrown; and he wrote to Mr. Jenkins, April 13, 1818, saying: "I hope that you are setting up a Native Government. One example is enough; and two entire conquests on our hands would embarrass us both in the acquisition and retention. I was far from thinking, as you supposed, that you ought to have deposed the Rajah at once. I thought you very right to keep him on his musnud, although his folly baffled all calculation." And that he was in no hurry to re-cast the administration of the Poonah territories, as he found it, is clearly evidenced by the fact that a year after the government had passed into his hands, he wrote to the same correspondent (January 17, 1819), saying: "You ask what we are about, and how it happens that you do not hear from us. Both questions can easily be answered in one. We are learning the late system of Justice, Police, and Revenue, and considering what it suits us to establish in its room. In the mean time, as events will not wait till we have finished our deliberations, we are carrying on the Government on such principles as the studies alluded to suggest. All this occupies much time and labour. There are five of us belonging to the Commission, and all our hands are full all day. I omitted one branch of our labour, which is important enough—fixing the lands to be hereafter held by Jagheerdars. We are also carrying on an expedition against Sawunt Warree

under Sir W. Kier, and we have military arrangements of distribution and reduction to superintend." 1818-19.

That this settlement of the Peishwah's ceded districts is one of the greatest administrative successes which the British have ever accomplished in the East, is, notwithstanding later triumphs, still acknowledged after a lapse of nearly half a century. Throughout all that time it has been cited as a precedent, and followed as an example, by later generations of Indian statesmen; but it is still unsurpassed in the annals of the Empire. The change was a prodigious one, and it was no easy task to reconcile to it all classes of the native community. In later days, we have been wont to assume, in such cases, not only the utter absence of all national feeling, but a craving after British rule, which never has existed and never will exist in the popular mind, however wise and beneficent our Government may be. Mr. Elphinstone had no delusions of this kind. He knew that it would be a wise thing to flatter the nationality of the Mahrattahs of Western India, and the Government of Lord Hastings, adopting the views of the Resident, willingly consented to soothe the mortification of the conquered by erecting, on the downfall of the Peishwah, a new Mahrattah principality under the descendants of the House of Sivajee, who, at that time, were little more than State-prisoners. Rescued from their degradation, they were restored to limited power and authority by the erection of the Raj of Sattarah; and the national pride was gratified by the concession. This doubtless paved the way to Elphinstone's successes; but still it was no easy task that lay before him. If he had been a man of a less lively imagination, and of less comprehensive sympathies, he might have failed in such a conjuncture. But, as Resident, he had studied all classes of the people, and he had tried to think and to feel with them; and though he had interfered as little as possible in the internal affairs of the Poonah State, he had been compelled at times to exercise his influence, especially as arbitrator between the Peishwah and the privileged classes, who were continually in conflict with each other.* Years before he had written to Metcalfe a letter detailing the nature of his occupations at

* In a letter before me, written whilst Elphinstone was Resident at Poonah, he

wrote with reference to these arbitrations: "I have sent in a very long re-

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Poonah, and had said: "Another employment is to prevent the destruction of the few old families that remain in this Empire, and that is almost the only internal affair with which we meddle, the plan here being the excellent one of really sticking to the treaty, and keeping off the evil day of our having to take the government into our own hands as long as possible. A still more difficult task is to prevent the Peishwah meddling in other people's affairs, of which he is very fond, and for which the vast pretensions of this Government afford many opportunities." And now that the Peishwah was removed from the scene, Mr. Elphinstone was equally eager to prevent the destruction of the old families, and he made it one of his first cares on assuming the administration, to inquire into the tenures of the privileged classes, and to deal with them not only justly but generously on the transfer of the sovereign power to the British Government. He felt that this course was demanded as much by sound policy as by right principle, and he never had cause to question its wisdom. Some years afterwards, when these alienations of revenue were under the consideration of the Supreme Government, and it seemed that a covetous eye had been cast upon them, Mr. Elphinstone protested against resumptionary measures, adding: "The maintenance of many of the chiefs in their possessions was certainly suggested, as supposed, by the Governor-General, for the purpose of avoiding popular discontent, and preventing the too rapid fall of great families, but in other cases it rested on the belief that the holders were entitled of right to their possessions; where a Jagheer was by the original grant made hereditary in the family of the grantee, there could be no doubt of the right of the descendant, but where there was no such grant (as was the case with almost all the Jagheers), the right rested on dif-

port, stating the history of the Jagheers, the rise and progress of their disputes with the Peishwah, the present state of his claims, the measures adopted by Lord Wellington to adjust them, the subsequent policy of the British Government and its effects, the plan of adjustment which I would now recommend, and the measures to be pursued for enforcing it. The plan was to strike off all claims for arrears, and, generally

speaking, all claims the enforcing of which does not promise much future advantage. To call on the Jagheerders to settle these claims, and offer our arbitration and guarantee, and in the event of any hesitation, to attack them with all the force we could assemble, but not to dispossess them if we could avoid it, as their Jagheers are better managed under them than they would be under the Peishwah."

ferent grounds, arising from the territory of the Jagheers (or Surinjams, as they are called by the Mahrattahs). A Jagheer was usually granted during life, for the purpose of maintaining troops to serve the State. A small portion was set aside as a personal provision for the chief. This mode of maintaining troops being always kept up, there was no motive for removing the Jagheerdar, and consequently every grant was renewed on the death of each incumbent, his son paying a relief to the Government. When this practice had long subsisted, the Jagheer came to be regarded as hereditary, and the resumption of it would have been viewed as a violation of private property; the nature and history of Jagheers has so great an analogy to those of feudal benefices, that the manner in which this transition took place can be easily understood in Europe. The period for which a Jagheer had been held was, therefore, a very important point to advert to in deciding how long to continue it. I recommended that all granted by the Mogul Emperors or the Rajahs of Sattarah should be hereditary in the fullest sense of the word. The former must generally have been very long in the families which held them, and had survived two changes of dynasty. These do not seem now to be interfered with. The latest of the Sattarah grants must now be near a century old, and must have survived a change of dynasty besides our conquest. Surely there is enough to entitle the possessor to feel secure from future disturbance. On this principle, I believe, we stipulated with the new Rajah of Sattarah that he should not reserve such grants of his ancestors as lay within his territory, binding ourselves by implication (if the fact be as I have supposed) not to resume those within ours. What I can recollect of the history of the particular families whose lands it is now proposed to resume, confirms me in my former opinion. The Jagheerdars of the Peishwahs stood on a different footing: they had arisen under the dynasty which we subverted; none could have been in possession for more than seventy years, and they had been kept in mind by the exactions of service, as well as by occasional resumptions, of the real nature and extent of their tenure. Much consideration was, however, due to them as the actual possessors of power, and they were allowed to retain their personal lands

1818—19. for one or more generations, according to their merits or importance. No change has taken place in the condition of this class, and I cannot see how any claim which they possessed at the conquest has been weakened since.”*

It was, indeed, his desire to establish the new system of government, in all things, as much as possible, in conformity with the genius of the people. And in no respect did he consider it more important to refrain from a too summary introduction of English machinery and agency, than in the great matter of the administration of justice. In a report on the Settlement of the Ceded Districts, which he sent in to Government, and which since, in its printed form,† has been studied by later generations of Indian statesmen perhaps more than any other State-paper on the records, he dwelt, at considerable length, on this subject. After describing the rough-and-ready native system of judicial procedure, and commenting on its character and consequences, he said: “Such are the advantages and disadvantages of the native administration of justice, which are to be weighed against those of the plan adopted in our provinces. If we were obliged to take them as they stood under the native Government, the scale would probably soon be turned; but as it is possible to invigorate the system, and to remove its worst abuses, the question is not so easily decided. The most striking advantages in our plan appear to be, that the laws are fixed, and that as means are taken to promulgate them, they may be known to every one. That the decisions of the Adawlut, being always on fixed principles, may always be foreseen; that there is a regular and certain mode of obtaining redress; that the decision on each separate case is more speedy than in any native court, and that it is more certain of being enforced; that justice may be obtained by means of the Adawlut, even from officers of Government, or from Government itself; that the judges are pure, and their purity and correctness are guarded by appeals; and that the whole system is steady and uniform, and is not liable to be biased in its motions by fear or affection, policy or respect. On the

* From a Minute recorded by Mountstuart Elphinstone, when Governor of Bombay.

† It should be observed, however, that the whole of the report was not printed.

other hand, it appears that, although the regulations are promulgated, yet, as they are entirely new to the people of India, a long time must pass before they can be generally known; and as both they and the decisions of the court are founded on European notions, a still longer period must elapse before their principles can be at all understood; that this obscurity of itself throws all questions relating to property into doubt, and produces litigation, which is further promoted by the existence of a class of men rendered necessary by the numerous technical difficulties of our law, whose subsistence depends on the abundance of lawsuits."

Moved by these considerations, he determined to interfere, at the outset, as little as possible with native usages, and to leave to the infallible action of time to work out reforms from within. "The plan," he wrote, "I have proposed has many obvious and palpable defects, and many more will no doubt appear when its operations are fully observed. It has this advantage, that it leaves unimpaired the institutions, the opinions, and the feelings that have hitherto kept the community together; and that, as its fault is meddling too little, it may be gradually remedied by interfering when urgently required. An opposite plan, if it fail, fails entirely; it has destroyed everything that could supply its place, and when it sinks, the whole frame of the society sinks with it. This plan has another advantage likewise, that if it does not provide complete instruments for the decision of suits, it keeps clear of the causes that produce litigation. It makes no great changes, either real or apparent, in the laws, and it leads to no revolution in the state of property. The established practice, also, though it be worse than another proposed in its room, will be less grievous to the people, who have accommodated themselves to the present defects, and are scarcely aware of their existence; while every fault in a new system, and perhaps many things that are not faults, would be severely felt for want of this adaptation. I do not, however, mean to say that our interference with the native plan is odious at present. On the contrary, several of the Collectors are of opinion that a summary decision by an European judge is more agreeable to the natives than any other mode of trial. This may be the case at first, but if the decisions of

1818—19. Europeans should ever be so popular as to occasion the disuse of the native modes of settlement, there would soon be a run on the courts, and justice, however pure when obtained, would never be got without years of delay."

The student of recent Indian history cannot fail to observe that the principles here enforced are widely at variance with those which some later administrators of high repute have carried with them to the settlement of our newly-acquired territories. Thirty years afterwards, Sir Henry Lawrence, whose policy it was to support native institutions, declared that our first administrative efforts in the Punjab had been marred by the error we had committed in endeavouring to do too much good. With a deeply-rooted, and, indeed, very natural conviction, that English systems are better than Indian systems, we are sometimes wont to pour new wine into old bottles until the bottles burst with a disastrous explosion. It was the peculiar wisdom of Mountstuart Elphinstone, that, at a time when there was a general disposition to sow broadcast the seeds of the "Regulations" all over the land, he recognised the fact that the Hindoos are not a people addicted to change, but, on the other hand, naturally prone to resent and resist even beneficent innovations, and so he determined that the changes which were really desirable should appear to develop themselves naturally from within, rather than engraft themselves on the system by the force of external dictation. And thus, by exciting the fears of none, and offending the prejudices of none, he carried all classes with him, and they were gradually reconciled to our rule.

But it was not in the nature of things that there should not be some malcontents. It was not probable that such a revolution as this should be accomplished without some efforts to subvert the new dynasty. There are always some adherents of a deposed Prince to whom the presence of the white man ruling in his place is an offence and an abomination. Plots and conspiracies, which may or may not outwardly develop themselves, are the certain attendants of such a state of things. Elphinstone was, therefore, neither surprised nor unprepared, when positive proof was afforded him of a plot, in which certain Mahrattah Brahmins were the chief agents, to murder all the Europeans at Poonah and Sattarah, and to re-

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establish the sovereignty of the Peishwah. It was then as necessary to display vigour and daring, as, in the general adjustment of affairs, mildness and consideration. So he caused the ringleaders to be seized and blown away from the mouth of a gun. This terrible example had the desired effect. It is related that Sir Evan Nepean, who was then Governor of Bombay, though he approved the act, was somewhat startled by its boldness, and advised Mr. Elphinstone to ask for an act of indemnity. But the counsel was rejected. "If I have done wrong," he said, "I ought to be punished; if I have done right, I don't want any act of indemnity."*

From the performance of these important duties, which in effect were those of a Lieutenant-Governor of a great province, Mr. Elphinstone was called to fill a still higher and more honourable post. In 1819, the chief seat in the Government of Bombay was vacated by the retirement of Sir Evan Nepean; and it became necessary to appoint a successor. I have shown in the preceding Memoir that Sir John Malcolm had expected to succeed to the vacant government. There were then three servants of the Company who had founded such high claims to distinction, that the appointment of either one of them to the post would have given general satisfaction throughout India, and with respect to whose several chances of succession public opinion was pretty equally divided. It is a remarkable fact that they were all three of them Scotchmen. One, Sir John Malcolm, had come from a small farm in Dumfries-shire; another, Sir Thomas Munro, from an obscure merchant's office in Glasgow; Mr. Elphinstone alone had any aristocratic connexions, but no one doubted for a moment that his prospects of succession would have been equally good if his origin had been as humble as his contemporaries'. He owed nothing to his birth; nothing to his family. It has been stated, indeed, that his uncle, Mr. William Elphinstone, the director, consistently supported the claims of Sir John Malcolm. But when Mr. Canning, who at that time presided at the India Board, named these three

The Bombay Government.

* I am indebted for this anecdote to the interesting memoir of Mr. Cole-

brooke. It is given on the authority of Mr. Warden.

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distinguished public servants, and intimated that the appointment of any one of them to the vacant government would meet with the approbation and receive the sanction of the Crown, the Court of Directors of the East India Company selected Mr. Elphinstone to fill the office of Governor of Bombay.

He entered upon the duties of his government at no very stirring period of our history. There were no exciting events, no exceptional circumstances of any kind, to give *éclat* to his administration. He went on from year's end to year's end, along the straight, quiet road of unostentatious beneficence. Not in one great measure or in another great measure—not in any individual actions standing prominently forward to claim the especial notice of the biographer—is the history of his success recorded; but in the completeness and consistency of the whole. If it be asked what he did at Bombay to earn so great a reputation as a statesman and a ruler, it is enough to answer that he made for himself an enduring place in the hearts of the people. To write this is in effect to write that he was wise, and just, and humane. Bishop Heber* related of him that he had heard it said that "all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their aspersers, but that of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly." And there is still, after the lapse of forty years, no name in Western India more revered or more beloved than that of Mountstuart Elphinstone.

There was at this time a many-sidedness about Mr. Elphinstone's personal character and habits which excited the surprise and admiration of all who had an opportunity of closely

* Heber's picture of Elphinstone is so good that I cannot resist quoting a portion of it: "Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for and application to public business, a love of literature, and a degree of universal information such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political and sometimes military duties since the age of eighteen,

he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindustan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance in the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular literature of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society; and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends in what hours of the day or night he found time for the acquisition of knowledge."

watching his career. His activity took first one shape and then another. You might have conceived, at one time, that he was an ardent sportsman, with all his heart in the chase; at another, that he was a literary recluse, with no thoughts beyond his books; and, again, that his whole mind was given up to the administrative duties of his office. The sport and the literature were in reality but the complements of his official life,—contributing, each in its way, to make up the full perfection of the statesman's character. For it may be said that great statesmen are seldom merely statesmen—that a man to be fit to encounter adequately the pressure of public affairs must have interests apart from the bureau, to keep his mind fresh and his nerves braced up for the contest. That Mr. Elphinstone was a patient and laborious man of business, we know from the evidence of one of his chief secretaries. Mr. Warden says that his conscientious consideration of all the details of his official business was such, “that he took as much pains about a matter of five rupees as about the draft of a treaty.” Taken in their literal significance, I should say that these words express that which must be regarded as a defect in the character of a public man; but I conceive that the writer meant only to say that small affairs of government received, equally with great, the attention due to them in proportion to their several requirements. But, for all this laborious addiction to business, we are told that when Mr. Elphinstone was on his visitation-tours (and he visited twice every part of the Presidency), there was “always in the camp a shikaree (or huntsman), whose business it was to inquire for hogs, and whenever he brought in intelligence of game, Mr. Elphinstone would proclaim a holiday, and go hunting perhaps for one or two days, and he was fond of a chase at any time.” I have no doubt that the public business was done all the better for these interludes of recreation.

His self-sacrificing conscientiousness was clearly evinced at this time by the large reductions which he made in the expenses of the Government House establishment. He had received instructions from the Home Government to commence a course of retrenchment, and he thought that economy, like charity, should “begin at home;” so he commenced the work committed to him by those reductions of expenditure

1819—27. which would most nearly affect himself. But he did not merely give prospective effect to these savings. Arguing, very strictly, with his own conscience, that what was sufficient then must have been sufficient before for the support of the Government House establishment, he paid back to the treasury, from his private resources, forty-five thousand rupees (4500*₹*.) of the money which he had expended before the orders were received from home.

But although, as I have said, the period of Mr. Elphinstone's government of Bombay was historically uneventful, its monotony was sometimes relieved by threatenings of war and mutterings of intrigue and sedition. The adherents of the deposed Peishwah were playing that deep game which culminated at last, more than thirty years afterwards, in the massacres of Futttehghur and Cawnpore. Emissaries were going forth to all the Mahrattah Courts, and even to the Sikh country, sowing seeds which it might take the space of a generation to develop—but Hindoo intrigue is ever patient, watchful, and full of hope. "Mr. Chaplin," wrote Elphinstone to Metcalfe, in August, 1822, "has contrived to get hold of a most secret and authentic source of information, by which he has discovered, beyond a doubt, that Badjee Rao is carrying on intrigues in his own dominions and at different Courts. Narroo Punt Apty, who quitted Badjee Rao on pretence of a quarrel, is his agent in Scindiah's camp. I should think him ill calculated for political intrigues, though the best soldier the Peishwah had. From his incautious character, Stuart might be able to find out what he is about, but great care should be taken that Stuart does not disclose our own knowledge of the intrigues going on. The great agent in this communication at Bhittoor is Viraik Nana Shrontee, who, unless I mistake the name (which I do not think I do), was one of the active agents in corrupting our troops, and who left Poonah for Hindostan shortly before I came here. The letters talk of intrigues in various directions, and speak of Scindiah as the only resource, but without saying that he is engaged in the cause. I think both Stuart (if he does not already) and Low—especially the latter—should send copies of their reports to Mr. Chaplin. I have requested the latter to send agents to Bhittoor and Benares, because Poonah people are so much more likely than any others to penetrate all intrigue among

their own countrymen. For this reason I have even desired him to send a news-writer to Bombay, where a branch of the intrigue appears to be carried on." And then Mr. Elphinstone proceeded to give a list of Badjee Rao's agents, as communicated to Mr. Chaplin, his successor at Poonah, in which, though the names of the emissaries were identified, the places to which they were despatched were sometimes disguised by cabalistic terms, intelligible only to the initiated.

There were troubles, too, in the country more to the westward—including certain prospects of the enforced castigation of Kolhapoor and of a war with Sindh—events the full development of which were reserved for a later period. On these subjects Elphinstone wrote to Metcalfe, in April, 1825: "Though Kittoor is settled, the people of that country, being united by a peculiar religion, and encouraged by former successful rebellions, are not unlikely to give some trouble if they have an opportunity. The Rajah of Kolhapoor, a headstrong young man, has been seized with a military mania, and after making some conquests in his own neighbourhood, and assuming a very suspicious attitude during the insurrection at Kittoor, he has now appeared in the Rajah of Sattarah's frontier, and the last accounts hold out a strong prospect of his violating territory, either for the purpose of gratifying his resentment against a particular person who has taken refuge there, or for some less justifiable purpose. At the same time we have accounts of an eruption of a very considerable body of troops from Sindh into Cutch, which the Acting Resident conceives to have originated in the Government of Sindh, and to be directed to the subversion of our influence in Cutch. This is probably an exaggeration, but it is evidently a serious incursion. All these particular disturbances will probably subside, but they draw one's attention to the necessity of being prepared, and of knowing what means we have at hand in case of need. With this view I should be much obliged if you could give me some notion of the aid we might expect from you. You have shown that you can come in very effectually to our assistance for a spurt, but you might not be able to do it permanently. Could you, for instance, occupy Sholapore permanently with one regiment of cavalry and two of infantry, if we wished to withdraw all the troops now there? and if you could do this, how long would it take? I should like also to

1819—27. know what force you have disposable in the Nizam's country, and how far the present state of things requires you to keep it ready to quell local disturbances?"

But it was with affairs of internal administration that his thoughts were at this time principally engaged. A quiet, unobtrusive career of beneficence lay before him. One who had recently brought from England a "new eye"—a vision unobscured either by custom or by prejudice—visited Bombay, and wrote of Mr. Elphinstone, saying: "His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to, and thinks well of, the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No Government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the establishment of punchayets, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern Empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements. . . . Of his munificence, for his liberality amounts to this, I had heard much, and knew some instances myself." The writer of this was Reginald Heber, already quoted, who was impressed above all things by Mr. Elphinstone's ardour in the cause of native education.* The Bombay Governor was one of those who believed that the progress of education must eventually cause the withdrawal of the English from the country, but who was not, therefore, less disposed to promote it. Speaking of the wants of the natives,

* "A society for the promotion of education existed at Bombay previous to Mr. Elphinstone's succession to the government; but attention to that of the natives formed only a branch, and an inferior branch, of its objects. The

first establishment of a society, which should have the education of the natives only in view, dates from a meeting held in August, 1820, over which Mr. Elphinstone presided."—*Colebrooke*.

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the formation of a code adapted to the transitional state of the society by which he was then surrounded. His old friend, Mr. William Erskine, was then at the Presidency, and the Governor appointed him and two other gentlemen a committee to draw up a code of regulations, which was for many years, and is still, substantially, in force as the law and procedure of that part of the country. From his correspondence on this subject I take the following letter, written to an old friend and colleague in the Bengal Civil Service, whose name in such a volume as this ought not to be mentioned without an expression of admiration and respect. Mr. William Butterworth Bayley was a noble example of that class of Civil servants who, whilst making no very prominent appearance on the page of history, contributed greatly to the consolidation and perfection of our Anglo-Indian Empire. His career was comparatively an uneventful one, for he did not accompany great armies into the field, or negotiate treaties with Native Princes. But he rose to the very highest posts—even, for a little space, to the tenure of the Governor-Generalship—by the performance of the unostentatious duties of an administrator in the Judicial and Fiscal departments of the Service. Whilst yet in the prime of life, he returned to England, and became an honoured member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company; and those who only knew him in his later, I can hardly write his “declining,” years, saw old age in its most attractive features; for there was an almost boyish freshness and cheerfulness about him which afforded the most remarkable contrast ever seen to the traditional moroseness and querulousness of the retired Nabob. He was a member of the Supreme Council of India when Mr. Elphinstone thus wrote to him: “Poonah, September 3, 1822. Adam’s letter, enclosing your memorandum, reached me so shortly before I left Bombay, that I have not had time till now to tell you how much I am obliged to you for it. It was a very great satisfaction to me to find that what you consider as the most important part of a new code is already established at Bombay. It seems to me that the establishment of great Zemindaries in Bengal, and (in a less degree) the practice of farming villages to one or more individuals in Hindostan, has prevented our being intimately acquainted with the tenures of the

Ryots in those countries. In all the country under Bombay (except Broach) the settlements have always been more or less Ryotwar, and consequently the collectors were only made acquainted with all the rights and privileges which each individual could claim under his particular tenure. A regulation is now in progress, specifying all those tenures from the simple right of occupancy up to the Meerassee, which approaches to the character of freehold property; this regulation will protect the holder of land under such tenure from any encroachment either on the part of the Government or of the person representing the Government, whether Jagheer-dar, Zemindar, or Inamdar. This regulation will stand good whether we farm our villages to particular individuals or families (as you do in Hindostan), a plan attended with many advantages; whether we keep up (or introduce) the Ryotwar plan; or whether (which is least likely of all) we introduce the Bengal plan of large Zemindaries. Besides the tenures of Ryots, there are tenures by which single villages are held (whether by single Potails or Putteedars). The rights of these classes, if they have any peculiar rights, will likewise be defined, and there will then only remain to fix the rights of Talookhdars, which in the language of the west of India means dependent Princes. Where these persons have been brought completely under our government, any rights they may have left may be fixed by regulation, but where they are only arbitrary, as is generally the case, they must be the subject of instructions, not of regulations. In speaking of the rights of heads of villages and of Talookhdars, I mean those towards the Government, for towards the Ryots they are already settled by the part of the regulation to which I first alluded. I shall send you a copy of the regulation as soon as I get one myself. The register you recommend (like that of Scotland, Middlesex, and Yorkshire) is already established by one of our new regulations. The consolidation and compression of the present regulations which you recommend, as well as the improvements you suggest in the language, are in progress. The grand desideratum, however, of a code after the manner of Bentham, as recommended by Mill, is still at a great distance. The want of a Sanscrit scholar is an obstacle—I am afraid an insuperable one—to our even com-

1820—27. mencing on it. Commencing, indeed, is all I shall wish for. I would allow from a quarter to half a century before our code was matured enough, and the people enough prepared for it, to allow of its superseding the present code, if such a name can be applied to it. I have got to such a length that I must break off, and I must not do so without again thanking you for the trouble you have taken, and the instruction you have afforded."

Of Mr. Elphinstone's personal habits at this time a minute account has been given by Mr. Warden, then one of his secretaries, and afterwards a distinguished member of the Government of Bombay: "During the eight years Mr. Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay," it is stated, "he visited each part of the Presidency twice. I was with him as under-secretary during his last tour through the Peishwah's country. His habits, whether in the Presidency or in the Mofussil, were the same. He rose at daybreak, and, mounting one of a large stud he always had, rode for an hour and a half, principally at a hand gallop. He had a public breakfast every morning, and never left the room as long as one man desirous of speaking to him remained, but after that he was invisible to all but his suite. After luncheon he took a short siesta, and in the afternoon read Greek or Latin, and I have been called to him sometimes as late as six o'clock in the evening, and remained till there was only time left to stroll for half an hour before an eight o'clock dinner; at ten he rose from the table, and, reading for half an hour in his own room, went to bed. Although surrounded by young men, he never suffered the slightest indecorum, and if any one after dinner indulged in a *double entendre*, he would not say anything, but pushing back his chair, broke up the party. We always had in the camp a Shikaree, whose business it was to inquire for hog, and whenever he brought in intelligence of game, Mr. Elphinstone would proclaim a holiday, and go hunting for one or perhaps two days, and he was fond of a chase at any time. In the midst of many striking excellences, that which placed him far above all the great men I have heard of was his forgetfulness of self and thoughtfulness for others."* It may be added to this, that one of Mr.

* I am indebted for this to Sir Edward Colebrooke's Memoir in the *Asiatic Journal*.

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with me and see Beejapore, which I assure you is worth the pains even after Delhi, Agra, and Lahore. It is a long time since we had a political conversation, and I am now better qualified to talk over the Jumwabundy than the politics of India, but we may still discuss the probable effects of long tranquillity, education, printing, &c., as well as the best mode of resisting a Russian invasion." "Nov. 5, 1822. I have just received your letter, and am much pleased with the chance I have of seeing you, of which, from what I had heard of your movements, I had begun to despair. I shall be at Sholapore on the 30th, and at Beejapore about the 8th. I meant to have stayed only two days there, but would lengthen my stay to the utmost if I were likely, by doing so, to secure meeting you. The utmost, however, could be but little, on account of the people whom I have to meet at fixed times and places on my journey. Pray try and come. The whole distance to Beejapore is little more than a hundred and fifty miles, all through country which you ought to visit." This meeting, so much desired by both, never became an accomplished fact. Metcalfe was at that time immersed breast-high in a sea of official trouble; and a painful correspondence with Lord Hastings, not a pleasant meeting with Mountstuart Elphinstone, was then occupying his time and his thoughts. He had, however, taken sweet counsel with Malcolm in the preceding year, and Malcolm had gone on, in the cold weather, to Bombay, where he had been Elphinstone's guest, and had received quite an ovation from the communities of the western Presidency. It is pleasant to note these points of incidence in the careers of men whose lots were cast in strange and distant places—pleasant to think that these Three held each other in love and reverence to the last day of their lives. External, circumstantial rivalries there necessarily were; but no rivalries of the heart.

Departure
from India.

Mr. Elphinstone presided over the Government of Bombay during a period of eight years, and then embarked for Europe, carrying with him the blessings of all classes of the community, Native and European. Sir John Malcolm, who had been appointed to succeed him, arrived on the 26th of Octo-

ber, and Elphinstone went on board to welcome him before the ship cast anchor. There were then two or three weeks, during which space the two old friends and fellow-workmen took counsel together ; and then a great farewell entertainment was given to the departing Governor. The local chroniclers of the day report that, "on the evening of the 14th of November, the European community gave a splendid ball and supper in honour of Mr. Elphinstone, at Mr. Newnham's bungalows on the Esplanade. The Governor, Sir John Malcolm, was present, and the Commander-in-Chief presided. About two o'clock, Mr. Elphinstone, surrounded by his old and approved friends, took leave of the party, and immediately embarked on board the Honourable Company's cruiser *Palinurus*, which conveys him to Kosseir."

But this farewell entertainment, given to Mr. Elphinstone by the cream of Bombay society, was but one, and perhaps the least, of many valedictory demonstrations which were made in his honour by the people, whom he had governed so wisely and so well, and to whom he had endeared himself by his unfailing justice and benevolence. During the last days of his residence at Bombay, meetings had been held, and addresses poured in upon him from all quarters. Not one of these was received by him with greater satisfaction than that which came from the native committees, headed by the Rajah of Sattarah : "Until," they said, "you became Commissioner in the Deccan and Governor of Bombay, never had we been able to appreciate correctly the invaluable benefits which the British dominion is calculated to produce throughout the whole of India. But having beheld with admiration for so long a period the affable and encouraging manners, the freedom from prejudice, the consideration at all times evinced for the interests and welfare of the people of this country, the regard shown to their ancient customs and laws, the constant endeavours to extend amongst them the inestimable advantages of intellectual and moral improvement, the commanding abilities applied to ensure permanent ameliorations in the condition of all classes, and to promote their prosperity on the soundest principles, we have been led to consider the British influence and government as the most competent and desirable blessing which the Supreme Being could have be-

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stowed on our native land." And after much more in the same strain, they proceeded to declare that, "whilst presenting this sincere tribute of applause to the highly liberal and enlightened principles by which Mr. Elphinstone's public conduct has been so peculiarly characterised," they felt that his "private virtues particularly excited their admiration, gratitude, and respectful affection." "For," they added, "the accessibility, the absence of all form, and [the urbanity with which you have always received persons of this country of all classes, the courtesy with which you have admitted them to your own parties, and the affable and unrestrained manner in which you have condescended to mix in their society, can only be ascribed to those amiable, generous, and high-minded sentiments, which shine so conspicuously in your every word and action." To this he returned a reply full of characteristic kindness and geniality, in which he paid high tribute to his successor, his old friend, John Malcolm. "Of its anxiety," he said, "to promote the happiness of this part of its dominions the Honourable Company could not have given a more convincing proof than it has just afforded in the nomination of Sir John Malcolm to the Government of this Presidency. Distinguished as that eminent person is for all the qualities of a soldier and statesman, there is none for which he is more remarkable than for his esteem and attachment towards the natives of the country, and there is no character in which he is more ambitious of appearing than that of the Friend of India."

A meeting of the British inhabitants was also held for the same purpose of voting a valedictory address, and of agreeing upon some fitting memorial whereby to perpetuate the recollection of the virtues of the departing statesman. It was held most becomingly on the anniversary of the battle of Kirkhee, and the speakers dwelt admiringly on the distinguished part which Mr. Elphinstone had borne in that great historical scene. But that which elicited the warmest admiration of all was identical with the theme on which the natives of India had discoursed with so much gratitude and affection. "Much higher praise," said the Advocate-General, Mr. Norton, "remains to be spoken. He has exemplified in a signal manner that noble art which acquires for the conqueror the truest

glory—I mean, in attaching to his sway the people whom he has subdued. How has the liberal plan of power by which he has governed the Indian provinces, the liberal institutions which he has founded and supported, the mildness of his administration, called forth the united voice of the native population in a manner altogether unprecedented—a voice far too loud to be mistaken or misrepresented? By the imperceptible introduction of new and fair and liberal laws, which it has been his fortune recently to embody in one digested code—by the access he has afforded to all ranks according to their station—he has opened to the sight at least of our Indian fellow-subjects those principles of constitutional power, which are the best security for national advancement. But,” added the speaker, “I must not be misunderstood. I am far from attributing to Mr. Elphinstone the sudden and rash introduction of those visionary schemes of political liberty among this recently reduced people, which some advocate, or pretend to advocate—measures as ill adapted to their habits, feelings, and comprehension, as ruinous to their peace. I should hold it an accusation which no man would be justified in making. All national improvement to be effectual must be gradual. We are apt to become warped by our attachment to our own constitution, and sometimes conceive its principles to be of universal application. We forget the slow growth of its highest maxims in this country, and the intellectual meridian in which, and in which alone, according to my notions, they are calculated to shine.”

And these words are more deserving of being held in remembrance than most words that are spoken at public meetings, or embodied in complimentary addresses; for they indicate that which was, indeed, the chief element of Mr. Elphinstone's greatness as an Indian statesman, and the main source of his success. It has been before observed, with reference to his administration of the districts ceded by the Peishwah, that he was not one of those English functionaries who looked at everything before and around him through the spectacles of national self-love; who could see nothing good in native institutions, and nothing but good in European reforms. He carried with him the same principles to Bombay, and he consistently observed the same practice; and to the very end of

1827. his life he protested against those rash innovations and crude experiments, by precipitating which a new race of statesmen, bent upon Anglicising everything, in season and out of season, were piling up for themselves and their country a mountain of future difficulty and disaster.

There was another point of view from which the services rendered by Mr. Elphinstone to the Bombay communities were regarded. It was not forgotten that no man had ever done so much to impart to them a literary tone, and to encourage the dissemination among all classes both of Eastern and Western knowledge. These sentiments found fit exponents in the "Literary Society of Bombay," of which he had been the honoured president. At a meeting held shortly after his departure, a speech was made by Colonel Vans Kennedy, in the course of which he said: "It was to that instructive intercourse, to that courtesy with which Mr. Elphinstone listened to those with whom he conversed, to that unassuming and engaging manner with which he communicated the copious and diversified stores of his own knowledge, and to the bright example of his literary excellence, that is principally to be ascribed the more general diffusion of a literary taste throughout this Presidency. For it was impossible to be admitted into the society of so highly-gifted an individual without admiring his commanding abilities, and being sensible that literature most eminently contributed to adorn his richly cultivated mind; but what man admires he wishes to imitate, and though it is not likely that any person could entertain even the slightest expectation of emulating the numerous accomplishments of Mr. Elphinstone, he might still be permitted to hope that, by cultivating his own mind, he might render himself more worthy of the notice with which Mr. Elphinstone honoured him."

The memorials voted at these meetings took different shapes—some moral, and some material. The representatives of the native communities resolved: "That the most satisfactory and durable plan of carrying their wishes into effect was by accumulating a fund of money, to be invested in Government securities, from the interest of which, according to its amount, one or more professorships (to be held by gentlemen from Great Britain, until the happy period arrive when natives

shall be fully competent to hold them) be established, under the Bombay Native Education Society, for teaching the English language, the arts, sciences, and literature of Europe, and that these professorships, in compliment to the person in reference to whom the meeting has been convened, be denominated the 'Elphinstone Professorships,'* with the reservation, however, from the principal subscribed of a sufficient sum of money to defray the expense of a portrait of Mr. Elphinstone, to be placed in the library of the Native Education Society." The European inhabitants concluded their address to Mr. Elphinstone by saying: "In order to perpetuate by ostensible memorials the remembrance of these sentiments and of the causes which have produced them, permit us to request that you will allow your statue to be sculptured in marble, in order that it may be erected in a suitable place in Bombay, and to solicit your acceptance of a service of plate, which will be prepared and presented to you in England." And the Bombay Literary Society voted a memorial bust to be placed in the Society's rooms. Testimonials of these kinds—busts, statues, services of plate, and even public foundations—have, in more recent times, been vulgarised by their frequency. But when Mountstuart Elphinstone bade farewell to Bombay, no such honours had ever been lavished in like degree upon a departing ruler; and never since have public admiration and affection so strongly marked the popular sense of the many-sidedness of a statesman's character.

Having no very close family ties in his old home, Mountstuart Elphinstone was in no great hurry to return to England; so he loitered upon the way, and visited the lands famous in the page both of the Sacred and the Classic Historian. In the land of his adoption he had read much and thought much of those places; his imagination had been kindled by the grand old associations which surrounded them, and he had longed ardently to see them with the fleshly eye. So he travelled slowly through Egypt, Syria, and Palestine,

* There are, at this present time (1867), according to the Bombay Directory, five Professorships in the Elphinstone College: Logic and Moral Philosophy—Literature and History—

Mathematics and Natural Philosophy—Oriental Languages—and Chemistry. All are still held by European gentlemen.

1829. and lingered delightedly in Greece and Italy—thoroughly enjoying, after so many years of stirring official life, a season of dreamy inactivity in those pleasant homes of poetry and romance. He was an enthusiast, and he carried to those scenes a heart as fresh, and a fancy as warm, as any stripling's just starting from college on the Grand Tour.

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Home life.

Not until the spring of 1829 did he reach England. He was then fifty years of age; he was in the full vigour of his intellect, and no one ever brought with him from India a higher reputation. That there was still before him a career of public usefulness, either in India or in England, even more distinguished than that which he had already accomplished, all men hoped, many believed. But he had not spent thirty unbroken years in India without paying the ordinary penalty. He returned to England with shattered health; and there were certain inward promptings and warnings which told him that he had done enough work, and cautioned him not to overtax his powers. There have been, and ever will be, men regardless of this small voice of Nature; but Mountstuart Elphinstone was not, in the ordinary sense, an ambitious man. That he had been active, energetic, full of high courage, and that he was eminently fitted for public life, has been abundantly shown; but these qualities were now to some extent neutralised by a want of confidence in his own powers, and a sort of dislike to measure himself against others. He shrank from every kind of self-assertion, and avoided all personal and party conflicts. Differing in these respects altogether from Malcolm, he at once decided not to enter upon a parliamentary career. This was, in effect, a self-imposed exclusion from ministerial life in England. He said that he would not have objected to undertake the administrative duties of the Board of Control, but that he did not feel himself competent to stand up in Parliament and satisfactorily defend himself and his colleagues.

Twice the Governor-Generalship of India was offered to Mr. Elphinstone, and twice he refused to accept the proffered distinction. His refusals were based solely upon his conviction that the state of his health would not suffer him to reside in

India. "I have just received"—he wrote to that excellent public servant, Mr. St. George Tucker, on whom it devolved, as Chairman of the East India Company at that time (1834), to communicate the wishes of the Court of Directors—"I have just received your letter of yesterday, and I need not say how much I am honoured by the intension it communicates. As your time is precious, and clearness indispensable in a case where you may not have time for further reference, I proceed at once to answer the question you put. I am still suffering from a complaint first produced and since renewed by a residence in hot climates. Part of a summer in Italy was sufficient to bring it on, and neither cooler climates nor medicine have yet been able to remove it. I am certain, therefore, that I could be of no use in a hot climate, and that the present state of my health is an effectual bar to my going to India. I am, on this account, unable to profit by your offer to name me as one of the candidates (even if I had no other objection); and can only repeat my best thanks for the honour done me, and for the kindness of your letter."

This letter was written from Leamington, where he was seeking renewed health under the care of the famous Dr. Jephson. Pressed to reconsider his determination, he wrote again, three days afterwards (Sept. 1, 1834), to Mr. Tucker: "My answer to your former letter was dictated entirely by my opinion about my health, and consequently I scarcely expected that it could be attended by a nearer prospect of success; but the circumstance of your writing a second time, as well as the very kind manner in which your letter is expressed, made me anxious to give the fullest consideration to a subject in which you took so flattering an interest. . . . I have accordingly taken time to consider, and have consulted Dr. Jephson confidentially as to the possibility of my bearing a residence in a hot climate; but, although he is sanguine as to my speedy and permanent recovery, yet I cannot divest myself of the recollection that, on the only two occasions on which I have been exposed to heat since my first illness, I have had relapses, from one of which I am not yet recovered at the end of two years' residence in England; and from this fact I feel convinced, that if I went to India, I should be obliged to return immediately, and should occasion all the

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bad effects of sudden changes of government, and, what is still worse, should not be able to do my duty satisfactorily while I stayed. I have not, therefore, any hesitation in adhering to my former opinion, and declining your very gratifying offer. I have, however, many and sincere thanks to return you for the favourable view you take of my qualifications, and for your goodness in affording me an opportunity of reconsidering the question." In another communication to the same correspondent, he wrote: "I hope you will succeed in getting Metcalfe, whose great talents and extensive experience derive additional value at this moment from his attention to economy, and his being so favourably disposed to most of the measures which he will have to introduce."

It is not clear that at this time the Whig Government, if Mr. Elphinstone had acceded to the request of the Chairman of the East India Company, would have consented to his appointment; for it was their declared opinion—an opinion based upon a well-known dictum of Mr. Canning—that men reared in the service of the Company were disqualified for promotion to the Governor-Generalship. Before the end of the year, however, there was a change of Government. Sir Robert Peel became First Minister, and Lord Ellenborough was President of the Board of Control. Again Mr. Tucker proposed to the King's Government that Mr. Elphinstone should be nominated Governor-General of India, and Lord Ellenborough cheerfully consented to the proposal. But again Mr. Elphinstone declined the proffered distinction.

From this time Mr. Elphinstone came to be regarded as the Nestor of Indian statesmanship, and very gracefully the character sat upon him. He had retired with a very moderate fortune, for he had been in an extreme degree liberal and munificent in India; but having neither wife nor children, he had more than sufficient for his very moderate wants. For upwards of thirty years he lived the life of a private English gentleman, devoting his time principally to scholarly pursuits. But, unlike the majority of retired Indian public servants, he never subsided into insignificance; he was never forgotten. Retiring as were his habits, and unobtrusive as was his character, his opinion was frequently sought by the

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leading statesmen of the country, when a difficult question of Indian policy was to be settled; and it generally happened, that when his advice was not sought, or, if sought, rejected, there was a mistake to be afterwards bitterly deplored. It has often been remarked that, if he had accepted the Governor-Generalship of India when it was offered to him in 1834, the disastrous war in Afghanistan would not have been undertaken. Certain at least it is that he groaned in spirit over the policy of the expedition, and was scarcely surprised at its results.

The violent, unprovoked spoliation of Sindh also disturbed his equanimity. He considered the treatment to which the unfortunate Ameers had been subjected to be equally cruel and cowardly. Writing to Sir Charles Metcalfe from his chambers in the Albany (March 14, 1844), he made some emphatic comments on the subject. The letter is interesting, so I give it in its integrity: "I have just received your letter, and only write to thank you for your interesting account of your situation. God grant you success in the struggle.* I doubt if you will condescend to use all the arts of packing Parliaments on which Lord Sydenham thought everything depended; but perhaps men have now taken broader lines, and will be influenced by more enlarged modes of action, in which case judgment and firmness will be of more avail than skill in management, and your victory will be proportionately more secure. I hoped at one time that you would have had an easier task. After Sir C. Bagot's concessions, for which I took it for granted the time was come, I expected a smooth and gradual descent towards separation, which in good time would be very desirable; but I never expected the French Canadians to take a plunge by the result of which they must themselves be by far the greatest sufferers. If they quarrelled with Great Britain in the present divided state of the Canadas, what could they look to but falling into the hands of the Americans, who (to use Jackson's words) would improve them off the face of the earth in less time than we take to attack one of their institutions or prejudices. You must have an arduous and anxious time, and I do not wonder at your momentary envy of the quiet of the Albany. If you

* The crisis in Canada, of which mention is made in the subsequent Memoir of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

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thought only of your own comfort and content, or if you were convinced, as I am, that you were past more useful employment, you might enjoy your repose with as good a conscience as I do ; but if I had the energy and ability to fill such a place as yours, I would not give the few months of your approaching crisis for a hundred years of unprofitable enjoyment.* I wish you had said something about your health, of which we had at one time unfavourable accounts. I do not know if you have time to think of India. Sindh was a sad scene of insolence and oppression. Coming after Afghanistan, it put one in mind of a bully who had been kicked in the streets, and went home to beat his wife in revenge. It was not so much Lord Ellenborough's act, however, as his General's. Gwalior, as far as we know (for our acquaintance with the origin of the dispute is very imperfect), seems a compensation for our misconduct in Sindh. We seem to have interfered with propriety, fought a battle that reminds one of old times, and used our victory with moderation. The heavy loss must all have been from the guns, for I see Scindiah's once celebrated infantry now fight with tulwars like the barbarians of Meeanee. No news here. The Tory vessel has righted again, and is going swimmingly before the wind. The reduction of the Three and a Half per Cents. has done them much good, and I think Peel is in for five years at least, if O'Connell's business goes off smoothly, and for life if it leads to a disturbance."

He was much grieved, at a later period, by the manifestations of that all-devouring "earth-hunger," which led Indian statesmen of high honour and integrity to disregard the obligations of the British Government to the Native Princes of India. The long line of "annexations," beginning with that of the old Mahrattah principality of Sattarah, which distinguished the administration of Lord Dalhousie, was viewed by him with sentiments of regret, not unmingled with alarm. "I do not remember," writes Sir Edward Colebrooke, "ever to have seen Mr. Elphinstone so shocked as he was at this proceeding. The treatment of the Sattarah sovereignty as a jagheer, over which we had claims of feudal superiority, he

* This passage is quoted also in the Memoir of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

regarded as a monstrous one; but any opinion of the injustice done to this family was subordinate to the alarm which he felt at the dangerous principles which were advanced, affecting every sovereign state of India, and which were put forward both in India and at home. The loose manner in which the claim to regulate such questions as lords paramount, and the assertion of feudal claims of escheat as applicable to every state in India, were frequently commented upon, and he particularly dwelt upon the fallacy which was at the bottom of all the reasoning of the advocates of resumption, that precedents of interference with successions as arbiters supported our claim to decide the question in our own favour.* He wrote a long letter to Sir Edward Colebrooke on this question of the relations between the British and the Native Governments, especially in the matter of successions. The wisdom contained in it was held, by too many in high authority at the time, to be antiquated and exploded; and even now, I fear, there is small chance of gaining for it a respectful hearing. "In answering your question," he wrote in February, 1850, "as to the general opinion in India, while I was there, with respect to the relation between the British Government and the principal Native States, especially our right to regulate their successions, I can only speak with certainty of my own impressions; but I believe they were those entertained by most of the other persons employed in transactions between our Government and the Native States. Our relations with the principal States (the Nizam, the Peishwah, Scindiah, Holkar, and Rajah of Berar, &c.) were those of independent equal Powers, and we possessed no right to interfere in their successions, except such as were derived from our treaties with them, or our situation as a neighbouring State. In many of the new alliances contracted in Lord Hastings's time, an alteration was made in the footing on which the contracting parties stood, by the Native State engaging to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and these terms were introduced into treaties with some even of the principal States (those of the Rajpoot Princes); but they do not appear to make any difference in the control of the British Government over successions. Their object was to secure the poli-

* Memoir in the *Asiatic Journal*.

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Literary life.

To the latest day of his life, Mr. Elphinstone took the warmest interest in all that related to the current affairs of India; but the great solace of his life was in his books. No man ever loved literature more dearly for its own sake. It has been shown that, stimulated by Sir John Malcolm, he had at a comparatively early period of his career contemplated the

* Memoir in the *Asiatic Journal*.

† *Ibid*.

preparation of a History of India.* During all the subsequent period of his residence in that country he had, whenever opportunity was presented to him, collected materials for this work, and, now that he was master of his own time, he assiduously devoted himself to its composition. The results of much good labour had been lost to him by the burning of the Residency at Poonah, but the years which had since passed had not been unproductive; and when, in the summer of 1834, he began seriously and systematically to write, he had not to commence his researches anew. During a space of five years he laboured diligently—but not without occasional interruptions—at this great work, and completed the history of the Hindoo and Mahomedan periods. Another year was then devoted to careful revision and consultation with literary friends. The publication of the book was undertaken by Mr. Murray, and in the spring of 1841 the public were gratified by its appearance. The highest critical authorities received it with admiring respect; and it at once took its place among the best standard works of historical literature.

It was hoped, and, indeed, for some time expected, that Mr. Elphinstone would continue his labours, and add to his History of the Hindoo and Mahomedan dynasties in India a narrative of the rise and progress of British supremacy in the East. But, if this formed part of his original design, it was soon abandoned. It was stated during the debates on the India Bill of 1853, by a young and ardent member of the House of Commons, who had distinguished himself as a leader of the India Reform party, that the East India Company, alarmed by the prospect of a fearless, truth-speaking narrative of their misdeeds, had set up one of their clerks to forestal him, and so to keep him out of the field. I happened to call on Mr. Elphinstone on the following morning, at an hotel in Jermyn-street, when the conversation turned upon this statement, and another, scarcely less eccentric, concerning one of my own books. Mr. Elphinstone then told me, with characteristic modesty, that he had written an

* The intention may, perhaps, have been abandoned at a later period, and revived only after his return to England. Sir E. Colebrooke says that "he began to think of an Indian history in January, 1834, and commenced it in earnest in July of the same year."

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account of the Hindoo and Mahomedan periods of Indian history because he had materials not readily accessible to other writers, but that when he approached the period of British rule, it appeared to him that he had no exclusive information, and no peculiar qualifications for such a task, and that he willingly left its execution to younger heads and younger hands than his own.

But although he had ceased to be, in any large active sense, a literary workman, he was ever ready to assist others, and many works, illustrative of the history or topography of India and the adjacent countries, which obtained public favour during the twenty years preceding Mr. Elphinstone's death, were benefited greatly by his critical advice, or by the information which he was able to furnish to the author. He took great interest in the labours, not only of his old friends—as Mr. William Erskine, who had still the oar in his hand—but of younger aspirants, as Alexander Burnes, the manuscript of whose first book of travels was read by the veteran statesman.* To the writer of these sketches he rendered, on more than one occasion, valuable assistance, and with a ready kindness which doubled the obligation. As a judge of literary composition, his tendencies were at one time towards a severe chastity of language; but, at a later period, he used sometimes to lament that writers on Indian subjects had done so little to popularise them by imparting to them the attractions of an animated and picturesque style, for, “after all,” he said, “books are meant to be read.” If he did not himself think that he had done injustice to his own powers, it was only because he habitually under-estimated them.†

It is remarkable that Mr. Elphinstone, though he does not seem to have been conscious of the existence in his own cha-

* In a Memoir of Sir Alexander Burnes, in the second volume of this work, more detailed mention will be found of Mr. Elphinstone's criticisms.

† I am confirmed in this by the following observations of Sir Edward Colebrooke: “In commencing a great literary work late in life he laboured under great disadvantages, and I think they are to be traced in the composition and style of this well-known work. It has always struck me that the style of

his published works is very inferior in force to that of his letters, and still more so to that of his conversation, and does not do justice to the vigour and originality of his mind. He used to speak of his history modestly as a contribution to the great subject he had taken in hand, that might aid the work of some future man of genius, and this diffidence of his own powers affects the tone of the work.”

acter of this undue diffidence, was keenly alive to its effects in others. Writing to me in 1855, in reply to some questions which I had put to him respecting the literary career of the late Mr. William Erskine, he said: "I need not enlarge on his literary merits, of which you can judge for yourself, but I must mention one of his qualities, which would have been an ornament to the others if it had not been carried to an excess, which made it affected. This was his modesty and distrust of himself, which concealed the extent of his abilities from all but those who had peculiar opportunities of knowing them, and which cramped the exertion of his powers even in the writings which he laid before the public. In none of his publications is the ill effect of this defect so conspicuous as in that you are reviewing, where it is aggravated by a scrupulous attention to accuracy even in minute particulars, which took up a great deal of time that might have been much better employed, and tends to damp the zeal of general readers, who would have had pleasure in listening to the author's own conclusions and the reflections they suggested, but have no relish for a study that requires so much attention in proportion to the result produced. His original plan was to write the history of the Mogul Empire under Aurungzebe only, and it is a great pity he did not adhere to this design. That long reign would have begun with the empire in its highest state of perfection, and would have included its decline and fall, together with the state of its government and institutions nearly as they were when we found them, and had to construct a new system on their base. The greatness and variety of the events, and the comprehensive views necessary to explain and account for them, would, in a manner, have forced Mr. Erskine into a wider field of discussion than he has entered into in his present history, and for which in reality he was particularly well qualified. This last fact is shown by other writings much shorter, and probably executed in comparatively shorter time. Examples of these occur to me in his contributions to the Literary Society of Bombay. I have not the book to refer to, but I remember two or three on the Hindoo and Buddhist caves, where, in pointing out the means of distinguishing them from each other, that of getting a near approximation to the dates of Hindoo works by the stages of their religion indicated

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by the acts of the gods and heroes exhibited in the sculptures, led him into disquisitions which at that time (before the appearance of Wilson's principal works, or of those of Colebrooke published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, after Mr. E.'s return home, and of several other publications on the same subject) were really new and striking. His account of the present religion of the Parsees, with a comparison of it with that of their ancestors, as shown by Herodotus and other ancients, was also remarkable, as were his arguments against the authenticity of the 'Desutír,' and his opinions on a variety of questions which it led to, combated at the time in the same Transactions by Mr. Raske (since very eminent among continental Orientalists), but now, I believe, adopted by all late writers. These, and his account of the portion of the Tartar nations which lay beyond the field of the literati employed by the Russian Government, show his capacity for generalisation and speculation, when he ventured to indulge in them." *Mutatis mutandis*, the greater part of this letter might have been written with reference to the author of it himself.

But although he never ceased to take interest in Oriental literature, it may be doubted whether his chief delight was not in the study of the great works of classic literature, and the later fruits of Italian and English genius. He was very catholic in his literary sympathies, but he leant most fondly towards the imaginative. He would converse with a companion of kindred tastes for long hours on ancient and modern poetry, exchanging quotations and criticisms, and delighting, above all things, in running down parallel passages in the writings of the great masters of different eras and different countries.* He was a great reader, too, of the best periodical literature of the day; and he used to say that new books, and good books too, chased each other so rapidly from the press,

* Sir E. Colebrooke says: "His love for poetry amounted to a passion. He would discuss his favourites with the enthusiasm of a boy, and one of the last occasions on which he left home was to visit in Cornwall the scenes of King Arthur's battles. There was in his character a tinge of enthusiasm which, as he once confessed to me, led him to

cherish dreams of ambition of the wildest kind. The force of his imagination, cherished by his love of poetry, affected his thoughts, gave a grace and charm to his conversation, but never influenced his judgment. The late Allan Cunningham truly described him to me as the most just thinking man he ever knew."

that the panting student toiled after them in vain, and that it was necessary, therefore, to pick up knowledge second-hand from the reviews. 1829—59.

During many of the last years of his life Mr. Elphinstone resided at Limpsfield, on the Surrey Hills, between Godstone, in that county, and Westerham, in Kent. His residence was a modest country-house known as Hookwood, surrounded by a pleasant little home park; altogether a charming place for a literary recluse. He was very glad to welcome thither men, whether his old Indian friends, or younger men who had attained some sort of distinction since his retirement from public life, if they evinced any anxiety to meet him. And such was the kindness of his nature, that he ever made it appear to his visitors—even to the youngest and least distinguished among them—that they were conferring honour upon him by seeking him out in his privacy. He was one of the least ostentatious and egotistical of men. He never talked about himself, unless directly asked for information relating to some of the leading circumstances of his career. Indeed, he appeared to some people to be rather in the habit of fencing and evading any direct inquiries of a personal character, but there was nothing studied or intentional in this: it was merely a general inaptitude to perceive that anything relating only to himself could be a matter of much interest to his companion. But when convinced of the wishes of the inquirer, and roused by references to past events, his reserve would pass away, his memories would be kindled, and he would talk delightfully about the old times long ago, when he rode beside Wellesley at Assye, or was burnt out of the Residency at Poonah. Life at Hookwood.

There are many living who now look back to those days at Hookwood as amongst the pleasantest reminiscences of their lives; who can follow the venerable statesman from his library to his drawing-room, from his drawing-room to his breakfast-room, and remember how from morn to noon, from noon almost to midnight, he would converse with his guest (it was his disposition to adhere rather to the singular number) upon an infinite variety of topics, and send his privileged companion to bed a far wiser man than he was when he had risen in the morning. But he was not what is commonly called a great

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talker, and he never indulged in monologue. He was emphatically a good listener. For many years before his death his eyesight had failed him greatly, and unless some member of his family were residing with him, he was obliged to obtain the assistance of a hired reader; and perhaps this drawback made him take an increased pleasure in literary conversation. There was always a large flow of enthusiasm in his nature, and I believe that the most enthusiastic of his visitors pleased him best. He was so thoroughly a gentleman, that he could not have exhibited his impatience of any kind of dulness; but I rather think that he chafed considerably when he found himself face to face with it.

Political
opinions.

From this pleasant state of meditative inaction, absorbed in the amenities of the Past, he was roused to a painful sense of the stern realities of the Present, by tidings of the great Indian rebellion, which startled the world in the summer of 1857. The interest which he took in the progress of those events was intense; and an expression of his opinion was invited by his friends, not only with respect to the rebellion itself but to the action of the British Parliament, in consequence of the unjust clamour which had been raised against the East India Company. From a letter which he wrote in the autumn of this year to Sir Edward Colebrooke, I take the following characteristic passages: "Notwithstanding the liability of the House of Commons to be carried away by the madness of the moment during a popular delusion, I don't think either they or their constituents are so thoughtless as to sanction a revolution in the Government of India at a moment like the present. Leaving out all other objections, only imagine the probable effect of announcing to people who have been driven into rebellion by the very thought of being made Feringhees, that thenceforward their rights were to be secured by placing them under the immediate protection of the Queen, thus incorporating them with the British nation, and admitting them to a share in all the blessings by which it is distinguished from the nations of the East. Yet this is the language which many writers of the day recommend as a specific for soothing all minds, and removing all doubts and suspicions. There is a good article in yesterday's *Times* on the other side of the question, from which I suppose that they

(the editors) believe the mind of the Ministry is made up to keep things as they are for the present. The last accounts from India are, doubtless, very gloomy; the risk of fresh interests and new feelings arising during the interval of inaction is certainly very great, and to one who has just read Munro's admirable *Minute*,* it appears that the full accomplishment of his prophecy is at hand. But there is some comfort in the recollection how often foreign Governments have kept their ground in worse circumstances than ours. I will only mention the case of Rome, which was a much more oppressive Government than ours, and had tougher materials to work on in Spain and Gaul, and higher notions of freedom and national independence to contend with in Greece and her offshoots, than we are ever likely to see among our Asiatic subjects. I have often wished to get some knowledge of the sort of administration by which the Romans contrived to fix their power on so firm a basis, but although it is easy to find out the framework of a Government in a province, I do not find any clue to the means by which it was administered. I suppose that what we do know is equivalent to a knowledge of the constitutions of the Presidencies in India, together with the law as administered by the Supreme Court, and a revenue system founded on farming to English capitalists; while all the details of legislation as well as administration were left to the natives, and managed by native Princes or by local municipalities. Can you tell me where information on this subject is to be found? I suppose it must be well ascertained after all the researches by German and other scholars in late times. If you never read the account in Polybius of the mutiny of the mercenaries, which nearly overthrew the Government of Carthage, it will interest you in the present time. It differed in its origin and many details from ours, but still you will be struck with the analogy in many particulars. I read it in Hampton's translation, where it is near the beginning of the first volume. It is not long."†

The last great public question, to which he gave much

* The *Minute* on the effect of a Free Press on the Native Army, which had been lately republished.

† Memoir in *Journal of the Asiatic Society*.

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serious attention, was the reconstruction of the Home Government of India consequent on the abolition of the governing powers of the East India Company. He did not, as may be gathered from the preceding letter, look kindly at the innovation. He feared that the influence of the Court and the authority of the Ministry of the day might be put to corrupt uses; and he was exceedingly anxious, therefore, that the Secretary of State should be controlled by a strong, and, as far as possible, an independent Council. His views may be gathered from the following passages of his correspondence with Sir Edward Colebrooke: "March 1, 1858. The great grievance at present is the disregard of the Governor-General to the repeated injunctions of the Court of Directors against plans of conquest, and other modes of extending our territory. Such disregard is not likely to be tolerated on the new plan. The Minister for India will be the sole ostensible head of the whole administration of that empire, and it is not probable that he will be content to submit to the obscurity which the President of the Board of Control used to court. His object used to be to avoid all disputes that might bring the separate action of the Ministry in Indian affairs before the House of Commons, and to do this he was obliged to deal with the Court of Directors in a way that weakened the authority of both, and left the Governor-General pretty nearly his own master. I imagine that the practice at that time was for the Court of Directors to check the Governor-General when they thought it right, and for the Board of Control to support him; that the Board generally carried its point, and that even when it gave way and allowed the official instructions to be drawn according to the wish of the Directors, there was always a private correspondence between the President and the Governor-General, that emboldened the latter to pursue his own views without much fear of the consequences. All this will now cease, and my fears are not for the present, but for the future, when attention will be withdrawn from India, and when a weak and unscrupulous Ministry may send out devoted adherents of its own to the Supreme Government, through whom it may employ the patronage of India for party purposes, supporting the measures of its creature through thick and thin in return. Against

such a design, no restrictions afforded by an exclusive service, examinations, competition, conditions of previous residence in India, &c., will be of the least avail. The public is always averse to monopolies, and will support all infractions of those protective regulations which, moreover, will be introduced gradually and almost unperceived.—March 2nd. The above was written yesterday, but my eyes got so tired and my scrawl so illegible, that I thought it would be a relief to you, as well as to myself, to leave off, and have a fair copy made for your use. I am afraid you will find it very unsatisfactory after all. The only effectual check that I can see either on the Governor-General or the Ministry at home is a Board of Council, formed by election, if possible, but at all events conducting its business entirely separate from the Minister for India. Even if we had such a Board, there would remain the difficulty of getting members who would take a lively interest in India, viewed separately from Great Britain, and who would attend to the peculiar views and wishes of the natives, as well as to their pecuniary interests and strictly legal rights. The Company did so to a considerable extent, because it had long regarded India as its own, and was strongly opposed to the maxim now in favour of 'India for the English.' Sooner or later, we must introduce natives into the Council itself, or at least into the electing body, but to do so now would only produce contention and embarrass future operations."—"April 30, 1858. What is chiefly wanted of the Council is, that it shall supply the place of the Court of Directors, in protecting the interests, opinions, and feelings of the natives against the conflicting interests, opinions, and feelings of the ruling people. However selfish the original motive of this jealousy of European encroachment may have been on the part of the Directors, it became their '*traditional policy*,' and has been one great cause of their unpopularity. Now, I think the maintenance of this policy is exactly the line which a well-selected Council of Indians would choose for their peculiar province. Their other duty would be to guard against attempts of the Ministry to undermine the constitution, or to take steps *directly* injurious to the interest of the British nation. This they would not neglect, but they would feel how little their aid was wanted

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at a time when the popular element of the constitution was so decidedly in the ascendant ; while in undertaking the protection of the Indian nation they would have a vast field for usefulness and distinction which at present is almost entirely unoccupied. It is indeed astonishing, considering how much our own safety depends on the contentment of our Indian dependents, that in all the late discussions there has not been a single speaker of note, except Gladstone, that has laid the least stress on this part of the subject. They probably rely on the Indian Government for looking to public opinion among the natives, but what could the strongest Indian Government do against a clamour for levying a new tax (say an income-tax) on India, to make up for the deficit occasioned by *its own expenses*, including the Persian and Chinese wars, and many other charges in which the people of India take quite as little concern?" In this latter extract Mr. Elphinstone very clearly defines one of the most important functions of the Council of India—namely, the protection of the general interests of the Indian people, and more especially the guardianship of the Indian purse. From the former passage, it will be seen, that he was anxious to give some power of independent action to the Council, and from other letters it is apparent that he was strongly in favour of vesting the initiative not in the Minister but in the Council. This last opinion was shared by nearly all the ablest and most experienced men who gave their thoughts to the consideration of the best mode of reconstructing the Indian Government. And when the new system was established, the conduct of the public business was regulated in accordance with this principle. But it was found, after a brief trial, that too much was sacrificed to a theory. The results of this mode of procedure were developing themselves when Sir Charles Wood, whose great administrative ability was never questioned even by his political opponents, assumed the office of Indian Minister, and he hit the blot at once. It has since been cheerfully acknowledged, by some of the warmest advocates of the principle advocated by Mr. Elphinstone, that its abandonment has proved to be a palpable good.

Last days.

This was, I believe, the last public question regarding which Mr. Elphinstone expressed his opinions in detail. His end,

indeed, was now approaching. It came suddenly, as, perhaps, he wished it to come; for it is said that he dreaded the thought of a protracted existence, after the decay of his intellectual powers. Before any one had learnt that he was not in his accustomed health, news came that Mountstuart Elphinstone was dead. He died at Hookwood, in his eightieth year, on the 20th day of November, 1859, and was buried in the parish church of Limpsfield. Although he had retired from public life for a period of more than thirty years, he passed away from amongst us as a man who had been to the last in harness. He had friends and admirers in all parts of the country; and when it was known that he was dead, they held a public meeting in London, and many of our leading English statesmen attended to do honour to his memory. It was truly a remarkable fact that its freshness had never passed away. Men spoke of him at that meeting as of one who had been working for India guiding its councils to the very last day of his life. And perhaps this is the very highest praise that could be bestowed upon him. I do not know another instance of the great and honourable of the land meeting together to vote a public statue to a man who had ceased for more than a quarter of a century to take a part in public affairs. But at the meeting of which I now speak there was as much enthusiasm as if Elphinstone had just returned from India, and died with the sword of action in his hand.

1859.

There are some men whose characters it is easy to describe, others whose characters it is not necessary to describe at all, so distinctly are their inner natures illustrated by their outward utterances and actions. But neither the utterances nor the actions of Mountstuart Elphinstone will lead us along any beaten road to a right knowledge of his character. We must wander into many intricate byways and obscure recesses if we would endeavour to arrive at a right understanding of it; and even then we may find ourselves in a maze. There are many conflicts and inconsistencies, which it is difficult to reconcile otherwise than by a reference to physical causes. In the lives of few men is there apparent so great a disproportion between what they have done and what they have been held

Character.

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to be capable of doing. I have more than once spoken of Mr. Elphinstone's modesty and diffidence, and I have suggested that he was not stirred by any very active ambition. And yet there was assuredly, at one period of his life, an almost morbid vanity—a desire to shine in many diverse and antagonistic ways—which those who knew him only in the decline of life, when years had brought the philosophic mind, found it difficult to understand. General Briggs has related that Mr. Elphinstone “had an innate pride of not being excelled by any one in manly habits. It happened while he was Governor at Bombay, and on a visit to Poonah on business, an old friend arrived from a long journey, in which, owing to his palanquin-bearers failing, he was compelled to adopt the unusual habit (to Europeans) of travelling several hundred miles on a camel. Mr. Elphinstone questioned him closely as to the mode of management of this uncouth animal, its paces, and the sensation. He was assured that nothing was easier than its management, that its pace was by no means unpleasant, and that he came at the rate of forty miles a day and upwards, without as much fatigue as if he had been on horseback. Mr. Elphinstone was not then aware that in Rajpootana the European officers used camels in preference to horses in making long marches, and they were used in cantonments to pay morning visits. Some days after this, it was discovered that Mr. Elphinstone had, during the very night after the above conversation with his friend, ordered a riding-camel to be brought to his tent, and, accompanied by another camel hurcarah, mounted and rode several miles during moonlight to satisfy himself of the sensation of riding on a camel. During a journey into the southern Mahratta country some time afterwards, he went to visit the celebrated Falls of the Gutparba, at Gokauk. The river was full, and the fall of sixty feet formed an arch of several feet from the almost perpendicular rock over which the cataract rushes. He was standing, with his Staff, about half way down the precipice, opposite a narrow ledge which projected from one side to the other. Whilst admiring the scene, one of the party observed that a certain officer (mentioning his name) had walked across this narrow, slippery, and dangerous ledge. Mr. Elphinstone immediately turned round to the

speaker, and said, 'Are you sure?' and on the fact being confirmed, Mr. Elphinstone said, 'Well, then, let you and me try if we cannot do so also;' and he instantly led the way, all the Staff being necessarily obliged to follow his example." And the same authority adds: "This desire to excel in everything that was manly which we have referred to, was carried at this period of his life to a degree that bordered on eccentricity. In his horror of luxury, he made exertions to dispense with what he thought superfluous articles of clothing, and this practice must have contributed to injure his otherwise strong constitution. For several months he attempted to dispense with the luxury of a bed. The relation to whom he mentioned this, asked him, with simplicity, the reason for such conduct. 'Because I was a fool!' was the immediate reply."

A man who plays tricks with his constitution in his younger days is sure to suffer in his later ones; and so it happened that Mountstuart Elphinstone, after his return to England, though still in the prime of his life, had many distressing warnings that the climate of India had done its work upon him. It is curious that a man should be more ambitious to stick a pig, to ride on a camel, or to walk upon a precipice, than to govern a vast empire; but experience teaches us that such phenomena are by no means of rare occurrence. I cannot, however, bring myself to think that Elphinstone was a man only of small ambitions; and, therefore, I adopt the conclusion that his unwillingness to accept high office, during the last thirty years of his life, proceeded only from a consciousness that he had not physical capacity for further official work. There fell upon him in Europe an excess of languor, amounting almost to indolence, which contrasted strongly with the active and energetic habits of his earlier days. He had a prevailing sense that if he took upon himself, in India or in England, large responsibilities, he would break down; and year after year he felt a growing desire for retirement and ease. It was not that he thought of himself. It was that he had a painful apprehen-

* If the reader will turn to page 879, camel when a boy at Eton, though he will find it stated, on the authority of Mountstuart Elphinstone, a mighty Dr. Goodall, that Charles Metcalfe, the hunter, was never, it seems, on camel-worst horseman ever known, rode on a back until he was Governor of Bombay.

1859.

sion that the interests of the public service might be jeopardised by his failure, at a critical moment, to discharge the great duties entrusted to him. And so it happened that with the very highest reputation as an Indian statesman he never made for himself a place in History commensurate with the capacity for which the world has given him credit, and, as I believe, which he possessed, to shape the destinies of an empire. One thing, however, is certain, that, as I write, his authority on all questions of Indian government is commonly accepted as the highest that can be quoted, and that no man's memory is regarded with greater veneration by all who have given their minds to the study of the great questions to which Mountstuart Elphinstone devoted his life.

THE REV. HENRY MARTYN.

[BORN 1781.—DIED 1812.]

ON the seventh day of February, in the year 1811, in one 1781—1812.
of the monasteries of Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, two
English gentlemen stood before the tomb of Francis Xavier.
Not that the great apostle of the Gentiles had died there, for
he had endured his last earthly pangs far away on the Island
of Sancian, at the mouth of the Canton river; but that an ad-
miring people had raised there a monument to his memory,
richly ornamented and surrounded with pictures and bronzes,
the produce of Italian art. Of the visitors who stood
at that shrine, and listened to the words of the friar who
acted as its custodian, one was the statesman, the story of
whose life has just been concluded. The other, a slight, thin-
faced man, about thirty years of age, with a hectic flush on
his cheek, was a priest of the English Church, then on his
way from Calcutta to Bombay. An enthusiast himself, he
could not think without emotion of the grand enthusiasm of
the Christian knight who, more than two centuries and a half
before, had left the world behind him and abandoned all
things for the love of God. With all the outward grandeur of
the Romish Church before him, still, rejoicing in his purer
faith, he thought humbly and reproachfully of the little that
he had done, measured against the great deeds of that Romish
giant. And yet was Henry Martyn, for all his feebleness of
frame, cast in the same heroic mould as Francis Xavier.

It has become a mere platitude now, that the world has seen
many heroes who have never girded on a sword or listened to
the roar of the battle. A truth so accepted needs no demonstra-
tions. Little need is there to show how the courage, the de-
votion, the self-sacrifice, the grand sense of duty which make
the heroic character, are found beneath the coif of the Priest
as beneath the helm of the Warrior. It is given to some to

1781—95. do; to others only to bear: to some, to strike for the right; to others, to witness to the truth. "Never," it has been said, "did the polytheism of ancient or of modern Rome assign a seat among the demigods to a hero of nobler mould or of more exalted magnanimity than Francis Xavier." And again the same writer: "Amidst all the discords which agitate the Church of England, her sons are unanimous in extolling the name of Henry Martyn. And with reason; for it is, in fact, the one heroic name which adorns her annals, from the days of Elizabeth to our own."* Fitly, then, in itself, is this "one heroic name" in the annals of the Anglican Church placed at the head of this chapter, and more fitly than any other, because it helps at this early stage to illustrate the many-sidedness of the English heroism which has flowered beneath the Indian sun.

Parentage.

Henry Martyn came of a humble stock. In that rich ore country about Truro and Redruth, his father once toiled as a simple miner; but raising himself above the level, by his industry and intelligence, he obtained a seat in a merchant's office, and, appreciating at its true worth the value of that which had done so much for him, he determined to give to his children in early youth that which he had acquired so painfully in adult life, and; by good thrift, provided the means of bestowing upon them the blessings of a good education. But it pleased God, who gave him many children, that there should not be many spared for whom to make this provision. There was a constitutional weakness in the family, and Death laid its hands upon the childhood of the brothers and sisters of Henry Martyn, so that four only of the flock ever lived to see man's estate. And Henry himself was but a weakly, delicate nursling, whose little life needed much care to save it from flickering out in the morning of its existence. But he struggled through infancy and childhood, and went to the Truro Grammar School; and for nine years, under the tutorial care of Dr. Cardew, he gathered up the by no means contemptible stock of learning which was accessible to the students in that provincial institution.

Early education.

The school-days of Henry Martyn were not happy. He was not, indeed, born for happiness. He lacked the puerile

* Sir James Stephen.

robustness and the effervescent animal spirits which make the season of school-life a season of carelessness and joy. There is more or less of tyranny in every school; and Henry Martyn, being of feeble frame and of somewhat petulant temper, was bullied by his stronger schoolfellows. It would have fared still worse with him but for the generous protection of one of the bigger boys, who helped him with his lessons, and fought his battles for him, and often rescued him from the grasp of his juvenile oppressors.

It is not recorded of him that at this time, though he took but little part in the sports and amusements of boyhood, he was inordinately addicted to study. He was docile and quick to learn, but he acquired no very remarkable scholastic reputation. His father, however—a shrewd and discerning man—had always great hopes of him. It was the cherished wish of the elder Martyn's heart that his son should have a college education. So, in the autumn of 1795, when scarcely fifteen years old, he sent Henry to Oxford to try for a Corpus scholarship. Bearing a single letter of introduction to one of the tutors of the University, he set out alone on what was then a long and wearisome, and, for one of his weakness and susceptibility, a somewhat formidable journey. But there was in young Henry Martyn even then a remarkable sense of self-reliance—a remarkable power of self-support. In his quiet, undemonstrative way, he had an immense capacity for going through with anything that he undertook. Thus thrown upon his own resources whilst yet a boy, he acquired confidence in his own strength. Obtaining a set of rooms in Exeter College, without entering as an undergraduate, he prepared himself for the competition; but although he passed an excellent examination, and was much commended, he did not obtain the scholarship. So he went back to Truro, carrying with him his first great disappointment.

But how many of us in after life have the privilege of feeling that, by God's good providence, our first great disappointment has been our first great blessing. Thankfully did Henry Martyn acknowledge this from the very depths of his heart. "Had I remained (at Oxford)," he wrote, "and become a member of the University at that time, as I should have done in case of success, the profligate acquaintances I

1797. had there would have introduced me to scenes of debauchery in which I must in all probability, from my extreme youth, have sunk for ever." But even if he had not sunk into this deep mire, he would never have formed those associations which made him what he was: he would never, as far as we can in our weakness discern the ways of God to man, have been an apostle and a hero.

Cambridge.

Cambridge made him what he was. After another year or two at the Truro Grammar School, Henry Martyn entered at St. John's College, and took up his residence there in October, 1797. He went to the sister University with a considerably larger store of classical learning than he had carried with him to Oxford, but with small knowledge of mathematics. He had never much addicted himself to the exact sciences; and even after this Cambridge career had been marked out for him, he spent, according to his own account, more time in shooting birds and reading amusing books than in studying algebra and geometry. It is worthy of notice, for the very grotesqueness of the contrast it suggests, that the book which young Henry Martyn on the threshold of his University life studied most intently, was *Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son*. Whether accident threw the book in his way, or whether the son of the Cornish miner thought that he might be wanting in some of those exterior graces which should fit him to take his place at the University among men of high birth and high breeding, is not apparent; but assuredly the great master of worldliness never had a more unworldly pupil. Yet was there something that he might have learnt from this book. He, who wrote of the Saviour of mankind, that he was

"The first true gentleman that ever lived,"

gave utterance to a practical truth which, I fear, has been sometimes forgotten by his disciples. In that politeness, which is the outward expression of charity and love, Henry Martyn was sometimes wanting.

The commencement of his Cambridge career was not promising. What conceivable hope is there of an undergraduate who gets up his mathematics by endeavouring to commit the problems of Euclid to memory? But such was Henry

Martyn's commencement. How at last the power of demonstration entered into his mind, and took such fast hold of it, that he whose notion of the exact sciences was of something to be learnt by rote, at last developed into the Senior Wrangler of his year, is a chapter of the secret history of the human understanding that will never be revealed to man. It is something altogether mysterious and surprising. All that we know distinctly about it is, that this young Cornish undergraduate took to the study of Newton's *Principia*, liking it much better than the study of the Bible; and that in time he came to take delight in what had before been utterly distasteful to him. Then it dawned upon him that he might take honours; and to that end he began to study with all his might.

It was a happy circumstance, and one not to be omitted from the scantiest record of Henry Martyn's life, that at Cambridge he renewed his acquaintance with his old champion of the Truro Grammar School. The big boy who had fought his battles for him was now a steady young man, with plenty of good advice for his little friend, and what was better, a good example. He kept Martyn out of the way of wickedness, and told him that he ought to read hard, "not for the praise of men, but for the glory of God." "This seemed strange," wrote Martyn, some time afterwards, "but reasonable. I resolved, therefore, to maintain this opinion thenceforth; but never designed, that I remember, that it should affect my conduct." But such is the inscrutable perverseness of memoir-writers, who so often give us names that we do not want to know, and conceal from us those of the persons who most interest us, that the identity of this excellent friend, who did so much to save Martyn's body at school, and to save his soul at college, is shrouded from the world in the obscurity of the letter K.

Of the undergraduate life of Henry Martyn not much has been recorded or can now be ascertained. One noticeable incident, however, did occur, which well-nigh brought his academical career to a disastrous close. He was constitutionally petulant and irritable; and was sometimes wrought even by little things into such a state of excitement as to be scarcely master of himself. One day, from some cause or

1799.

other not chronicled, the vehemence of his anger rose to such a height, that he flung a knife with all his force at a friend who had said or done something to cross him. In the blindness of his fury he missed his mark, and the knife entered the opposite wall, where it remained trembling with the violence of the concussion. The friend who so narrowly escaped was Mr. Cotterill, afterwards minister of St. Paul's, Sheffield.

In this painfully excitable state, it does not seem that even the repose of the vacation, the solace of home, and the kindness of his family, did anything to soothe his troubled spirit. During the long vacation of 1799, according to his own statement, his temper was more unbearable than ever. "The consummate selfishness and exquisite irritability of my mind," he wrote at a later period, "were displayed in rage, malice, and envy; in pride and vainglory, and contempt of all; in the harshest language to my sisters, and even to my father, if he happened to differ from my wish and will. Oh, what an example of patience and mildness was he!" One of his sisters, too, was a young woman of signal piety, but her admonitions were lost upon him. The sound of the Gospel, conveyed in the admonition of a sister, was, he said, grating to his ears. He promised her, however, that he would read the Bible; but when he returned to college "Newton engaged all his thoughts."

Death of his
father.

And, academically, he worked to good purpose. At the Christmas examination of 1799, he was first of his year. The news delighted his father; but it was the last earthly solace that he was ever to derive from that source. The new year had scarcely dawned when the good old man was stricken down and laid in his grave. The blow fell heavily on his son—more heavily for the thought that he had sometimes failed in filial duty and respect. The terrible sense of the Irremediable sorely troubled him, and in his trouble he sought a present help which Newton could not extend to his pupil—the One mighty hand and stretched-out arm which alone could lift him out of the deep waters in which he was struggling. "As at this time," he recorded at a later period, "I had no taste for my usual studies, I took up my Bible,

thinking that the consideration of religion was rather suitable to this solemn time." To this he was exhorted by the good human friend who had protected him in the Truro Grammar School and guarded the first footsteps of his University career. So the beginning was made—a faltering, stumbling start in the dark—for he did not take up the Scriptures without some distaste, and he "began with the Acts, as being the most amusing." Little by little the light of truth streamed into the obscure tenement of his soul, until he stood in the full broad sunshine of a saving knowledge of the great scheme of redemption. At first, he seems to have been disposed to rejoice in the exceeding goodness of God in sending Christ into the world; but this time of rejoicing soon passed away. There came upon him an overwhelming sense of his own unworthiness; and it may be doubted whether from that time he ever had a day of perfect happiness and peace. His good old friend, who rejoiced as a Christian in the exceeding goodness of God, and delighted to see others happy, endeavoured to persuade him that his despondency was not right. It would seem also that his sister did the same. But Henry Martyn was determined not only to enter in at the straight gate, but never to emerge into the broad outer-courts of cheerfulness, and serenity, and fear-expelling love.

Whilst this great change was taking place in his heart, his College studies. brain was actively employed, mastering the exact sciences, the study of which had now become an engrossing pursuit. It appeared to be peculiarly his lot to illustrate by his own personal experiences the extraordinary changes and transitions to which by God's providence the human mind, both in its moral and intellectual aspects, may be subjected. That he who had begun the study of God's word by selecting for perusal the most amusing chapters of the Bible, should in so short a time have developed into a ripe Christian, with convictions deeply rooted in the true faith, is not more strange than that one who, under a mortifying sense of his incapacity to understand them, had committed the problems of Euclid to memory, should, at his final examination, have been declared the first mathematician of his year. But so it was. The great annual contest over, Henry Martyn found himself

1801.

Senior Wrangler.* He had gained the highest object of academical ambition. But it afforded him little gratification. It enhanced the bitterness of the regret with which he dwelt upon the great loss that he had sustained; and it made him more than ever suspicious of himself—fearful of stumbling into the pitfalls of human pride. “I obtained my highest wishes,” he said, “but was surprised to find that I had grasped a shadow.”

Martyn and
Simeon.

It was in the summer of this year, 1801, that Henry Martyn, having returned to Cambridge during the vacation, made the acquaintance, and soon the true heart's-friendship, of one who was ordained to exercise a remarkable influence over all the future current of his life. Among the fellows of King's College was one, whose inestimable privilege it was, during a long course of years, not only to set his mark upon the religious mind of the University, but to make his presence felt in the remotest regions of the earth. It has been said by one, with the highest authority to be heard upon such a subject,† “If the section of the Church of England which usually bears that title (‘Evangelical’) be properly so distinguished, there can be no impropriety in designating as her four Evangelists, John Newton, Thomas Scott, Joseph Milner, and Henry Venn.” But it may be doubted whether the Evangelical influence of Charles Simeon was not more widely diffused than that of any one of these good men; whether there was in his generation one who did so much for the religion which he professed and taught and illustrated by his great example. The warmth and earnestness of Mr. Simeon's preaching had made a great impression on Henry Martyn's mind; and when the time came, he rejoiced with an exceeding great joy to be admitted to Mr. Simeon's college rooms, and there to enjoy the unspeakable benefits of his conversation and advice.

Then there grew up between them a warmth of affection never chilled to the last day of their lives. Mr. Simeon delighted in the “wonderful genius” of his young friend, and took the tenderest interest in the growth of his religious con-

* Robert (afterwards Sir Robert) Grant, Governor of Bombay, was third Wrangler, and Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg, was fourth. They

were sons of that “old Charles Grant,” of whom frequent mention is made in these volumes.

† Sir James Stephen.

victions. To what grand ministerial purposes might not his fine mind and the earnestness of his nature be turned under good guidance! Henry Martyn had determined to devote himself to the ministry, and Mr. Simeon was eager to have him as a fellow-labourer with him in his own church. Diligently, conscientiously, with a high sense of the responsibility of the holy office, and a profound conviction of his own unworthiness, he prepared himself throughout the year 1802 and the early part of 1803 for holy orders. At this time he was a fellow of St. John's, and he took pupils; but the employment did not much please him, and it may be doubted whether, notwithstanding his eminent abilities, he was well qualified for the work of tuition. What his state of mind was at this time may be gathered from his letters and journals which have been given to the world: "Feb. 2, 1803. —In a poor and lukewarm state this morning. Resolved to send away two of my pupils, as I found so much of my time taken up by them of late, instead of being devoted to reading the Scriptures." "Feb. 4.—But talk upon what I will, or with whom I will, conversation leaves me ruffled and discomposed. From what does this arise? From a want of the sense of God's presence when I am with others." A few days later he records that he is, "through mere habit, disposed to a cynic flippancy. Not quite pleased with the respect and attention shown me by my friends." Then, some ten days afterwards, he says: "Found myself sarcastic—though without any particular sensation of pride and bitterness in my heart;" and a little later: "Much harassed with evil tempers, levity, and distraction of mind." Throughout the greater part of March he was "in general dejected."

He would probably have been much worse at this time, both in spirits and in temper, but for the good and kindly influence of Mr. Simeon, who, though not free from a certain constitutional irritability, was a man by no means of a morose or gloomy nature. He was wont to look rather on the bright side of things, whilst Martyn looked ever at the darkest. On the 2nd of April, the latter dined with Mr. Simeon. Mr. Atkinson of Leeds was there. After this record, we find in Martyn's journal the significant words: "The tender pity of our Lord towards Jerusalem, even when he mentioned so

1802—1803.

Preparing
for the
ministry.

1808.

many causes of indignation, was pressed to my mind strongly as an example." It is curious to observe how at this time a contempt for man and a fear of man held possession of him at the same time. On the 22nd of April, he records: "Was ashamed to confess to — that I was to be Mr. Simeon's curate—a despicable fear of man, from which I vainly thought myself free." And again, on the 9th of May: "On Saturday felt great fear of man, and yet was determined to let slip no proper occasion of speaking out." Then he sets down that he was "quite fatigued with being so long with —." A friend wisely suggested that this might arise rather from feelings than from principle; on which Martyn remarks, "And this witness is true, for though I could perceive them to be in the gall of bitterness, I felt little of pity." In the month of June, we have these characteristic entries: "Read Sir G. Staunton's 'Embassy to China.' I have still the spirit of worldly men when I read worldly books. I felt more curiosity about the manners of this people than love and pity towards their souls." "Was seized with excessive hilarity in company with H. in the afternoon, which rendered me unfit for serious conversation. This is frequently the case, especially after severe study either of a temporal or spiritual kind. It was merely animal, for I would gladly exchange it for sympathy." "D. has heard about a religious young man of seventeen, who wants to come to College, but has only 20*l.* a year. He is very clever, and from the perusal of some poems which he has published, I am much interested about him. His name is H. K. White." In July and September there are these entries: "Felt the passion of envy rankle in my bosom on a certain occasion." Sept. 22.—"Two men from Clare Hall breakfasted with me. A fear of man, which prevented me from saying grace before breakfast, brought me into inexpressible confusion of conscience. Recovered a little by saying it after." "In a gloomy temper, from being vainly concerned about the appearance of my body." "Hezekiah's sin was vanity. How many times have I fallen into this sin!"

It may be gathered from these passages, which might be multiplied tenfold, that at that time Henry Martyn was in no sense in a happy state of mind. Irritable, vain, censorious, exacting, intolerant, aggressive, he was so eager to do his

duty to God, that he often forgot his duty to his neighbour. He forgot that without doing the last he could not thoroughly do the first. "For he who loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" If he is to be fairly judged by his journals, he was much wanting in human love—in charity, in kindness, and in courtesy. His indignation, rather than his compassion, was stirred by what he regarded as the depravity around him. In this respect he much differed from his master. He had learnt much from the teachings of Mr. Simeon; it would have been well if he had learnt as much from his example. The grand old Fellow of King's was not at all above little things, or scornful of little people. He was one who believed that

"The dignity of life is not impaired
By aught that innocently satisfies
The humbler cravings of the heart; and he
Is a still happier man who for the heights
Of speculation not unfit, descends,
And such benign affections cultivates
Among the inferior kinds."

But Henry Martyn did not cultivate benign affections among the inferior kinds, or if he did, his biographers have been careful to veil this side of his humanity—ignorant, perhaps, that its weakness may, rightly regarded, be its strength.

It must not, however, be forgotten that Henry Martyn at no time possessed the *mens sana in corpore sano*. Much that appears to be unlovely in his character must be attributed to constitutional infirmity. Want of cheerfulness in him was want of health. Melancholy is only a Greek rendering of black bile; and our English word cholera has the same bilious origin. I have a letter now before me, to be quoted more fully hereafter, in which Martyn speaks of the dangerous "prevalence of bile in his constitution." It was this that jaundiced all the aspects of human life, and at one time stirred up within him such ungovernable fits of passion. But it was his glory to wrestle manfully against these infirmities. The picture of the conflict is before the world—and what a strange picture it is! I do not know another instance of a man at once so self-asserting and so self-denying. There was a sort of sacrificial egotism in his nature, which had more of the

1808.

sublime than the beautiful about it. He was continually watching himself, as though he were eager to catch himself tripping; he was continually in an attitude of offence against himself even more than against others. Within were conflicts: without were strifes. He trode down with a remorseless heel all the flowers of this world, lest by cherishing them he should unfit himself for the world to come. The reader of his journals, believing that they fairly represent all the varying moods of his mind, may lament that the sunshine so seldom entered that godly shrine. He desired, above all things, to be of the number of the elect. Yet he did not take to his heart those good words: "Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye: and above all these things, put on Charity, which is the bond of perfectness; and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body; and be ye thankful."

Ordination.

On the 23rd of October, 1803, Henry Martyn was ordained a deacon of the Church of England. It had been arranged that he should assist Mr. Simeon in the duties both of the church of the Holy Trinity and in the neighbouring parish of Lulworth; and he entered upon these duties with a solemn sense of the responsibilities he had undertaken, and a steadfast determination to do his work in the true spirit of the apostles, without a fear of the reproach or the ridicule of man. We must go back half a century or more in imagination to appreciate the force of these last words. At the present time, they have little special significance. But in 1803, the University was but just beginning to tolerate the evangelical earnestness of Mr. Simeon. Only a few years before he had been hooted and howled at, and his ministrations had been interrupted by outrages of the most violent and indecent character. It demanded some courage in a young man to stand forth as Mr. Simeon's associate; and Martyn at one time had been assailed by doubts and anxieties very distressing to his carnal nature. But he fought them down manfully, and he soon began to take a lively pleasure in his

ministerial work. He had not, however, devoted himself long to the parochial duties of the ministry, when thoughts of a far different career began to take shape in his mind. He had some time before dimly discerned in the distance a hand beckoning to him to enter upon the glorious fields of missionary adventure. The perusal of the *Life of David Brainerd* had excited within him a desire to go forth and do likewise. This desire was subsequently strengthened by a sermon, in which Mr. Simeon had earnestly discoursed upon the immensity of good that might be done by a single labourer in the vineyard—the illustration being derived from the career which the Baptist apostle, Dr. Carey, had commenced in Bengal. This story fired the enthusiasm of Henry Martyn. Ever intent upon the thought of some heroic abnegation of self, he sprang up open-armed to embrace this grand idea of a missionary sacrifice. But at this time a misfortune befel him which caused him to consider whether it were not his duty to repress these inclinations and to remain in England. The little property amassed by the industry and intelligence of his father was lost to his family, and his sisters, therefore, became dependent on his exertions. To become a missionary was to become a pauper, and to lose the means of assisting others; so Henry Martyn began to think that it might not be his duty to go forth to preach the Gospel to the heathen.

But from these doubts and anxieties there came deliverance from an unexpected quarter. Among the many good men with whom Mr. Simeon was in affectionate correspondence were William Wilberforce and Charles Grant. Both were members of the House of Commons; and the latter was a member also of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. They were men of influence—but of influence derived only in part from their position; for they were men, also, of large intelligence, unwearying industry, and of an earnest, many-sided humanity that never rested for a moment. There could be no pleasanter history to write than that which should describe all the great schemes by which they sought to benefit the human race, and for the promotion of which, with Messrs. Babington, Stephen, Henry Thornton, and sometimes Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Venn, they held a little parliament of their own, always carrying out its enactments

1803—1804.
Missionary
aspirations.

The Indian
chaplaincy.

1804. with remarkable promptitude and vigour. To emancipate the enslaved of every kind and degree, whether from the material shackles of the slave-dealer or from the bondage of ignorance and superstition, was the main object of their endeavours. In the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity, Mr. Grant, from the nature of his own personal experiences and associations, had an especial interest. Those were times when there were great impediments in the way of direct missionary action in the Company's territories in India; but the Company required chaplains to minister to their servants; and it was thought that if the English clergymen, who were sent out from time to time in this capacity, were wisely chosen, much good directly and indirectly might be done by them for the promotion of Christ's kingdom upon earth. Upon this subject, Mr. Simeon and Mr. Grant were continually in correspondence; for whilst the latter had the power of providing chaplaincies, the former had the means of supplying, from among the more promising young men of the University, the right persons to fill them. And among these young men who so fit as Henry Martyn? It was soon settled, therefore, that the first Indian chaplaincy at the disposal of Mr. Grant should be bestowed upon Mr. Simeon's curate. So Henry Martyn went up to town; visited Charles Grant at the India House; was invited by his benefactor to Clapham; and taken by him to dine with Mr. Wilberforce. They saw at once that the true spirit of the Apostle was animating the delicate frame of the young minister, and they had great hope of the good to be done by his ministrations.*

* This was on the 26th of January, 1804. Mr. Martyn has thus recorded the meeting: "Walked to the India House to Mr. Grant, who desired I would come down to Clapham. So I went with Mr. Grant, and on the road he gave me much information on the state of India. . . . We arrived at Mr. Wilberforce's to dinner; in the evening we conversed about my business. To Mr. Wilberforce I went into a detail of my views and the reasons that had operated on my mind. The conversation of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Grant, during the rest of the day, was edifying—what I should think right for two godly senators planning some means of

bringing before Parliament propositions for bettering the moral state of the colony of Botany Bay." It was probably this visit that supplied the original of Sir James Stephen's picture of Charles Grant "traversing the gorse-covered common attended by a youth, who, but for the fire of his eye and the occasional energy of his bearing, might have passed for some studious and sickly competitor for medals and prize poems." I cannot find, in Martyn's journals, any other trace of his appearance at Clapham. His visits to Mr. Grant were generally paid at his residence in Bedford-square.

1804.

In the long vacation of 1804, Martyn was again in intercourse with those "godly senators." On the 9th of July he called on Mr. Grant, who told him that "he had no doubt that there would be a chaplainship vacant before the end of next spring season," and on the following day he made this characteristic entry in his journal: "July 10, 1804.—Dined with Mr. Wilberforce at Palace-yard. It was very agreeable, as there was no one else. Speaking of the slave-trade, I mentioned the words, 'Shall I not visit for these things?' and found my heart so affected that I could with difficulty refrain from tears. Went with Mr. W. to the House of Commons, where I was surprised and charmed with Mr. Pitt's eloquence. 'Ah,' thought I, 'if these powers of oratory were now employed in recommending the Gospel!—but as it is, he talks with great seriousness and energy about that which is of no consequence at all.'" It is not stated that Martyn ever expressed this opinion to Mr. Wilberforce, but I can very well imagine the answer that, in such a case, would have been given by the man, of whom it has been said that "the fusion in him of religious and worldly thoughts enhanced the spirit with which he performed every duty, and the zest with which he welcomed every enjoyment."*

On the following day, Mr. Martyn started on a long coach-journey to Cornwall, where he purposed to take leave of all his beloved friends in the west of England. These were not all members of his family. There was one whom he loved with a deeper affection even than that which he bestowed upon his sisters. Near St. Michael's Mount, under the roof of her widowed mother, lived Miss Lydia Grenfell, a young lady whose charms were not wholly confined to the personal piety for which she was so conspicuous. At what period Henry Martyn first imbibed the delicious poison I do not know; but it was tingling in all his veins at the time when he paid this farewell visit to Cornwall. What were the tenderness of his feelings and the strength of his devotion towards one whom he hoped might some day be the partner of his life, may be gathered from these entries in his journal: "July 29 (Sunday).—At St. Hilary church, in the morning, my thoughts wandered from the service, and I suffered the

Farewell visit
to Cornwall.

* Sir James Stephen's "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography."

1804.

keenest disappointment. Miss Lydia Grenfell did not come. Yet, in great pain, I blessed God for having kept her away, as she might have been a snare to me. These things would be almost incredible to another, and almost to myself, were I not taught by daily experience that, whatever the world may say, or I may think of myself, I am a poor, wretched, contemptible worm. Called after tea on Miss Lydia Grenfell, and walked with her, and * * conversing on spiritual subjects. All the rest of the evening and night I could not keep her out of my mind. I felt too plainly that I loved her passionately. The direct opposition of this to my devotedness to God, in the missionary way, excited no small tumult in my mind. . . . At night I continued an hour and a half in prayer, striving against this attachment." On the following day he recorded that he rose in great peace, as God, by secret influence, seemed to have caused the tempest of self-will to subside; but at night, he said, he found himself to have backslidden a long way from the life of godliness, and to have declined very much since his coming to Cornwall, especially since he went to St. Hilary. It does not appear that he saw Miss Grenfell again until the end of the following month, when he wrote in his journal (August 27): "Walked to Marazion, with my heart more delivered from its idolatry, and enabled to look steadily and peacefully to God. Reading in the afternoon to Lydia alone from Dr. Watts, there happened to be among other things a prayer on entire preference of God to the creature. Now, thought I, here am I in the presence of God and my idol. So I used the prayer for myself and addressed to God, who answered it, I think, for my love was kindled to God and divine things, and I felt cheerfully resigned to the will of God to forego the earthly joy, which I had just been desiring with my whole heart in heaven, but every now and then resting on her. Parted with Lydia, perhaps for ever in this life. Walked to St. Hilary, determining in great tumult and inward pain to be the servant of the Lord." But, wrestle as he might against himself, he could not tear out that fair image from his heart. On the following day he wrote in his journal: "Took leave of St. Hilary; walked on, dwelling at large on the excellence of Lydia. A few faint struggles to forget her and delight in

God, but they were ineffectual." And again, next day: "My mind taken up with Lydia. But once reasoning in this way, if God made me and wills my happiness, as I do not doubt, then he is providing for my good by separating from her."* 1804.

With the vital question yet unspoken Martyn returned to Cambridge, his "thoughts almost wholly occupied with Lydia, though not in spirit of departure from God." At the University, he reverted to his duties, both as a minister and a tutor, with little zest. He was expecting a summons to London to take up the Indian chaplaincy, and he was eager for any change. The "dreary scene of college" appeared to him "a wilderness after the company of his dear friends in Cornwall." But month after month passed away, and still the summons did not come. He was endeavouring, all this time, to prepare himself for Indian work by reading missionary publications and mastering the rudiments of the Hindostanee and Bengalee languages. His tuition-work was extremely distasteful to him; and with that strange, morbid obliquity of vision which prevented him ever from taking in the completeness of the Christian life at a glance, he declared that the perusal of the classical authors, "in order to examine a pupil," was a snare to him. His impatience and quickness of temper with his pupils were really errors to be grieved over; and they are probably not exaggerated in his journal.

At the beginning of the new year, Henry Martyn went up to London and saw Mr. Grant, who told him that he was certainly destined for India, though he had not yet been appointed to a chaplaincy. "Thus it pleases God," he wrote, "to keep me in a certain degree unfixed, and it is but that his own wise purposes should be fulfilled in their time. I find these apparent delays very beneficial to me, as I perceive that God works in providence, as in nature, very slowly, which is a check to human rashness." On the 12th of January he left London in very low spirits, "partly from illness and partly from the depression of his thoughts." On the 15th he wrote in his journal: "I sat an hour with Mr. Simeon, who much reprobated the idea of my being settled at or near Calcutta, as Mr. Brown or Buchanan would want me to take their places" 1805. Visits to London.

* Wilberforce's Letters and Journals of Henry Martyn.

1805.

in the College, and I should be more than half a secular man. He said he wished me to be properly a missionary, one who should be quite dead to this world and living for another." This passage seems to require some explanation. Mr. Simeon was not only a very pious man, and very conscientious in all the affairs of life, but also a very sensible one. He must have known that his young friend and assistant was expecting to be sent to India by the East India Company as a chaplain upon their establishment, and I cannot help thinking that if he counselled Henry Martyn to withdraw altogether from secular engagements, and to give himself up wholly to missionary work, he must have counselled him at the same time to give up the Indian chaplaincy.

In the first week of March, Henry Martyn visited London again, but the chaplaincy was not yet ready for him. Having completed his twenty-fourth year, he was ordained priest at St. James's chapel. During this visit to the metropolis he took some lessons in Hindostanee from Mr. Gilchrist, who gave him some very sensible advice, which he has thus recorded in his journal: "March 21.—On my mentioning to Gilchrist my desire of translating some of the Scriptures with him, he advised me by all means to desist till I knew much more of the language by having resided some years in the country. He said it was the rock on which missionaries had split, that they had attempted to write and preach before they knew the language. The Lord's Prayer, he said, was now a common subject of ridicule with the people on account of the manner in which it had been translated. All these are useful hints to me." Early in the following month he returned to Cambridge, but he was soon again in London, where, on the 24th of April, he "found from Mr. Grant that he was on that day appointed a chaplain to the East India Company, but his particular destination would depend on the Government of India."*

In London he made the acquaintance of those eminent

* It appears that there had been, at one time, some intention of sending him out to Bengal, in attendance on Lord Cornwallis. In an unpublished letter before me, he writes to Mr. Grant, saying: "In a letter I received a few

days ago from Major Sandys, he mentions something about my going out with Marquis Cornwallis; but as he gives no reason at all for expecting such a thing, I suppose it is not worth my thinking about a moment."

Christians Mr. Cecil and Mr. Newton, and he had sometimes the privilege of occupying the pulpit of the former in the well-known chapel in John-street, Bedford-row, the ministry of which at a later period was so long held by Mr. Baptist Noel.* During this residence in the metropolis, the emotional parts of his nature appear to have been in a state of continual activity. He was one day elevated, another depressed. Any trifling circumstance caused him to burst into sudden tears. He was moved by a divine compassion for the souls of men, to go forth to preach the Gospel in a heathen land; but there was something ever tugging at his heart-strings, and imploring him to remain at home. "Shed tears to-night," he wrote in his journal, "at the thought of my departure. I thought of the roaring seas which would soon be rolling between me and all that is dear to me on earth." The conflict in his mind was rendered all the more severe by the antagonistic opinions of his friends. On the 3rd of June he wrote in his journal: "Mr. Cecil said that I should be acting like a madman if I went out unmarried. A wife would supply by her comfort and counsel the entire want of society, and also be a preservation both to character and passions in such scenes. . . . If this opinion of so many pious clergymen had come across me when I was in Cornwall, and so strongly attached to my beloved Lydia, it would have been a conflict indeed in my heart to oppose so many arguments. I am not seeking an excuse for marriage . . . but I feel my affections kindling to their wonted fondness while I dwell on the circumstances of an union with Lydia." But only a few days afterwards another friend offered to him a totally different opinion. "Something fell from Dr. F.," he recorded in his journal on the 7th of June, "against my marriage, which struck me so forcibly, though there was nothing particular in it, that I began to see I should finally give up all thoughts of it. But how great the conflict! I could not have believed it had such hold on my affections. . . . Before this I had been writing in tolerable tranquillity, and walked out in the enjoyment of a resigned mind, even rejoicing for the most part

* Cecil was by no means pleased with said he, "it is cupola-painting, not Martyn's style of preaching, which he considered insipid and inanimate. "Sir," man that harangues a multitude."

1805.

in God, and dined at Mr. Cecil's, where the arguments I heard were all in favour of the flesh, and so I was pleased; but Dr. F.'s words gave a new turn to my thoughts, and the tumult showed me the true state of my heart. How miserable did life appear without the hope of Lydia! Oh, how has the discussion of the subject opened all my wounds afresh!"*

Embarkation
for India.

Three weeks after this he started for Portsmouth, there to join the vessel, the *Union*, which was to convey him to his new field of labour. It was a two days' journey for him; and it is recorded that at the inn at which he spent the intermediate night, he had a fit of convulsions which greatly alarmed the friends who accompanied him. He continued his journey in a very depressed state, from which he was somewhat roused by finding at Portsmouth Mr. Simeon and other friends, who had come to bid him farewell.† On the 17th, the fleet sailed from Portsmouth. "Though it was what I had actually been looking forward to so long," wrote Henry Martyn to Mr. Simeon, "yet the consideration of being parted for ever from my friends almost overcame me; my feelings were those of a man who should be suddenly told that every friend he had in the world was dead. It was only by prayers for them that I could be comforted; and this was indeed a refreshment to my soul, because by meeting them at the Throne of Grace I seemed to be again in their society."

It happened that the fleet anchored off Falmouth. The "singularity of the providence of God" thus "led him once more into the bosom of his friends." He thought he had seen the last of all whom he most loved; but now an unforeseen circumstance enabled him again to renew his intercourse with the one whom he loved most of all. The temptation thus presented to him was not to be resisted. So he landed at Falmouth, made his way to Marazion, and passed some days of mingled pleasure and pain in the dear companionship of his beloved. His suit does not seem to have prospered. She had a lingering affection for another man, who appears to have deserted her; and the result of her last meeting with Henry Martyn was, that they parted without a betrothal.

* Journals and Letters, Wilberforce. mouth. He has given an interesting
 † Mr. Sargent—his biographer—was account of the parting.
 one of the party assembled at Ports-

But he fully laid bare his heart, and did not meet with such an absolute rejection as forbade him to hope that some day the much-coveted possession might be his. The answer which the young lady gave rather evaded than met the question. It was settled that Henry Martyn should go out to India unmarried—how, indeed, could it be otherwise?—and that their union at some indefinite period should be left to the Almighty Providence to frustrate or to decree.*

In thus going on shore, Henry Martyn did as other young men would have done in like circumstances, and often with less excuse. Of course, there were the usual results. He very nearly lost his passage, and he was in dreadfully bad spirits when he returned to the ship. He soon, however, began to rally, and to recover his serenity. Off the Irish coast, he wrote to Mr. Grant, saying: "I cannot leave Europe without assuring you that I bid adieu to it with cheerfulness and joy. The prevalence of bile in my constitution, which I feel particularly oppressive in this month,

* The entries in his journal run thus: "July 22.—After much deliberation I determined to go to Marazion on the morrow. Went to bed with much thought about the step I was going to take, and prayed that if it was not the will of God it might be prevented. I arrived in time for breakfast, and met my beloved Lydia. In the course of the morning I walked with her, though not uninterruptedly. With much confusion I declared my affection for her, with the intention of learning whether, if I ever saw it right in India to be married, she would come out; but she would not declare her sentiments. She said that the shortness of the arrangement was an obstacle, even if all others were removed." "29th.—The consequence of my Marazion journey is that I am enveloped in gloom; but past experience assures me it will be removed. . . . Another consequence of my journey is that I love Lydia more than ever." "31st.—Went on board this morning in extreme anguish. I could not help saying, 'Lord, it is not a sinful attachment in itself, and therefore I may commune more freely with thee about it.' . . . Left England as I supposed for the last time." The fleet, however, was detained, and Martyn went on shore again; but he had not

been long at Marazion when tidings suddenly reached him that the ship was about to sail. "August 10.—Apprehensions about the sailing of the fleet made me dreadfully uneasy; was with Lydia a short time before breakfast; afterwards I read the 10th Psalm, with Horne's Commentary, to her and to her mother; she was then just putting into my hand the 10th of Genesis to read, when a servant came in and said a horse was come for me from St. Hilary, where a carriage was waiting to convey me to Falmouth. . . . Lydia was evidently painfully affected by it. She came out, that we might be alone at taking leave, and I then told her that if it should appear to be God's will that I should be married, she must not be offended at receiving a letter from me. In the great hurry, she discovered more of my mind than she intended; she made no objection whatever to coming out. Thinking, perhaps, I wished to make an engagement with her, she said that we had better go quite free. With this I left her, not knowing yet for what purpose I have been permitted, by an unexpected providence, to enjoy these interviews." — *Journals and Letters. Edited by Wilberforce.* — Mr. Sargent's biography is altogether cloudy upon these points.

1805.

is the only thing that damps my expectations. According to some persons in the ship, the climate in the course of a few years will render me incapable of active exertion. My anxiety does not arise from the fear of an early grave, for many good ends might be answered by such an event, but from a dread lest my present excessive languor should become listlessness and indolence in India. With the apprehension of these things in my mind, I would humbly and earnestly request your prayers for me, and beg that you would occasionally send me such plain admonitions on the subject, that I may be in no danger of being deceived by the bad example of others, or the fancied debility of my own frame. My situation on board is as agreeable as it can be in a ship. I see little reason to prefer my college room to my cabin, except that the former stands still. My sickness, however, has upon the whole been of service to me. . . . The whole fleet is now under weigh. I therefore bid you adieu. May God bless you, my dear sir, and all your family. This is the sincere wish and earnest prayer of one who honours and loves you in the Lord."

Another extract from this letter, which was finished on the 31st of August, is equally illustrative of Martyn's character, and of the difficulties with which he had to contend: "Since writing the above, a few days ago, the commodore has hauled down his blue Peter, and it is now said that we are to be detained until something certain shall be known about the invasion and the combined fleets. The passengers are very dissatisfied, and the captains much more so. It would be proper to make Captain Muter some compensation, on my arrival in India, for the expense occasioned to him by this delay. He continues the same man on board as on shore. He is not, however, a truly religious man. It would be very easy for him to have service more than once on the Sunday, if he had a love for the truth. However, the want of more frequent opportunities of public instruction is supplied by my having free access to the soldiers and sailors. The regimental sub-alterns dislike my talking to the soldiers and giving them books, and would prevent it if they could; but the commanding officer begs me to continue my labours among them. So I go on reading and explaining the 'Pilgrim's Progress'

every day to them on the orlop-deck. Those officers who oppose the truth never speak to me on the subject, but reserve their whole fire for Mackenzie, who, I rejoice to say, is always the advocate of serious piety, and is more than a match for them all. I was lately on board the *Anne*, to see Mr. Thomas. He complained much of his situation, and expressed a determination of leaving the ship if possible. The captain will never allow him to say grace at table, nor even to have service on Sunday, if he can find the least excuse. A few Sundays ago there was no service because the ship was painting. From the tyrannical behaviour of the officers and men, Mr. Thomas had no doubt there would be a mutiny, which has accordingly happened. The mutineers, whose plan it was to murder the officers, were on their trial when I was aboard the last time. The boats to and from the shore do not pass near the *William Pitt*, as she lies near the mouth of the harbour; and on that account, I am sorry to say, I have not seen Cecil, though I watch for an opportunity every day. There is a Botany Bay ship lying close to us, which I have visited. There are one hundred and twenty women, and one clergyman, a convict whom I could not see. My indignation was roused at what I saw upon deck between the sailors and the women, and I warned them of the consequence of their wickedness. The men defended their conduct very coolly, and from what they said I conclude that every man in the ship has his mistress. The captain is, I find, a man of bad character. He has promised, however, to dispense some Testaments among them.”*

The voyage to India tried the courage of Henry Martyn. The voyage to India. He was on board a troop-ship; and the troop-ship was what troop-ships commonly were sixty years ago. To preach Christ crucified to such a congregation was to bring down much hatred and contempt upon himself—to endure hardness of every kind. He found it up-hill work; but he toiled upwards manfully, never turning or looking back. There could scarcely have been a better apprenticeship to the business of that most unpopular evangelical ministry to which he was speeding across the ocean; and, though probably at no period of his life were his sufferings, bodily and mental,

* Unpublished correspondence.

1805—1806. greater than at this time,* there was a little solace for him in the thought that he was not labouring wholly in vain. He spoke to all classes of his fellow-passengers, freely and earnestly, about the state of their souls and the great scheme of man's redemption. To the officers of the ship and to the officers of the regiment, to the young cadets, to the soldiers and the sailors, he addressed himself as they sat or walked on the deck. The seed often fell on hard, stony ground, but sometimes it was permitted to him to hope that it was striking root and fructifying in good soil. The voyage was not a common-place one. Sicknes of a bad type broke out on board. The captain died. As they neared the Cape of Good Hope, it became known that the troops would be landed for active service. The Cape was to be wrested from the Dutch. The Fifty-ninth had scarcely landed before a battle was fought. Martyn was then on board, endeavouring to comfort the ladies. He has himself related how "a most tremendous fire of artillery began behind a mountain abreast of the ships. It seemed as if the mountain itself was torn by intestine convulsions. The smoke arose from a lesser eminence on the right of the hill, and, on the top of it, troops were seen marching down the further declivity. Then came such a long-drawn fire of musketry, that I could not conceive anything like it. We all shuddered at considering what a multitude of souls must be passing into eternity. The poor ladies were in a dreadful condition; every peal seemed to go through their hearts. I have just been endeavouring to do what I could to keep up their spirits. The sound is now retiring, and the enemy are seen retreating along the low ground on the right towards the town."† A few hours afterwards he went on shore, to see

* He suffered greatly from sea-sickness, which was probably rendered more than ordinarily painful and exhausting by frequent fasts. His board-ship journals contain such entries as the following: "The flesh seemed very unwilling to submit to such self-denial, especially as the bodily frame, from weakness, seems scarcely able to support it; however, I can but try. In my walk on deck my flesh seemed again to shrink very much from fasting and prayer." "Had some thoughts of devoting this day to prayer and fasting, but was undecided as to the latter,

whether it would be right, in the present weak state of my body, to omit the meal of dinner."

† This was on the 8th of January, 1806, when the Cape fell to Baird and Popham. A detailed account of this important event will be found in Theodore Hook's "Life of Sir David Baird." In Mr. Sargent's Memoirs, the very interesting letter describing Martyn's visit to the field of battle is dated *Table Bay, January 7*; but this would seem to be a clerical or typographical error for *January 9*.

what could be done among the wounded and the dying. "We found several," he wrote in a letter to Mr. Simeon, "but slightly hurt; and these we left for a while, after seeing their wounds dressed by a surgeon. A little onward were three mortally wounded. One of them, on being asked where he was struck, opened his shirt and showed a wound in his left breast. The blood which he was spitting showed that he had been shot through the lungs. As I spread my great-coat over him, by the surgeon's desire I spoke of the blessed Gospel, and besought him to look to Jesus Christ for salvation. . . . Among several others, some wounded and some dead, was Captain S., who had been shot by a rifleman. We all stopped for a while to gaze in pensive silence on his pale body, and then passed on to witness more proofs of the sin and misery of fallen man." Leaving the battle-field, he went with the surgeon to some Dutch farm-houses in the neighbourhood, which had been converted into temporary hospitals, and where, he said, the wounded presented a more ghastly spectacle than he could have conceived. "They were ranged without and within the houses in rows, covered with gore. Indeed, it was the blood, which they had not had time to wash off, that made their appearance more dreadful than the reality, for few of their wounds were mortal." After this, he again visited, with the surgeon, the field of battle, and saw many of the wounded enemy. Here, the surgeon having left him, he was mistaken by a Highland soldier for a Frenchman, and narrowly escaped being shot. "As I saw that he was rather intoxicated," wrote Martyn, "and did not know but that he might actually fire out of mere wantonness, I sprang up towards him and told him, that if he doubted my word he might take me as a prisoner to the English camp, but that I certainly was an English clergyman. This pacified him, and he behaved with great respect." When evening began to close in, the young minister returned to the shore, intending to regain his ship, but found that she had left her moorings and was under weigh. "The sea ran high," he said, "our men were almost spent, and I was faint with hunger, but, after a long struggle, we reached the Indiaman about midnight."

Soon after this, the Dutch having capitulated, and peace being restored, Martyn went on shore and took lodgings in

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Cape Town. Like most other English visitors, he ascended Table Mountain; and he "thought of the Christian life, what up-hill work it is." As he was resting on his way down, he began to reflect with death-like despondency on his friendless condition. "Not that I wanted," he said, "any of the comforts of life, but I wanted those kind friends, who loved me, and in whose company I used to find such delight after my fatigues." He made frequent visits to the hospitals at this time, and generally preached on Sundays. In the second week of February, he rejoined the vessel, which then continued its voyage to India. On the 19th of April, they sighted Ceylon; and on the following Sunday Martyn preached his farewell sermon on board. Many of his hearers ridiculed and reviled him. "It pained me," he said, "that they should give a ridiculous turn to anything on so affecting an occasion as that of parting for ever in this life. But such is the unthankful office of a minister. Yet I desire to take the ridicule of men with all meekness and charity, looking forward to another world for approbation and reward." But India was now in sight, and the long and painful voyage was nearly at an end.

Early history
of the English
Church in
India.

And here something may be said about the state of the Company's ecclesiastical establishment in India at the time when the Reverend Henry Martyn, military chaplain, entered the Bay of Bengal. There were then but few English clergymen and fewer churches in India. The Protestant faith had done little to assert itself in the East. Not that the Company had been unmindful, even from the first, of their obligations to provide some sort of religious ministrations for their servants, or that the King's Government had failed to make such provision compulsory upon them. The Directors had generally sent out chaplains on board their ships, and an Act of Parliament had been passed decreeing that the Company should "in every garrison and superior factory" constantly maintain one minister, and should "provide or set apart a decent and convenient place for divine service only," and that "all such ministers as shall be sent to reside in India, shall be obliged to learn, within one year after their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the

servants or slaves of the said Company or of their agents, in the Protestant religion." But after a while a succession of various obstructive circumstances, such as the rivalry of the two Companies and occasional contentions with the native powers, as well as the conviction that it was not the easiest thing in the world for English clergymen, fresh from home, to instruct the Gentoos in the Protestant religion, caused this Act of Parliament to become little more than a dead letter. The chaplains who went out to India did not remain there very long, or perhaps they found that there was more profitable employment to be had than that of reading prayers to their countrymen and converting the Gentoos. Much depended at that time upon the personal characters of the chief people of the settlements. At one time we read of the President, the Council, and the inferior servants of the Company walking to church in orderly procession, and at others of there being an almost total absence of religious observances at all our settlements. It will be presumed that the general thrifty system of the Company with respect to the pay of their servants was not departed from in the case of their chaplains. In the early part of the seventeenth century the pay of a chaplain was 100*l.* a year.

It was long a standing complaint against the Company, that although they could find money to build forts, they could not find money to build churches. But the charge was scarcely a just one; for they had not any greater predilection for forts than for churches, and the former were generally constructed without their consent. When at last India witnessed the spectacle of an Anglican church, it was to private not to public beneficence that she was indebted for the gift. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Sir George Oxenden had striven hard at Bombay to compass the erection of a church; but he died before the object was accomplished, and it is stated that one of his successors in the Presidential chair thought the money would be better employed if he applied it to his own uses. So it happened that the first Protestant church was erected, in the year 1681, not at Bombay but at Madras, whither a Company's servant named Strey'nsham Master, who had served under Oxenden in the former settlement, was sent as chief of the factory. In 1715,

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a church was built by subscription in Calcutta. In 1737, the steeple was destroyed in a great hurricane, and in 1756 the entire building was demolished by Surajah Dowlah. The settlers in Bengal were then without a church, until a member of the Danish mission, named Kiernander, whom Lord Clive invited to Calcutta, built what was long afterwards known as the Mission Church. He had married a rich widow, and devoted a portion of the wealth thus acquired to Protestant Christianity. His prosperity, however, was short lived. He fell into trouble. The church, being private property, was seized for debt, when Charles Grant stepped forward and bought it. In the mean while, however, the first stone of another church had been laid in 1784, when Warren Hastings was Governor-General. It was completed in 1787, and is said to have been "consecrated." This building, which was known as the new church, and afterwards, in early episcopal days, as St. John's Cathedral, was the property of Government, whilst the old church remained in the hands of trustees. There was not much church-going in the time of Warren Hastings. During the administrations of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore there had been some improvement in this respect, and Lord Wellesley ever recognised the importance of an outward observance of respect for the religion of his country. It was in his eyes a matter of policy, as an antidote to the poison of the French Revolution. Mr. Buchanan, at the beginning of the century, wrote that "it became fashionable to say that religion was a very proper thing, that no civilised state could subsist without it, and it was reckoned much the same thing to praise the French as to praise infidelity." "The awful history of the French Revolution," wrote the Reverend David Brown, from Calcutta, in 1805, "prepared the minds of our countrymen to support the principles of religion and loyalty which our late Governor-General (Lord Wellesley) considered it his most sacred duty to uphold; he resolved, to use his own words, to make it be seen that the Christian religion was the religion of the State, and, therefore, at different times, he appeared in his place as chief representative of the British nation, attended to church by all the officers of Government, to give the Christian religion the most marked respect of the Governor of the country." But

it was not all statecraft in Lord Wellesley. Mr. Brown believed that he promoted and encouraged religion on its own account. "We lose in Marquis Wellesley," he wrote in a letter to Mr. Grant, now before me, "the friend of religion and the bulwark of the public morals. I have turned over with him the holy Scriptures, and I shall ever believe that

'—the tear

Which dropped upon his Bible was sincere.'

He has countenanced and encouraged faithful preaching, treated with kindness and favour those devoted men, Carey and his brethren, and has done much in every way for the truth, and nothing against it. Having been Lord Wellesley's almoner for seven years past, I can speak of his diffusive benevolence. . . . I have just presented him with *Bishop Horne on the Psalms*, to be his companion on the voyage, believing it to be a work in all respects exactly suited to his Lordship's religious views, genius, and taste."*

No man had done more to uphold the character of the English Church in India than the writer of this letter; and, in truth, it needed such support, for it had been little honoured in the persons of its representatives in the Eastern world. The chaplains who had been sent out in the latter part of the eighteenth century were, with a few exceptions, men who, if they did not disgrace their religion by their immorality, degraded it by the worldliness of their lives. The prevailing taint of cupidity was upon them as upon their brother settlers, and they grew rich like the rest. It is not uncharitable to surmise that men who, after a few years of ecclesiastical service in India, carried home with them considerable fortunes, did not derive their wealth from the legitimate gains of the ministry. It has been stated, on credible authority, that one chaplain, Mr. Blanshard, after a service of little more than twenty years, carried home a fortune of 50,000*l.*; that another, Mr. Johnson, after thirteen years' service, took with him from Calcutta 35,000*l.*; and that a third, Mr. Owen, at the end of ten years, had amassed 25,000*l.* At a later period, they were less successful in money-making, but scarcely more profitable as members of the Church and ministers of the Gospel. "Our

* Manuscript correspondence.

1806. clergy, with some exceptions," wrote Sir John Shore in 1795, "are not very respectable characters. Their situation, indeed, is arduous, considering the general relaxation of morals, and from which a black coat is no security." At a later period—not long before the epoch at which I have arrived in the career of Henry Martyn—Mr. Brown concluded a letter to a correspondent in England with the words, "I might finish with giving you some account of our wicked chaplains. Out of nine (the full complement), four are grossly immoral characters, and two more have neither religion nor learning."* Between these men and the two devoted ministers, who maintained alike by their lives and their doctrines the sanctity of the English Church, there was an indecorous feud, patent to the whole settlement. "The doctrine of the Cross," wrote Mr. Brown, in August, 1805, "has of late years given offence to many who formerly sat under the same ministry. Mr. Limrick tried for a long time to side with evangelical principles, but by conforming to the world he lost his good impressions, and, encouraged by the virulent declamations delivered from the pulpit by Dr. Stacy and Mr. Shepherd, came forward at last to oppose publicly the doctrines of Grace. This induced Mr. Buchanan to preach a set of discourses on the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, which was attended with good effect."† But all this increased the bitterness of the majority, and, so worsted in their argumentative strife, they endeavoured to get rid at least of one of their opponents by denying his clerical authority, and threatening to prosecute him for the performance of ecclesiastical duties to which he had not been ordained. Mr. Brown was only a deacon of the English Church, and his enemies affected to believe that he had not received episcopal ordination at all. One of their number, therefore, wrote to him demanding a sight of his "letters of orders," and another told him that "a process of law was about to be commenced against him, which, in the first instance, would subject him to legal penalties, and ultimately to degradation, and concluded by assuring him that if he would but immediately resign, he was authorised to say that the business would be dropped." Mr. Brown laid the matter at once before Lord Wellesley, who sent, through his

* Manuscript correspondence.

† Ibid.

private secretary, a kind and encouraging letter to the faithful minister, and commended his determination to treat such threats with contemptuous silence.

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Such was the state of the Company's ecclesiastical establishment in Bengal when Henry Martyn arrived at Calcutta. Lord Wellesley had left India; Lord Cornwallis was dead; Lord Lauderdale was expected; and Sir George Barlow, a Company's civilian of high character, was invested with the powers of the Governor-General. The mutations of the temporal Government were not a matter of much concern to Mr. Martyn, any further than that one ruler might be better disposed than another to give a permissive sanction to missionary efforts, and to afford an example in his own person of piety and godly living and respect for the ordinances of religion. As for himself, he had gone out to India to be a chaplain on the Company's establishment, for the performance of the duties of which office he was to receive a thousand a year. He had nothing of the missionary about him except the true missionary spirit. He was not his own master; he could not choose the place of his ministrations; he was under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief; and was answerable for all his acts to the temporal authorities, as much as if he had been a lieutenant or an assistant-surgeon. There was much, doubtless, in this irksome to a man of his eager and enthusiastic nature. The chains must have pressed heavily upon one who had set David Brainerd before him as his great exemplar, and who had longed to go forth and do likewise. But the position had its compensations too; and chief among them was this: that there had been no greater obstacle to the diffusion of Christianity among the heathens than the ungodly lives which were commonly led by professing Christians. It was no small thing, then, to be allowed to convert his own countrymen. He had gone out to preach, not to the black man, but to the white; and he saw plainly that if he could but touch the hearts and reform the lives of the English settlers, he would make a grand first step towards the propagation of the Gospel in the East. On board the *Union* he had had some practice in this good work; he knew how pain-

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ful it was, but he was prepared to endure hardness, and he would not shrink from an encounter with scoffers, let them scoff ever so bitterly at him. It is nothing now to preach evangelical truth from a Calcutta pulpit; but the reader who is acquainted with the state of Anglo-Indian society sixty years ago, knows that at that time it demanded no mean courage to teach as Simeon taught at Cambridge, or Cecil in Bedford-row.*

But he had some support from his fellow-labourers of the English Church, though not much. As the *Union* was beating up the Hooghly river to Calcutta, another vessel was beating down the river seawards, and that vessel carried Claudius Buchanan to the southern coast. This was a great loss to him; but the venerable David Brown remained to welcome the young priest; to be a father and a friend to him; to provide him with a home, and to sustain him in all his trials. Mr. Brown resided some fifteen miles from Calcutta, at a place on the opposite bank of the river, named Aldeen, not far from the settlement of Serampore, where the Baptist missionaries Carey, Marshman, and Ward lived and laboured. In the grounds attached to this Aldeen house was a deserted idol-temple, upon the margin of the river, the picturesque aspect of which, as it stands out a broad mass of purple shadow against the setting sun, has been noted by thousands of Englishmen passing to and from the great military station of Barrackpore, ignorant of the historical associations which surrounded it. This pagoda had been fitted up as a dwelling-place—one of those convenient guest-houses which, in the old days of Indian hospitality, English resi-

* It should be observed, however, that Mr. Simeon lived to feel that he had erred in giving way overmuch to the vehement, denunciatory style in his earlier pulpit addresses. His correspondence abounds with indications of this. Take the following: "I am arrived at a time of my life when my views of early habits, particularly in relation to the ministry, are greatly changed. I see many things in a different light from what I once did, such as the beauty of order, of regularity, and the wisdom of seeking to win souls by kindness rather than to convert them by harshness, and

what I once called 'fidelity.'" Again: "It is not by coarseness of expression, or severity of manner, that we are to win souls, but by speaking the truth in love." And again, a third time: "What is your object—is it to win souls? If it be, how are you to set about it? By exciting all manner of prejudices and driving people from the church? How did our Lord act? He spake the word in parables, 'as many were able to hear it.' How did St. Paul act? He fed the babes with milk, and not with strong meat."

dents delighted to have in their gardens for the reception of their friends. This building was now assigned to Henry Martyn, who took up his abode there, with an imagination inflamed by the traditions of the place. He "felt something like superstitious dread at being in a place once inhabited as it were by devils; but yet felt disposed to be triumphantly joyful that the temple where they were worshipped was become Christ's oratory."

What his ministerial duties were at this time, and what the hostility to which they exposed him, may be gathered from the following extract from an unpublished letter to his friend and benefactor Mr. Grant, which gives a lively picture of the state of society, in its religious or irreligious aspects, at the commencement of the present century. "The ministerial work assigned me here," he wrote in September, 1806, "is to preach every Sabbath evening at the Mission Church, and every third Sunday at the other. With the former I am delighted; the congregation is numerous and attentive, and, as I have heard, there are encouraging appearances of a work of grace among them. At the New Church I am as a wonder unto many. Whether it is they judge of me relatively with the other clergymen who cannot boast of much *physical* strength, or whether I have really recovered from that insipidity so much complained of at St. John's chapel, by having exercised my lungs so many months on the quarter-deck, I am called a son of thunder in this place. The Sunday after my first sermon at the New Church, Dr. Ward preached vehemently on the opposite side. I was not present at the time, being laid up with a bilious fever, but heard that it was against evangelical persons and things in general. After describing the rise and progress of the sect of evangelical clergymen in the Church, he proceeded to deny one by one all the leading doctrines of the Gospel. The personal abuse of me which his sermon contained gave such offence that he found it necessary to let it be read, since which many have thought better of it. After the second which I preached, Limerick attacked me. He, too, was very personal, and gravely and distinctly denied all the doctrines of the Gospel. As I knew how much carnal people would enjoy a controversy between their teachers, and so elude the force of what was

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intended for their consciences, I declined making the smallest allusion to what had been said. Notwithstanding this, many stay away from church, because they say *parties are running so high* among the clergymen. Jefferies unites himself with us, and has preached the pure truth; Stacey will not enter the Church till it is purified from our errors. We anxiously await the arrival of Corrie and Parson, whom we expect in the next fleet. When I can see Mr. Brown supplied with coadjutors in Mr. Buchanan's absence, I shall proceed to my proper work with double pleasure. I rejoice in the dispensation of God in sending me to this country more than ever. Through His mercy I enjoy excellent health, and I feel little doubt of seeing some of these poor people turning to God from idols, which hope is the health of my soul."

Correspondence with Miss Grenfell.

Such was the outer life of Henry Martyn at this time. His inner life is revealed to us with equal distinctness. There was ever going on within him a conflict in which warm human love was contending on one side and a morbid spiritualism on the other. He could never altogether rid himself of the thought that the love of the creature must be antagonistic to the love of the Creator. Mr. Cecil had told him that it was clearly his duty to marry. Mr. Simeon and other friends had been of the same opinion; and just before he sailed finally for India, he had, it has been seen, encouraged by the sight of the beloved object, given way to the natural inclinations of his heart. But on his voyage he seems to have cast out all hope, and indeed all desire, and to have reconciled himself to the thought of a solitary life. On his arrival in India, he "saw no reasons at first for supposing that marriage was desirable for a missionary;" but after a while his "opinions began to change," and his hopes began to revive, and he set down to write a letter to Miss Grenfell, inviting her to join him in India. No surprise can be felt by any one who reads this letter, that it utterly failed to accomplish the desired object. "From the account," he wrote, "which Mr. Simeon received of you from Mr. Thomason, he seemed in his letter to me to regret that he had so strongly dissuaded me from thinking about you at the time of my leaving England. Colonel Sandys spoke in such terms of you, and of the ad-

vantages to result from your presence in this country, that Mr. B[rown] became very earnest for me to endeavour to prevail upon you. Your letter to me perfectly delighted him, and induced him to say that you would be the greatest aid to the Mission I could possibly meet with. I knew my own heart too well not to be distrustful of it, especially as my affections were again awakened, and accordingly all my labours and prayers have been directed to check their influence, that I might see clearly the path of duty. Though I dare not say that I am under no bias, yet from every view of the subject I have been able to take, after balancing the advantages and disadvantages that may ensue to the cause in which I am engaged, always in prayer for God's direction, my reason is fully convinced of the expediency, I had almost said the necessity, of having you with me. It is possible that my reason may still be obscured by passion; let it suffice, however, to say that now with a safe conscience and the enjoyment of the Divine presence I calmly and deliberately make the proposal to you." Perhaps a little less calmness and deliberation, a little less reason and a little more love, a little less talk about the advice of his friends and a little more about his own longing desires, might have been more successful in the pleading of his cause. Even the best of women do not like to be reasoned over and weighed in the scales after this fashion.

The letter to Miss Grenfell, which I have quoted above, was written on the 30th of July, 1806. At what date it reached Cornwall is not quite clear; but Miss Grenfell replied to it on the 5th of March, and it would seem that in April the subject of it was still under discussion at Marazion, where Mr. Simeon visited the Grenfells, and took an opportunity to talk over "Mr. Martyn's affair" with the young lady. He found her not much, and her mother not at all, disposed to favour the proposal for her departure to India. All the young lady's arguments might have been summed up in the one cardinal objection, that she did not love Martyn well enough. Formally, a sort of promise was given that, if the mother withdrew her objections, the daughter would go out to India; but Miss Grenfell made this conditional promise to Mr.

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Simeon, knowing that the conditions would never be fulfilled.* The letter which she wrote to Mr. Martyn was an unqualified refusal.

It cut him to the heart. He had been endeavouring to persuade himself that it would be better for him to remain single—that living in a state of continual self-denial and mortification, he would be better able to fulfil his duty to his God. But the passions of humanity were not to be preached down in this way; and when the day of trial came, he was as little able to withstand the shock as any worldling of six-and-twenty. On the 24th of October the letter arrived—"An unhappy day," he wrote in his journal. "Received at last a letter from Lydia, in which she refuses to come, because her mother will not consent to it. Grief and disappointment threw my soul into confusion at first; but gradually, as my disorder subsided, my eyes were opened, and reason resumed its office. I could not but agree with her that it would not be for the glory of God, nor could we expect His blessing, if she acted in disobedience to her mother. As she has said, 'They that walk in crooked paths shall not find peace;' and if she were to come with an uneasy conscience, what happiness

* Mr. Simeon's own account of the affair runs thus: "With her mother's leave Miss Grenfell accompanied us to Colonel Sandys', when I had much conversation with her about Mr. Martyn's affair. She stated to me all the obstacles to his proposals: first, her health; second, the indelicacy of her going out alone to India on such an errand; third, her former engagement with another person, which had, indeed, been broken off, and he had actually gone up to London two years ago to be married to another woman, but as he was still unmarried, it seemed an obstacle in her mind; fourth, the certainty that her mother would never consent to it. On these points, I observed that I thought that the last was the only one that was insurmountable; for that, first, India often agreed best with persons of a delicate constitution, *e. g.* Mr. Martyn himself and Mr. Brown. Second, it is common for ladies to go out thither without any previous connexion; how much more, therefore, might one go out with

a connexion already formed. Were this the only difficulty, I engaged, with the help of Mr. Grant and Mr. Parry, that she should go under such protection as should obviate all difficulties on this head. Third, the step taken by the other person had set her at perfect liberty. Fourth, the consent of her mother was indispensable; and that as that appeared impossible, the matter might be committed to God, in this way: if her mother, of her own accord, should express regret that the connexion had been prevented from an idea of her being irreconcilably averse to it, and that she would not stand in the way of her daughter's wishes, this should be considered a direction from God in answer to her prayers, and I should instantly be apprised of it by her, in order to communicate it to Mr. Martyn. In this she perfectly agreed. I told her, however, that I would mention nothing of this to Mr. Martyn, because it would only tend to keep him in painful suspense."

could either of us expect?" On the same day he sat down and wrote to her a long letter, only a portion of which can be given here: "Alas! my rebellious heart," he wrote, after saying that he did not still surrender all hope, "what a tempest agitates me! I knew not that I had made so little progress in a spirit of resignation to the Divine will. I am in my chastisement like the bullock unaccustomed to the yoke, like a wild bull in the net, full of the fury of the Lord, the rebuke of my God. The death of my late most beloved sister almost broke my heart; but I hoped it had softened me, and made me willing to suffer. But now my heart is as though destitute of the grace of God, full of misanthropic disgust with the world, sometimes feeling resentment against yourself and Emma, and Mr. Simeon—and, in short, all whom I love and honour most—sometimes in pride and anger resolving to write neither to you nor to any one else again. These are the motions of sin. My love and my better reason draw me to you again."

This letter was written from Dinapore, where Martyn was then stationed.* He was very busy with the translation of the Scriptures, and in the season of his disappointment he fell back upon his work as a stimulant and a solace. All things, he knew, were working together for good, and this affliction might yet be a blessing to himself and others. In making the word of God acceptable to heathen and Mahomedan races, surely he was doing grand missionary work, though he might sit all day in his bungalow with his books and papers before him. The entries which he made in his journal, and the letters which he wrote to his friends in the following years (1807 to 1809), show how he was employed. He was continually toiling; continually stumbling; now hoping that he had really done something; now finding, to his bitter disappointment, that his translations were inaccurate, and that he must spend more time in correcting them than it would take to commence the work *de novo* again. As he became better acquainted with the languages, he began to make a small

Martyn at
Dinapore.

* Mr. Martyn was appointed military chaplain at Dinapore on the 14th of September, 1806. He left Aldeen on the 15th of October, and reached Dinapore on the 26th of November.

1807—1809. commencement of preaching to the natives;* and he taught in some schools, so cautiously that he used an account of one of the Avatars of Vishnu as a text-book, solacing himself with the thought that it could do no harm, as his pupils could not understand a word of it.

But these were his voluntary labours. His appointed duties were of another kind. He was receiving a salary of a thousand a year as one of the Company's military chaplains. In this capacity he did his work with conscientious laboriousness; but he does not seem to have regarded it as anything more than a necessary and inconvenient appendage to the more important functions which he believed had been delegated to him by God. There was no church at Dinapore; but he performed the service in a building devoted to secular purposes, and he preached to such congregations as the heat would allow to attend his ministrations. He said that there were four hundred soldiers and forty-five officers at the station.† The society was by no means congenial to him. He was a plain speaker, much as it pained him to speak plainly. He looked upon what he regarded as the duty of vehemently reprobating worldliness of every kind as one of his especial crosses. He never seems to have thought that he might have done more good for the souls of his brethren if he had spoken more mildly to their ears and more persuasively to their understandings; and yet he every now and then reproaches himself for conforming too much to the ways of the world, and giving way to what he called "levity" in society. His friend Mr.

* Henry Martyn records in his journal the progress which he made in the languages under his native teachers, and sometimes the conversations which he held with them. The following appears under date January 8, 1807: "Pundit was telling me to-day, that there was a prophecy in their books that the English should remain one hundred years in India, and that forty years were now elapsed of that period; that there should be a great change, and that they (the English) should be driven out by a King's son, who should then be born. Telling this to Moonshah, he said that about the same time the Mussulmans expected some great events, such as the coming of Dujjel, and the spread of

Islamism over the earth. The singular coincidence of the period of the accomplishment of these things, with the time at which, according to some, the millennium will begin, struck me very much, and kept that glorious day before my mind all the day." This is curious, but there is obviously something wrong in the chronology. The English had, at that time, been masters of Bengal not forty, but fifty years; and the coincidence of which Martyn speaks really did not exist, the date of the maturity of one prophecy being 1857, the date of the other, 1867.

† This number was greatly increased afterwards by the arrival of the Sixty-seventh Regiment.

Corrie,* who had followed him, after a little space, to India, did much more good than Henry Martyn, because he was more tender and genial in his ministrations. Corrie seems to have read the Bible right through; but a mist seems to have gathered before Martyn's eyes when he approached the most loving passages of the sacred book.

But in all this there was one consistent stream of the great heroism of self-abnegation flowing purely, though disastrously, through his life. Looking upon happiness as a crime, if he made a spectacle displeasing to his Maker, he tortured himself most painfully. Even the duties imposed upon him by his profession as a military chaplain, such as attending levees or social gatherings of the officers, he regarded as offences against God. If they were so, he should have given up his chaplaincy and his thousand a year, and have gone into the villages to preach the Gospel of salvation. If he could not—I will not say serve God and Mammon at the same time, but—render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's, he should have thrown up Caesar's commission, and freed himself from what he conceived to be the bondage of his soul.

In April, 1809, under orders from the higher authorities, (At Cawnpore.) Martyn prepared to betake himself from Dinapore to Cawnpore. The hot winds were blowing like the blasts of a furnace, but with characteristic disregard of his creature comforts, he put himself in a palanquin, wanting all the appliances that could mitigate the painfulness of such a journey, and even scantily provided with necessary food. The marvel is that it did not kill him outright. He arrived in a state of pitiable weakness, and fainted as soon as he was removed from the palanquin. But in Captain Sherwood and his accomplished wife he had good and hospitable friends, who opened their house to him, and by their affectionate ministrations restored him to such little health as he was ever likely to enjoy in the world; and he was soon again at his work. "Nothing has occurred this last year," he wrote in 1810, "but my removal to Cawnpore, and the commencement of my ministry, as I hope it may be called, among the Gentiles. This, with my

* The Reverend Daniel—afterwards Bishop—Corrie.

1810.

endeavours to instruct the servants, has been blessed by the Lord to the improvement of my temper and behaviour towards them." His ministry among the Gentiles was little more than an occasional address, from the verandah of his house, to a crowd of beggars, who were attracted by the alms that he gave, not by the Gospel that he preached. But he thought that some of the seed he scattered might fall upon good ground.

His professional life at Cawnpore very much resembled that which he had passed at the Dinapore station. A church was in course of erection, but, pending its completion, it was the duty of the military chaplain to perform the service in a barrack-room, at the General's house, or in the open air, according to orders. It was wearisome and disheartening work, for he made little progress, and there were few who listened to the Word.* Of the manner in which his week-days were spent at this time, he has himself given an account in a letter to Lydia Grenfell, who had never ceased to hold a cherished place in his heart. "We all live here," he wrote, "in bungalows or thatched houses, on a piece of enclosed ground. Next to mine is the church, not yet opened for public worship, but which we make use of at night with the men of the Fifty-third. Corrie lives with me, and Miss Corrie with the Sherwoods. We usually rise at daybreak, and breakfast at six. Immediately after breakfast we pray together, after which I translate into Arabic with Sabat, who lives in a small bungalow on my ground. We dine at twelve, and sit recruiting ourselves with talking a little about dear friends in England. In the afternoon, I translate with Mirza Fitrut into Hindostanee, and Corrie employs himself in teaching some native Christian boys, whom he is educating with great care, in hopes of their being fit for the office of catechist. I have also a school on my premises for natives, but it is not well attended. There are not above sixteen Hindoo boys in it at present; half of them read the Book of Genesis. At sunset, we ride or

* On the 18th of February, 1810, he wrote in his journal: "My birthday; to-day I completed my twenty-ninth year. How much had David Brainerd done at this time of life! I once used to flatter myself that, when entering my thirtieth year, I might have the happi-

ness of seeing an Indian congregation of saints won to the Gospel through my preaching. Alas! how far is this from being the case; scarcely even an European can I fix upon as having been awakened under my ministry since coming here."

1810. had rendered him so irritable and so desponding, seems to have been burnt out by the tubercular disease. But although sober biography is bound to take account of this, we may believe that this increase of cheerfulness was in part the growth of a sustaining sense of his good work, and the comforting reflection that it would soon be said to him—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter into thy rest." He had not altogether given up the thought of doing real missionary work in the apostolic or sent-forth sense of the word. But he wrote to a friend, saying: "To the hardships of missionaries we are strangers; yet not averse, I trust, to encounter them when we are called. My work at present is evidently to translate; hereafter I may itinerate."

Visit to Calcutta.

And indeed the time had come for him to "itinerate;" but not in the sense here recognised. It was plain that to remain at Cawnpore would be to die at his post. So, after much reflection and much prayer, he determined that, with the permission of the temporal authorities and with the approval of the recognised "Patriarch" of the English Church, David Brown, he would fulfil his long-cherished project of journeying to Persia, there to improve his knowledge of its language, to obtain assistance in the translation of the Scriptures, and to dispute with the Moollahs. So he went down to Calcutta, and "after consulting with the Patriarch," saw the Governor-General, Lord Minto, and the Adjutant-General of the army, and obtained their sanction to his departure on sick leave. "So it strikes me," he said in a letter to Mr. Corrie, "a way is opened and an intimation given of the will of God: may my journey be for the prosperity of Zion. My ship has dropped down (the river)."

He was very weak when he reached Calcutta; and the dear friends, with whom he now again took sweet counsel, after a separation of years, saw plainly that he was fading away. Among these friends was one companion of former years, with whom it was a delight to talk of old Cambridge days and Mr. Simeon. This was the Reverend Thomas Thomason, now also a chaplain in the Company's service—one of the best and most lovable of men. When he saw Martyn's wasted frame and his sunken cheeks, he was moved with a great compassion, and he felt that the days of his

1811. passengers that they should go on shore and refresh themselves with a walk in the cinnamon gardens, Mr. E[lphinstone] and myself availed ourselves of the offer, and went off to inhale the cinnamon breeze. The walk was delightful." On
 Jan. 23, 1811. the following day they set sail again and doubled Cape Cor-
 morin. Then as Martyn looked out on the sea-coast and on the churches, which here and there were visible from the deck of the ship, he thought of the coast of Cornwall and of his beloved Lydia, and he sat down in his cabin and wrote to her, saying: "Was it these maritime situations that recalled to my mind Perran church, or that my thoughts wander too often on the beach to the east of Truro? You do not tell me whether you ever walk there and imagine the billows that break at your feet to have made their way from India. But why should I wish to know? Had I observed silence on that day and thenceforward, I should have spared you much trouble and myself much pain. Yet I am far from regretting that I spoke, since I am persuaded that all things will work together for good." And then, as though he were angry with himself for the expression of so much warmth of feeling, he fell back into the old strain of self-depreciation, and cooled his ardour by every possible kind of discouragement. "As for what we should be together," he added, "I judge of it from our friends. Are they quite beyond the vexations of common life? I think not; still I do not say that it is a question whether they gained or lost by marrying. Their affections will live when ours (I should rather say mine) are dead. Perhaps it may be the effect of celibacy, but I certainly begin to feel a wonderful indifference to all but myself."

On the 7th of February they reached Goa, and on the following day paid that visit to the tomb of Francis Xavier which has been narrated at the commencement of this Memoir. On the 18th, they anchored at Bombay. On the following day Martyn went on shore, visited Governor Duncan, and was lodged at Government House. In Bombay he became acquainted with Sir James Mackintosh and Sir John Malcolm. He appears to have made a different impression on the minds of these two men; which may partly be accounted for by the characteristic variableness of Martyn's own temperament, and partly by a consideration of the different temperaments of the

lawyer and the soldier. At all events, Martyn appeared to Malcolm an exceedingly cheerful person. Of the latter, it is most true that "a merrier man, within the limits of becoming mirth," was seldom seen; and it would have been difficult to be otherwise than cheerful under the genial influence of his sunny nature. Certain at least it is, that he gave the young priest a letter of introduction to the British Minister in Persia (Sir Gore Ouseley), in which he said that Martyn was "altogether a very learned and cheerful man, but a great enthusiast in his holy calling." "I am satisfied," he added, "that if you ever see him, you will be pleased with him. He will give you grace before and after dinner, and admonish such of your party as take the Lord's name in vain; but his good sense and great learning will delight you, whilst his constant cheerfulness will add to the hilarity of your party." Although most men were cheerful in Malcolm's presence, I am inclined to think that causes already stated had done much to increase the habitual cheerfulness of Martyn's temperament, although Mackintosh did speak of him as the saint from Calcutta, whose excessive meekness "gave a disagreeable impression of effort to conceal the passions of human nature."

So, cheerfully, he went about his work, and passed from India to the Persian Gulf. From Muscat he wrote, on the 23rd of April, 1811: "I left India on Lady-day, looked at Persia on Easter Sunday, and seven days after found myself in Arabia Felix. In a small cove, surrounded by bare rocks, heated through, out of the reach of air as well as wind, lies the good ship *Benares*, in the great cabin of which, stretched on a couch, lie I. But though weak, I am well—relaxed, but not disordered. Praise to his grace, who fulfils to me a promise, which I have scarcely a right to claim—'I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest.'"

On the 30th of May, having obtained the means of attiring himself in full Persian costume, and having suffered his beard and moustache to grow, he started for Shiraz.* The heat was

* The following is the description of his costume, which he has recorded in his journal: "On the 30th of May our Persian dresses were ready, and we set out for Shiraz. The Persian dress consists of, first, stockings and shoes in

1811.

intolerable, and the hardships of the journey almost killed him. They started in the coolness of the night, but day had scarcely broken before the summer heats began to threaten them. "At sunrise," he wrote in his journal, "we came to our ground at Ahmedee, six parasangs, and pitched our little tent under a tree; it was the only shelter we could get. At first the heat was not greater than we had felt in India, but it soon became so intense as to be quite alarming. When the thermometer was above 112 degs., fever heat, I began to lose my strength fast; at last it became quite intolerable. I wrapped myself up in a blanket and all the warm covering I could get, to defend myself from the external air; by which means the moisture was kept a little longer upon the body, and not so speedily evaporated as when the skin was exposed. One of my companions followed my example, and found the benefit of it. But the thermometer still rising, and the moisture of the body being quite exhausted, I grew restless, and thought I should have lost my senses. The thermometer at last stood at 126 deg.; in this state I composed myself, and concluded that, though I might hold out a day or two, death was inevitable. Captain —, who sat it out, continued to tell the hour and height of the thermometer; and with what pleasure did we hear of its sinking to 120 deg., 118 deg., &c. At last the fierce sun retired, and I crept out, more dead than alive. It was then a difficulty how I could proceed on my journey; for, besides the immediate effects of the heat, I had no opportunity of making up for the last night's want of sleep, and had eaten nothing. However, while they were loading the mules, I got an hour's sleep, and set out, the muleteer leading my horse, and Zachariah, my servant, an Armenian of Ispahan, doing all in his power to encourage me. The cool air of the night restored me wonderfully, so that I arrived at our next munzil with no other derangement than that occa-

one; next, a pair of large blue trousers, or else a pair of huge red boots; then the shirt; then the tunic; and above it the coat, both of chintz, and a great-coat. I have here described my own dress, most of which I have on at this moment. On the head is worn an enormous cone, made of the skin of the black Tartar sheep, with the wool on. If to this description of my dress I add

that my beard and moustaches have been suffered to vegetate undisturbed ever since I left India—that I am sitting on a Persian carpet in a room without tables or chairs—and that I bury my hand in the pillau without waiting for spoon or plate, you will give me credit for being already an accomplished Oriental."—*Sargent's Life of Martyn.*

sioned by want of sleep. Expecting another such day as the former, we began to make preparation the instant we arrived on the ground. I got a tattie made of the branches of the date-tree, and a Persian peasant to water it; by this means the thermometer did not rise higher than 114 deg. But what completely secured me from the heat was a large wet towel, which I wrapped round my head and body, muffling up the lower part in clothes. How could I but be grateful to a gracious Providence for giving me so simple a defence against what, I am persuaded, would have destroyed my life that day. We took care not to go without nourishment as we had done; the neighbouring village supplied us with curds and milk."

On the 9th of June he reached his destination, and a few days afterwards he was in the midst of theological discussions with the Moollahs and other learned people of the place. He appears at this time to have enjoyed unusually good health and good spirits. He wrote cheerfully to his friends, with less than the wonted amount of self-abasement in his letters. His thoughts often reverted, not painfully, to the Cornish coast and his "dearest Lydia." In one letter, written in June, he says: "How continually I think of you, and, indeed, converse with you, it is impossible to say. But on the Lord's-day in particular I find you much in my thoughts. . . . On that day I indulge myself with a view of the past, and look over again those happy days when, in company with those I loved, I went up to the house of God with a voice of praise. How, then, should I fail to remember her, who, of all that are dear to me, is the dearest? It is true that I cannot look back to many days, nor even many hours, passed with you. Would they had been more! but we have become more acquainted with each other. . . . It was a momentary interview, but the love is lasting—everlasting. . . . Let me here say, with praise to our ever-gracious heavenly Father, that I am in perfect health; of my spirits I cannot say much, I fancy they would be better were the beloved Persis by my side. This name, which I once gave you, occurs to me this moment, I suppose, because I am in Persia, intrenched in one of its valleys, separated from Indian friends by chains of mountains and a roaring sea, among a people depraved beyond all belief, in the power of a

1811. tyrant guilty of every species of atrocity. Imagine a pale person seated on a Persian carpet, in a room without a table or chair, with a pair of formidable moustaches and habited as a Persian, and you see me."

"Here I expect to remain six months," he wrote, a few days afterwards, to the same sweet friend. "The reason is this: I found, on my arrival here, that our attempts at Persian translation in India were good for nothing; at the same time, they proposed, with my assistance, to make a new translation. It was an offer I could not refuse, as they speak purest Persian." But he did not make much progress, and he wrote on the 12th of September to his friend Daniel Corrie: "I do not find myself improving in Persian; indeed, I take no pains to speak it well, not perceiving it to be much consequence. India is the land where we can act at present with most effect. It is true that the Persians are more susceptible, but the terrors of an inquisition are always hanging over them. I can now conceive no greater happiness than to be settled for life in India, superintending national schools, as we did at Patna and Chunar. To preach so as to be readily understood by the poor, is a difficulty that appears to me almost insuperable." To the same old and beloved friend he wrote again in December, saying that he had excited some Mahomedan indignation, and that he had been stoned. "They continued," he said, "throwing stones at me every day, till happening one day to tell Jaffier Ali Khan, my host, how one as big as my fist had hit me in the back, he wrote to the Governor, who sent an order to all the gates, that if any one insulted me he should be bastinadoed; and the next day came himself in state to pay me a visit. These measures have had the desired effect; they now call me the Feringhee Nabob, and very civilly offer me the Calean; but indeed the Persian commonalty are very brutes. The Soofies declare themselves unable to account for the fierceness of their countrymen, except it be from the influence of Islam."

1812. All through the early months of the year 1812 he went on in the same way, now translating, now studying, now disputing with the Moollahs, now taking sweet counsel with his distant friends. His spirits, at this time, seem to have been sensibly affected by protracted isolation from all his Christian

friends, and he began to long for India and companionship again. "This is my birthday," he wrote in his journal on the 18th of February, "on which I complete my thirty-first year. The Persian New Testament has been begun and I may say finished in it, as only the last eight chapters of the Revelation remain. Such a painful year I never passed, owing to the privations I have been called to on the one hand, and the spectacle before me of human depravity on the other. But I hope I have not come to this seat of Satan in vain. The word of God has found its way into Persia, and it is not in Satan's power to oppose its progress, if the Lord hath sent it." A fortnight afterwards the work was completed, and he thanked God from the bottom of his heart.

In the second week of May he left Shiraz in company with a cafilah.* He was eager to present his translation of the Bible to the King of Persia, and he strove mightily to this end; but official obstructions in the first instance, and afterwards utter prostration from illness, baffled his endeavours, and he was obliged to content himself with presenting it to the Ambassador. He had enjoyed more than his accustomed amount of health and strength at Shiraz, but the fatigues of the journey and the alternations of heat and cold, seem to have affected him severely, and fever and ague of the worst type seized upon his frail body. For some time he lay prostrate and delirious, hovering between life and death; in intervals of sanity thinking of his beloved friends in England, and believing that there was little hope of ever seeing them again. On the 9th of July, he wrote from Tabriz: "My fever never ceased to rage till the 21st, during all which time every effort was made to subdue it, till I had lost all my strength, and almost all my reason. They now administer bark, and it may please God to bless the tonics, but I seem too far gone; I can only say, 'having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better.'" Three days after, he wrote to Lydia Grenfell: "I have applied for leave to come on furlough to England. Perhaps you will be gratified by this intelligence; but oh, my dear Lydia,

Departure from Shiraz.

* Or caravan. Mr. Sargent says he started on the 24th of May, which is obviously a mistake. His journal shows that he was some way on his journey by that time.

1812. I must faithfully tell you that the probability of my reaching England alive is but small." All through the remainder of that month of July he lay struggling with death, but early in August he rallied a little, and at the end of the first week he wrote to Mr. Simeon: "Ever since I wrote, about a month, I believe, I have been lying upon the bed of sickness. For twenty days or more the fever raged with great violence, and for a long time every species of medicine was used in vain. After I had given up every hope of recovery, it pleased God to abate the fever, but incessant headaches succeeded, which allowed me no rest day or night. I was reduced still lower, and am now a mere skeleton; but as they are now less frequent, I suppose it to be the will of God that I should be raised up to life again. I am now sitting in my chair, and wrote the will with a strong hand; but, as you see, I cannot write so now."

On the 2nd of September, all things being ready, Henry Martyn set out on his long journey of thirteen hundred miles to England, "carrying letters from Sir Gore Ouseley for the Governors of Erivan, Kars, and Erzeroum, and the Ambassador at Constantinople; from Mr. Morier for his father there, and from Cajoo Aratoon, Sir Gore's agent, for the Patriarch, and Bishop Nestus at Echmiazin, and near three hundred tomauns in money." On the morning of the 11th of September he arrived at Erivan. From Erivan he went on to Echmiazin, where he was most kindly received by the Patriarch and the Bishops, and after a few pleasant days passed in the great Armenian monastery—the last glimpse of pleasure ever permitted to him in this world—he pursued his journey, crossed the Turkish frontier, and on the 21st of September rode into Kars. On the following day, he left this now celebrated place with a Tartar guide, and made his way to Erzeroum, where he halted for three or four days, and then again pressed forward. But there were now symptoms of a return of his malady; he grew weaker and weaker as he went on. The fatigues of the journey were more than he could bear. Riding on rough horses over rough roads, with a half-savage guide who had little compassion for him, he was dragged from place to place, often through heavy rain, with little rest allowed to him, until his small remaining strength succumbed

to the hardships and privations of the journey. He still, however, continued to make some entries in his journal, and on the 2nd of October he wrote: "Some hours before day, I sent to tell the Tartar I was ready, but Hassan Aga was for once riveted to his bed. However, at eight, having got strong horses, he set off at a great rate, and over the level ground he made us gallop as fast as the horses would go to Chifflick, where we arrived at sunset. I was lodged, at my request, in the stables of the post-house, not liking the scrutinising impudence of the fellows who frequent the coffee-room. As soon as it began to grow a little cold, the ague came on and then the fever; after which I had a sleep, which let me know too plainly the disorder of my frame. In the night Hassan sent to summon me away, but I was quite unable to move. Finding me still in bed at the dawn, he began to storm furiously at my detaining him so long, but I quietly let him spend his ire, ate my breakfast composedly, and set out at eight. He seemed determined to make up for the delay, for we flew over hill and dale to Sherean, where we changed horses. From thence we travelled all the rest of the day and all night. It rained most of the time. Soon after sunset the ague came on again, which in my wet state was very trying. I hardly knew how to keep my life in me." There was, indeed, but a little feeble flickering life left in his frail body.

He was now dying fast. It had come, indeed, to be only a question of days. On the 5th of October he wrote in his journal: "Preserving mercy made me see the light of another morning. The sleep had refreshed me, but I was feeble and shaken, yet the merciless Hassan hurried me off. The munzil, however, not being distant, I reached it without much difficulty. I was pretty well lodged, and felt tolerably well till a little after sunset, when the ague came on with a violence I had never before experienced; I felt as if in a palsy; my teeth chattering, and my whole frame violently shaken. Aga Hosyn and another Persian on their way here from Constantinople, going to Abbas Mirza, whom I had just before been visiting, came hastily to render me assistance, if they could. These Persians appear quite brotherly after the Turks. While they pitied me, Hassan sat in perfect indifference, ruminating in the

1812. further delay this was likely to occasion. The cold fit, after continuing two or three hours, was followed by a fever, which lasted the whole night, and prevented sleep." On the following day he wrote: "No horses being to be had, I had an unexpected repose. I sat in the orchard, and thought with sweet comfort and peace of my God; in solitude, my companion, my friend and comforter. Oh! when shall time give place to eternity? when shall appear that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness? There, there shall in no wise enter in anything that defileth: none of that wickedness which has made men worse than wild beasts—none of those corruptions which add still more to the miseries of mortality, shall be seen or heard of any more."

These were the last words that he ever wrote. Whether he sunk under the disorder against which he had so long been painfully contending, or whether the Plague, which was then raging, seized him, is not known; but ten days afterwards, at Tokat, Henry Martyn entered into his rest.*

Oct. 16, 1812.
Death.

There is little need to dwell upon a character which has illustrated itself so clearly in the passages which I have given from Henry Martyn's own letters and journals. No one has ever laid bare his heart more unsparingly than this young Protestant priest. Evangelical history claims him as a missionary; but he was not a missionary; he was simply an Indian Officer—an officer upon the ecclesiastical establishment of the East India Company—a military chaplain under the orders of the military authorities. That his heart was in the missionary work, with which he supplemented his official duties, not in the business proper of the chaplaincy, is certain; but he was not less a chaplain before the world because his missionary zeal burnt brightly in the sight of Heaven. To what extent his earnestness and self-devotion really contributed, directly or indirectly, to the diffusion of a knowledge

* The date and place of Mr. Martyn's death, as given in Mr. Sargent's Life, are, I find, officially confirmed by the following extract of a letter from Mr. Morier, dated Constantinople, 3rd November, 1812: "I am concerned to have to state, for the information of the Honourable the Court of Directors, that the Reverend Henry Martyn, chaplain

of Cawnpore, died at Tokat, a town in Asia Minor, on his way hither from Tabriz, about the beginning of last month. I take the liberty of enclosing a letter for his sister, Miss Harriet Martyn, to whom I give the unpleasant intelligence. I have mentioned that the death of the Reverend Mr. Martyn happened on the 16th of last month."

of the Gospel through the Eastern world, cannot be rightly estimated; but he takes rank among the apostles of Protestant Christianity, not in accordance with what he did, so much as with what he attempted to do; for he ever strove mightily to accomplish the great and glorious ends which he had set before him, and never shrunk from any martyrdom of self.

That much of this martyrdom was a superfluous waste of that human happiness which, as far as we are enabled to see things in a glass darkly, is acceptable in the sight of the Almighty, will appear to most readers of this story. He seems, as I have already said, to have read one part of the Christian character with wonderful clearness and distinctness, but a dim suffusion veiled his eyes when he approached those other lessons which combine the beautiful with the sublime of the picture. Truly has it been said, but with no reference to the subject of this Memoir, by a modern writer, whose wise and tender utterances have reached me whilst I have been writing these pages, that "it is a great mistake to suppose that God can dispense with the cultivation of any of our powers. The man who systematically lets mind and body go to wreck whilst he cares exclusively for what he considers 'the interests of his soul,' is in a fair way to spend a joyless and loveless old age, and to lie at length in a forgotten tomb. Piety is only seen in its true strength and beauty in the harmony of all the powers. It sits as queen, but it is cheerless and joyless without its court. A cleanly, pure, robust body; a cultivated, well-stored, and penetrating mind; a large, tender, and sympathetic heart, as well as a pious, believing spirit, go to make old age honoured and blest."* Henry Martyn never lived to see the autumn of life, and assuredly he has not lain in a forgotten tomb. But the cardinal truth contained in this passage is not the less applicable to the story of his life. His errors were heroic, but they were errors. And his career, therefore, must be regarded as much in the light of a warning as of an example.

In the library of the University of Cambridge is to be seen a portrait of Henry Martyn, the bequest of Mr. Simeon; †

* "The Home Life; in the Light of its Divine Idea," by James Baldwin Brown, was sojourning there in 1810-11, before his embarkation for Persia. It

† This picture was painted in Cal-

cutta for Mr. Simeon, when Martyn

1812. and in the chancel of Trinity church is a monumental tablet bearing the following inscription :

THIS TABLET
IS ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF
THE REV. HENRY MARTYN, B.D.,
FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
AND TWO YEARS CURATE OF THIS PARISH.
HE GAINED BY HIS TALENTS THE HIGHEST ACADEMICAL HONOURS;
BUT COUNTING ALL LOSS FOR CHRIST,
HE LEFT HIS NATIVE COUNTRY, AND WENT INTO THE EAST,
AS A CHAPLAIN OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY.
THERE, HAVING FAITHFULLY DONE THE WORK OF AN EVANGELIST,
IN PREACHING THE GOSPEL OF A CRUCIFIED REDEEMER,
IN TRANSLATING THE HOLY SCRIPTURES INTO THE ORIENTAL LANGUAGES;
AND IN DEFENDING THE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN THE HEART OF PERBIA
AGAINST THE UNITED TALENTS OF THE MOST LEARNED MAHOMETANS,
HE DIED AT TOKAT, ON THE 16TH OF OCTOBER, 1812,
IN THE 31ST YEAR OF HIS AGE.*
THE CHIEF MONUMENTS WHICH HE LEFT OF HIS PIETY AND TALENTS ARE
TRANSLATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
INTO THE HINDOSTANEE AND PERSIAN LANGUAGES; AND
"BY THESE HE, BEING DEAD, YET SPEAKETH."

"PRAY YE THE LORD OF THE HARVEST,
THAT HE WILL SEND FORTH LABORERS INTO HIS HARVEST."

reached England only a few days before he closed his eyes on the world for ever. How deeply Mr. Simeon was affected by the first sight of the portrait, he has himself recorded in a letter dated the 12th of October, 1812. "On Monday I opened and put up the picture of my ever dear and honoured brother, Mr. Martyn. I had, indeed, after it was opened at the India House, gone to see it there, and, notwithstanding all that you had said respecting it to prepare my mind, I was so overpowered by the sight, that I could not bear to look upon it, but turned away and went to a distance, covering my face, and, in spite of every effort to the contrary, crying aloud with anguish; E. was with me; and all the bystanders said to her, 'That, I suppose, is his father.' And I think it probable, that if I had been his father, or his mother either, I should not have felt more than I did on the occasion. Shall I attempt to describe to you the

veneration and the love with which I look at it? No words that I can write will convey an adequate idea; nothing but your own tender mind can exactly conceive what I feel. I remember (indeed, can never forget) the look of a certain lady, when the thought of your going to India was last suggested to her. One might endeavour to describe the mixed emotions that were then depicted in her countenance; but it must have been seen in order to be understood and appreciated: so I should in vain attempt to describe what I feel, and trust I shall long continue to feel, in looking on that image of my beloved friend. In seeing how much he is worn, I am constrained to call to my relief the thought in whose service he has worn himself so much; and this reconciles me to the idea of weakness, or sickness; or even, if God were so to appoint, of death itself."

* It should have been "82nd year."

1805.

my surprise (for I could scarcely call myself acquainted with him), entered in a full, friendly, and flattering manner into the question of my intentions—with full confidence, he laid open to me the various plans which were in contemplation, gave me admission to all his papers, and by appearing to interest himself in my welfare, prepared me to listen to him with great attention. He expatiated on the great field of political employment now open in Hindostan, the necessity of many appointments and missions, the superiority, as he seems to think, of my claims, and the great risk, if not certain injury, of my quitting the scene of action. By holding out the offer of distinction, he gained the important outwork of desire, and the citadel of resolve was in danger of falling. It did not immediately yield, however, and notwithstanding all he said, I clung fondly to my rooted and long-indulged intention of returning to Calcutta and of paying my last respects to Lord Wellesley. There was, however, sufficient in what Malcolm said to induce me to reflect seriously on the step I should take. I did not converse with Malcolm again for five days, and in that period, the subject was ever in my mind, and I never experienced such irresolution on any occasion in which I had the power of self-decision. Exclusive of the reasons suggested by Malcolm for my remaining, others occurred to me which he could not mention. I have long, as you know, looked upon the political as my line of service, and although I have seen what people call native courts, and have passed over many countries, I have had the misfortune of being under men whose talents, knowledge, and character, or rather want of these, I could not admire; who gave no encouragement to my desire to learn; who, on the contrary, rather made me sick of my pursuit of knowledge. I have felt myself degraded by my situation, and instead of studying acquaintance with the natives, I have shrunk from notice as much as possible. My knowledge, therefore, is only that which I acquired in the Governor-General's office, and which, though highly useful, does not in itself qualify a man to be a political agent. The opportunity of acting under a man of Malcolm's talents and reputation, established knowledge, inquisitive genius and communicative disposition, promises advantages of the most solid and certain nature and of real importance. I could not, however, give up

my desire to visit Calcutta, and my second conversation with Malcolm ended in our agreeing that I should run down to Calcutta and return quickly. On the same evening, however, he strongly advised me not to go; and the next day we had a long conversation, which ended in my being very uncertain what to do. I think, however, clearly that I shall stay; but I never did anything with more reluctance. I long to see our glorious Wellesley before he quits us. Malcolm tells me that I cannot better show my gratitude to Lord Wellesley than by assisting in scenes in which he will always have great interest."

So after some further doubts and self-questionings he resolved to remain with the army and to take his leave of the "glorious Wellesley" by letter. "Malcolm," he wrote on the 11th of June, "who will manage all political concerns at head-quarters, has expressed a wish that I should remain on his account, expecting to derive more assistance from me than I fear he will. This subject fills my mind, and it is with very great difficulty that I can reconcile myself to the overthrow of my plans—plans which I have so long ruminated over with anticipated delight. I rest my chief consolation on Malcolm's character, and the useful knowledge that I shall obtain, whilst with him. It is my intention to cultivate his intimacy zealously. His advances to me have been very flattering. I foresee one thing; he is a likely man to give my mind a turn towards literary pursuits, which have scarcely ever entered my imagination—nay, he already has. He himself is an enthusiast." And, because he was an enthusiast, he had succeeded nobly in life. Because he was an enthusiast, he had discerned the fine qualities of the young civilian, in whom also there was a pure and generous enthusiasm, waiting only for opportunity to display itself in great and good deeds. There was something thorough about him that especially pleased Malcolm. Young as he was, he expounded his views, in favour of the prosecution of the "great game," with all the resolution of a veteran politician. Steeped as he was in admiration of Lord Wellesley, he was still more ardent in his attachment to the political faith which he cherished, and he could perceive and discuss the short-comings of the "glorious little man," which were then becoming apparent to the war-

1785—1800. party in camp. No man knew better than Malcolm the real state of things at Government House, for he was in close and confidential correspondence with Colonel Arthur Wellesley, and the letters which he then received plainly indicated that much toil and trouble and sore vexation had weakened the gallant resolute spirit of the Governor-General, and that he was not now what he had been in the earlier years of his reign. Malcolm and Metcalfe, in close confidential talk, bewailed the change; and still more bitterly lamented that Lord Cornwallis was coming out to India, to undo, as they said, the great work of his predecessor. Greatly as they differed in age, in experience, and in many important points of character, they were bound together by ties of strong political sympathy, and it was a mutual pleasure to them to discuss unreservedly the past, the present, and the future, of a conjuncture of events at that time unexampled in the history of our Indian Empire.

Birth and parentage.

CHARLES THEOPHILUS METCALFE was then in his twenty-first year. Born in Calcutta on the 30th of January, 1785, he was the second son of Major Metcalfe, an officer of the Company's army, who had amassed a considerable fortune, as fortunes were amassed, rapidly, in the days of Warren Hastings, when a lucrative contract was a sure road to sudden wealth. Having made his fortune, he did as others did, carried it away to spend in England, and took his place among the "nabobs" of the eighteenth century. He bought an estate in Yorkshire; canvassed, and with success, for the East India direction; and obtained for himself a seat in Parliament, in the good old days of Toryism and Pitt. As he always voted with the Minister, and had money enough to support a respectable position as a country gentleman, with a house in Portland-place, a baronetcy was not an unattainable object of ambition. So Major Metcalfe had not been many years in England before he rose up "Sir Thomas Metcalfe, Bart.;"* and what he owed, in the first instance, to the acci-

* These facts are stated without regard to strict chronological arrangement. Major Metcalfe was not created a baronet until his son Charles had been some years in India.

dents of fortune, he afterwards dignified by his own native worth. He was a man of high integrity of conduct, endowed with a solid understanding rather than with any brilliant parts, and if he could not command the admiration of the world, he always enjoyed its respect.

In their early boyhood, his two sons, Theophilus and Charles; Early education. were sent to a private school in one of the eastern suburbs of London—Bromley, beyond Bow, not far from the frontier-line of Middlesex and Essex; but after they had received, in worthy Mr. Tait's academy, the rudiments of their education, they were transplanted to Eton, where they boarded at the house of Dr. Goodall, afterwards head-master and provost of the college. There young Charles, or, *Academicè*, Metcalfe Minor, applied himself assiduously to his books rather than to cricket, to boating, or to fives. Over and above the Latin and Greek, which in those days were the be-all and end-all of public school education, Metcalfe Minor read, in his own room, a number of books, English and French, and improved himself by translating the latter. From the study of French he proceeded to that of Italian, and day after day, as his boyish journal declares, "read Ariosto." Even then he had promptings of young ambition, and day-dreams of a great Future. He was wont to pace the cloisters, and think of the days to come, in which he might make for himself a place in history as a great orator, a great statesman, a great soldier, or as the liberator of an oppressed race.* Of more robust and athletic pursuits we have no record under his own hand. But many years afterwards, worthy Dr. Goodall recorded that he "heard the boys shouting one day, and went out and saw young Metcalfe riding on a camel. So," he added, rather pleasantly than logically, "you see he was always orientally inclined."

* We have this on Charles Metcalfe's own authority. In a letter, written soon after his arrival in India, to a friend, Mr. Sherer (a name still of high repute in the Indian Services), the young civilian wrote of the days when he "heard the echo of his own footsteps in the cloisters of his much-loved Eton." "Ah, Sherer," he added, "those were days of real happiness. In those very cloisters has my youthful and ardent imagination planned to itself a life of

greatness, glory, and virtue—there have I been the orator, and discussed important topics in the Senate House—there have I been the statesman, prescribing terms to the wondering nations of Europe—there have I concluded peaces, commanded armies, or headed a party struggling for liberty; or, descending from these lofty views, there have I fancied myself, in the enjoyment of domestic happiness, the honoured patron of a neighbouring hamlet."

1800.

That an East India Director should determine to provide for his sons in the East was only in the common order of things. Major Metcalfe had made a fortune in India with no great trouble, and his boys might easily do the same. The best thing of all in those days was "a China writership." The next was a writership in Bengal. So Theophilus was set down for the former, and Charles for the latter. Theophilus was a high-spirited, rather precocious boy; and having, at a very early age, been allowed to taste the delights of English society, was reluctant in the extreme to be banished to Canton. Charles was not much more eager to go Eastward; but his unwillingness was of a different kind. He loved Eton; he was warmly attached to some of his schoolfellows; he loved his parents and his kindred, and he loved his country. But he could plainly see that there were the best possible reasons for his going to India; and so he submitted, with a good grace, to the painful decree. At the age of fifteen he was taken from Eton, and sent out to Calcutta. He went, doubtless, because his father had gone there before him; because Major Metcalfe, being an East India Director, was very properly of opinion that Patronage, like Charity, "should begin at home." But if the whole Court of Directors had ransacked England, Scotland, and Ireland, in search of the likeliest boy in the three kingdoms to grow into a serviceable Indian statesman, they could not have found one with more of the right stuff in him than in Charles Metcalfe.

1801.
Arrival at
Calcutta.

On the 1st day of the year 1801, Charles Metcalfe set foot on Indian soil, and was soon in the full enjoyment of the strenuous idleness of the cold season in Calcutta. He commenced his career at an interesting period of the history of the Indian Civil Service. The great reforms of Lord Cornwallis had purged and purified it. Men had good wages for good work, and they did their duty conscientiously and assiduously to their employers. The East India Company was still a trading company. It had all its commercial privileges intact. The business of providing the investment was still a part of the duty of its servants. But although they were called "merchants," "factors," and "writers" (as, indeed, they were long afterwards), the commercial duties of the Company's civil servants were dwarfed by the other responsi-

bilities which had fallen upon them. The traders of Leadenhall-street, sorely against their will, under violent protest, weeping and grimacing at their hard fate, had been beaten by inexorable circumstance into shape as princes and rulers of the land. Greatness had been thrust upon them. They were masters no longer only of certain factories upon the coast, but of three great Presidencies or Governments. They had armies, and councillors, and ambassadors at foreign Courts. The "pure mercantile bottom," on which they had been wont to sit, and to which they clung with all the dogged tenacity of their race, had, during the last few years, expanded under this mighty corporation into an imperial throne;

"What seemed its head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on ;"

and sorely bewildered it was sometimes under the pressure of this unlooked-for encumbrance.

The greatest trouble of Leadenhall-street, at this time, was Lord Wellesley. That ambitious statesman had vast schemes, which were but little appreciated in the City of London. Among them was one for the advancement of learning generally, but more especially among the Company's civil servants. The Directors, as I have already shown,* were very eager to promote the moral welfare of their young people in India; but as long as they wrote good hands, could cast up accounts with precision, and behaved with due steadiness and discretion, their honourable masters do not appear to have troubled themselves much about the intellectual elevation of the service. They had finished the old century well by sending off a long and well-written despatch, of which Charles Grant, the elder, is commonly supposed to have been the author, protesting against the habitual profanation of the Sabbath, and the general disregard of religion, which were said to mark the proceedings of their servants, and of society generally, in Bengal—most especially in the great metropolis of Calcutta. The charge, I am afraid, was too true. To use the words of a modern writer: "All the daily concerns of life went on as usual (on Sundays), with the exception, perhaps, that there was somewhat more than the ordinary abandonment to pleasure.

* *Ante*, Memoir of Lord Cornwallis.

1801.

At our military stations the flag was hoisted, and they who saw it knew that it was Sunday. But the work-table and the card-table were resorted to as on week-days. Christianity cantered to the races in the morning, and in the evening drove to a nautch." Against all this—against the habitual extravagance of the Company's servants—against the luxury which had grown up amongst them, and the evil habits of horse-racing, card-playing, and other fashionable indulgences—there was now a vigorous protest issued under the directing hands of one of the best men who ever sat in Leadenhall-street. "It is," said that famous despatch, "on the qualities of our servants that the safety of the British possessions in India essentially depends—on their virtue, their intelligence, their laborious application, their vigilance, and public spirit. We have seen, and do still with pleasure see, honourable examples of all these; we are anxious to preserve and increase such examples, and therefore cannot contemplate without alarm the excessive growth of fashionable amusements and show, the tendency of which is to enervate the mind and impair its nobler qualities—to introduce a hurtful emulation in expense, to set up false standards of merit, to confound the different orders in society, and to beget an aversion to serious occupation." And then, in a subsequent paragraph, we have the following—the logic of which, I confess, is much more convincing than any of the Leadenhall-street logic which I have quoted in a preceding Memoir: "Believing," says the despatch, "that the enjoyment of avowed honourable allowances would tend to promote, among other honourable effects, a due regulation of expense, the Company have, from such considerations, strained their own means to put their servants on the most liberal footing; but whilst they feel themselves weighed down by the civil and military charges of their establishments, they are still frequently assailed, in one way or another, by new applications for pecuniary concessions; and yet, at the same time that we hear of straits and hardships resulting from inadequate allowances, we not only discern evident marks of increasing dissipation in the general habits of European society in India, but in some a spirit of gaming publicly showing itself in lotteries and the keen pursuits of the turf."

Nothing could be better than this; but after-events unhappily proved that there was either a want of sincerity in it, or a want of capacity to view the whole question in a comprehensive spirit. The Governor-General was especially exhorted to look into this matter, and to do everything that possibly could be done to curb the licentiousness of his subordinates. But when he hit upon the best possible device for raising the character of the Company's civil servants, he met only with opposition and reproof.

At that time the Civil Service was recruited with boys fresh from school. A stripling from the fifth form at Eton was suddenly converted, in his teens, into an Indian administrator, and launched at once into a sea of temptation, at an Indian presidency, to sink or to swim, according to the degree of his own strength or of the power of the waves. How he managed "to fit himself for the public service," it was hard to say. His education was generally slender, and in its slenderness not of a kind to qualify him for the work of Indian administration. That good or bad angel of EXAMINATION had not at that time flapped his wings over the land. And yet, somehow or other, very good public servants had been, as the Court of Directors acknowledged, reared out of these adverse circumstances. Warren Hastings and John Shore, Jonathan Duncan and George Barlow—the Halhedes, the Colebrookes, Neill Edmonstone, and St. George Tucker, had ripened under that system; and Mountstuart Elphinstone was growing rapidly, and Butterworth Bayley and Charles Metcalfe were beginning to grow, when it occurred to Lord Wellesley that they would grow stronger and straighter if they were sent to College on their first arrival in India. And thinking of this, and of other palpable wants of the great country which he had been sent to govern, he conceived the idea of the College of Fort William.

It was said of old by one great poet of another, that he "did all like a man." Lord Wellesley did all like a man; and with a manliness almost gigantic. It was not in him to do anything on a small scale. When, therefore, he projected a College for the education of the younger servants of Government, he set the stamp of his individuality on such a magnificent design, that it fairly staggered the Company in London—

The College of
Fort William.

1801. "the ignominious tyrants of Leadenhall-street," as he called them soon afterwards—the "generous benefactors" of a later period of his career. But it is not improbable that the Court's despatch, quoted above, actually suggested the idea of the proposed institution. For it was as early as October, 1799, that he wrote to Mr. Dundas, saying: "I think it necessary to apprise you of my intention to adopt, without delay, a plan for the improvement of the Civil Service at Bengal in a most important point. The state of the administration of justice, and even of the collection of the revenue, throughout the provinces, affords a painful example of the inefficiency of the best code of laws to secure the happiness of the people, unless due provision has been made to ensure a proper supply of men qualified to administer those laws in their different branches and departments. This evil is felt severely in every part of this Government, and it rises principally from a defect at the source and fountain head of the service—I mean the education and early habits of the young gentlemen sent hither in the capacity of writers. My opinion, after full deliberation of the subject, is decided—that the writers, on their first arrival in India, should be subjected for a period of two or three years to the rules and discipline of some collegiate institution at the seat of Government." Having laid down, in outline, what he proposed to teach—the languages and laws of the country, the regulations of Government, &c., he expressed a hope that, by means of such an institution, habits of activity, regularity, and decency might be formed, instead of those of sloth, indolence, low debauchery, and vulgarity, which he said were "too apt to grow on those young men, who have been sent at an early age into the interior parts of the country, and have laid the foundation of their life and manners among the coarse vices and indulgences of these countries."

It was a word and a blow always with Lord Wellesley. He conceived the idea, he wrote a letter, he established the College. He did not wait to realise his magnificent conceptions to the full; he knew the importance of making a beginning. When Charles Metcalfe arrived in India, the great institution was in a crude inchoate state. The original regulations for the foundation of the College of Fort William had been published on the 10th of July, 1800; but Charles

Metcalfe, who arrived in India on the first day of 1801, was the first student to sign the statute-book; and he did not sign it until the 27th of April of that year. It would appear from his journals, however, that one great collegiate feature was in existence at an earlier date, for in the preceding months he frequently recorded the fact that he had "dined at College."* I conclude that he was the first resident member.

1801.

The novelty of Anglo-Indian life, for a time, was pleasing to young Charles Metcalfe, so also was its independence; and all the chief people of the Presidency, the Governor-General and Councillors included, opened their houses to him. But with the hot weather came weariness and exhaustion. The young civilian's spirits failed him; and before the month of June had been gasped out, he had written to his father, telling him that he hated India, and that all his happiness in life depended upon his being permitted to return home and obtain "a small place in Lord Grenville's office." Now, if Charles Metcalfe had been the son of a weak-minded mother, it is possible that her entreaties might have prevailed against the paternal judgment; but she was, fortunately, a lady in whom there was as much sound sense as good feeling; she saw at once that her son had written under a temporary depression of spirits, or, in the language of the day, "vapours," which would soon pass away; and her expressive answer was—a box of pills. "You may laugh at my sending them," she wrote, "but I think you are bilious, and they will be of great service. . . . You study too much. You should dissipate a little. On account of your health you should relax. Ride on horseback. When intense thinking is joined with the want of exercise, the consequences must be bad." The answer of Major Metcalfe was drawn from his own book of experience. "I remember well," he wrote, "my own feelings, when I was an Ensign, and had been in the country about three months. I one morning (in a fit of bile) waited on the commanding officer with an intention to resign the service and return to England. Fortunately for me, the conversation at breakfast took a pleasant turn, in which I bore an active part,

Early de-
spendency.

* "January 18. Dined at college.—
Saturday, 17. Dined at college, &c. &c.
Monday, April 27. Read and signed the
declaration, and was admitted into college; being the first ever admitted into the College of Fort William."

1801.

and a hearty fit of laughter got the better of my blue devils. I returned to my quarters with a determination to persevere." Indeed, it was a very old story. There is no incident with which biography is more familiar, than this early fainting at the outset of the great march to Fame.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for Charles Metcalfe that in those days there were no overland mails. Many months elapsed before he could receive an answer to his appeal; and before the parental replies reached Calcutta, the young civilian had begun to take a more cheerful view of life, and to think that he might do something to distinguish himself in India, though he still clung to the belief that there were better prospects before him in England. Even then his young ambition had been fired. Whilst yet only in his seventeenth year, he wrote in his journal, "No one possesses more ambition than I do; and am I destined to be great? If I quit this country, I may be; and it is one of the reasons for my desiring it so ardently. I cannot help thinking, should I hereafter be great, of the fervour with which my biographer will seize upon these slight memorandums, and record them to an eager public as a proof of my indulging in youth and in distant climes the idea of becoming a great character on the theatre of the world." This was written in October; but before the end of the year delivery came in the shape of active employment. Lord Wellesley, who perceived that the youngster had good stuff in him, emancipated him from the control of the College of Fort William, and appointed him an Assistant to the Resident at Scindiah's Court.

At Scindiah's
Court.

On his way to join his appointment, Charles Metcalfe fell in with the camp of the Governor-General, and obtained Lord Wellesley's permission to accompany him to Lucknow. There he caught his first glimpse of the traditional splendour of the East, and found that the reality even exceeded the romance. "Everything," he said, "recalled to my memory the 'Arabian Nights,' for every description of any such procession which I ever met with in history, even the celebrated triumph of Aurelian when he led Zenobia and Tiridates (Tetricus) captives, of which Gibbon gives an account, was completely beggared by it." From Lucknow, he proceeded to join the camp of the Resident at Scindiah's Court. This

1801.

high political office was then held by Colonel Collins—an early associate of Metcalfe's father, who spoke of him affectionately as his "old friend Jack Collins." But he had another name with the general community, who called him "King Collins," for he was a man of an imperious nature and an overbearing temper. Charles Metcalfe did not want temper, but he wanted tact; and he soon quarrelled with his chief. The old soldier resented the clever self-sufficiency of the young civilian, who argued and dogmatised, and was continually rubbing himself against the angularities of King Collins. So there was a rupture. Metcalfe asked permission to resign his appointment, and then returned to Calcutta.

It was well that he did so; for soon after his return to the Presidency, a seat was given to him in what was called "Lord Wellesley's office." A little cluster of the most promising young civilians was gathered together in Government House, and did much important confidential work under the superintendence of the Chief Secretaries, or sometimes of the Governor-General himself. It was the best possible nursery for infant statesmen, and there were few who did not profit by the culture. Great events were then taking shape in the womb of Time. We were on the eve of that great conflict of which I have already written—a conflict destined to change the entire aspect of our Eastern Empire, and to make the administration of Lord Wellesley the most momentous in the whole range of our Indian history. It was a great thing for young Charles Metcalfe to take even a humble ministerial part in these great transactions, under the eye of the Governor-General. Lord Wellesley was one to encourage well those who served him well. To the men who did not grudge their work, he did not grudge his praise. A minister, in high place, who is slow to recognise the good services of his subordinates, may be a very clever man, but he is not a great statesman. What this novitiate in Lord Wellesley's office did for Charles Metcalfe, at the turning-point of his career, it is almost impossible to estimate too highly. After a year and a half of this good training, he was thoroughly fit for active service of any kind, and eager above all things to prove his capacity for action. He had ceased to think of the opportunities of Lord Grenville's office.

Lord Wel-
lesley's office.
1802—1804.

1804.

During this residence in Calcutta, Charles Metcalfe became reverentially attached to Lord Wellesley; and the Governor-General, upon his part, conceived an interest in the young civilian which was never weakened by years. By this time the Governor-General had begun to discern that there was but little sympathy between him and the masters whom he served. His cherished scheme of the Calcutta College* soon excited opposition, which became more vehement as the project developed itself; and soon other acts, little appreciated in Leadenhall-street, increased the bitterness of the feud. But there was at least one man in the Court of Directors who recognised the great qualities of Lord Wellesley, and was well inclined to support him. This was Charles Metcalfe's father; a fact known to the Governor-General, which tended to increase the favour with which he regarded his young assistant. He knew that Metcalfe was eager to be up and doing; and so, in the full assurance that there was the right stuff in the youth, the Governor-General sent him to the great centre of action in the country between the Jumna and the Ganges.

For the "great game" had now commenced. General Lake's army had taken the field; and in the spring of 1804, Charles Metcalfe was appointed Political Assistant to the Commander-in-Chief, and despatched to join the army at head-quarters. On his way thither, travelling in a palanquin, he was set upon by a party of armed robbers, who despoiled him of everything that was worth taking, and well-nigh deprived him of his life. Abandoned by his bearers, he made an effort single-handed to resist his assailants; but, severely wounded and faint from loss of blood, he was compelled to desist from the encounter. Then staggering into the jungle, he laid himself down on the bank of a river, whilst the thieves were collecting their spoil. He has himself recorded how, as he lay there, he thought of

* The suppression by the East India Company of the College of Fort William, in Bengal, as designed by Lord Wellesley, was followed by the institution of Haileybury College, in Hertfordshire. The majority of the Directors recognised the virtue of the preliminary training, but thought that England was a better place for it than India, and that it would be better for the young writers to go out to India at a more advanced

age. But meanwhile the feeling in Calcutta against the opposition of the Court had grown very strong—how strong may be gathered from a letter in the Appendix, addressed by the Reverend David Brown to Mr. Charles Grant. They were friends and close correspondents; but Mr. Brown, who had been appointed Principal of the College, was in the matter an earnest Wellesleyite.

home and of his parents, and how at that very time they might be at Abingdon races. But he recovered strength enough to return to his palanquin to find the robbers departed, and his bearers returned. So he ordered them to proceed to Cawnpore.

There, under the careful and affectionate ministrations of his aunt, Mrs. Richardson, he soon recovered from his wounds, and proceeded to join the camp of the Commander-in-Chief. The General was a fine old soldier ; but he had his weaknesses, and among them an habitual contempt for civilians ; and, indeed, for much penmanship of any kind. He had an emphatic formula by which he expressed to those beneath him his desire that they should mind their fighting and not their writing. The presence in his camp of a boy-civilian, fresh from Government House, rather irritated him ; and, perhaps, the members of his Staff humoured the old soldier by sneering at the non-combatant clerk, who shared the pleasant excitements but not the dangers of the campaign. Young Metcalfe got some inkling of this, and quietly bided his time. An opportunity soon came. The army was before the strong fortress of Deeg. The storming party was told off, and the non-combatant clerk volunteered to accompany it. He was one of the first to enter the breach. This excited the admiration of the old General, who made most honourable mention of him in his despatch ; and, ever afterwards, throughout the campaign, spoke of him as his " little stormer."

It was soon after this that Colonel Malcolm joined the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, and took young Metcalfe into his councils. The war was then nearly over, for the treasury was well-nigh empty, and the Company were on the verge of bankruptcy. There was, however, one last blow to be struck. Holkar was still in an attitude of hostility ; but when the British troops drove him, as before narrated, across the Sutlej, and he was at last compelled to accept the terms offered to him by our Government, the " little stormer" was sent to convey to the Mahratta chief the assurances of our friendship and good will. He spoke modestly of this mission, and said that his task was an easy one ; but it required both temper

Visit to Holkar's camp.

1805. and tact, especially as the celebrated Pathan leader, Ameer Khan, was present at the meeting, and inclined to be insolent to the boyish English diplomatist, who had not by any means an imposing personal presence, and whose countenance could scarcely by any effort be made to discard its habitual expression of cheerfulness and benignity. "The conduct of Holkar and his chiefs," he wrote to a young friend in Calcutta, "was equally expressive of the highest delight, and made my mission a very pleasing and happy business. My task was easy, being in its nature only to convey assurances of friendship. . . . It was my duty to urge his immediate departure from the Punjab on his return to Malwa. I got from him a promise to move on the 13th, which he maintained to my surprise. His appearance is very grave, his countenance expressive, his manners and conversation easy. He had not at all the appearance of the savage we knew him to be. The same countenance, however, which was strongly expressive of joy when I saw him, would look very black under the influence of rage, or any dark passions. A little lapdog was on his musnud—a strange playfellow for Holkar. The jewels on his neck were invaluablely rich. . . . All his chiefs were present. Ameer Khan is a blackguard in his looks, and affected, on the occasion of my reception, to be particularly fierce, by rubbing his coat over with gunpowder, and assuming in every way the air of a common soldier. But for his proximity to Holkar he would have passed for one. I consider his behaviour to have been affectation. He had the impudence to ask from me my name, which must have been known to him; and his conduct was so evidently designed to bring himself into notice, that I felt gratification in disappointing the unknown impudent, and, answering plainly to his question, I turned from him and continued a good-humoured conversation with Holkar and Bhao Buskur. I was better pleased that I did so, when I learnt his name, for he had on a late occasion behaved with egregious impertinence. I have been very much gratified with the accidental mission, because, though of no importance, it is a little distinction. Lord Lake has made use of it to say more in my favour than I ever deserved, in a despatch to the Governor-General."

On the restoration of peace, Mr. Metcalfe was appointed an

Assistant to the Resident at Delhi, where the Mogul Emperor, Shah Allum, old, blind and infirm, still maintained the shadowy pageantry of a Court. The Resident was Mr. Seton, a civilian of the old school, whose chief characteristic was an overflowing courtesy and politeness, which sometimes wholly swept away all the barriers of sound sense and discretion, and exposed him to not unmerited derision. In any other man, the strong expressions of admiration with which he spoke of young Metcalfe's genius, might have been regarded as indications of discernment and prescience. But on the lips of Seton the language of flattery was habitual, and Metcalfe attached but little value to the praise of a superior, who had been represented in a caricature of the day as saluting Satan with a compliment, and wishing "long life and prosperity to His Majesty." This weakness had unfortunately free scope for exercise at Delhi, where exaggerated respect was shown by Seton to the Mogul. Metcalfe often remonstrated against this, and by his remonstrances greatly perplexed the Resident, who could not show all the deference he wished both to his old charge and his young friend. Metcalfe was soon sick of the ungenial work, which was even less profitable than it was pleasant. "I am with respect to health," he wrote in June, 1807, "as well as usual, and that, I thank God, is very well; in spirits, too, pretty well; and though the place is very dull, and I myself am no great enlivener of society, never fail to be merry on a favourable opportunity. I am tired of business, and long to have less to do—the nearest to nothing the better. . . . And now comes the dreadful tale. My finances are quite ruined, exhausted beyond any reasonable hope of repair. You know that I am very prudent; prudence is a prominent feature in my character; yet, ever since I came to this Imperial station, I have gradually been losing the ground which I had gained in the world, and at length I find myself considerably lower than the neutral situation of having nothing, and without some unlooked-for and surprising declaration of the fates in my favour, I see nothing but debt, debt, debt, debt after debt before me." But deliverance soon came. Certain new duties were imposed upon him, and his allowances were consequently increased. As these duties were of an administrative rather than a diplomatic character, the arrangement did

1806—1807.
The Delhi Assistantship.

1808. not much please him ; but he found consolation in the means it afforded him of extricating himself from debt. He determined to convert this addition to his salary into a sinking-fund for the payment of his debts ; and resolutely adhering to the design, he paid off his debts to the last sixpence without any foreign aid, and soon laid the foundation of a fortune.

The mission to
Lahore.

He was now on the high road to promotion. Some at least of the day-dreams of the Eton cloisters were about to be realised. There was, or there was supposed to be, a conjuncture which demanded the best services of all the best men in the country. The apprehensions which sent Malcolm to Persia, and Elphinstone to Caubul, suggested the expediency of a mission to Lahore ; and Metcalfe was selected to conduct it. In these days, it is no greater feat to go from Delhi to Lahore than to go from London to Scarborough. But in 1808 the Punjab was almost a *terra incognita* to us. We knew little or nothing of the "strange sect of people called the Sikhs." Some tidings had reached us of the rising power of a chief named Runjit Singh, who was rapidly consolidating by not the most scrupulous means an empire on the banks of the Hyphasis and the Hydaspes. In pursuance of the comprehensive scheme of defensive policy, which the rumoured designs of the French and Russian Emperors compelled us to initiate, Lord Minto determined to secure the good offices of the ruler of the Punjab, and to bind him to us by treaty-obligations. For this work he selected Mr. Metcalfe ; and seldom or never before had a mission of so much delicacy and difficulty been entrusted to so young a man.

Charles Metcalfe was only twenty-three years of age—an age at which at the present day many civilians of the new school first set their faces towards the East—when he went forth on this embassy to the Court of Runjit Singh. On the 1st of September, 1808, the mission crossed the Sutlej. On the 12th, Runjit Singh, who had been flitting about in a somewhat erratic fashion, as though he could hardly make up his mind how to act, received the English officers at Kussoor. It is not the custom in these cases to go to business at once. The first visits of Oriental diplomacy are visits of courtesy and congratulation. It is a kind of diplomatic measuring of swords before the conflict commences. "The Rajah," wrote Metcalfe,

“met us on the outside of a large enclosure, and having embraced all the gentlemen of the mission, conducted us within, where tents had been prepared for our reception. As a compliment to us, the Rajah, from his own choice, used chairs at this meeting, partly collected from our camp and partly from his own, upon which he and the principal Sirdars present, and the gentlemen of the British mission, were seated. This interview was prolonged by the Rajah beyond the usual time of visits of ceremony; but nothing of consequence passed at it. The Rajah did not enter much into conversation, and made only two observations worthy of remark. One was an expression of regret for the lamented death of Lord Lake, of whom he observed that it would be difficult to find his equal, for that he was as much distinguished by his gentleness, mildness, humanity, and affability as by his greatness as a military character. The other observation was in reply to one of his courtiers, who was remarking that the British Government was celebrated for good faith; upon which Runjit Singh said that he knew well that the word of the British Government included everything.” Great words—and a great fact in those days.

On the 16th, Runjit Singh returned the visit of the young English diplomatist; and three days afterwards, at another meeting, they proceeded to discuss the preliminaries of business, and on the 22nd negotiations were formally opened. In their general features, they very much resembled those which Elphinstone, a few months later, conducted at Peshawur. The English officer did all that he could to persuade the Sikh ruler that the British Government were eager to advance his interests, and that the proposed alliance was more to his advantage than to their own; and the Sikh ruler regarded this display of disinterestedness with some suspicion. “I opened the conference,” wrote Metcalfe, “by stating that the friendship which had happily existed between the Rajah and the British Government had induced the Governor-General to depute me to communicate some important intelligence, in which the Maharajah’s interests were materially concerned. I then mentioned that his Lordship had received authentic advices that the French, who were endeavouring to establish themselves in Persia, had formed the design of invading these

1808.

countries, and of seizing Caubul and the Punjab ; that his Lordship's first care was to give warning to the States which this intelligence concerned ; that, feeling the interests of the British Government and those of the Rajah to be the same, his Lordship had commissioned me to negotiate with the Rajah arrangements for the extirpation of the common enemy, and had appointed another gentleman to be Envoy to Caubul for similar purposes with respect to that country, who would in a short time, with the Rajah's permission, pass through this country, on his way to the place of his destination. I added, that these measures had been adopted by the Government in the purest spirit of friendship, and that it was evident that the interests of all the States in this quarter required that they should unite their powers in defence of their dominions, and for the destruction of the common enemy."

When the young English Envoy had finished his statement, the Rajah asked him how far the British Army would advance to meet the French ; and to this Metcalfe replied that it was our practice to seek the enemy, and that "no doubt the Government would send an army beyond Caubul." "But what," asked Runjit Singh, "if the King of Caubul should throw himself into the arms of the French?" "Why then," said Metcalfe, "we shall attack him as well as the French." But he added that it was "improbable that he would be so blind to his own interests ; for that the French invariably subjected and oppressed those who joined them ; plundered and laid waste their country, and overthrew the Government." "In the course of this conversation," continued the youthful diplomatist, "I endeavoured, in conformity to the instructions of the Supreme Government, to alarm the Rajah for the safety of his territories, and at the same time to give him confidence in our protection." To all of this the Rajah made frank and friendly answer ; but he said that it was altogether an important subject, that he wanted time to talk it over with his ministers, and that his sentiments would be expressed on the morrow.

So the Sikh statesmen took time to consider the proposals of the British Government, and the more they thought over them, the greater the suspicion with which they regarded them. The big words which Metcalfe had spoken about the

dangers to which they were exposed began to shrivel into insignificance. They could not bring themselves to believe that this remote and conjectural danger from the ambitious designs of the French was the real cause of a British mission being sent to the Court of Runjit Singh. And if it were so, it was not, after all, a matter that much concerned the Sikhs themselves. Runjit himself saw clearly that the English had their own objects to gain. He had his objects, too; and he might turn the British mission to good account. So he asked Metcalfe whether the British Government would recognise his sovereignty over all the Sikh States on both sides of the Sutlej. If the English wished to preserve their empire, he wished to consolidate his. But Metcalfe only replied that he had no authority to express the views of his Government on this subject.

It would be a work of time to narrate all the details of the protracted negotiations which then ensued. The Sikh ruler was full of jealousy and suspicion; and, therefore, he was very wary in his practice. He fenced and evaded with the greatest skill; and was continually watching for opportunities, which the young English officer never allowed him, of coming down upon him unawares, or striking him at a disadvantage. The fact is, that he thought Metcalfe had entered his country in the character of a spy, and that the negotiation of a friendly alliance was intended only to mask some ulterior proceedings of a hostile character. His conduct was distinguished by an amount of inquietude and restlessness, which every now and then verged upon discourtesy, if not upon overt insolence to the British mission, and it is not improbable that many a man in Metcalfe's place would have resented the strange bearing of the Sikh chief, and have broken up his camp to return to the British frontier. But, even at that early age, the beautiful patience, which at a later time so perfected in him the true heroic character, displayed itself to his own honour and to his country's good. He had been sent to perform a certain work, and he was resolute to do it in spite of all temptations to turn aside; and, therefore, he was slow to take offence, feeling that he might attribute to the barbaric ignorance and to the rude impulses of one, who had never known restraint, much which in an European Prince would have been wholly unaccountable

1808—1809. and not to be forgiven. When, in all courtesy and respect, Runjit ought to have been pursuing to a close the negotiation with the representative of the British Government, he was giving himself up to strong drink and to the unseemly exhibitions of dancing-girls, and giving no sort of heed to the important business before him. There was method, perhaps, in madness of this kind. He was evidently anxious to gain time, that he might see what would be written down in the great chapter of accidents, and might be guided to that which would best serve his individual interests.

So the year 1808 was fast wearing away, and Metcalfe still remained at the Court of Runjit Singh—now in one place, now in another. Runjit was pursuing his schemes of ambition, and meditated the conquest of the lesser Sikh States on the English side of the Sutlej. But the Government of Lord Minto had determined not to suffer the less powerful chiefs to be sacrificed to Runjit's ambition, and were now making preparations for the advance of a military force to the banks of the river. On the 22nd of December, Metcalfe personally communicated these intentions to the Rajah. He received the communication with apparent self-control; but after putting a few questions relating to the strength of the British force, and the position which it was to take up—questions to which Metcalfe was unable to reply—Runjit left the room, descended to the court-yard below, mounted a horse, and began caracoling about with what the young English Envoy described as “surprising levity.” But it was not levity. He was striving to subdue his strong feelings, and was gaining time to consider the answer he was to give to the British Envoy. After a while he returned to another room and took counsel with his ministers, who, when they rejoined Metcalfe, told him that the Rajah would consent to all the demands of the British Government.

But these were mere words. With characteristic instability, Runjit wished to withdraw them almost as soon as they were uttered. On the same evening he sent a message to Metcalfe, saying that the proposal of the British Government to send troops to the Sutlej was of so strange a character, that he could not finally announce his determination till he had consulted with his chiefs, and that he purposed to proceed for that purpose to Umritsur, and he requested the British Envoy to

attend him. But Metcalfe, though habitually of a placid demeanour, fired up at this, and earnestly protested against it as an insult to his Government. His resolute bearing had the desired effect. The negotiations were continued; but it was obvious that Runjit Singh was sorely irritated, and half doubtful at times whether he would try conclusions with the English. He had long been anxious to assure himself with respect to the real military strength of the British Government—most of all, what were the qualities of the trained native soldiers who constituted our Sepoy army. An unexpected incident gave him a glimpse of the knowledge which he sought. The negotiations had been protracted, without any positive results, to the month of February, when one day Metcalfe's escort of British Sepoys came into collision, at Umritsur, with a party of Akalis, or Sikh fanatics—half soldiers and half saints. There was a sharp conflict between them; but, after a little while, the steady discipline of the little band of trained soldiers prevailed, and the Sikhs broke and fled. This appears to have made a great impression on Runjit's mind. He saw clearly that the English, who could make such good soldiers of men not naturally warlike, were a people not to be despised. There were ulterior results of even more importance to history, but that which immediately followed was the conclusion of the treaty, which had been so long in course of negotiation. It was a treaty of general friendship and alliance between the British and the Sikh powers—a plain, straightforward, sensible treaty, unencumbered with details; and it lasted out the lives both of the Indian chief and the English statesman.

The manner in which Charles Metcalfe had conducted these difficult negotiations placed him at once, notwithstanding the fewness of his years, in the foremost rank of the public servants of the Indian Government.* From that time his fortune was

1809—1810.
Madras and
Gwalior.

* The thanks of the Government were conveyed to Mr. Metcalfe in the following words: "During the course of your arduous ministry at the Court of Lahore, the Governor-General in Council has repeatedly had occasion to record his testimony to your zeal, ability, and address in the execution of the duties committed to your charge. His Lordship in Council, however, deems it an obligation at the close of your mission, generally to declare the high sense

which he entertains of the distinguished merit of your services and exertions in a situation of more than ordinary importance, difficulty, and responsibility, to convey to you the assurance of his high approbation, and to signify to you that the general tenor of your conduct in the arduous negotiations in which you have been engaged has established a peculiar claim to public applause, respect, and esteem."

1810. made. On Metcalfe's return to India, Lord Minto invited him to Calcutta. The Governor-General was at that time about to proceed to Madras, in consequence of the mutiny of the officers of the Madras Army ; and he was so much pleased with Metcalfe, that he invited him to accompany the Government party, as Deputy-Secretary, to the Coast. After a brief sojourn at Madras, Metcalfe went to Mysore to visit his old friend, the Honourable Arthur Cole. In May, 1810, he returned to Calcutta, and was soon afterwards appointed Resident at Scindiah's Court, in succession to Mr. Græme Mercer. As he did not like the appointment, it was fortunate that he was not destined long to remain there. After he had resided some ten months at Gwalior, to which the Court had been recently removed from Oujein, Lord Minto offered him the Delhi Residency, in succession to Mr. Seton, who had been appointed Governor of Prince of Wales's Island. "I shall," wrote the Governor-General to him, "with (or without) your consent, name you to the Residency of Delhi. I know your martial genius and your love of camps ; but, besides that inclination must yield to duty, this change will appear to fall in, not inopportunately, with some information and some sentiments conveyed to me in your letter of the 3rd instant." And then he added, in a strain of kindly jocoseness, "If you ask my reasons for so extraordinary a choice, I can only say that, notwithstanding your entire ignorance of everything connected with the business of Delhi—a city which, I believe, you never saw ; and with Cis- and Trans-Sutlej affairs, of which you can only have read ; and notwithstanding your equal deficiency in all other more general qualifications, I cannot find a better name in the list of Company's servants ; and hope, therefore, for your indulgence on the occasion." I have read a great number of letters from Governors-General, offering high appointments to the officers of Government, but never one so pleasant as this—never one that so clearly indicated the personal affection of the writer for the man to whom it was addressed.

So, at the age of twenty-six, Charles Metcalfe found himself in possession of the high dignity and the large emoluments of an office coveted by men of twice his age and four times the length of his service. Yet he was by no means elated by his

good fortune. It is hard, perhaps, to form a just estimate of the habitual feelings of a dweller in India, so much is a man's cheerfulness affected by the climate; so great are the vicissitudes from a state of high animal spirits to one of feebleness and depression. The biographer should always consider the date of a letter written in India; but it will be no unfailing guide. The truth is that, by men who have much official work to do, private letters to friends in England are commonly written in a state of weariness and exhaustion; and, moreover, there is always something saddening in this communion with the old home; it suggests so many tender regrets and painful yearnings after unattainable bliss. It was not strange, therefore, that Charles Metcalfe should have written to England, from the Delhi Residency, to discourage one of his aunts from sending out her son to India. "Do not suppose," he added, "that I am unhappy or discontented. I have long since reconciled myself to my fate, and am as contented and happy as one far from his friends can be. I do not allow unpleasant thoughts to enter my mind, and if I do not enjoy what is beyond my reach—the inexpressible pleasure of family society—I at least am always cheerful and never unhappy. My father did what he thought best for me; and it is satisfactory to me to reflect that my career in India, except as to fortune, must have answered his expectations. It has been successful beyond any merits that I am aware of in myself." As he says, in the next paragraph, that he hopes to save 3000*l.* a year from his salary, I can hardly think that even Sir Thomas Metcalfe could have been much disappointed that his son could not do more financially at the age of six-and-twenty.

As time advanced, his spirits did not rise. He was still subject to fits of depression, if not to an habitual inward gloom. He felt that he was a solitary man. "I shall never marry," he said. "My principal reason for thinking that I positively shall never marry, is the difficulty of two dispositions uniting so exactly as to produce that universal harmony which is requisite to form the perfect happiness that is indispensable to make the married state desirable." But his affections were very warm. He had already formed some strong friendships in India, which lasted all his life; and now at Delhi, though he had many acquaintances and he was over-

1811—12. run with guests at the Residency (for his hospitality was unstinting), he had no familiar and cherished companions with whom to interchange the inmost feelings of the heart. Some temporary alleviation came in the shape of a visit from his younger brother, Thomas Metcalfe,* who had come out to India in the Bengal Civil Service, and whom, after leaving College, Lord Minto had sent up to Delhi to act as an Assistant to the Resident. But he appears after a while, if his correspondence is to be trusted, to have subsided into his old melancholy ways. The following extracts from letters to his aunt, Mrs. Monson, give his own account of the state of his mind: "I cannot say," he wrote in one letter, "that I approve of the plan of sending children out to India for all their lives. There is no other service in which a man does not see his friends sometimes. Here it is perpetual banishment. There was a good reason for sending sons to India when fortunes were made rapidly, and they returned home. But if a man is to slave all his life, he had better do so, in my opinion, in his own country, where he may enjoy the society of his friends, which I call enjoying life. Do not suppose that I am discontented and make myself unhappy. It is my fate, and I am reconciled to it. . . . But can anything be a recompense to me in this world for not seeing my dear and honoured father, from the days of my boyhood to the day of his death—and, perhaps, the same with regard to my mother? I think not—decidedly not!" Again, in another letter, he said: "I cannot describe to you how much I am worked, and if I could, there would be no pleasure either to you or me in the detail. I will, therefore, pass over that for a while, and endeavour to forget my plagues. Tom arrived here on the 18th. I am very much pleased with him, and think him a superior young man. Here he and I are together, and here we shall remain for many a long year consoling each other as well as we can for the absence of all other friends. . . . I shall see you, I hope, in eighteen years!" And again, a few months later: "It is very kind of you to wish me home, and I assure you that I wish myself at home most ardently. Nevertheless, as the sacrifices which a man must make who comes to India have been made for the most part

* Afterwards Sir Thomas Metcalfe, for some time Resident at Delhi.

already, I do not mean to return to England to struggle with poverty, or to be forced to draw tight my purse-strings. The sacrifice that I have made, I consider great. The recompense that I propose to myself is to have a competency—not merely for my own expenses, but to enable me to assist others without reluctance or restraint. . . . I am become very unsociable and morose, and feel myself getting more so every day. I lead a vexatious and joyless life; and it is only the hope of home at last that keeps me alive and merry. That thought cheers me, though writing to any of you always makes me sad.” It is not very easy to believe that Charles Metcalfe was ever “unsociable and morose.”

When Lord Minto returned to England he left Charles Metcalfe still at the Delhi Residency, and Lord Hastings found him there. There were stirring times then before the Government of India—the necessary after-growth of the sudden winding-up of the great game of Lord Wellesley’s time. Few men were better acquainted with the politics of Upper India than the Delhi Resident, and the statesmen by whom Lord Hastings was surrounded were eager to obtain an expression of his views. They were strongly in favour of a “settlement.” He knew that until vigorous measures had been taken to crush the Pindarrees, and to place upon a more satisfactory footing our relations with the substantive Mahratta States, there could be only a cry of “Peace, Peace!” where there was no peace. He drew up, therefore, some important State papers for the use of Lord Hastings, and, whether the Governor-General were or were not moved by him, it is very certain that the course pursued was in accordance with the views and recommendations of Charles Metcalfe.

And it is certain that such were the clearness and comprehensiveness of Metcalfe’s views, and such the precision with which he expressed them, that the Governor-General saw plainly that it would be to his advantage to have such a statesman at his elbow. But there was some active diplomatic business yet to be done by the Delhi Resident. In the great political and military transactions which distinguished the administration of Lord Hastings, Metcalfe played an important part. The task which was set him did not in the sequel involve the rough work which fell to the share of

Diplomacy in
Rajpootana.

1817—1819. Elphinstone and Malcolm; but it demanded the exercise of no little address. It was his to bring the great Patan chief, Ameer Khan, to terms;* to induce him to disband his levies and restore the tracts of country which he had taken from the Rajpoots. It was his also to bring all the great Rajpoot chiefs into friendly alliance with us; and though the conduct of one or two of them was of a slippery and evasive character, they were all finally persuaded that it was really to their interest that they should be brought under British protection. This done, and the war concluded, Charles Metcalfe accepted the offer of a place in the Executive Government, which had been made to him by Lord Hastings, and prepared, in the cold weather of 1818-19, to assume the office of Political Secretary, in succession to Mr. John Adam, who had been elevated to a seat in Council.

Departure
from Delhi.

He turned his back upon Delhi with a sigh. He left behind him many dear friends. He loved the work that had been entrusted to him, because there was great scope for beneficent action, and he felt that he had not exerted himself in vain. In after years, he looked back with pardonable pride at the results of his administration. "Capital punishment," he said, "was almost wholly abstained from, and without any bad effect. Corporal punishment was discouraged, and finally abolished. Swords and other implements of intestine warfare, to which the people were prone, were turned into ploughshares, not figuratively alone, but literally also; villagers being made to give up their arms, which were returned to them in the shape of implements of agriculture. Suttees were prohibited. The rights of Government were better maintained than in other provinces, by not being subjected to the irreversible decisions of its judicial servants, with no certain laws for their guidance and control. The rights of the people were better preserved, by the maintenance of the village constitutions, and by avoiding those pernicious sales of lands for arrears of revenue, which in other provinces have tended so much to destroy the hereditary rights of the mass of the agricultural community."

The Political Secretaryship of the Indian Government is a

1819.
The Political
Secretaryship.

* This was the chief on whose pretentious, insolent manner towards Metcalfe, on the occasion of his visit to Holkar's camp in 1805, the young civilian commented in a letter quoted at page 390.

high and important office; one that had been, and has since been, held by men second to none in the public service. Barlow, Edmonstone, and John Adam had been Metcalfe's predecessors, and had each in turn passed on from the Secretaryship to a seat in the Supreme Council. But those who knew Metcalfe best, doubted whether the place would suit him; and he soon came to doubt it himself. Among others, Sir John Malcolm wrote to him, saying: "Had I been near you, the King of Delhi should have been dissuaded from becoming an executive officer, and resigning power to jostle for influence. But you acted with high motives, and should not be dissatisfied with yourself." But Metcalfe was dissatisfied with himself. He had no reason to complain of anything in his intercourse with Lord Hastings, who was always thoroughly a gentleman, with unflinching kindness of heart and courtesy of manner. Their ministerial relations were of the most friendly, and to Metcalfe of the most flattering, kind; for if the Governor-General did not always adopt the suggestions, or if he sometimes altered the work of his Secretary, he explained his reasons, with such urbane consideration for the feelings of his subordinate, that the most sensitive mind could not be hurt. Officially he was not tried, as some men are tried, sorely; and socially his position was all that could be desired. He had many dear friends in Calcutta. He renewed his pleasant intimacy with some old companions of his youth, and he formed some new connexions, which were a solace to him to the end of his days. But still he did not like this ministerial employment. He had been King so long that it was irksome to him to be dwarfed into a Wuzeer.

So he longed to escape from Calcutta, from the Council-Chamber, and from the elbow of the Governor-General; and he looked wistfully into the Future. "I recognise in all your letters," said Sir John Malcolm, "the unaltered Charles Metcalfe with whom I used to pace the tent at Muttra and build castles; our expenditure on which was subject neither to the laws of estimate nor the rules of audit." And now, though at a distance from each other, they began castle-building again. Malcolm was meditating a return to England, and he was eager to make over the administration of Central India to his friend. Another high civil officer, who had the charge of a

1819. contiguous tract of country, was also about to retire from his post ; and it was considered whether those two great administrative fields might not be conjoined and placed together in Metcalfe's hands. "The union of Malcolm's charge and Marjoribanks'," he wrote in a rough pencil note on the face of a letter from Mr. Adam, "would be grand indeed, and make me King of the East and the West."

So, full of this thought, Charles Metcalfe sat down and wrote a long letter to Lord Hastings, in which, after describing the arrangement which might be made, on the resignation by Malcolm and Marjoribanks of their several charges, he said : "When I reflect on the respectability, emoluments, luxury, comforts, and presumed prospects of my present situation, on the honour of holding a place so near your Lordship's person, combined with the enjoyment of continual intercourse with your Lordship, and on the happiness conferred by your invariable kindness, I cannot satisfy myself that I act wisely in seeking to be deprived of so many advantages in order to undertake arduous duties of fearful responsibility. It is very possible, I think, that if your Lordship should indulge my wishes, I may hereafter repent of them ; but at present I am under the influence of the following considerations. After a sufficient experience, I feel that the duties of the Secretary's Office are not so congenial to me as those which I have heretofore performed. I see reasons to doubt my qualifications for this line of service. I think that many persons might be found who would fill the office more efficiently ; and I fancy that I could serve your Lordship better in a situation, such as I have described, nearly resembling that which I formerly held." The project was favourably received by the Governor-General, and Metcalfe became so sanguine that ere long it would receive definitive approval, that he wrote to his friend Mr. Jenkins, saying that Lord Hastings designed that it should take effect, and inquiring "the best way of getting speedily to Mhow in November or December."

But this "Kingship of the East and the West" was not in store for him. A few weeks passed away, and a new field of labour began to expand itself before him. "I have given up," he again wrote to Mr. Jenkins, "the idea of succeeding Malcolm and erecting my standard on the Nerbudda, in order to

go to another field, not so extensive, more compact, and more comfortable, and offering a prospect of greater leisure. It is a bad sign, I fear, that for these reasons I think it preferable. I look upon it as a sort of retirement for the rest of my service in India. I have seen enough of the Secretaryship to know that the respectability and satisfaction of those stations depend upon circumstances beyond one's control; and though under some circumstances I should prefer my present situation to any other, I shall quit it without any desire of returning to it, and without much wish of ever having a seat in Council—were it not for the name of the thing, I should say without any wish. This state of feeling I have gained by coming to Calcutta; and it is fortunate that it is so, for I have no chance whatever of a seat in Council at any time.”

There was in all this a great deal of erroneous forecast; not the least error of all that he was going to a comfortable appointment. The situation before him was that of Resident at Hyderabad, in the Deccan. It was a first-class Political Office, equal in rank and emolument to that which he had quitted in Hindostan. The present incumbent, Mr. Henry Russell,* was one of the ablest officers in the service. He was a friend, connected too by marriage with Metcalfe, and had been for some time endeavouring to persuade the Political Secretary to succeed him. “I always thought,” wrote Mr. Russell, “that you would regret the change from Delhi to Calcutta. It can hardly be long before you are placed in Council; but if this should not be the case, and you should continue desirous of returning to your own line, I should be delighted to deliver this Residency into your hands. You will find an excellent house, completely furnished; a beautiful country, one of the finest climates in India; and when the business which now presses has been disposed of, abundance of leisure to follow your personal pursuits.” In another letter the same writer said: “In point of magnitude your situation in Malwah will certainly be superior to this Residency; but you may do as much real good, and acquire as much real importance here, as you could there. The office now proposed will be great, by adding many things together; at Hyderabad

* Afterwards Sir Henry Russell. Metcalfe's elder brother had married Mr. Russell's cousin.

1820. it will be compact and considerable in itself, and will afford, for several years to come, an ample field for the exertions of a man of talent and benevolence. As to personal convenience, there can be no comparison. In Malwah you will have no time to yourself, and you will either be wandering about the country, which is always irksome when it is perpetual, or you will have to build and furnish a house, at the expense certainly of not less than a lakh of rupees, out of your private fortune. At Hyderabad; after the first six months, when you have looked thoroughly into everything, you will find, compared with what you have been accustomed to, little to give you trouble; at least half of your time will be at your disposal, and you will step at once, without care and expense, into a house completely furnished, and provided with every accommodation." These many-sided arguments prevailed. Looking on this picture and on that, Metcalfe began to incline towards the Hyderabad Residency. When Mr. Russell resigned, the appointment was offered to him; and he accepted it without much hesitation.

He parted from Lord Hastings on the best possible terms. The Governor-General wrote him a letter, expressive both of public and private friendship. "And now, my dear sir, for yourself," he said, after dwelling on political business, "let me assure you that I have been duly sensible of your kind and cordial attachment, and that it is with earnest prayers for your welfare that I wish you all possible prosperity and comfort. We shall not meet again in India, and the chances for it in Europe must, considering my age, be small; but I shall rejoice in hearing from you, and you will believe that I remain yours, faithfully, HASTINGS."

The Hyderabad
Residency.

Towards the end of the year 1820, accompanied by a few young friends who had been appointed his assistants, Charles Metcalfe set out for Hyderabad. His correspondence with his predecessor had supplied him with good substantial information relating to the state of the country. But he found, upon the spot, that the disorders of which he had heard were more deeply seated than he had imagined. The Nizam had borrowed from an extensive banking-house at Hyderabad large sums of money at high interest, for the payment of his troops and other current expenses of his Government. The

1821.

result was, that his ministers were compelled to resort to many acts of oppression and injustice to wring money from the people to keep the machinery of the State from altogether suspending its action. It was plain that the interference of the British Government had long been imperatively demanded. Something had already been done; but something also remained to be done. "The more I see of the Nizam's country," June 14. wrote Metcalfe, after some six months' experience, "the more I am convinced that, without our interposition, it must have gone to utter ruin, and that the measures which have been adopted were indispensably necessary for its continued existence as an inhabited territory. As it is, the deterioration has been excessive; and the richest and most easily cultivated soil in the world has been nearly depopulated, chiefly by the oppressions of Government. It will require tender nursing. The settlements are advancing. The moderate revenue, which it has been found necessary to receive in many instances, has greatly disappointed the Government, which, not convinced by the depopulation of villages in consequence of ruinous extortion, would have persisted in the same unprincipled course until the rest were depopulated also. The loss of revenue, if confidence be established by the settlement, will be but temporary. In some of the settlements, on which the assessments for the first year are the lowest, they are doubled and trebled, and in some instances quadrupled and quintupled, in the period—generally five years—for which the settlements are concluded. Such are the productive powers of the soil, that I have no doubt of the propriety of the increase where it occurs to that extent, the assessments for the first year having been made uncommonly low from local circumstances affecting the particular cases. After the conclusion of the settlement, one measure more, and I think only one, will be necessary, and to that I conceive our interference ought to be limited. We must preserve a check on the native officers of the Government, to provide that they do not violate the settlement, otherwise they certainly will; in which case it would be better that it had never been concluded, as it would then, by giving false confidence, furnish the means of additional extortion, and would effectually destroy the very foundation of our probable success, which is the reliance put on our faith

1821.

and guarantee. I therefore propose, with the assent of the Nizam's Government, to employ the assistants of the Residency and some of the best qualified of the Nizam's officers in different divisions of the Nizam's territory, for the purposes of checking oppression and violation of faith on the part of the officers of Government, securing adherence to settlements, taking cognisance of crimes, and looking after the police, especially on the frontiers, on which point I receive continual complaints from the neighbouring Governments. These officers should take no part in the collection of the revenues, nor in the general administration of the country; neither should the farms of the Nizam's Government be invaded. The officers should not have any peculiar official designation, founded on their duties, lest it should be considered as a partial introduction of our rule; and if at any time, from good schooling or rare goodness, there should be reasonable ground of hope that a district could be managed safely without such a check, I should think it a duty to withdraw the officer from that district, though I have no expectation, I confess, that such is likely to be the case. In order to save expense to the Nizam's Government, the number of divisions should be small—six or seven in all. This would make each of them very extensive, but not, I hope, too much so for the performance of the duty. They ought to be continually in motion (the officers, I mean), and the Resident ought to be frequently in motion also, to observe the state of the several divisions. I hope that this measure will be approved, for on it all my hopes of successful reform in the Nizam's country are built. Without it they will fall to the ground. It appears to me to be the only way of preserving the Nizam's Government in all its parts entire, with the addition of the check of European integrity, which can at any time be removed without damaging any other part of the edifice, if at any time it can be dispensed with. If the Nizam's officers were allowed to go on without some such check, it would soon end, I think, in our being compelled to take the country entirely into our own hands."

The great loan question.

But all the nursing in the world could do nothing, so long as there remained the great cancer of the debt to eat into the very life of the State. The English money-lenders had got fast hold of the Nizam and his minister. They were friends

of the Resident and friends of the Governor-General ; but the former determined to rescue the country from their grasp. He knew that it could not be done without sore travail ; he knew that he would lose many friends and make many enemies ; and that the cordial support of the Government was little likely to be obtained. Sir John Malcolm had written to him, saying : " Every step that you take to ameliorate the condition of the country will be misrepresented by fellows who have objects as incompatible with public virtue and good government as darkness is with light. . . . You have to fight the good fight, and to stand with the resolute but calm feelings such a cause must inspire against all species of attacks that artful and sordid men can make, or that weak and prejudiced men can support. . . . I am quite confident in your ultimate triumph, though I expect that you will have great vexation and annoyance."

And truly he had ; but much as it cost him, he was resolute to go through it to the end. It was the sorest task that he ever set himself, for he was a man of warm affections, and it cut him to the heart to array himself against the personal interests of his friends. But he felt that, in the emergency that had then arisen, the very life of the Hyderabad State hung upon his independent action. He was determined to inquire, where inquiry must of necessity have been exposure, and to cut off the stream from which so much had been poured into the coffers of his friends. It is a long story. The great banking-house of William Palmer and Company suffered greatly by Metcalfe's sturdy uncompromising conduct ; and for a while he fell under the displeasure of the Governor-General. But Lord Hastings had too many good qualities of head and heart not at last to do justice to a public servant who had striven only for the public good.

The history of these transactions is recorded in many folio volumes. Never, perhaps, was a greater flood of controversy let loose to bewilder the judgments of men ; never did partisanship stream forth in more heady currents than when the subject of the Hyderabad Loans was discussed in public papers, in private pamphlets, and on the proprietary platform of the East India Company. This is not the pleasantest part of the story of Metcalfe's life ; but there is nothing in the

1821.

whole of it more illustrative of the sturdy independence and honesty of his character. His private correspondence with Lord Hastings has been published. It cannot be given here in detail; but in the following passage of a letter to the Governor-General, there is so much that bears undoubted witness to the fact that it was a sore trial and travail to the Hyderabad Resident to undermine and to fire the train that was to explode the prosperity of so many of his friends. He was accused of hostility to the house of William Palmer and Company. To this he replied: "I am at a loss what to say to this, for I know not whence such an idea can have arisen. Excepting Mr. W. Palmer, the European partners of that firm were my friends before I came to Hyderabad. Mr. W. Palmer's brother, Mr. John Palmer, has been my much esteemed and warm friend for the last twenty years; and Mr. William Palmer himself is one of those men so amiably constituted by nature, that it is impossible to know ever so little of him without feeling one's regard and esteem attracted. There is no family at Hyderabad with which I have so much intercourse as Sir William Rumbold's. Mr. Lambe, one of the partners, accompanied me in his medical capacity as acting-surgeon of the Residency during my tour from Hyderabad to this place, and in every respect on the most intimate and confidential footing. Since I came to this place I have accepted, without hesitation, as a personal favour from Mr. Hastings Palmer, the head of the branch established at this place, the loan of a house which I occupied till I could otherwise accommodate myself. I may add, that I have lately given my assent to extraordinary exactions, proposed by the Minister, for the purpose of meeting the demands of that firm on the Government, which the Minister would not attempt without my concurrence. All these circumstances, I venture to say, would naturally indicate to the public mind feelings the very reverse of hostile; and I am so unconscious of any appearances that could have justified, in Shroffs or any others, an inference of adverse sentiment, that, notwithstanding the apparent presumption of disputing the accuracy of Sir William Rumbold's apprehension on a point on which he ought to be so well informed, I am much inclined to doubt the existence of such an impression; to ascribe whatever losses the house

Aurangabad.

may have sustained to other causes, and to attribute Sir William Rumbold's persuasion on the subject to artful misrepresentations industriously conveyed to him, for purposes distinct from the concerns or interest of the firm. I could conscientiously deny the existence, on my part, of a shadow of ill will; but I might deceive your Lordship were I to stop here. I cannot help entertaining sentiments regarding the transactions of that firm, which, as being adverse to their own views of their interests, they might possibly charge to the account of ill will. Those sentiments have been slow in growth, but strengthen as I see more of the state of affairs in this country. I lament that Messrs. W. Palmer and Company have grasped at such large profits in their negotiations with the Nizam's Government as place his interests and theirs in direct opposition. I lament that they have succeeded in conveying to your Lordship's mind an exaggerated impression of services to the Nizam's Government, which obtains for them on public grounds your Lordship's support, in a degree to which they do not seem to others to be entitled—support which for any ordinary mercantile transactions would be wholly unnecessary. I lament that they are so sensible or fanciful of their weakness on every other ground as to be drawing on your Lordship's personal favour on every occasion in which they apprehend the most distant approach of danger, extending their sensitiveness to the smallest diminution, from whatever cause, of their immediate profits—thus repeatedly forcing on the public the name of your Lordship as the patron of their transactions, whilst these are likened by the world in general to former pecuniary dealings in Oude and the Carnatic. I lament the connexion between them and Rajah Chundoolall, because it tends to draw them quite out of their sphere of merchants, and make them political partisans. It is scarcely possible that this can ultimately be beneficial to them. I lament their connexion with some of the most profligate and rapacious of the governors of districts, through whom their character, and, what is of more consequence, the British name, has become involved in detestable acts of oppression, extortion, and atrocity. I lament the power which they exercise in the country, through their influence with the minister; enforcing payment of debts, due to them either

1822. originally or by transfer, in an authoritative manner not becoming their mercantile character; acting with the double force of the Nizam's Government and the British name. I lament the continuance of their loan to the Nizam's Government, because it would be a great relief to its finances to discharge it. I lament the terms of the loan, because I think them exorbitant. I lament the concealment of the actual terms of the loan at the time of the transaction, and the delusive prospect held out, by which your Lordship was led to conceive it to be so much more advantageous to the Nizam's Government than it really was. I lament the monopoly established in their favour by the sanction and virtual guarantee of the British Government, because it deprives the Nizam's Government of the power of going into the European money-market, where, with the same sanction, it might borrow money at less than half the rate of interest which it pays to Messrs. Palmer and Company. I lament the political influence acquired by the house through the supposed countenance of your Lordship to Sir William Rumbold, because it tends to the perversion of political influence for the purposes of private gain. All these things I lament, not only because they are in themselves evils, but because they must in the end injure the firm itself. Individuals of it may snatch a hasty and splendid harvest, if they do not care for aught else; but the firm itself cannot continue to flourish on such a pinnacle, where it becomes an object for all the shafts of envy, hostility, and unjust opposition, as well as just objection."

Nothing more manly or more dignified, but within the limits of becoming respect to an official superior, was ever written. It was not lost upon the Governor-General, although it was long before he replied, and then only in a meagre letter. That fidelity which was the strength of Lord Hastings's character was also its weakness.* He was very faithful to his friends; and if he sometimes erred in suffering the man to prevail over the ruler, and supported not wisely but too well

* In the popular literature of my boyhood, the "Percy Anecdotes," which appeared from time to time in little pocket volumes, held a distinguished place. The collection was subjectively arranged, and each volume contained a

portrait of the individual man or woman supposed to be the brightest exemplar of the particular quality illustrated. I remember that a likeness of Lord Hastings was the frontispiece of the volume devoted to Fidelity.

those whom he loved and cherished, it was because he lacked the sterner stuff which should have prompted him to restrain the kindness of his nature and the warmth of his heart, when they were likely to carry him into erratic courses. He was wounded to the quick by Metcalfe's conduct, which he seemed at first not wholly to understand; but afterwards some new light began to dawn upon him, and he saw that this matter of the connexion of the Hyderabad State with the mercantile house was something far worse than he had suspected. One result of Metcalfe's investigations had been that he had satisfied himself that some of the former members of the British Mission, before his time, had been associated with Messrs. William Palmer and Company, in a sort of constructive partnership, which gave them a direct interest in the financial profits of the house. Metcalfe was slow to believe this; but when the conviction came upon him, as it did at last, with irresistible force, he was greatly disturbed in his mind; and he did not doubt that it was his duty to represent the circumstance to the Governor-General. In this difficulty he placed himself in confidential communication with two of his friends and brother civilians in Calcutta. The one was Mr. John Adam, then a member of the Supreme Council; and the other was Mr. George Swinton, who had succeeded Metcalfe in the office of Political Secretary. Both were able and honest men—distinguished members of that new class of Civil Servants, who had by this time nearly displaced altogether the generation by whom private trade and public service were not regarded as incompatible. It was then determined that Mr. Adam should, in the first instance, avail himself of a convenient opportunity to make a private statement on this painful subject to the Governor-General; and he did so. Lord Hastings received it, as any honourable man would receive such a revelation; and though, if he felt strongly on the subject, he veiled his emotions at the time, it appears to be certain that the scales then fell from his eyes, and he began from that time to consider, in another light, the conduct of the Hyderabad Resident, and to feel more kindly towards him. The result was a reconciliation. Metcalfe was touched by the altered tone of the Governor-General, as reported to him by Adam and Swinton. He

1823.

was the least aggressive man in the world. He yearned to be in friendly relations with the whole human family. His own particular weakness was a propensity to serve his friends. He was very sorry for the pain that he had given to others, although he knew that he had only done his duty. So he grasped eagerly at the opportunity of reconciliation unexpectedly afforded to him by the manner in which Lord Hastings had received his last disclosure of corruption at Hyderabad. So he sat down and wrote a letter to the Governor-General—not penitential, not submissive; but frank, and sorrowful in its frankness, which drew forth fitting response, and the breach between them was closed.

Throughout all this long and most painful controversy, Metcalfe had been much sustained and solaced by pleasant intercourse with the beloved friends who had accompanied him to Hyderabad, and were assisting him in the duties of the Residency.* And when this trouble was at an end he was quite content. He was of a very trusting and affectionate nature, and he infused into his friendships a tenderness and devotedness, if not “passing the love of woman,” scarcely surpassed by it.† He was so happy, indeed, in these relations, that he was alarmed and disturbed by a rumour that he was likely soon to attain to that great object of general ambition, a seat in the Supreme Council. “Though I do not pretend to be insensible to the honour of a seat in Council,” he wrote to a friend, in October, 1824, “and the possible result of such an appointment, I should rejoice at the nomination of some other person, to put out of credit those rumours which I am told are on the increase in Calcutta regarding my elevation to that dignity, and of which the realisation would remove me

* This unfortunate business not only sorely distressed his mind, but also affected his health. He had a very severe illness in 1823, and was compelled to go to Calcutta for surgical and medical advice. Lord Hastings had then left India, and had been succeeded in the Government by Lord Amherst. After a sojourn of a few months at the Presidency he returned to Hyderabad, greatly benefited by the professional skill of Nicolson and Martin.

† “How the heart,” he wrote to one of his friends at this time, “rejoices

and bounds at the thought of the hand-writing of a beloved friend! And how it overflows with delight, how it warms, expands, and boils over, in reading the affectionate language which one knows to have been poured forth from a congenial heart. There are joys of this kind in the pure love which exists between man and man, which cannot, I think, be surpassed in that more alloyed attachment between the opposite sexes, to which the name of love is generally exclusively applied.”

1824.

from the present home of my affections and the ties formed in this sphere. I cannot think on this subject without pain, knowing as I do by experience that separation and removal to distant scenes, though they may leave unimpaired good will, regard, esteem, friendship, confidence, and even affection, are still fatal to that warmth of feeling, that intimacy of ideas, that delight of close and continual intercourse which constitute what I call the luxuries of friendship." But, although in no man were individual partialities stronger than in Charles Metcalfe, there was another side to his overflowing kindness of heart. He was the most hospitable of men, at a time when hospitality was one of the most prominent virtues of the English in the East. He kept open house at the Residency—often to his inconvenience and disturbance. He lamented, indeed, that he had not a residence a little way in the country, to which he could sometimes withdraw himself, with a few chosen friends.* But he looked upon hospitality as one of the duties of his high office; and it gave him infinite pleasure to think that he was contributing to the happiness of others.

But that which contributed most of all to his inward peace of mind, and to the outward cheerfulness, which was its visible expression, was an habitual sense of the goodness of God and an incessant feeling of gratitude to the Almighty giver. He was continually rejoicing in the Lord and lifting up his heart in praise and thanksgiving. "If I am really the happy man you suppose me to be," he wrote to one of his most intimate friends at this time, "I will tell you, as far as I know myself, the secret of my happiness. You will perhaps smile, for I am not sure that your mind has taken the turn that might induce you to sympathise. But be assured that I am in earnest. I live in a state of fervent and incessant gratitude to God for the favours and mercies which I have experienced throughout my life. The feeling is so strong that it

* He wrote to a friend in December, 1824, saying: "I feel the want of a country-house incessantly. As long as I live at the Residency it will be a public-house, and as long as the billiard-table stands the Residency will be a tavern. I wish that I could introduce a nest of white ants secretly, without

any one's kenning thereof, if the said ants would devour the said table, and cause it to disappear. But I do not like, either in deed or word, to make any attack on an instrument of amusement which is so much relished by some of us, who do not observe the consequences to which it leads."

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often overflows in tears, and is so rooted that I do not think that any misfortune could shake it. It leads to constant devotion and firm content; and, though I am not free from those vexations and disturbances to which the weak temper of man is subject, I am guarded by that feeling against any lasting depression." There are few who will not contrast such psychological manifestations as these with the gloomy and despairing revelations of the inmost soul of Henry Martyn. Except in a common devotion to duty, each according to his own light, no two men were ever more unlike each other than the chaplain and the civilian who meet together in this little gallery of portraits. The one delighted to suffer and to grieve; the other rejoiced in the Lord always, and was glad.

From the tranquil pleasures of the last year at the Hyderabad Residency, the turmoil and excitement over, Metcalfe was aroused by a summons to repair to a different part of the country, and to take upon himself the burden and the responsibility of more exciting business. The British Government in India were now again at war with their neighbours. The Burmese campaign was then in full progress; and in another part of the country preparations were being made for an offensive movement, on a grand scale, against the great Ját fortress of Bhurtpore, which, twenty years before, had successfully defied the British Army under Lord Lake. Lord Amherst was Governor-General; Lord Combermere was Commander-in-Chief. The political control of the expedition fell naturally under the Delhi Residency. In that important diplomatic office, Sir David Ochterlony had succeeded Mr. Charles Metcalfe at Delhi. Notwithstanding the difference of their ages, they had been fast friends for many years. The veteran soldier looked upon the rising civilian as a beloved son in whose prosperity he rejoiced, and of whose reputation he was proud. Metcalfe, upon his part, not unmindful of the old man's weaknesses, regarded him with tender affection, and admired his many noble qualities. In the emergency which had arisen, Ochterlony, without instructions from Government, had acted with a promptitude which they called precipitancy; they had repudiated his authority, and had arrested the forward movement which he had made to overawe the enemy, with insufficient means at his disposal. The brave

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old man had thought to accomplish by a sudden blow what in the opinion of the highest authorities demanded the utmost deliberation and all the resources of scientific warfare. This indiscretion was his ruin. It was determined that he was not the man for the crisis ; and Metcalfe, therefore, was requested to proceed to Delhi and to take his place. " Much as your services," wrote Lord Amherst to him, " are still demanded at Hyderabad, a nobler field opens for them in the scene of your former residence and employment, and I flatter myself that, unless there should be some impediment of which I am not aware to your proceeding to Delhi, you will readily afford your services in a quarter where they are now most urgently required, and where, I hesitate not to say, you can of all men in India most benefit your Government and your country." And, on the same day, his friend, Secretary Swinton, wrote to April 16, 1825. him, saying : " To prevent any misconception on your part, I am directed to state to you distinctly that the question of Sir David Ochterlony's retirement does not depend on your accepting or declining the proposal now made to you. If Government should be disappointed in its wish to avail itself of your services as his successor, it must then look to the next best man." Metcalfe felt, and was afterwards fully assured, that if anything could reconcile Ochterlony to his removal from office, it would be the fact that Charles Metcalfe was to be his successor.*

So Metcalfe accepted the offer that was made to him ; but he did so with a heavy heart. " I am out of spirits," he wrote to one of his chosen friends, " at the change in my prospects. I looked forward to the assemblage of all I love and a happy time during the rains—our labours in the country to be afterwards resumed. I cannot say that I shall be here for a month, as I must be prepared to start at a moment's notice—then to leave all behind. I wish that I could take you all with me, and then, although I should still regret our desertion of the fate of this country, my personal regrets would be converted into joyful anticipations." He said, in another letter, that he " wished he could have been allowed to rest in peace in the quarter that had become the home of his

* Ochterlony did not live to see his successor installed. He died, broken-hearted, before Metcalfe reached Delhi.

1826. risk is to be incurred at the end of our operations. It would have been better tried at the beginning. We might have taken the place in the first hour,* and we may take it now. But much as I shall rue it, I shall not be surprised if we fail. It staggers my opinion to find General Nicolls confident, but I cannot surrender my judgment even to his on this point absolutely, and I remain anxious and nervous. My opinion will not be altered by success, for I shall still consider it as the work of chance. We ought not to leave anything to chance, and we are doing it with regard to everything. Either our boasted science is unavailable or unavailing against Indian fortifications, or we are now about to throw away our advantage. I shudder both for Nicolls and for Sutherland. The former, I think, may perish in carrying on his difficult attack, and the ardour of the latter will carry him into unnecessary danger. God preserve them both, and save us from the not improbable consequences of our folly. You will have good news or bad very soon."

I do not know whether Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was in frequent communication with Lord Combermere, expressed these anxieties to the military chief, but on that same day the idea of an immediate assault was abandoned.† The breaching-batteries had not opened Bhurtpore sufficiently to admit the storming columns with good hope of success, so it was determined to ensure victory by mining. The attack was, therefore, delayed for a further period of twelve days. "We stormed on the 18th," wrote Metcalfe, a few days afterwards. "It was a glorious affair, and our success was most complete. . . . Complete as our success has been, we have had a narrow escape from a most disastrous defeat. We can now see that neither the right breach nor the left, both made by battering, was practicable. . . . Our first mines were bungling, but the latter were very grand. That to the right did a great deal of mischief to ourselves; for the people assembling in the trenches were too near, and the explosion of the mine took

* This was said of Sebastopol in 1855, and of Delhi in 1857.

† In the "Life of Lord Combermere," by Lady Combermere and Captain Knollys, there is a letter from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-

General, dated January 11, which says: "It having been ascertained that the batteries were not sufficient effectually to break the walls, a mine was commenced on the evening of the 6th," &c. &c.

effect outwards. It was a grand sight, and was immediately followed by that of the advance of the storming columns up the two great breaches. That on the left advanced first on the signal of the explosion of the mine, and that on the right immediately afterwards. Both mounted the breaches steadily, and as quickly as the loose earth and steepness of the ascent would admit, and attained the summit without opposition. It was a most animating spectacle." All this is mere history; but it is history written by Metcalfe, who saw the events which are here described. He accompanied the Commander-in-Chief into one of the breaches, but, thinking that he could better see what was going on from another position, he had separated himself from Lord Combermere. Soon after this there was an explosion, from which the chief had a very narrow escape. "I congratulate myself," wrote Metcalfe, "for many about the Commander-in-Chief were killed or bruised by the explosion of our mine, and his own escape was surprising."

So Bhurtpore was taken; and Metcalfe, when the work of war was at an end, placed upon the throne the boy-Prince whom his usurping uncle had endeavoured to thrust out from his rightful inheritance. The usurper was sent, a prisoner, to Allahabad. There was then some further work to be done in the principality of Ulwur, but it did not give much trouble, and Metcalfe returned to Delhi. Public affairs had gone prosperously with him; but in those which were much nearer and dearer to his heart there had been a fatality of the most distressing character. Within a short space he lost two of his most beloved friends. The first was Captain Barnett; the second was Mr. Richard Wells, a young member of the Bengal Civil Service, who had followed him from Hyderabad, and had been appointed an assistant at Delhi. These calamities cut him to the heart. "You will have heard long before this," he wrote to Major Moore, then secretary to the Hyderabad Residency, "of the second blow which, in a short space, it has pleased Almighty God to inflict upon us. One brief month included to us here the death of both Barnett and Wells. . . . We have been thoroughly wretched. The world is fast receding from me; for what is the world without the friends of our heart? You remember the three friends with whom I

1826. arrived at Hyderabad in 1820—Barnett, Wells, Mackenzie. I loved them all cordially. Where are they now? I cannot write on the subject. But I can hardly think of any other." In another letter, speaking of the death of Richard Wells, he said that he could hardly believe that the anguish of the desolated widow could be greater than his. "Were I to hear at this moment," he added, "of my nomination to be Governor-General of India or Prime Minister of England, I am sure that the intelligence would create no sensation but disgust." Ambition was ever heavy within him, but it was light in the balance against the great wealth of affection garnered in that warm human heart.

1827. He had now fairly earned a seat in the Supreme Council, and in 1827 it was conferred upon him. He then took up his residence in Calcutta, and was the most hospitable and the most popular of men. In those days the Supreme Council consisted of the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and two members of the covenanted Civil Service. Lord Amherst and Lord Combermere still held office. The civilian colleague, who welcomed Metcalfe to the Presidency, was his old friend, Mr. Butterworth Bayley—a man whom to know was to reverence and to love. He had risen to high office after a career of nearly thirty years of good service, chiefly in the unostentatious paths of the judicial department. His life had been a far less stirring one than Metcalfe's; but he had done his own particular work so well that few men bore a higher official reputation, whilst his unflinching kindness of heart and suavity of manner endeared him to all who had the privilege of coming within the reach of their genial influences. There was not one of his cotemporaries, perhaps, whom Metcalfe would sooner have found at the Board, nor one with whom he was likely to act more amicably in Council, notwithstanding occasional divergences of opinion.

Sir John Malcolm, who was then Governor of Bombay, wrote to Sir Charles Metcalfe, saying, "If you are my *beau idéal* of a good councillor, you content yourself with reading what comes before you, and writing a full minute now and then, when the subject merits it; and do not fret yourself and

perplex others by making much of small matters. Supposing this to be the case, you must have leisure, and if I find you have, I must now and then intrude upon it." But Metcalfe complained bitterly of the want of leisure. His life was a great conflict with Time. "My days," he wrote to a friend, "are portioned as much as possible, so as to enable me to do everything that I have to do, but in vain. Thursday and Friday are appropriated to Council, and nothing else can be done upon those days. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday are wholly devoted to the reading of papers that come in, and reading and revising those that go out; but all three are not enough. Saturday I take for writing minutes and revising despatches that go out, but find it too little. . . . You know how little I have written to you, to other correspondents still less; and yet the number of letters I have to answer is overwhelming. I have been at work for some hours now, but I have still twenty-five letters on my table requiring answers—six or eight from England. The want of time makes me half mad. . . . To add to my distress, people will have the kindness to breakfast with me. I am six miles away from them, but that is not sufficient. I shut my doors at all other times, come who may. I should be happy in my situation if I had more time for the performance of my various duties, but the want of it plagues me. The only resource left is to withdraw from society, and to work at night, but I shall tear my eyes to pieces if I do."—[*February 3, 1828.*] This systematic distribution of time was not found to answer; and so, a few weeks later, it was changed. "I have made," he said, "a great alteration in my mode of despatching my business. I reserve no day for any particular branch, but get over all, as well as I can, as it comes in. . . . The bundle of private letters which used to accumulate for the day in the week set apart was quite overwhelming and insurmountable. I now go pell-mell at all in the ring, and, as far as the new method has yet gone, it promises better than the last."—[*March 8, 1828.*] But the claims of society were more oppressive than the claims of official work. "It requires," he wrote, "a strong conviction of its being a duty to sustain me in keeping up society. Were I to follow my natural or acquired taste, I should fast sink into habits of seclusion when the company of friends is not obtain-

1828—29. able. I have nothing to complain of in society, and am happy enough when in it, but the making up of parties, issuing of invitations, &c., are troublesome operations, which harass me, and frequently drive me from my purpose. My conscience is continually reproaching me with want of hospitality and attention to individuals entitled to them. Many a man has come to Calcutta, and gone from it without once receiving an invitation to my house, which an indescribable something—anything but good will—has prevented until it was too late. My house, although it has more rooms for entertaining than any other house in Calcutta, is deficient in that kind of room which is requisite in large parties—the ones which, with respect to general society, would answer best for me, as killing all my birds with one stone. I am thinking of building a grand ball-room. It would not, I suppose, cost less, altogether, than 20,000 rupees—a large sum to lay out on another man's property; but I am not sure that it would not be cheaper than giving parties in the Town-hall—my other resource—each of which costs above 8000 rupees, and cannot, therefore, be often repeated. . . . I enjoy the society of our house-party very much, retaining, however, my old habits of seclusion from breakfast to dinner, which are seldom broken in upon, except by the Bushby's children, who trot up frequently to my loft in the third story, where I have my sitting-room and library as well as bedroom. It is, in short, the portion of the house which I keep to myself, and there they make me show them the pictures, &c., being privileged by infancy to supersede all affairs of every kind.”—[*May 18, 1828.*]

His distaste for general society seemed to grow stronger as time advanced, but to the outer world it appeared that he delighted in crowds. He gave splendid entertainments—large dinner-parties and balls—but he regarded these merely as “duties proper to his station.” What he thought on the subject may be gathered from his correspondence with his familiar friends; but in this I am inclined to think that there is observable a little of the exaggeration of temporary languor and depression of spirit. “I am withdrawing myself more and more from public intercourse,” he wrote in March, 1829, “and am only waiting an opportunity to shake off the remaining shackles and become entirely a recluse; since neither is

the performance of public duty compatible with a waste of time in society, nor is knowledge of men's characters in general compatible with that respect for them without which society has no pleasure in it. I am becoming every day more and more sour, and morose, and dissatisfied." Metcalfe had said this before. But he deceived himself to his own disadvantage. It was impossible to look into his kindly expressive face, or to converse with him for a few minutes, without feeling that there was in truth no sourness or moroseness in his nature. The fact is, that he lamented the loss of his old friends, and he had not at that time formed new associations of the same gratifying character. "The longer I live," he said, "the less I like strange faces, or any other faces than those of friends whom I love." It may be suggested, also, that the depression of spirit often observable in his correspondence at this time is attributable in some measure to his sedentary habits. He took very little exercise. Unlike Malcolm and Elphinstone, he was an exceedingly bad horseman, and everything of an athletic character was entirely out of his line.*

But, as time advanced, Sir Charles Metcalfe's position in Calcutta became more and more endurable, until he well-nigh regained his old buoyancy and elasticity of mind. In July, 1828, Lord William Bentinck had succeeded Lord Amherst as Governor-General of India. Metcalfe's first impressions of his new colleague were favourable to him, but somehow or other the two did not assimilate, and the councillor, who had some reason to think that Lord William had been prejudiced against him by the Rumbold party at home, said that the new Governor-General did not understand him, and preferred anybody's opinions to his. "This forces me," he said, "to record dissentient opinions in minutes more frequently than would be necessary, if we could co-operate with more sympathy." And then he added, with that union of candour and modesty which

* He occasionally rode out in the early morning within the spacious grounds of his mansion at Alipore, which he occupied during the later years of his Calcutta residence. He had a stout cobby white horse, which carried him with tolerable safety, and he generally wore top-boots. These had been for many years a favourite article of attire. I found among his papers a rough pen-and-ink sketch, contrasting the lower extremities of Sir Charles Metcalfe (in tops) with those of Lord Hastings (in hessians), the distinctive difference being by no means confined to the boots.

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made him so often express mistrust of himself, "I fear that there is a want of suavity, or a want of blandness, or some other defect about me, that is not palatable." This was, perhaps, the last cause in the world to which any one else would have assigned the want of cordial co-operation between the two statesmen which marked the first year of their connexion. But, whatever the cause, it soon passed away, and with it the effect. Lord William Bentinck and Sir Charles Metcalfe became fast friends and sympathising workmen. This alone would have made the latter a happier man. But there were favourable circumstances which touched him more nearly. He was gathering around him a cordon of friends. Lord William Bentinck went up the country, and then Mr. Bayley became Vice-President in Council and Deputy-Governor of Bengal. His time of office, however, having expired in November, 1830, Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded him. This enabled him to add to his "family" two members, who contributed much to his happiness. The one was Captain John Sutherland, of whom I have already spoken; the other was Lieutenant James Higginson,* whose acquaintance he had made at Bhurtpore, and who had afterwards been on the Staff of Lord William Bentinck. The former was now made private-secretary, and the latter aide-de-camp, to the Deputy-Governor; and Metcalfe no longer complained that he was cut off from his friends.

As the members of Council were appointed only for five years, Sir Charles Metcalfe's term of office would have expired in August, 1832. But Lord William Bentinck, as the time approached, determined to make an effort to retain his services; so he wrote urgently to the President of the India Board (Mr. Charles Grant), saying: "Sir Charles Metcalfe will be a great loss to me. He quite ranks with Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Mr. Elphinstone. If it be intended—and the necessity cannot admit of a doubt—to form a second local Government in Bengal, he undoubtedly ought to be at the head. I strongly recommend him. Whilst he has always maintained the most perfect independence of character and conduct, he has been to me a most zealous supporter and friendly

* Afterwards Sir James Higginson, Governor of the Mauritius. These arrangements were necessarily of a temporary character, contingent on the return of the Governor-General to the Presidency.

colleague." The "second local Government," however, was not then ripe. So the Court of Directors, by a special vote, continued Sir Charles Metcalfe's period of service in Council to August, 1834; and so he remained at the Council Board in Calcutta.

There was still higher office in store for him. When under the new Charter it was contemplated to establish a fourth Presidency in Upper India, to embrace very much the tract of country which Metcalfe had spoken of as conferring upon him the "Kingship of the East and the West," he was selected to fill the office; and he was nominated also Provisional Governor-General of India, to succeed on the death or resignation of Lord William Bentinck, in the event of an interregnum in the Government. How afterwards the Government of Agra shrivelled down into a Lieutenant-Governorship need not be narrated here. He had scarcely reached Allahabad and assumed the Government, when he received intelligence of the intended departure of Lord William Bentinck. As "Provisional Governor-General," therefore, in the absence of any substantive appointment to the high office, it was now Metcalfe's privilege to receive from him the reins of Government. He hastened, therefore, back to the Presidency, and arrived in time to shake the departing ruler by the hand, and to bid God-speed to him and to that pearl of gentlewomen, his admirable wife.

With what sentiments Lord William Bentinck parted from his colleague may be gathered from his own recorded words. "My connexion," said the Governor-General, "with Sir Charles Metcalfe in Council, during more than six years, ought to make me the best of witnesses, unless, indeed, friendship should have blinded me and conquered my detestation of flattery, which, I trust, is not the case. I therefore unhesitatingly declare, that whether in public or private life, I never met with the individual whose integrity, liberality of sentiment, and delicacy of mind, excited in a greater degree my respect and admiration. The State never had a more able or upright councillor, nor any Governor-General a more valuable and independent assistant and friend; and during the same period, any merit that can be claimed for the principles by which the Indian Government has been

1835. guided, to Sir Charles must the full share be assigned. Neither has the access which my situation has given me to the public records and to past transactions led me to form a less favourable opinion of his preceding career. I need not enter into particulars. Suffice it to express my sincere impression, that among all the statesmen, who since my first connexion with India have best served their country and have most exalted its reputation and interests in the East, Webb, Close, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Elphinstone, Munro, and Malcolm, equal rank and equal honour ought to be given to Sir Charles Metcalfe."

The Governor-Generalship.
March 20,
1835.

He had now reached the topmost step of the ladder. The dreams of the Eton cloisters, the air-built castles of the Muttra tent, had become substantial realities. He had said that he would some day be Governor-General of India—and now the great official crown was upon his head. It might not remain there long, but it was something to be Governor-General even for a day. Some believed that the substantive appointment would be, and all hoped that it might be, conferred upon him.* Metcalfe, however, had no expectation of such a

* The Court of Directors, who, as already told, had oscillated between Elphinstone and Malcolm, were, when the former declined to return to India, unwilling to fill up the substantive appointment at once. They wished that Sir Charles Metcalfe should continue as long as possible at the head of the administration, and they believed that the King's Government, who were then adverse to the nomination of a Company's officer, might in time be reconciled to it. The following are the resolutions which were carried by a majority of fifteen to two of the members of the Court:

"That this Court deeply lament that the state of Lord William Bentinck's health should be such as to deprive the Company of his most valuable services; and this Court deem it proper to record, on the occasion of his Lordship's resignation of the office of Governor-General, their high sense of the distinguished ability, energy, zeal, and integrity with which his Lordship has discharged the arduous duties of his exalted station.

"That, referring to the appointment which has been conferred by the Court, with the approbation of his Majesty, on

Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, provisionally, to act as Governor-General of India, upon the death, resignation, or coming away of Lord William Bentinck; and adverting also to the public character and services of Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose knowledge, experience, and talents eminently qualify him to prosecute successfully the various important measures consequent on the new Charter Act, this Court are of opinion that it would be inexpedient at present to make any other arrangement for supplying the office of Governor-General. And it is resolved, accordingly, that the Chairs be authorised and instructed to communicate this opinion to his Majesty's Ministers through the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India."

Mr. Grant was at this time President of the Board of Control. His objections, as given in his letter of October 1, 1834, are worth quoting: "With respect to the appointment to that office of any servant of the Company, however eminent his knowledge, talents, and experience may confessedly be, his Majesty's Ministers agree in the sentiments of Mr. Canning, expressed in a letter

result. In the first place, he knew that the influence of the Court and the Cabinet would assuredly prevail against the "old Indian" party at home; and, in the second, he felt assured that in the eyes of a large section of that party, he had irremediably damaged himself by his conduct at Hyderabad. He was right. But the interregnum was one of unexpected duration. The appointment of Lord Heytesbury, made by the Tories, having been cancelled by the Whigs, there followed much discussion, involving much delay, with respect to the choice of a successor; and so Sir Charles Metcalfe remained at the head of the Indian Government until the spring of 1836.

The interregnum of the Indian civilian was not a barren one. It was rendered famous by an act, which has, perhaps, been more discussed, and with greater variance of opinion, than any single measure of any Governor-General of India. He liberated the Indian Press. Under the Government of his predecessor, freedom of speech had been habitually allowed, but the sword of the law still remained in the hand of the civil Government, and at any time it might have been stretched forth to destroy the liberty which was thus exercised. But Metcalfe was not content with this state of things. He desired that the free expression of thought should be the right of all classes of the community. He took his stand boldly upon the broad principle, that to deny this right is to contend "that the essence of good government is to cover the land with darkness." "If their argument," he added, "be that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that point, and maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could be preserved as a part of the British Empire

Liberation of
the Press.

from him to the Court on the 25th of December, 1820, that the case can hardly be conceived in which it would be expedient that the *highest* office of the Government in India should be filled otherwise than from England, and that that one main link at least between the systems of the Indian and British Governments ought, for the advantage of both, to be invariably maintained. On this principle it has usually been

thought proper to act; and in the various important measures consequent on the new Charter Act, his Majesty's Ministers see much to enjoin the continuance of the general practice, but nothing to recommend a deviation from it." Before Lord Grey's Government had appointed a successor to Lord William Bentinck, there was a ministerial crisis, and Lord Heytesbury was nominated by the Tories.

1835—86. only by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease. But I see more ground for just apprehension in ignorance itself. I look to the increase of knowledge with a hope that it may strengthen our empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our Government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy, and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened, and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future government of India, it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confided to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability for the good of the people." It would be difficult to gainsay this; but the Court of Directors of the East India Company had not much sympathy with these "high-flown notions." The intelligence of what he had done reached them whilst the question of the Governor-Generalship was still an open one. It may have in some measure influenced the decision, but I scarcely think that it did. At all events, Metcalfe soon heard from England, with some exaggeration, that he had lost the confidence of the Company. Lord Auckland was appointed Governor-General of India; but the provisional appointment which made him the "second man in India," was renewed in his favour. The King's Ministers, too, testified their confidence in him by recommending him for the Grand Cross of the Bath. The new Governor-General carried out the insignia, and formally invested him soon after his arrival.

It was now a question earnestly debated in Metcalfe's mind whether he would take ship for England, or whether he would return to the North-Western Provinces to take charge of the administration which he had quitted to assume the Governor-Generalship. It was no longer the Agra Presidency. It had become a Lieutenant-Governorship, and was formally in the gift of the Governor-General. Lord Auckland was very desirous that he should accept the office, and some of the leading members of the Court of Directors had urged him not to decline the offer. So he made up his mind to remain a little longer yet in harness. There was really as much substantive

authority in the new constitution as in the old. "It is inferior only," he wrote to his aunt, Mrs. Monson, "in designation, trappings, and allowances. These are not matters which I should think a sufficient reason for giving, when I am desired to stay by those whose uniform kindness to me gives them a right to claim my services. I feel that I have no excuse for abandoning a post to which I am called by all parties concerned in the election, and in which I have greater opportunities of being useful to my country and to mankind than I could expect to find anywhere else. The decision, however, costs me much. I had been for some time indulging in pleasing visions of home and the enjoyments of retirement and affectionate intercourse with relatives and friends." He had now spent thirty-five years in India, without leaving the country for a day; but his interest in his work was as keen as in the old days of Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto.

But he had not long exercised the powers of Lieutenant-Governor, when renewed reports came to him from England that the Court of Directors regarded him with dissatisfaction on account of his liberation of the Indian Press. This disquieted him greatly, and in his disquietude he addressed a letter to the official organ of the Company, in which he requested, that if he had really lost the confidence of the Court, his provisional appointment of Governor-General might be withdrawn, and that he might resign his office and retire from the service of the Company. "If the reports," he wrote August 22. to Mr. Melvill, "which have reached this country from England be true; if I have really lost the confidence of the Court, and have fallen so low in their estimation as deliberately to be deemed now unworthy of the position which they accorded to me three years ago in the Government of a subordinate Presidency, it is my earnest entreaty that the Court will withdraw from me the provisional appointment of Governor-General, or otherwise intimate their pleasure to me, in order that I may resign that appointment, and retire from the service of the Company. I have no wish to retain by forbearance an appointment conferred on me when I was honoured with the confidence of the Court, if that confidence is gone, or to hold my office on mere sufferance, or to serve in any capacity under the stigma of displeasure and distrust. But if I retain the

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confidence of the Court unimpaired, it will be highly gratifying to me to know that I have been misled by erroneous reports in supposing the possibility of the contrary. In that case I have no desire to retire from the public service. I am proud of the honour conferred by the provisional appointment of Governor-General. I take a great interest in the duties which I have to perform as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces of India, and I am willing to devote myself with all my heart to the service of the State as long as health and faculties enable me to work to any useful purpose. I am aware that I lay myself open to reproach in imagining a want of confidence which has not been authentically announced to me by any of those means which the Court has at command. If I have erred in this respect, and have not had sufficient cause for this address, I trust that the Court will forgive the error. Having received on former occasions marked proofs of confidence and esteem, I could not rest easy under reports, in some degree strengthened by appearances, which indicated the loss of those favourable sentiments."

Before this letter was written, intelligence had reached Agra that Lord Elphinstone had been appointed Governor of Madras. Metcalfe had some time before been talked of for that post; but it had been given to Sir Frederick Adam, mainly, it was believed, through the interest of Lord Brougham. This had not in any way disturbed him; and, in truth, he had no desire to go to Madras. But when some good-natured friends in London told him that his appointment to that Government had been again discussed, and that his claims had been set aside as an intentional mark of the Court's displeasure, the case wore a new aspect. Very different considerations determined the appointment of Lord Elphinstone; but that the liberation of the Press had caused Metcalfe to lose caste and credit in Leadenhall-street was repeated in so many "Europe letters" to himself and others, that he could not disbelieve the story. "I do not care a straw for the Government of Madras," he wrote to his aunt, Mrs. Monson, "and I am probably better where I am; but I do not mean to serve in avowed disgrace." To his friend, Mr. Tucker, he wrote in the same strain: "The loss of the Madras Government did not give me any concern, but the asserted dissatisfaction of the Court distressed me, and

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I felt that I could not remain in a state of implied disgrace. I therefore wrote as I did to you, and I am now expecting the Court's reply, on the receipt of which I shall have to make up my mind as to the course which I ought to pursue." In August the answer came. It was outwardly cold and formal. It expressed the regret of the Court that Sir Charles Metcalfe should have thought it necessary to make such a communication, and added that the continuance in him provisionally of the highest office which the Court had it in its power to confer, ought to have satisfied him that their confidence had not been withdrawn.

But Metcalfe was not satisfied; so he forthwith sent in his resignation, and prepared to return to England. The letter which he addressed to the Secretary of the East India Company clearly indicated how painfully he was hurt. "The Court," he said in conclusion, "pronounced that my letter was altogether unnecessary. With deference, I think that there was good and sufficient reason to seek an understanding with the Court, for any one who regards the approbation of his superior as an essential condition of his servitude. Either I had lost or I retained the confidence of the Court. If the latter were the case, a few kind words to that effect would have assured me that I could continue to serve without discredit. Instead of which, I receive a laconic letter, taking no notice whatever of the sentiments expressed in mine, but conveying a reproof for having written it, given in a tone which leaves me no reason to suppose that the Court entertain the least desire for the continuance of my services. Under all these circumstances, I must conclude—1st, that I was intentionally disgraced when I was passed over in the nomination of a Governor for Madras; 2nd, that the Court retain the sentiments under which that disgrace was purposely inflicted, and hence no wish to remove the feelings which it was calculated to excite; and 3rd, that your letter of the 15th of April, with reference to mine of the 22nd of August last, could only produce the effect that it has produced, and, consequently, that my resignation was contemplated in the despatch of that letter. I trust that I have sufficiently explained the causes which compel me reluctantly to retire from the public service, to

1837. which, if I could have remained with honour, I would willingly have devoted the whole of my life."

Sir James
Melvill.

Mr. Henry
Taylor.

There is no incident of Sir Charles Metcalfe's official career of which I have thought so much as of this, and regarding which, as the result of this much thought, I feel such great doubt and uncertainty. One of the shrewdest and most sagacious men whom I have ever known, with half a century of experience of public affairs to give weight to his words, said to me, with reference to this very subject, "The longer I live, the more convinced I am that over-sensitiveness is a fault in a public man;" and there is great truth in the saying. Another very sagacious public servant has written: "With regard to hostility evinced towards a statesman behind his back, and which comes privately to his knowledge, his best course will be to leave it unnoticed, and not allow his knowledge of it to transpire." This also I believe to be true. I am disposed, therefore, at the present time to think that it would have been a wiser and a more dignified course to have left the rumours of which I have spoken wholly unnoticed. No man could have afforded it better than Metcalfe; no man could more certainly have lived down any temporary discredit in high places. Every official man—nay, every man who has much commerce with the world—has, in the course of his career, to contend with ignorance and misconception, if not with envy and malice. Every one, indeed, who has done anything better than his fellows must lay his account for this as one of the inevitable crosses of his life. It is better, in such a case, "to bear up and steer right on," supported by "the conscience," than to 'bout ship and go into harbour, when the winds are a little adverse. Life is too short for contests of this kind—too short even for explanations. Metcalfe was fully persuaded in his own mind that what he did was right; and as the superior authorities did not tell him that he was wrong, I think that it would have been better if he had left unnoticed the private reports which reached him from England. No public servant, of any grade or any capacity, can expect all that he does to be approved by higher authority; and if even a declared difference of opinion on one particular point is to afford a sufficient warrant for resignation of office, the public service of the country would be brought to a dead-lock. Nor is it to be forgotten, with

reference to more special considerations affecting the individual case, that this question of the liberation of the press was one on which the opinions of thinking men were very much divided, and that some of Metcalfe's staunchest friends and warmest admirers doubted the expediency of what he had done, though they never ceased to repose confidence in his general wisdom as a statesman.

But if some infirmity were apparent in this passage of Metcalfe's life, it was the infirmity of a noble mind, and it detracts nothing from the general admiration to which he is entitled. It arose out of what one who knew him well, from the very commencement of his career, described as his "very quick and delicate and noble sense of public character." Some years before, he said that he was getting callous to injustice, and less anxious regarding the opinions of others;* but, in truth, he never ceased to be very sensitive on the score of his official reputation, and very eager to repel all assaults upon it. And that, not from any selfish or egotistical feelings, but from a prevailing sense that by so doing he was maintaining the dignity and the purity of the Public Service. Indeed, the official sensitiveness, of which I am speaking, marks more distinctly than anything else the great frontier-line between the old and the new race of public servants in India. It had become a laudable ambition to pass through all the stages of official life without a stain or even a reproach.

No man ever left India, carrying with him such lively regrets and such cordial good wishes from all classes of the community. I can well remember the season of his departure from Calcutta. The Presidency was unwontedly enlivened by Metcalfe balls and Metcalfe dinners, and addresses continually pouring in, and deputations both from English and Native Societies. It would take much of time and much of space to speak of all these; and I must refrain from the attempt to record them. But it may be mentioned that, on one of these farewell festal occasions, after Metcalfe's health had been drunk in the ordinary way, as a statesman

* "I am getting callous to such injustice. My experience at Hyderabad has taught me some useful lessons; and though it gives me a worse opinion of human nature than I had before, it will

make me individually less liable to annoyance, by making me less anxious regarding the opinions of others."—*Bhurtpore, Feb., 1826.*

1887. who had conferred great benefits upon the country, and a member of society beloved by all who had come within the circle of his genial influence, another toast was given in the words "Charles Metcalfe, the soldier of Deeg." The story of the "little stormer," then but slightly known, was told, and well told; and the military enthusiasm of the many officers there present was roused to the highest pitch. I shall never forget the applause of the assembly which greeted this unexpected tribute to the completeness of Sir Charles Metcalfe's character. All that gay assemblage in the Town-hall of Calcutta rose to him, with a common movement, as though there had been but one heart among them all, and many an eye glistened as women waved their handkerchiefs and men clapped their hands—and every one present thought how much he was loved.

His opinions.

During his tenure of these several offices in the Supreme Government of India, Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote many very important State papers, officially known as "Minutes," which were always respectfully received by his colleagues, and very often influenced their opinions in the right direction. In other shapes, too, he sometimes recorded his views; and a large selection from his papers has been laid before the world. They are distinguished by a remarkable amount of sagacious common sense, conveyed in most lucid English. I do not know a better example of a thoroughly good official style. There was in all he wrote a directness of purpose, a transparent sincerity, which won the admiration of the reader, if it did not convince his judgment. To say that he was without his own particular prejudices would be almost to say that he was perfect. In many respects he was before his age; but there were some points with respect to which he was behind it. He demonstrated, in the most convincing manner, the earnestness of his desire to advance the moral progress of the people of India; but it does not appear that he had much sympathy with the efforts which were being made to advance the material progress of the country. He could clearly see what were the benefits to be derived from the diffusion of knowledge among the subjects of the British Government in India;

but he was sceptical regarding the profit to be drawn from the improvement of internal and external communications of the country, by means of good roads, and steam vessels to and from England. It puzzled many people at the time, and, doubtless, it has puzzled many since, to understand how one, who had been among the first to recommend the free admission of European settlers into England, should have undervalued such material aids to the promotion of European enterprise.

There was another point upon which he held opinions differing from those of the majority of his cotemporaries; but Time has revealed that if he stood alone, in this respect, he stood alone in his wisdom. He often spoke and wrote of the insecurity of our British Empire in India, and predicted that it would some day be imperilled, if not overthrown, by our own Native Army. He expressed himself very strongly in conversation on this subject, sometimes saying that we were sitting on a barrel of gunpowder and never knew when it would explode, and at others declaring that we should wake up some morning and find that we had lost India. He based his opinion on such arguments as the following: "Our hold is so precarious, that a very little mismanagement might accomplish our expulsion; and the course of events may be of itself sufficient, without any mismanagement. We are, to appearance, more powerful in India now than we ever were. Nevertheless, our downfall may be short work; when it commences, it will, probably, be rapid, and the world will wonder more at the suddenness with which our immense 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 upon impression. Our whole real strength is in the few European regiments, speaking comparatively, that are scattered singly over the vast space of subjugated India. That is the only portion of our soldiery whose hearts are with us, and whose constancy can be relied on in the hour of trial. All our native establishments, military and civil, are the followers of fortune; they serve us for their livelihood, and generally serve us well. From a sense of what is due to the hand that feeds them—which is one of the virtues that they most extol—they

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may often display fidelity under trying circumstances ; but in their inward feelings they partake more or less of the universal disaffection which prevails against us, not from bad government, but from natural and irresistible antipathy ; and were the wind to change—to use a native expression—and to set in steadily against us, we could not expect that their sense of honour, although there might be splendid instances of devotion, would keep the mass on our side in opposition to the common feeling which, with one view, might for a time unite all India from one end to the other. Empires grow old, decay, and perish. Ours in India can hardly be called old, but seems destined to be short lived. We appear to have passed the brilliancy and vigour of our youth, and it may be that we have reached a premature old age. We have ceased to be the wonder that we were to the natives ; the charm which once encompassed us has been dissolved, and our subjects have had time to inquire why they have been subdued. The consequences of the inquiry may appear hereafter. If these speculations are not devoid of foundation, they are useful in diverting 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 power, but from the fading of the impression of our invincibility from the minds of the native inhabitants of India. The disaffection which would root us out abundantly exists ; the concurrence of circumstances sufficient to call it into general action may at any time happen.* And again : “ Some say that our empire in India rests on opinion, others on main force. It, in fact, depends on both. We could not keep the country by opinion, if we had not a considerable force ; and no force that we could pay would be sufficient, if it were not aided by the opinion of our invincibility. Our force does not operate so much by its actual strength as by the impression which it produces, and that impression is the opinion by which we hold India. Internal insurrection, therefore, is one of the greatest of our dangers, or, rather,

* This is part of a paper written in reply to some questions propounded in England at the time of the Parliamentary Inquiries of 1832-33, and submitted by Government to the principal autho-

rities on questions of Indian government. Whether this paper was ever officially sent in I do not know. It does not appear in the printed replies to these questions in the parliamentary papers.

becomes so when the means of quelling it are at a distance. It is easy to decide it, because insurgents may not have the horse, foot, and artillery of a regular army; but it becomes serious if we have not those materials at hand. Nothing can be a stronger proof of our weakness in the absence of a military force, even when it is not far removed, than the history of such insurrections as have occurred. The civil power, and all semblance of the existence of our government, are instantly swept away by the torrent."

But although Sir Charles Metcalfe believed that the permanent fidelity of the Sepoy army could not be relied upon, he admitted that the native soldiery were in many respects worthy of admiration, and that it was our policy to maintain large bodies of them, as we could not turn the whole of India into a great European garrison. "The late Governor-General,"* he wrote, "condemns our Indian army, in a sweeping sentence, as being the most expensive and least efficient in the world. If it were so, how should we be here? Is it no proof of efficiency that it has conquered all India? Is it no proof of efficiency that India is more universally tranquil, owing to our Indian army, than it ever was under any native Government or Governments that we read of? If our Indian army be so expensive, why do we not employ European troops alone to maintain India? Why but because Europeans are so much more expensive that we could not pay a sufficient number? If our Indian army be so inefficient, why do we incur the expense of making soldiers of the natives? Why do we not entertain the same number of undisciplined people, who would cost much less? Why, but because then we should lose the country from the inefficiency of our native force? If, therefore, the Indian army be preferable to a European force, on account of its cheapness, and to other native troops on account of its efficiency; if we cannot substitute any other force cheaper and more efficient, how can it justly be said to be the most expensive and least efficient army in the world? It enables us to conquer and keep India. If it performs well every duty required of it, hard work in quarters, good service in the field, how can it be subject to the imputation of inefficiency? The proof of its

* Lord William Bentinck.

1887. cheapness and of its efficiency is, that we cannot substitute any other description of force at once so cheap and so efficient."

It was doubtful, in those days, whether India could afford to maintain a permanent European force of thirty thousand men. Sir Charles Metcalfe felt this very strongly; but he could see no other element of safety than the presence of our English regiments, unless our national manhood should take root in the soil by the agency of extensive colonisation. "Considering," he said, "the possible disaffection of our native army as our only internal danger, and the want of physical strength and moral energy as rendering them unable to contend with a European enemy, his Lordship proposes that the European portion of our army should be one-fourth, and eventually one-third, in proportion to the strength of our native army. He considers this as requiring a force of thirty thousand Europeans in India. In the expediency of having at least this force of Europeans, even in ordinary times, I entirely concur; that is, if we can pay them. But the limit to this, and every other part of our force, must be regulated by our means. If we attempted to fix it according to our wants, we should soon be without the means of maintaining any army. Thirty thousand European troops would be vastly inadequate for the purpose of meeting the imagined Russian invasion, for we should more require European troops in the interior of India at that time than at any other. To have our army on a footing calculated for that event is impossible. Our army cannot well be greater than it is, owing to want of means. It cannot well be less, owing to our other wants. Such as it is in extent, it is our duty to make it as efficient as we can, with or without the prospect of a Russian invasion; and this is the only way in which we can prepare for that or any other distant and uncertain crisis. On the approach of such an event we must have reinforcements of European troops from England to any amount required, and we must increase our native force according to the exigency of the time. We could not long exist in a state of adequate preparation, as we should be utterly ruined by the expense."

I may give one more extract from his official papers—it was written when he was Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces—showing the just and generous senti-

ments with which he addressed himself to the consideration of our relations with the Native States of India: "Several questions," he said, "have lately occurred, in which our interests and those of other powers and individuals are at variance, and in the decision of which we are likely to be biased by regard for our own benefit, unless we enter with a liberal spirit into the claims and feelings of others, and make justice alone the guide of our conduct. . . . In all these cases, the right on our part to come to the decision apparently most beneficial for our own interests, seems to me to be doubtful. Had our right been clear, I should be far from having any desire to suggest its relinquishment. But when the right is doubtful, when we are to be judges in our own cause, when, from our power, there is little or no probability of any resistance to our decision, it behoves us, I conceive, to be very careful lest we should be unjustly biased in our own favour, and to be liberal only in examining the claims and pretensions of other parties. The Christian precept, 'Do as you would be done by,' must be right in politics as well as in private life; and even in a self-interested view we should, I believe, gain more by the credit of being just and liberal to others, than by using our power to appropriate to ourselves everything to which we could advance any doubtful pretension."

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So Metcalfe returned to England, in the early part of 1838, after an absence of thirty-eight years. He had no thought of any further employment in the public service, except that which might be entailed upon him by the necessities of a seat in Parliament. He had an abundance of the world's wealth; he was unmarried; and he had done so much work that he might well content himself to be idle at the close of his life. Moreover, there was another and an all-sufficient reason why he should seek this autumnal repose. He had in India enjoyed better health than the majority of his countrymen, although he had taken no especial pains to preserve it. He had worked hard; he had lived well; and he had not resorted very freely to the great prophylactic agencies of air and exercise. Still, a naturally robust constitution had carried him

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Metcalfe in
England.

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through nearly forty years of unbroken work beneath an Indian sun. But the seeds of a painful and a fatal disease had been sown—at what precise time cannot be declared; but the first apparent symptoms manifested themselves at Calcutta, when a friend one day called his attention to a drop of blood on his cheek. It was the first discernible sign of a malignant cancer, which was to eat into his life and make existence a protracted agony. From that day there was perceptible an angry appearance of the skin. But the progress of the malady was so gradual, and it was attended with so little uneasiness, that neither did Metcalfe consult a medical practitioner, nor did the ailment attract the notice of the professional adviser who attended him. But, at the latter end of 1837, the malady had increased so much that he thought it necessary to take advice; the treatment was not effective, and soon afterwards Metcalfe returned to England. There he consulted Sir Benjamin Brodie, who prescribed for him, but without effect. There was, however, little pain, although the disease had assumed the shape of a decided ulcerous affection of the cheek; and so Metcalfe allowed time to pass, and neglected the complaint until no human agency could arrest it.

Of this sad story I must presently write more in detail. Meanwhile, Sir Charles Metcalfe is at Fern Hill, the paternal estate in Berkshire, which he had inherited from his elder brother. It had been his for a quarter of a century, and its revenues had been carefully nursed; for Metcalfe's official salary had been always more than enough for his uses, notwithstanding his overflowing hospitality and the unfailing cheerfulness of his giving. So he found himself a well-to-do country gentleman, and having carried home all his Indian hospitality, he soon filled his house with relatives and friends. But it was a very unsatisfactory state of life. He was alone in a crowd; uncomfortable in the midst of luxury; poor though surrounded by all that wealth could purchase; and always in a hurry without having anything to do. Liberal as he was, and accustomed to a profuse style of living, he was appalled by the extravagance of the servants' hall, and often longed for the self-supporting, rice-eating *Khitmudgars* and *Bearers* of the old time. Many years before, in his previsions of English life, he anticipated this state of things, and declared

that he would wrestle against it. He found it even worse than he expected, and he soon set his face against it. He had not been many months in England, when he wrote to Mrs. Monson : " I have made up my mind to part with Fern Hill whenever I can make an arrangement for it to my satisfaction. My reasons for quitting are these : Firstly, the expense of living here is too great ; there being, in my opinion, more satisfactory and better uses for what income I have than spending it all on the mere eating and drinking of a large house and establishment. Secondly, the life is not suited to my disposition. I should like greater quiet and retirement, and the occasional enjoyment of affectionate society as a treat. A continual and incessant succession of company is too much for me. Thirdly, the only remedy is flight ; for neither can I reduce my establishment while I live in this house, nor can I shut my doors whilst I have accommodation for friends. Elsewhere, if I continue a private man, I can be more retired ; and retirement is best suited to my nature. Elsewhere I could live, I think, with sufficient hospitality on a fourth of what I should spend here, and as I have no desire to hoard, the difference may, I trust, be made more beneficial to others than it can be whilst wasted on a lazy, discontented establishment. If I go into Parliament, which I shall do, if I have an opportunity, the only alteration in my present plans will be, that I must reside for seven or eight months in London, and so far deprive myself of retirement for the sake of public duty."—[*February 25, 1839.*]

For many years this seat in Parliament had been one of his most cherished day-dreams. But now that all outward circumstances seemed to place it within his reach, inward obstacles arose to retard his possession of the prize. The sensitiveness and delicacy of his nature caused him to revolt against the ordinary means by which entrance to the great assembly of the nation is obtained. He would neither buy nor beg a seat. Bribery was repugnant, and canvassing was distasteful, to him. His more experienced friends, therefore, assured him that small and large constituencies were equally beyond his reach. He, however, was content to wait. The opportunity of drifting into Parliament blamelessly and pleasantly might some day arise. Meanwhile, he could familiarise himself with the

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details of European politics, and, by maturing his opinions on all the great questions of the day, strengthen his chance of some day realising the aspirations of the Eton cloisters and charming a listening Senate. His convictions were mostly those of advanced liberalism. He was against the finality of the Reform Bill; he was eager for the repeal of the Corn-laws, for the overthrow of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, and for the abolition of Church-rates. He inclined towards Vote by Ballot, Short Parliaments, and the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords. The more he thought of these changes, the more he warmed towards them, and at last his enthusiasm broke out in a pamphlet entitled *Friendly Advice to Conservatives*, in which these views were expounded. But it was not decreed that he should ever stand forth to "head a party struggling for liberty," in any other than this literary conflict.*

The Jamaica
appointment.

For soon a new and undreamt-of field of public service lay stretched before him, and he was invited to occupy it by the responsible rulers of the land. Rumour had, ever since his return to England, been very busy with his name. He had been assigned to all sorts of places and appointments, likely and unlikely; but now there was some solid foundation for the story of his re-employment. "Those who have sent me to Paris or to Ireland," he wrote to Mrs. Monson, "seem to have been wrong, for the Almighty ruler of all things seems to have ordained that I am to go to Jamaica. Who would have thought of such a destination? This proposal has been made to me, most unexpectedly, of course, on my part, by Lord Normanby, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the post being one of honour, owing to the difficulties at present besetting it, and the prospect of rendering important service, I have considered it a public duty to undertake the charge, and have accepted it without a moment's hesitation. I have risen in the East, and must set in the West. It is a curious destiny." To what immediate influences the Indian civilian owed his nomination to a post in the other hemisphere is not very apparent; but I am inclined to think that the nomination is, in part at least, attributable to the strong language of ad-

* He was very nearly presenting himself to the electors of Glasgow in place of his friend Lord William Bentinck, who wished to resign in his favour, but who died before he could vacate the seat. Before this event occurred, Metcalfe's mind had been diverted to other objects.

miration in which Lord William Bentinck had written of his some-time colleague to the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne. "No man," he wrote, at the close of a glowing appeal in his friend's favour,* "has shown greater rectitude of conduct or more independence of mind. . . . We served together for nearly seven years. His behaviour to me was of the noblest kind. He never cavilled upon a trifle, and never yielded to me on a point of importance."

With what feelings Metcalfe regarded the appointment may be further gathered from what he wrote of it to Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had laid the foundation of his own fame, as an assistant to Metcalfe at Delhi: "The possibility of serving in the West Indies never entered into my imagination. Neither had I any desire to quit England. The mode in which I was ambitious of devoting my humble services to the country was as an independent Member of Parliament, and it was my intention to embrace any good opportunity of seating myself there. In every other respect I longed for retirement, and was bent on arrangements for securing it in a greater degree than I had previously found practicable. While in this mind, and with these views, I was surprised by a proposal to undertake the government of Jamaica, and assented without a moment's hesitation, for there was a public duty of importance to be performed, and we are bound, I conceive, to make ourselves useful to our country whenever a prospect of being so presents itself. If I succeed in reconciling that valuable colony to the mother country, and promoting the welfare of both, I shall be gratified. The attempt will be a labour of love. If I fail, I shall have the consolation of having devoted myself heartily to the task, and can again seek the retirement which, with reference exclusively to my own ease and comfort, I prefer to anything else. I presume that you mean to return to India, and I shall be glad to find that your benevolent zeal and distinguished talent are again at work in that important field. The immense strides which we have recently taken in our political arrangements and military exertions will either raise our power greatly beyond its former pitch, or by causing our expenses to exceed our re-

* It was written with reference to the question of Metcalfe's liberation of the Indian Press.

1839. sources, will make it more precarious than ever. In either case our country will require the best exertions of its ablest servants, and your future career, I doubt not, will be even more distinguished than your past."

Congratulations most cordial, and expressions of pleasure most sincere, poured in upon Metcalfe from all quarters before he took his departure for the West Indian island. But there was not one, perhaps, which more rejoiced his heart than that which he received from his old master—from the statesman at whose feet he had learnt the first lessons of official life. And no one rejoiced more than Lord Wellesley in the elevation of his former pupil. "It is a matter," he wrote, "of cordial joy and affectionate pride to me to witness the elevation of a personage whose great talents and virtues have been cultivated under my anxious care, and directed by my hand to the public service in India; where, having filled the first station in the Government of that vast empire with universal applause, his merits and exalted reputation have recommended him to his Sovereign and his country as the man best qualified to consummate the noblest work of humanity, justice, and piety ever attempted by any State since the foundation of civilised society. You have been called to this great charge by the free, unsolicited choice of your Sovereign; and that choice is the universal subject of approbation by the voice of her whole people: no appointment ever received an equal share of applause. In a letter which I had the honour of receiving from you, and which is published in my Indian despatches, you are pleased to say that you were educated in my school, and that it was the school of virtue, integrity, and honour. That school has produced much good fruit for the service of India. You are one of the most distinguished of that produce, and in your example it is a high satisfaction to me to observe that the benefits of my institution are now extended beyond the limits of that empire for whose good government it was founded."*

* With what affectionate tenacity Lord Wellesley clung to these old memories of the College of Fort William is rendered still more apparent by his later correspondence with Mr. Bayley—another of his official pupils—which I have inserted in the Appendix, in pleasant illustration of the development of the Indian services.

In August, 1839, Sir Charles Metcalfe embarked for Kingston, and on the 21st of September he assumed charge of the Government of Jamaica. There were many difficult problems to solve, for the emancipation of the blacks had produced a great social and industrial revolution; and the transition-state, which had arisen, required very careful and adroit management. But he used to say that the work of government would be easy and pleasant to him if it were not for the Baptist missionaries. He had not been long in the island before a leading minister of that persuasion declared openly that, though their new governor hoped to find Jamaica a bed of roses, they would take care that every rose should have its thorns. "On my taking charge of the Government," wrote Metcalfe, "the course which I laid down for myself was to conciliate all parties, and by the aid of all parties to promote the happiness and welfare of Jamaica. I have reason to believe that I have succeeded, with the exception of the Baptist missionary party. . . . I have naturally asked myself why, having apparently succeeded in conciliating all parties, I have failed with respect to that of the Baptist missionaries? I have conducted myself towards them as I have towards every other denomination of Christian ministers in the island. I have subscribed with the same readiness to their chapels and schools whenever I have had an opportunity. I have not allowed the opinions which I have been forced to entertain of their political proceedings to influence my behaviour or demeanour towards them." He was driven, therefore, reluctantly to conclude, that the obstacle to his success with this particular section of the community lay in the catholicity of his benevolence. He loved all men, all races, all classes. He had, during nearly the whole of his adult life, been familiar with dusky faces, and had been ever kindly disposed towards people vulgarly described as of "black blood." His heart was as open towards the negro population as towards any other class of her Majesty's subjects in the West Indies; but he could not bring himself to straiten his sympathies in such a manner as to refuse to the white man the hand of brotherhood that he extended to the black. He knew that the latter had once belonged to a down-trodden race, and that it would take years of generous kind-

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Jamaica.

1839. ness to compensate them for all the injuries which they had borne; but he believed that the best means of ensuring for them this generous kindness was to narrow the gulf between the two races—not to keep alive all animosities, old memories of past wrong. But this wise and truly Christian policy was distasteful to the Christians of the Baptist Missionary Society. Metcalfe tried to inculcate the forgiveness of injuries and the extension of brotherly love between the black and the white races. But the Baptists taught other lessons; and a quarter of a century afterwards their “bloody instructions returned to plague the inventor.”*

Whilst Sir Charles Metcalfe was governing Jamaica, there was a change of government at home. A Conservative ministry was established in Downing-street. Lord Stanley (as I write, Lord Derby) passed into the Colonial Office; but Metcalfe, though a high-pressure liberal, was not sufficiently a party man to be at all disturbed by the change. If he could observe any difference of policy, it was in a more catholic apprehension of the situation, and a more generous support of the opinions he had expressed, and the line of conduct he had desired to follow. Lord Stanley himself had, ministerially, emancipated the blacks of the West Indies. He was not likely to close his heart against the emancipated race; but he was far too good and wise to take a limited, one-sided view of the obligations of humanity in such a crisis, and to think that the duties of the parent State were confined to the protection and encouragement of the coloured population of the colony. When, therefore, Sir Charles Metcalfe thought that the time had come when he might consistently lay down the reins of government, he was very anxious that it should not be thought that the change of Government had caused him to hasten the day of his retirement. “I have given notice to the new ministers,” he wrote in November, 1841, “that I may soon send in my resignation, in order that they may be prepared for it, and look about for my successor. I have done

* I gladly break off here from the pursuit of a painful subject. But it ought to be stated that Metcalfe carried with him to Jamaica very strong prepossessions in favour of the Baptist missionaries. He had known many eminent members of that communion

in India (including the venerable Dr. Carey), and among the farewell addresses he had received at Agra was one from the Baptist missionaries, thanking him for the countenance he had always afforded them.

this in a manner which will preclude the idea that the change of ministry is the cause of my retirement, there being no reason for putting it on any ground but the true one, which is that, having done what I came to do—by which I mean the reconciliation of the colony with the mother country—I see no necessity for staying any longer.” So Metcalfe prepared himself to return to England, well satisfied that he had not laboured in vain. What he did in the West Indian colony has been thus comprehensively described by himself: “When,” he wrote in the letter to the Colonial Secretary referred to above, “the offer of the Governorship of this island and its dependencies was conveyed to me, my only inducement in accepting it was the hope of rendering some service to my country by becoming instrumental in the reconciliation of the colony to the mother country. That object was accomplished soon after my arrival by the good sense and good feeling of the colonists, who readily and cordially met the conciliatory disposition which it was my duty to evince towards them. The next subject which attracted my attention was the unsatisfactory feeling of the labouring population towards their employers. This has naturally subsided into a state more consistent with the relations of the parties, and there is no longer any ground of anxiety on that account. Other dissensions in the community, which grew out of the preceding circumstances, have either entirely or in a great degree ceased, and order and harmony, with exceptions which will occasionally occur in every state of society, may be said to prevail.”*

In the following May, a successor having been appointed in the person of Lord Elgin, Sir Charles Metcalfe, amidst a perfect shower of warm-hearted valedictory addresses, embarked again for the mother country. When he arrived in England, the malady of which I have spoken had grown upon him; he suffered much pain; and it was his first care now to

Return to
England.

* I do not profess, in this account of certain officers of the (East) Indian Services, to give a just narrative of Metcalfe's West Indian, or of his subsequent Canadian administration. I may, however, mention here, in illustration of the military instincts of which I have before spoken, that he devoted himself very assiduously to the improvement of the sanitary condition of

the English soldier, especially in respect of his location on the hill country. In this good work Sir William Gomm, who commanded the troops, went hand in hand with him—neither leading and neither following. Perhaps, in a former record of this, I did not sufficiently acknowledge the obligations of humanity to Sir William Gomm.

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obtain the best surgical and medical advice. So he sent at once for his old Calcutta friend and professional adviser, Mr. Martin,* who went into consultation on the subject with Sir Benjamin Brodie and Mr. Keate. The ulcerous affection of the cheek had been much increased by the climate of Jamaica, with its attendant plague of flies, and perhaps by unskilful treatment. But his letters to England had made no mention of the complaint, and he had generally said that he was in excellent health. It was now clearly a most formidable disorder, and only to be combated by remedies of a most painful character. The diseased part, it was thought, might be cut out with the knife, or burnt out with caustic. The latter mode of treatment was finally approved. Metcalfe was told that it might destroy "the cheek through and through;" but he only answered, "Whatever you determine shall be done at once." So the caustic was applied. The agony was intense, but he bore it without a murmur. His quiet endurance of pain was something, indeed, almost marvellous.

The success of the operation was greater even than was expected. The sufferer was removed to Norwood for quiet and country air, and he wrote thence that the diseased part looked better than it had done for many years, but that there was no certainty of a permanent cure. From Norwood he went to Devonshire, where a country-house had been taken for him near Honiton, and where he remained for some time in the enjoyment of the affectionate society of his sister, Mrs. Smythe. But in the beginning of the new year he was roused from the tranquil pleasures of his country life by reports that it was the intention of Sir Robert Peel's Government to invite him to proceed as Governor-General to Canada. At first he laughed at the credulity of his friends who wrote to him on the subject. "I have no more idea of going to Canada," he wrote to Mr. Ross Mangles, "than of flying in the air. . . . The only thing that I have the least inclination for is a seat in Parliament, of which, in the present predominance of Toryism among the constituencies, there is no chance for a man who is for the Abolition of the Corn-laws, Vote by Ballot, Extension of the Suffrage, Amelioration of the Poor-laws for the benefit of the poor, equal rights to all sects of Christians in matters

* Now Sir James Ranald Martin.

of religion, and equal rights to all men in civil matters, and everything else that to his understanding seems just and right—and at the same time is totally disqualified to be a demagogue—shrinks like a sensitive plant from public meetings, and cannot bear to be drawn from close retirement, except by what comes in the shape of real or fancied duty to his country.” But little as he thought of it at that time, the claims of duty were even then about to withdraw him from his retirement. Two days after these lines were written, the invitation to proceed to Canada reached him at Deer Park. The letter proposing the arrangement was playfully, but only too truly, described as Lord Stanley’s “fatal missive.” Sir Charles Metcalfe went to Canada as he went to Jamaica, because he believed that it was his duty to go; but the arms of death were around him as he embarked.

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Into the history of the troubled politics of Canada at that time it would be beyond the scope of this Memoir to enter in detail. To Metcalfe everything was new and strange. There were many perplexing problems, the solution of which was beyond the range of his forty years’ experience of public life. He had for the first time to cope with all the difficulties and embarrassments of Government by Party—or, in other words, by a Parliamentary majority—and with the complications arising from a conflict of nationalities in a singularly varied population. He found, not much to his surprise, that as the representative of the monarchical principle of the constitution, he was expected to suffer himself to dwindle down into a mere cypher. But he believed that to consent to this would be to abandon his duty to his sovereign. “To the question at issue,” he wrote to an old friend and fellow-collegian, “which is, whether the Governor is to be in some degree what his title imports, or a mere tool in the hands of the party that can obtain a majority in the representative body, I am, I conceive, ‘vir justus,’ and I certainly mean to be ‘tenax propositi,’ and hope ‘si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae.’” To another old Indian friend he wrote: “Fancy such a state of things in India, with a Mahomedan Assembly, and you will have some notion of my position. On a distinct demand from the Council for stipulations which would have reduced me to a nonentity, I refused. They instantly resigned, and were

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Canada.

1843—44. supported by the House of Assembly. Since then I have not been able to form a Council likely to carry a majority. I have now to strive to obtain a majority in the present Parliament. If I fail in that, I must dissolve and try a new one. I do not know that I shall have a better chance in that; and if I fail then, still I cannot submit, for that would be to surrender the Queen's Government into the hands of rebels, and to become myself their ignominious tool. I know not what the end will be. The only thing certain is that I cannot yield." A dissolution was imminent. His enemies raged furiously against him. They assailed him with bitterness, which manifested itself in all shapes, from the light language of ridicule to that of vehement indignation. Some called him "Old Square-toes" and "Charles the Simple." Others denounced him as a designing despot and an unscrupulous tyrant. The crisis was now upon him. An old and dear friend, of whom much has been said in this volume, had written to him from his quiet chambers in the Albany, saying: "If you think only of your own comfort and content, or were convinced that you were past more useful employment, you might enjoy your repose with as good a conscience as I do; but if I had the energy and ability to fill such a place as yours, I would not give the few months of your approaching crisis for a hundred years of unprofitable engagement."

No man knew Charles Metcalfe better than Mounstuart Elphinstone—no man was more capable of reading and appreciating his character in all its finest shades and most subtle combinations. When Mr. Gibbon Wakefield wrote that remarkable pamphlet on the crisis in Canada, in which there appeared an elaborate portrait of the Governor-General, highly commendatory of his wonderful patience and endurance, his almost saint-like temper and his constant cheerfulness under the worst trials and provocations,* but in which some doubt was expressed as to whether the gentleness of his nature did not cause him to be sometimes regardless of the

* The following passage is worthy of quotation: "I never witnessed such patience under provocation. I am speaking now of what I saw myself, and could not have believed without seeing. It was not merely quiet endurance, but a constant good-humoured cheerfulness

and lightness of heart in the midst of trouble enough to provoke a saint or make a strong man ill. To those who, like me, have seen three Governors of Canada literally worried to death, this was a glorious spectacle."

duty of upholding his personal and official dignity, Mr. Elphinstone wrote to a friend, who had sent him the book, saying: "You cannot overrate the pleasure with which I see justice done to Metcalfe, and I am very much obliged to you for a publication in which he is so favourably spoken of. I am not sure, however, that I can admit that full justice is done to him even in it. The character given of him is admirable, even the part that seems mere panegyric shows sagacity and discrimination. I cannot quite agree with the censures, slight as they are. Metcalfe has unquestionably such a temper as is seldom given to man, but he surely is capable of indignation when there is anything to call it forth, and is not likely to invite ill-usage by showing himself wanting to his own dignity. I should think he was cautious, almost timid, in deliberating, but that he would be roused at once by opposition such as appeared to him factious or unreasonable. I agree that he is not well qualified to use the proper means for managing a popular government, and that he even despises the use of them; but I cannot admit that he does not see the end in view, or the relation into which he wishes to bring the Governor and the popular branch of the Legislature. I think his neglect of the means a misfortune. It is great weakness to rely on management of individuals and parties (in which Lord Sydenham so much excelled) for the permanent support of a system, but it is requisite for enabling some solid measures to proceed without interruption. I think it is his overrating these supposed defects of Metcalfe's that has most led Mr. Wakefield to what I cannot but think a wrong conclusion. I cannot think that the disputes between the Governor-General and his Council are to be ascribed to mere 'incompatibility of character,' or to the parties not understanding each other. Those causes, no doubt, had their influence; but were there not other grounds of disagreement, which no freedom of communication could have removed? Lord Sydenham, it appears, conceded the responsibility of ministers; Sir C. Bagot carried it into practice, but in this crisis, when the strongest and firmest hand was required to mark the boundary of this new distribution of power, he was incapacitated by sickness from undertaking that work at all. The whole power fell into the hands of the ministry, and Metcalfe had to re-

1843—44. conquer the most indispensable of his rights. In such circumstances, I doubt if any modification of character, or any skill and experience in parliamentary tactics, could have averted a collision, and I need not say that I most fully concur with Mr. Wakefield in thinking that Metcalfe should have the most full, open, and energetic support of Government. As to the particular sort of support which I understood you to hint at (some distinguished mark of favour on the part of the Crown), however much to be desired it is, I am afraid scarcely to be hoped for. A peerage is already due to Metcalfe for his services in Jamaica, and as he has no issue, it would be a very moderate boon; but Peel has from fifty to seventy applicants, many of whom rate even their public services high: he stops their mouths by professing a resolution not to complete the work of the Whigs in swamping the House of Lords; but if he once opens the door, 'like to an entered tide they all rush by,' and leave room for a new inundation of claimants."

But rightly to understand what were the heroic constancy and courage of the man in the midst of all this great sea of trouble, we must ever keep before us the fact that he was suffering almost incessant physical pain, and that a lingering and torturing death was before him. The cancer which was eating into his face had destroyed the sight of one eye, and he was threatened with total blindness. He was compelled, therefore, to sit in a darkened room, and to employ an amanuensis, and when he was compelled to go abroad on public business, the windows of his carriage were so screened as to exclude the dust and the glare. Throughout the years 1843 and 1844 the disease had been steadily gaining ground, in spite of all the efforts and appliances of human skill. The Queen's Government had sent out to Canada a young surgical practitioner of high promise, since abundantly fulfilled, recommended by Sir Benjamin Brodie and Mr. Martin, who were well acquainted with the case. But neither the skill of Mr. Pollock,* nor his

* Mr. G. D. Pollock—second son of General Sir George Pollock, now surgeon to the Prince of Wales. Sir Charles Metcalfe thus wrote of him: "I am most thankful to you and Sir Benjamin Brodie for all your kindness, and I shall be obliged to you if you will tell him that I am very sensible of it. Mr. Pol-

and winning in his manners; and his conversation, reputation, and experience afford encouragement. He is about to have a consultation with my other doctors, and will afterwards, I conclude, proceed to business. I shall put myself entirely in his hands, and abide by his judgment and treatment."

assiduous and tender ministrations, could avail more than to palliate, in some small measure, the more painful symptoms of his malady, and by the end of 1844 he had returned to England, assured that the cure of such a disease was beyond the reach of surgery or medicine. Metcalfe had by this time ceased to read or write for himself. At the beginning of 1845, by the help of an amanuensis, he gave the following account of himself to Mr. Martin: "I have three kind letters of yours unanswered. So long as I had the use of my eyes, I hoped that a day would come when I could take up my pen and thank you for them; but to do that now I am obliged to borrow the aid of another hand, as my right eye is quite blind, and the other cannot be exerted with impunity. I am compelled to abstain almost entirely from reading and writing, both of which operations are performed for me; thus much is in explanation of my not writing to you with my own hand. Pollock has quitted me on his return to London. I am exceedingly sorry to part with him, not only as a medical adviser, of whose skill and judgment I have a high opinion, and who had acquired considerable experience regarding the state of my complaint, but also as a most agreeable companion, in whose society I had great pleasure. Highly as I think of Pollock, I have lost all faith in chloride of zinc; that powerful but destructive remedy has been applied over and over again, without efficacy, to the same parts of my cheek. The disease remains uneradicated, and has spread to the eye and taken away its sight. This, at least, is my opinion, although I am bound to hesitate in entertaining it, as I am not sure that Pollock is satisfied of the extension of the actual disease to the eye; but if it be not the disease which has produced the blindness, it must be the remedy. I am inclined, however, to believe that it is in reality the disease, both from appearances and the continual pain. The complaint appears to me to have taken possession of the whole of that side of the face, although the surface is not so much ulcerated as it has heretofore been. I feel pain and tenderness in the head, above the eye and down the right side of the face as far as the chin, the cheek towards the nose and mouth being permanently swelled. I cannot open my mouth to its usual width, and have difficulty in inserting and masticating pieces of food. After all that has been done in vain, I am disposed to believe

1845. that a perfect cure is hopeless; I am, nevertheless, in the hands of a doctor who is inclined to follow Pollock's course, and by whose judgment I shall implicitly abide. Having no hope of a cure, my chief anxiety now regards my remaining eye, which sympathises so much with the other that I am not without fear of total blindness, which is not a comfortable prospect, although, if it should come, I shall consider it my duty to resign myself to it with cheerfulness. Under these circumstances you will readily imagine that I should be very glad if I could return home, both for the chance of benefit from the medical skill that is to be found in the metropolis, and, independently of that, for the sake of retirement and repose, which are requisite for an invalid such as I now am; but I cannot reconcile it to my own sense of duty to quit my post in the present state of affairs in this country. I have no doubt of the generous readiness of her Majesty's Government to meet any application that I might make for permission to return, but I have myself no inclination to abandon the loyal portion of the community in Canada, who in the recent crisis have made a noble and successful stand in support of her Majesty's Government. Until, therefore, I see a satisfactory state of things so far confirmed as to afford assurance that it will be lasting, notwithstanding my departure, I shall not entertain any idea of my own retirement so long as I have bodily and mental health sufficient for the performance of the duties of my office."

As the year advanced his sufferings increased. In June he wrote to the same cherished correspondent: "I have no hope of benefit from anything. The malady is gradually getting worse, although its progress from day to day is imperceptible. I cannot quit my post at present without the certainty of mischievous consequences, and must, therefore, perform my duty by remaining where I am, whatever may be the result to myself personally." But, although he wrote thus to one who, whether present or absent, had watched the disease in all its stages, he was in the habit of describing his state lightly, and even jestingly, to his relatives and old correspondents. "A life of perpetual chloride of zinc," he wrote to one of them, "is far from an easy one. There are, however, greater pains and afflictions in the world, and I ought to be grateful for the

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many mercies that I have experienced. . . . The doctor has just been with me, and says that the face looks very satisfactory. N.B. I can't shut my right one, and after the next application I shall not be able to open my mouth—'very satisfactory.'” But, in spite of all this, he went on unflinchingly at his work. His intellect was never brighter, his courage and resolution never stronger. The despatches which he dictated at this time are amongst the best to which he ever attached his name. But it was plainly not the decree of Providence that he should have human strength to struggle on much longer.

But even then there were great compensations. He felt The Peerage. that he was doing his duty, and he knew that his devotion to the public service was recognised both by the Queen and her ministers. During the space of forty-five years he had toiled unremittingly for the good of the State, in foreign lands and under hostile skies; he had scarcely known either home or rest. And now he was about to receive his reward. It came in a shape very welcome to him, for the fire of ambition had burnt within him ever since the boyish days when he had paced the Eton cloisters and indulged in day-dreams of future fame. In the midst of a life rendered endurable only by a feeling that he was doing some good to his fellows, and that it was God's will thus to afflict him, letters came to him from Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel, informing him that it was her Majesty's desire to raise him to the Peerage as soon as he had communicated to Government his choice of a title. He elected to be called by his own ancestral name. He appreciated the honour. He accepted it gratefully. But he felt that it was “too late.”

This honourable recognition of his past services would have sustained and strengthened him, for the stimulus of gratitude was thus added to his other incentives to exertion, if it had been possible for the strong spirit to prevail against the failure of the frail flesh. There were political circumstances which in the early summer of 1845 seemed to render it expedient that Metcalfe should remain at his post. “It will be seen,” he wrote in May to the Colonial Secretary, “from the description of parties which I have submitted, that the two parties in Lower and Upper Canada, which I regard as dis-

1845. affected, have a bitter animosity against me; and if it should ever become necessary to admit these parties again into power, in preference to standing a collision with the Legislative Assembly, a case would arise in which my presence here might be rather prejudicial than beneficial, as it would be impossible for me to place the slightest confidence in the leaders of these parties. If any such necessity should occur in my time, it would cause an embarrassment much more serious to me than any difficulty that I have hitherto had to encounter. Whatever my duty might dictate I trust I should be ready to perform; but I cannot contemplate the possibility of co-operating with any satisfaction to myself with men of whom I entertain the opinions that I hold with regard to the leaders of these parties. Such an embarrassment will not be impossible if any portion of the present majority fall off or become insensible of the necessity of adhering together. It is with a view to avert such a calamity that I consider my continuance at my post to be important at the present period, as a change in the head of the Government might easily lead to the result which I deprecate, and which it will be my study to prevent as long as I see any prospect of success." So he struggled on all through the summer months, doing the best he could, but feeling, at the same time, that his public usefulness was impaired by his physical condition, and that it was chiefly the moral influence of his presence in Canada that enabled him to be of service to the Crown.

The autumn of that year found him more afflicted and more helpless than he had ever been before. Still he was unwilling to resign, but he believed it to be his duty to report to the Queen's ministers that his resignation might soon be inevitable. On the 13th of October he wrote to Lord Stanley: "My disorder has recently made a serious advance, affecting my articulation and all the functions of the mouth; there is a hole through the cheek into the interior of the mouth. My doctors warn me that it may soon be physically impossible for me to perform the duties of my office. If the season were not so far advanced towards the winter, I should feel myself under the necessity of requesting your Lordship to relieve me; but as such an arrangement might require time and deliberation, I propose to struggle on as well as I can, and will address

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your Lordship again on this subject according to any further changes that may occur in my condition ; in the mean while, I have considered it to be my duty to apprise your Lordship of the probable impossibility of my performing my official functions, in order that you may be prepared to make such an arrangement as may seem to be most expedient for the public service." And again on the 29th : " I continue in the same bodily state that I described by the last mail. I am unable to entertain company or to receive visitors, and my official business with public functionaries is transacted at my residence in the country instead of the apartment assigned for that purpose in the public buildings in town. I am consequently conscious that I am inadequately performing the duties of my office, and if there were time to admit of my being relieved before the setting in of the winter, I should think that the period had arrived when I might, perfectly in consistence with public duty, solicit to be relieved ; but, as the doctors say that I cannot be removed with safety from this place during the winter, and as that season is fast approaching, it becomes a question whether I can best perform my duty to my country by working on at the head of the Government to the best of my ability until the spring, or by delivering over charge to other hands, and remaining here as a private individual until the season may admit of my return to Europe with safety. In this dilemma I have hitherto abstained from submitting my formal resignation of my office, and shall continue to report by each successive mail as to my condition and capability of carrying on the duties of my post."

To the first of these letters Lord Stanley, whose kindly Resignation. sympathies and genial praises had cheered Metcalfe alike in seasons of political anxieties and in hours of physical pain, returned the following characteristic answer : " I have received the Queen's commands to express to your Lordship the deep concern with which her Majesty learns that the state of your health is such as to render it necessary for you to tender to her Majesty the resignation of the high and arduous office the duties of which you have so ably fulfilled. Her Majesty is aware that your devotion to her service has led you, amidst physical sufferings beneath which ordinary men would have given way, to remain at your post to the last possible moment.

1845. The Queen highly estimates this proof of your public spirit; and in accepting your proffered resignation, which in the present circumstances she feels it impossible to decline, her Majesty has commanded me to express her entire approval of the ability and prudence with which you have conducted the affairs of a very difficult Government, her sense of the loss which the public service is about to sustain by your retirement, and her deep regret for the cause which renders it unavoidable. These sentiments, I assure you, are fully participated in by myself and the other members of her Majesty's Government. I shall take early steps for the selection of your permanent successor, though it is probable that some time must elapse before he may be able to relieve you. In the mean time, you will consider the acceptance of your resignation as taking effect from the period, whenever that may be, at which you see fit to hand over the government provisionally to Earl Cathcart."

But even then, in his heroic constancy, he would not decide for himself; he would not desert those who had stood by him in the great constitutional conflict which had recently agitated the colony. It was necessary, however, as the autumn advanced, that the decision should be formed, for the setting in of the winter would have closed the navigation of the river and rendered impossible his departure before the spring. So he called his ministry together at the country-house near Montreal, in which he was then residing, and placed the matter wholly in their hands. "It was a scene," writes the biographer of Lord Metcalfe, "never to be forgotten by any who were present, on this memorable occasion, in the Governor-General's sheltered room. Some were dissolved in tears. All were agitated by a strong emotion of sorrow and sympathy, mingled with a sort of wondering admiration of the heroic constancy of their chief. He told them, that if they desired his continuance at the head of the Government—if they believed that the cause for which they had fought together so manfully would suffer by his departure, and that they therefore counselled him to remain at his post, he would willingly abide by their decision; but that the Queen had graciously signified her willingness that he should be relieved, and that he doubted much whether the adequate performance

of his duties, as the chief ruler of so extensive and important a province, had not almost ceased to be a physical possibility. It need not be said what was their decision. They besought him to depart, and he consented. A nobler spectacle than that of this agonised man resolutely offering to die at his post, the world has seen only once before."

1845.

So Lord Metcalfe returned to England, and before him lay the great object of his ambition—a seat in the Legislative Assembly of the Empire. But he felt that it was not the decree of Providence that he should ever lift up his voice in defence of those cherished principles which lay so near to his heart. He had written from Canada to his sister, saying: "There was a time when I should have rejoiced in a peerage, as affording me the privilege of devoting the remainder of my life to the service of my Queen and country in the House of Lords—in my mind a most honourable and independent position; but I doubt now whether I shall ever be able to undertake that duty with any degree of efficiency. My gratification, therefore, is confined to the pleasure which must be derived from so distinguished a mark of approbation of my public services, and to that of knowing that some kind hearts will rejoice at my elevation. The mere rank and title, if divested by infirmities of the power of rendering useful service in the House of Lords, will be encumbrance, and will not add one jot to the happiness which I still hope to enjoy in living in retirement with you." And now in England, with all the appliances of European science at his command, and amidst all the restorative influences of perfect repose and the gentle ministrations of loving friends, it seemed less than ever to be God's will that he should take his place among the "orators discussing important topics in the Senate House." A few more months of pain and it would all be over.

Last days in
England.

But with the pain there was no sorrow. There was infinite peace and a beautiful resignation within him, and his habitual cheerfulness never wholly deserted him. He could still rejoice in the society of loving friends and in the kind words which came to him from a distance. Among other compensations of this kind were the public addresses which were voted to him—addresses striving to congratulate, but coming only to console—which greeted him in his retirement. A great meet-

1846.

ing of the "Civil and Military Servants of the East India Company and others personally connected with India" was held at the Oriental Club. Men who had held all kinds of honourable positions in India, from Governor-General downwards, vied with each other in doing honour to the veteran statesman. Among them, as he himself afterwards wrote, were "some whose public service he had had the honour of superintending, some with whom he had co-operated as colleagues, some who as schoolfellows had known him from boyhood, some who as cotemporaries had been engaged in the same field, and many who, without his personal acquaintance, had nevertheless concurred to do him honour." The names appended to the address were so numerous, that when the parchment was unrolled before him it covered the floor of his room. He received it with deep emotion. "It is easy," he said, "to bear up against ill-usage, but such kindness quite overcomes me." In the written answer, which he returned to this address, he said: "Had I retired from the colonial service of my country with health to enable me to discharge other public functions, it would have been the highest satisfaction to me to devote the rest of my life to those duties in the Legislature devolving on the rank to which I have been elevated by our most gracious sovereign; but as it appears to be the will of the Almighty that sickness and infirmity should be the lot of my remaining days, I shall in that state cherish the recollection of your kindness as one of the greatest blessings I can enjoy. Proud of my relation with the services in India, in which so many eminent men have been formed and are continually rising, it is a source of indescribable pleasure to me that the approbation accorded to my efforts in other quarters should meet with sympathy from those personally connected with that splendid portion of the British Empire, and that one of the last acts of my public life should be to convey to you my grateful sense of the generous sentiments which you entertain." To an address received about the same time from the inhabitants of Calcutta, who had built in his honour the Metcalfe Hall, he replied in a few brief but touching sentences, in which he spoke of the infirmities which beset him and the hopeless state of his health, and concluded by saying, "My anxious hope that prosperity and every other blessing

may attend you will accompany me to the grave, which lies open at my feet."

This was written in July. The end was, indeed, rapidly approaching. He was then at Malshanger Park, near Basingstoke. His sister, Mrs. Smythe, and other dear friends were with him. To the last his courage and resolution were conspicuous. He would not be confined to the sick-room, but moved about, and without help, as long as motion was possible,* and desired that everything should go on in his house as if no change were approaching.† He was sensible of increasing weakness; but he was anxious to hide his sufferings from the eyes of others, and never at any time was the unselfishness of his nature more apparent than when the hand of death was upon him. His loving-kindness towards others was as beautiful as the patience which clothed him as with a garment; and in the extremity of his own sufferings he had ever a heart to feel for the sufferings of others, and a hand to help and to relieve. And so, gentle and genial and courteous to the last, he passed away from the scene, solaced beyond all by the word of God that was read to him, and by the sweet sounds of his sister's harp. The bodily anguish which had so long afflicted him ceased; perfect peace was upon him; and a calm sweet smile settled down on his long-tortured face, as with an assured belief in the redeeming power of Christ's blood, he gave back his soul to his Maker.

* "On the 4th of September, Lord Metcalfe, for the first time, did not leave his sleeping apartment. The extreme debility of the sufferer forbade any exertion. There was little apparent change except in a disinclination to take the nourishment offered to him. On the following morning, however, the change was very apparent. It was obvious that he was sinking fast. Unwilling to be removed to his bed, he sat for the greater part of the day in a chair, breathing with great difficulty. In the afternoon he sent for the members of his family, laid his hands upon their heads as they knelt beside him, and breathed the blessing which he could not utter. Soon afterwards he was conveyed to his bed. . . . The last sounds which reached him were the sweet strains of his sister's harp. . . . 'How

sweet those sounds are!' he was heard to whisper almost with his dying breath."—*Life of Lord Metcalfe*.

† "He seemed unwilling to do or to suffer anything that would bring the sad truth painfully to the minds of others. He wished, therefore, that everything should go on in his household as though his place were not soon to be empty. . . . He would converse cheerfully on all passing topics, public and private, and his keen sense of humour was unclouded to the last."—*Life and Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe*. The biographer adds: "A friend writing to me regarding Lord Metcalfe's last days, says: 'A month before his death I have seen him laugh as heartily at a joke in *Punch* as the stoutest of us.'"

1846. He was buried in the family vault of the Metcalfes, in the little parish church of Winkfield, near his paternal estate; and there may be seen a tablet to his memory bearing the following inscription, inspired by the genius of Macaulay. Both are summed up, in the monumental record, with so much beauty and truth, it leaves nothing to be said about the career or the character of Charles Metcalfe.

Near this Stone is Laid

CHARLES THEOPHILUS, FIRST AND LAST LORD METCALFE,
 A STATESMAN TRIED IN MANY HIGH POSTS AND DIFFICULT CONJUNCTURES,
 AND FOUND EQUAL TO ALL.
 THE THREE GREATEST DEPENDENCIES OF THE BRITISH CROWN
 WERE SUCCESSIVELY ENTRUSTED TO HIS CARE.
 IN INDIA HIS FORTITUDE, HIS WISDOM, HIS PROBITY, AND HIS
 MODERATION
 ARE HELD IN HONOURABLE REMEMBRANCE
 BY MEN OF MANY RACES, LANGUAGES, AND RELIGIONS.
 IN JAMAICA, STILL CONVULSED BY A SOCIAL REVOLUTION,
 HE CALMED THE EVIL PASSIONS
 WHICH LONG SUFFERING HAD ENGENDERED IN ONE CLASS,
 AND LONG DOMINATION IN ANOTHER.
 IN CANADA, NOT YET RECOVERED FROM THE CALAMITIES OF CIVIL WAR,
 HE RECONCILED CONTENDING FACTIONS
 TO EACH OTHER AND TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY.
 PUBLIC ESTEEM WAS THE JUST REWARD OF HIS PUBLIC VIRTUE,
 BUT THOSE ONLY WHO ENJOYED THE PRIVILEGE OF HIS FRIENDSHIP
 COULD APPRECIATE THE WHOLE WORTH OF HIS GENTLE AND
 NOBLE NATURE.
 COSTLY MONUMENTS IN ASIATIC AND AMERICAN CITIES
 ATTEST THE GRATITUDE OF NATIONS WHICH HE RULED;
 THIS TABLET RECORDS THE SORROW AND THE PRIDE
 WITH WHICH HIS MEMORY IS CHERISHED BY PRIVATE AFFECTION.

HE WAS BORN THE 30TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1785.
 HE DIED THE 5TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1846.

APPENDIX.

(*Note*, p. 59.)

STATE OF THE COMPANY'S SERVICE IN 1765.

LORD CLIVE TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Calcutta, September 30, 1765.

GENTLEMEN,—

* * * * UPON my arrival, I am sorry to say I found your affairs in a condition so nearly desperate as would have alarmed any set of men whose sense of honour and duty to their employers had not been estranged by the too eager pursuit of their own immediate advantage. The sudden, and, among many, the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, had introduced luxury in every shape, and in its most pernicious excess. These two enormous evils went hand in hand together through the whole Presidency, infecting almost every member of each department. Every inferior seemed to have grasped at wealth, that he might be enabled to assume the spirit of profusion, which was now the only distinction between him and his superior. Thus all distinction ceased, and every rank became, in a manner, upon an equality. Nor was this the end of the mischief, for a contest of such a nature among your servants necessarily destroyed all proportion between their wants and the honest means of satisfying them. In a country where money is plenty, where fear is the principle of government, and where your arms are ever victorious; in such a country, I say, it is no wonder that corruption should find its way to a spot so well prepared to receive it. It is no wonder that the lust of riches should readily embrace the proffered means of its gratification, or that the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority, and proceed even to extortion in those cases where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity. Examples of this sort, set by superiors,

could not fail of being followed in a proportionate degree by inferiors. The evil was contagious, and spread among both civil and military, down to the writer, the ensign, and the free merchant.

The large sums of money acquired by donation, besides the means I have already mentioned, were so publicly known and vindicated, that every one thought he had a right to enrich himself, at all events, with as much expedition as possible. The monopoly of salt, betel, tobacco, &c., was another fund of immense profits to the Company's servants, and likewise to such others as they permitted to enjoy a share, while not a rupee of advantage accrued to the Government, and very little to the Company, from that trade. Before I had discovered the various sources of wealth, I was under great astonishment to find individuals so suddenly enriched, that there was scarce a gentleman in the settlement who had not fixed upon a very short period for his return to England with affluence. From hence arose that froward spirit of independency which, in a manner, set all your orders at defiance, and dictated a total contempt of them as often as obedience was found incompatible with private interest. At the time of my arrival, I saw nothing that bore the form or appearance of government. The authority and pre-eminence of the Governor were levelled with those of the Councillors; every Councillor was as much a Governor as he who bore the name, and distinction of rank, as I have already observed, was no longer to be found in the whole settlement.

Notwithstanding a special order from the Court of Directors, founded on very wise and very evident reasons, that all correspondence with the country powers should be carried on solely in the Governor's name, I found that our whole correspondence with the Great Mogul, the Soubahs, Nabobs, and Rajahs had been of late carried on by, and in the name of, the whole Board, and that every servant and free merchant corresponded with whom they pleased.

Your orders for the execution of the covenants were positive, and expressly mentioned to be the resolution of a General Court of Proprietors; your servants at Bengal, however, absolutely determined to reject them, and had not the Select Committee resolved that the example should be first set by the Council, or a suspension from your service take place, it is certain they would have remained unexecuted to this hour. You will not, I imagine, be much surprised at this breach of duty if you look over the general letters, where you cannot avoid seeing how many are annually committed, and how fast everything was tending to a contempt of your authority.

From a short survey of the late transactions, I was convinced that no other remedy was left than an immediate and vigorous exertion of the powers with which the Committee were invested. Happy, in my opinion, was it for the Company that such powers were granted, for that the settlement, so conducted, could have subsisted another twelvemonth, appears to me an impossibility. A great part of the revenues of the country, amounting to near four millions sterling per annum, would have been divided among your servants, and the acquisition of fortunes being so sudden, a few months must have brought writers into Council. Seniority must have been admitted as a just claim to a seat at the Board, without the qualification of age or experience, because the rapidity of succession denied the attainment of either.

Nor were these excesses confined to your civil servants alone; the military department also had caught the infection, and riches, the bane of discipline, were daily promoting the ruin of your army. The too little inequality of rank rendered the advantages of captains, lieutenants, and ensigns so nearly upon a par, and so large, that an independent fortune was no distant prospect even to a subaltern. If a too quick succession among those from whom you expect the study of commerce and polity is detrimental to your civil concerns, how effectually destructive must that evil prove to your military operations! The most experienced European officer, when he has entered into the East India Service, although he may be able in many points to suggest improvement to others, will, nevertheless, find that something new remains for himself to learn peculiar to this service which cannot be attained in a day. Judge, then, how the case must stand with youths, who are either first sent out from the academy, or, which more frequently happens, who have had no education at all; for to such have we often been reduced to the necessity of granting commissions. How much must the expectations of your army be raised, when they are suffered, without control, to take possession, for themselves, of the whole booty, donation money, and plunder, on the capture of a city? This, I can assure you, happened at Benares; and, what is more surprising, the then Governor and Council, so far from laying in a claim to the moiety which ought to have been reserved for the Company, agreeable to those positive orders from the Court of Directors a few years ago, when they were pleased to put their forces upon the same footing with those of his Majesty, gave up the whole to the captors. You have heard of the general mutiny that happened among your Sepoys a little before my arrival. What

would have been your consternation had you also heard of the unanimous desertion of your European soldiery? These were very serious events indeed, and had it not been for one well-timed vigorous act of Major Munro, and the unwearied zeal and military abilities of General Carnac, who totally suppressed the spirit of mutiny among the soldiers, your possessions in India might at this time have been destitute of a man to support them, and even the privilege of commerce irrecoverably crushed. Common justice to the principles of General Carnac oblige me further to add, that I found him the only officer of rank who had resisted the temptations to which, by his station, he was constantly subject—of acquiring an immense fortune; and I question much whether he is not the only man who has of late years been honoured with the command of your forces without acquiring a very large independency. The letter from the Great Mogul to the Governor and Council, requesting their permission for him to accept a present of two lakhs, which his Majesty is desirous of bestowing on him as a reward for his disinterested services, will corroborate what I have said in his favour; and as this affair, agreeable to the tenor of the covenants, is referred to the Court of Directors, I make no doubt they will readily embrace the opportunity of showing their regard to such distinguished merit by consenting to his acceptance of his Majesty's bounty.

If the picture I have drawn be a faithful likeness of this Presidency—and I call upon the most guilty, for guilty there are, to show that I have aggravated a feature—to what a deplorable condition must your affairs have soon been reduced? Every State (and such now is your Government in India) must be near its period, when the rage of luxury and corruption has seized upon its leaders and inhabitants. Can trade be encouraged for public benefit where the management, unfortunately, devolves upon those who make private interest their rule of action? And, further, has sudden affluence ever failed, from the infancy of military discipline to the present perfection of it, to corrupt the principle and destroy the spirit of an army? Independency of fortune is always averse to those duties of subordination which are inseparable from the life of a soldier, and in this country, if the acquisition be sudden, a relaxation of discipline is more immediately the consequence. I would not be thought, by these observations, to exclude riches from the military; honour alone is scarcely a sufficient reward for the toilsome service of the field. But the acquisition of wealth ought to be so gradual as to admit not a prospect of completing it till succession, by merit, to the rank of a field-officer should have laid a good foundation for the

claim. Such is the idea I entertained of this matter when I delivered my sentiments to the Court of Directors in my letter of the 27th of April, 1764, and I have acted in conformity thereto by regimenting the troops in the manner I then proposed. I need not repeat the observations I troubled you with in that letter. It is sufficient to remark here that the good effects of the plan are already visible—that subordination is restored, abuses corrected, and your expenses, of course, already greatly diminished.

The war, which, to my great concern, I found extended above seven hundred miles from the Presidency, is now happily concluded, and a peace established upon terms which promise lasting tranquillity to these provinces. This event has, I find, disappointed the expectations of many who thought of nothing but a march with the King to Delhi. My resolution, however, was, and my hopes will always be, to confine our assistance, our conquests, and our possessions to Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. To go farther is, in my opinion, a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd, that no Governor and Council in their senses can ever adopt it unless the whole system of the Company be first entirely new modelled.

I forbear troubling you with a detail of the negotiations of General Carnac and me with the country powers, and the particulars of the treaty of peace with the Vizier of the empire, as they will be spoken of at large in the letter from the Select Committee, and appear likewise upon the face of our proceedings. I will, however, just remark, that our restoring to Shuja Doula the whole of his dominions proceeds more from the policy of not extending the Company's territorial possessions than the generous principle of attaching him for ever to our interest by gratitude, though this has been the apparent, and is by many thought to be the real, motive. Had we ambitiously attempted to retain the conquered country, experience would soon have proved the absurdity and impracticability of such a plan. The establishment of your army must have been largely increased, a considerable number of civil servants must have been added to your list, and more chiefships appointed; the acts of oppression and innumerable abuses which would have been committed, and which could neither have been prevented nor remedied at so great a distance from the Presidency, must infallibly have laid the foundation of another war destructive and unsuccessful; our old privileges and possessions would have been endangered by every supply we might have been tempted to afford in support of the new, and the natives must have finally triumphed in our inability to sustain the weight of our own ambition.

To return to the point from which this digression has led me, I must carry you back to the description above given of the situation in which I found your affairs on my arrival. Two paths were evidently open to me: the one smooth and strewed with abundance of rich advantages that might easily be picked up, the other untrdden and every step opposed with obstacles. I might have taken charge of the government upon the same footing on which I found it—that is, I might have enjoyed the name of Governor, and have suffered the honour, importance, and dignity of the post to continue in their state of annihilation; I might have contented myself, as others had before me, with being a cipher, or, what is little better, the first among sixteen equals, and I might have allowed this passive conduct to be attended with the usual *doceur* of sharing largely with the rest of the gentlemen in all donations, perquisites, &c., arising from the absolute government, and disposal of all places in the revenues of this opulent kingdom, by which means I might soon have acquired an immense addition to my fortune, notwithstanding the obligations in the new covenants; for the man who can so easily get over the bar of conscience as to receive presents after the execution of them, will not scruple to make use of any evasions that may protect him from the consequence. The settlement in general would thus have been my friends, and only the natives of the country my enemies. If you can conceive a Governor in such a situation, it is impossible to form a wrong judgment of the inferior servants, or of the Company's affairs at such a Presidency. An honourable alternative, however, lay before me. I had the power within my own breast to fulfil the duty of my station by remaining incorruptible in the midst of numberless temptations artfully thrown in my way, by exposing my character to every attack which malice or resentment are so apt to invent against any man who attempts reformation, and by encountering, of course, the odium of the settlement. I hesitated not a moment which choice to make; I took upon my shoulders a burden which required resolution, perseverance, and constitution to support. Having chosen my part, I was determined to exert myself in the attempt, happy in the reflection that the honour of the nation and the very being of the Company would be maintained by the success, and conscious that if I failed my integrity and good intentions at least must remain unimpeached. The other members of the Committee joined with me in opinion that, in order to proceed upon business, it was absolutely necessary for us to assume the powers wherewith we were invested. We saw plainly that most of the gentlemen in Council had been too deeply concerned themselves

in the measures which required amendment for us to expect any assistance from them; on the contrary, we were certain of finding opposition to every plan of innovation, and an unanimous attempt to defeat the intentions of the Proprietors, who solicited my acceptance of the government. The Committee, therefore, immediately met, and I had the happiness to find myself supported by gentlemen whom no temptations could seduce, no inconveniences or threats of malice deter. Our proceedings will convince you that we have dared to act with firmness and integrity, and will, at the same time, demonstrate that temper, unanimity, and despatch must ever mark the proceedings of men unbiassed by private interest.

The gentlemen in Council, of late years, at Bengal, seem to have been actuated in every consultation by a very obstinate and mischievous spirit. The office of Governor has been, in a manner, hunted down, stripped of its dignity, and then divided into sixteen shares. Whether ambition, obstinacy, pride, or self-interest, is usually the motive to such a pursuit I will not take upon me to determine, but am sure it can never arise from a just idea of government, or a true sense of the Company's interest. In my opinion, it is the duty of the Council to make the powers of the President appear as extensive as possible in the eyes of the people; that all correspondence with the country Princes should be carried on through him alone, some particular cases excepted; that the Council should upon all occasions be unanimous in supporting not in extenuating the dignity of his station, and that he ought to be considered among the natives as the sole manager and conductor of political affairs. This should be the outward appearance of administration, though in reality the Council must be allowed a freedom of judgment, and when they perceive in the Governor a tendency to absolute or unjustifiable measures, it then becomes their duty to check him. If they at any time have reason to distrust the rectitude of his principles, they should not allow him to execute designs, even of the smallest moment, without previously laying them before the Board and obtaining their approbation. In short, the best Governor should not, except in cases of necessity, be suffered to conclude any points of importance without the sanction of the Board. But the expedient of a Select Committee equally prevents any ill conduct in the Governor, and is, besides, attended with advantages which can rarely be expected from the whole body of Councillors, five gentlemen well versed in the Company's true interest, of abilities to plan and resolution to execute; gentlemen whose fortunes are honourably approaching to affluence, and whose

integrity has never suffered them to exceed the bounds of moderation. A Select Committee composed of such men will transact more business in a week than the Council can in a month. The opinions and judgment of five men are as securely to be relied on, even in affairs of the utmost consequence, as sixteen. They are less liable to dissension, and it may be said beyond a contradiction, that their administration is more distant from democratic anarchy. The Council, however, would not be a useless body; for whilst the attention of the Committee was chiefly engaged in watching and repairing the mainsprings of government, the Council would as materially serve the Company in attending to the many other movements of the grand machine, which are as essentially necessary to the public advantage and security. And that the Committee should not be able to carry their powers to any dangerous length, they might be ordered annually, before the despatch of the Europe ships, to submit their proceedings to the review of the gentlemen in Council, who might transmit their opinions thereupon to the Court of Directors. Your present Select Committee have from time to time laid most of their proceedings before Council, and we intend to continue the same system of candour, except in any political cases of secrecy, when prudence may require that our resolutions should be confined to the knowledge of a few.

Thus freely I have given you my opinions upon the sort of government I could wish to see established in this settlement, nor shall I think my duty done till I have pointed out every measure that seems to me best calculated to preserve your affairs from destruction. At Bengal, the rule of succession among your servants is perniciously exact: there are frequent occasions where it ought to be set aside—where experience, understanding, integrity, moderation, ought to take place of accidental seniority. The demerits of most of your superior servants have been so great, as you will learn from the Committee's proceedings, that one can hardly imagine their future behaviour will entitle them to further favours than you have hitherto bestowed on them. I do not pretend to surmise what sentence you may pronounce upon the gentlemen who came under the censure of the Committee, but whether it be moderate as ours, or severe as it deserves, it will not much concern them, since all of them are now in very affluent circumstances, and will probably return to Europe by this or the next year's shipping. Peruse, then, the list of your covenanted servants upon this establishment. You will find that many of those next in succession are not only very young in the service, and consequently unfit for such exalted

stations, but are also strongly tainted with the principles of their superiors. If your opinion should correspond with mine, some remedy will be judged necessary to be applied, and I confess I see but one. The unhappy change which within these few years has arisen in the manners and conduct of your servants at Bengal, is alone sufficient to remove the objections I once had to appointments from another settlement; and the difficulty which now too plainly appears of filling up vacancies in Council with the requisite attention to the Company's honour and welfare, inclines me to wish such appointments more frequent. In the present state of this Presidency, no measure can, I think, prove more salutary than to appoint five or six gentlemen from the Court to the Bengal establishment, and there to post them agreeable to their rank and standing in the service. Messrs. Russell, Floyer, Aldersey, and Kelsall, are among those who would be well worthy your attention, should this plan be adopted. I cannot help further recommending to your consideration, whether, if every other method should be found ineffectual, the transplanting a few of the young Bengal servants to Madras would not be of signal service both to themselves and the Company. You will likewise consider whether the settlement of Bombay is capable of furnishing us with a few meritorious servants. With regard to Madras, the conduct of the gentlemen upon that establishment is in general so unexceptionable, that to present Bengal with such examples of regularity, discretion, and moderation, would, I think, be a means of restoring it to good order and government. It is past a doubt, that every attempt of reformation must fail, unless the superior servants be exemplary in their principles and conduct. If we see nothing but rapacity among Councillors, in vain shall we look for moderation among writers.

The sources of tyranny and oppression which have been opened by the European agents acting under the authority of the Company's servants, and the numberless black agents and sub-agents acting also under them, will, I fear, be a lasting reproach to the English name in this country. It is impossible to enumerate the complaints that have been laid before me by the unfortunate inhabitants, who had not forgot that I was an enemy to oppression. The necessity of securing the confidence of the natives is an idea I have ever maintained, and was in hopes would be invariably adopted by others; but ambition, success, and luxury, have, I find, introduced a new system of politics at the severe expense of English honour, of the Company's faith, and of common justice and humanity. The orders so frequently issued, that no writers shall have

the privilege of dustucks, I have strictly obeyed, but I am sorry to inform you that all the wished-for consequences are not to be expected. Officers of the Government are so sensible of our influence and authority, that they dare not presume to search or stop a boat protected by the name of a Company's servant; and you may be assured that frauds of that kind, so easy to be practised and so difficult to be detected, are but too frequent. I have at last, however, the happiness to see the completion of an event which in this respect, as well as in many others, must be productive of advantages hitherto unknown, and at the same time prevent abuses that have hitherto had no remedy. I mean the Dewannee, which is the superintendency of all the lands, and the collection of all the revenues, of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The assistance which the Great Mogul had received from our arms and treasury, made him readily bestow this grant upon the Company, and it is done in the most effectual manner you can desire. The allowance for the support of the Nabob's dignity and power, and tribute to his Majesty, must be regularly paid, the remainder belongs to the Company. Revolutions are now no longer to be apprehended; the means of effecting them will, in future, be wanting to ambitious Mussulmans, nor will your servants, civil or military, be tempted to foment disturbances, from whence can arise no benefit to themselves. Restitution, donation money, &c. &c., will be perfectly abolished, as the revenues from whence they used to issue will be possessed by ourselves. The power of supervising the provinces, though lodged in us, should not, however, in my opinion, be exerted. Three times the present number of civil servants would be insufficient for the purpose; whereas, if we leave the management to the old officers of the Government, the Company need not be at the expense of one additional servant, and though we may suffer in the collection, yet we shall always be able to detect and punish any great offenders, and shall have some satisfaction in knowing that the corruption is not among ourselves. By this means, also, the abuses inevitably springing from the exercise of territorial authority will be effectually obviated; there will still be a Nabob with an allowance suitable to his dignity, and the territorial jurisdiction will still be in the chiefs of the country acting under him and the Presidency in conjunction, though the revenues will belong to the Company. Besides, were the Company's officers to be the collectors, foreign nations would immediately take umbrage, and complaints, preferred to the British Court, might be attended with very embarrassing consequences. Nor can it be supposed that either the French,

Dutch, or Danes will acknowledge the English Company Nabob of Bengal, and pay into the hands of their servants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rents of those districts which they have for many years possessed by virtue of the royal firman, or by grants from former Nabobs. . . .

Having thus fully submitted to you my sentiments on the civil department, permit me to trouble you with a few observations on the military, which deserves a no less serious attention. In the former part of this letter I have mentioned that luxury and an abhorrence of subordination had overspread your army, but that the good effects of appointing field-officers had already become visible. The Committee's letter will enclose a general return of their number, and enlarge upon the necessity of keeping each regiment complete to the establishment; I therefore avoid saying anything here upon those subjects. That letter will also specify the proportion of emoluments proposed for the field-officers from the new acquired advantages upon salt. The same objection may, perhaps, be made to this, which I supposed was likely to occur with respect to the plan for the benefit of the civil servants. If so, I beg leave to refer you to my proposal and remarks upon that subject, which are equally proper and applicable to this. These points, then, I conclude, are sufficiently before you, and I proceed to recommend to your consideration that the regimenting of the troops has introduced a much larger number of officers of rank than has hitherto been admitted upon your establishment, and that this regulation, beneficial and necessary as it is, will, notwithstanding, be productive of one dangerous evil, if not constantly guarded against by the authority of the Governor and Council, supported and enforced by the higher powers at home. The evil I mean to apprise you of is the encroachment of the military upon the civil jurisdiction, and an attempt to be independent of their authority. A spirit of this kind has always been visible; our utmost vigilance, therefore, is requisite to suppress it, or at least to take care that it shall not actually prevail. I have been at some pains to inculcate a total subjection of the army to the Government, and I doubt not that you will ever maintain that principle. In the field, in time of actual service, I could wish to see the Commander of your forces implicitly relied on for his plan of operations. Orders from the Presidency may frequently embarrass him and prejudice the service. At such a time, he is certainly the best judge of what measures should be pursued, and ought, therefore, to be trusted with discretionary power. But he should by no means be permitted to vary from the fixed, general

plan of a campaign, nor from his own idea of the Company's interest, to prosecute operations of importance, when they are not also of real utility and emergency. I dwell not, however, entirely upon the conduct of a Commander of the forces, as such, in the field; he is to understand that upon all occasions a gentleman in Council is his superior, unless he also has a seat at the Board, and then he will, of course, rank as he stands in that appointment. The whole army should, in like manner, be subordinate to the civil power, and it is the indispensable duty of the Governor and Council to keep them so. If at any time they should struggle for superiority, the Governor and Council must strenuously exert themselves, ever mindful that they are the trustees for the Company in this settlement, and the guardians of public property under a civil institution.

It would give me pain to see a regulation so salutary as that of the appointment of field-officers attended with any inconveniences, and therefore I would earnestly recommend the following very easy and effectual mode of prevention. Let the equality in civil and military rank be immediately settled by the Court of Directors. Were disputes about precedence the only points to be adjusted, they would not be worth a moment's reflection, but we are to consider that opportunities will sometimes happen when military gentlemen may assume power and authority from the rank they hold among the civil servants, and perhaps pay no attention to orders issued from their supposed inferiors. Such contentions may have disagreeable consequences, and to prevent them I propose that all the Colonels (the Commander of the troops excepted, who is entitled to the rank of third in Council) shall be equal in rank to the Councillors, but always the youngest of that rank; the Lieutenant-Colonels should rank with Senior Merchants, the Majors with Junior Merchants, Captains with Factors, and Lieutenants and Ensigns with Writers. The rank of all officers below Colonels, and of Civil Servants below Councillors, may be considered according to the dates of their commissions and appointments respectively. When such a regulation has taken place, I think the appointment of field-officers cannot be charged with a single inconvenience. . . .

I must confess that I cannot be responsible for that discipline and reformation we mean shall take place, unless the field-officers are men I can depend upon. Most of the captains now in your service have had so little experience, and are, I fear, so liable to the general objection, that I could wish to have five or six captains sent out who have seen service, who understand discipline, and who

are well recommended by their colonels. If you should think proper to extend this plan to majors, it will be so much the better, but there is no occasion to go higher. . . .

The inquiries I have found myself under the necessity of promoting, the regulations which I judged proper should take place without delay, together with those I have here had the honour to propose for your mature deliberation, will, I doubt not, meet with that candid discussion which the importance of the subject requires. You will be pleased, upon the whole, to observe that the great object of my labour has been (and it must also be yours) to stem that torrent of luxury, corruption, and licentiousness, which have nearly overwhelmed the interest, and I might add the existence of the Company in these parts; to reduce your civil servants to a sense of duty to their employers, and moderation in the pursuit of their own advantages; to introduce discipline, subordination, economy into your army, and to prevent in general that sudden acquisition of riches which is evidently the root of almost every other evil, both in the civil and military departments.

Is there a man anxious for the speedy return of his son, his brother, or his friend, and solicitous to see that return accompanied by affluence of fortune, indifferent to the means by which it may have been obtained? Is there one who, void of all but selfish feelings, can withhold his approbation of any plan that promises not sudden riches to those his dearest connexions, who can look with contempt upon measures of moderation, and who can cherish all upstart greatness, though stigmatised with the spoils of the Company? If there is such a man, to him all arguments would be vain; to him I speak not. My address is to those who can judge coolly of the advantages to be desired for their relations and friends, nor think the body corporate wholly unentitled to their attention. If these should be of opinion that an independent fortune, honourably acquired in a faithful service of twelve or fifteen years, is more compatible with the interests of the Company than the late rapidity of acquisitions, and at the same time satisfactory to the expectations of reason, I will venture to assert that the regulations already made, together with those proposed, will, when enforced by the authority of the Court of Directors, ensure to the Company their commercial and political advantages, and be productive of certain independency to every servant who endeavours to deserve it.

The general terms in which I have mentioned the depravity of this settlement oblige me to point out to your attention the instances—the very few instances—of distinguished merit among the

superior servants. To find a man who, in the midst of luxury and licentiousness, had retained the true idea of commercial economy, who, inferior in fortune to most of your civil servants in the rank of Councillors, was yet superior to all in moderation and integrity, whose regard for the welfare of the public, and for the reputation of individuals, had made him warn others from falling into the temptations of corruption which he saw were approaching, and who could actually resist those temptations himself, when a share was allotted him of money he thought unwarrantably obtained—to find such a man in such a settlement, would appear incredible to those who are unacquainted with Mr. Verelst. I have represented this gentleman to you, as I would every one, in his real character, and shall only add, that if you wish to see the measures we are now pursuing supported with integrity, abilities, and resolution, you will endeavour to prevail on him to continue in your service, by appointing him to succeed Mr. Sumner in the Government. To omit mentioning Mr. Cartier would be injustice, as he also stands high in my opinion. His character is clear, and his attachment to your service what it ought to be—unbiased by any mean attention to his own advantages. I wish sincerely your list of superior servants would enable me to detain you longer on subjects of commendation, but I have finished the picture, and I cannot add another figure that deserves to be distinguished from the group. . . .

I shall conclude this tedious letter by observing, that my anxiety to know whether you approve of my conduct or not, can proceed from no other motive than my concern for the public, since I continue invariable in the resolution I formed, and expressed in a General Court, long before the covenants were proposed, of acquiring no addition to my fortune by my acceptance of the Government; and I beg leave also to assure you, that in order to obviate all suspicion of a collusion in this delicate point, I have not permitted either of the gentlemen of my family to hold an employment in your service, nor to receive presents, although they are not bound by covenants to the contrary. The small congratulatory nuzzurs, elephants, horses, &c., which I have been under a necessity of receiving, do not, I imagine, amount to any considerable sum, but whatever it may be, not a farthing shall go into my own pocket. I have hitherto been too much engaged in matters of public importance to attend to a particular valuation; but I have caused an exact account to be kept of every even the most trifling present, which at my return shall be submitted to your inspection,

and in the mean time the amount of the whole shall go towards defraying my extraordinary expenses as Governor. The only favour I have to solicit for myself is, that although your treasury here will for the future be so full as to render it difficult for individuals to obtain bills upon the Company, payable at home, you will be pleased to indulge me with the usual channel of remittance of my jagheers, until it reverts to the Company.

I have, &c.,
CLIVE.

(Signed)

(Note, p. 388.)

THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM.

THE REV. D. BROWN TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

Calcutta, January 15, 1805.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I RECEIVED your letter from Berkshire in April last. The College is a painful subject, and I am loath to enter upon it; upon its defence, I shall certainly not think of entering. Too much, I fear, has been already said, and that no good purpose has been answered by elaborate discussions. The breach has been widened by the means that were intended to heal it, and I am apprehensive that anything I could say would only be attributed to ignorance, to interested motives, or to a participation in the prejudices of those who have undertaken the defence of the College.

I lament most sincerely the differences of opinion which have existed on various points between this Government and the Court of Directors, and the party spirit which has been fomented by intemperate proceedings. There has not, however, as you seem to apprehend, been evidenced here, so far as my observation has reached, anything like a tendency to dispute the authority of the Court, or to lower its reputation or claims to the grateful homage of the service. But much evil hath been done by letters of hostility from England, and by the publication of the third Report of the Special Committee, which could not fail to astound all those who know the purity and elevation of Lord Wellesley's character, and the upright principles by which his conduct has been directed.

But you know I am no politician, that I am a stranger to the

passions and disputes which agitate parties, and that I only judge of things from appearances, without being able to penetrate, at all times, the motives which give them birth.

When the College was founded I thought it was a glorious undertaking, and I calculated on no less than its being the means of giving the light of the Gospel to this land of darkness. My heart was in it, and I felt persuaded that He who said of Cyrus, "he is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure," had put it into the heart of Lord Wellesley to begin this work.

Knowing little either of the world or its politics, I never dreamt of opposition or hostility from any quarter. I thought you, and as many as entertained the same religious views, would give it the most cordial support. And it appears the Court of Directors were never averse to a plan of their own, and that the opposition which has been made to Lord Wellesley's College originated in other considerations.

When the order for the abolition of the College came out, a member of the Board of Control wrote to his Lordship in these words: "My Lord, your letter on the private trade has upset your College." This appeared to me a very strange reason for upsetting it. I then saw clearly it would come to nothing, unless upheld by the arm of that Providence which I still believed had called it into existence.

Whether the College commenced in the most wise and prudent manner that could have been devised, I was no judge. Whether a proper building should be immediately prepared for the reception of the students, I had no doubt. If it had cost many lakhs, the benefit to be derived from it would have been so great as, in my mind, to have justified the measure. But these are not matters for me to discuss.

What is infinitely more to be regretted than the want of College walls, is the deadly wound the College has received by cutting off from it the Madras and Bombay students. This was like opening a great artery, which let out our blood and life. This fatal measure will never cease to be lamented by those who witnessed the happy effects which flowed from the union of the three Presidencies. The last of the students belonging to Madras and Bombay, who lately left us, parted from us with tears of grateful affection, and I understand they are considered in their respective Presidencies as a new order of beings, from whom the most important services are to be expected. They are, I think, the proper judges to be appealed to on this question. From the low state of morals and learning at the

inferior Presidencies, it is thought no efficient institution can be established at either of them.

I would gladly pass unnoticed the slanders which have been propagated concerning the College, if my silence would not seem like allowing there was some truth in them.

While politics were crushing the College at home, slander was undermining its foundations here. Its foes have been those of its own household! The old servants, almost universally, abhorred the College, and, while they pretended to favour it, wrote against it, or the pretended abuse of it, with much rancour. It was considered as a test of morals and learning not to be endured. They saw that the younger branches of the service would be raised to degrees of distinction which they could never attain, and that the mask would be taken off from ignorance and incapacity wherever they existed. Even the ablest officers of the Government apprehended that they would lose something of their consequence by the cheapening of their talents. Sir George Barlow is, perhaps, the only person who has viewed the College, from first to last, with a single eye, and has supported it with the purest zeal. We have seen prejudices wearing away fast, year after year. Many secret enmities have been subdued, and several of the heads of the service have become real converts and warm advocates for an institution which they would once have gladly seen destroyed. But while much of the old leaven remains, we may expect the College will continue to be evil spoken of by some. From the letters which have been published by the French at the Mauritius, or sent round here, we see what sort of letters must have been written home to produce such answers. Some persons much favoured have been guilty of this perfidious conduct. And I greatly fear that Lord Wellesley has always had too near him characters of a malignant caste, who, filled with hatred against his person and government, have basely defamed both in their private correspondence. I was once or twice agonised with a detestable story circulated by those who should have been silent if it had been true, but it was utterly false, and equal to any villany that, I believe, was ever invented. I cannot bring myself to mention the circumstances, or they would not fail to convince you of what desperate wickedness some decent sort of people are capable. Some persons of this description, from pure enmity to Lord Wellesley, have defamed the College. The vices and misconduct of some young men who were never in the College have been imputed to the students of it; mere trifles have been magnified into serious crimes, the detail of which would show what slight foundations prejudice

can build upon. That gross immorality which once marked the Writers' Buildings as a sink of iniquity, has wholly disappeared. I do not believe there is a school or university to be found where effective discipline is maintained like that which has preserved the morals of nine-tenths of the students of the College of Fort William. Hard study is the magic by which this has been chiefly effected. Much more has been done by means of friendly counsel than could have been done by proctors' fines and privations. If a few have miscarried, I can name scores who have done nobly, and who will attribute their salvation from low vices and dissipated habits to the studies and discipline of the College.

My testimony on this subject may, perhaps, be deemed partial; but I am not attempting a formal defence (which you will probably receive from other quarters), nor do I wish to claim for the College unmerited praise. No part of the merit belongs to me. I am, however, in a situation to judge what is justly due to the genius, talents, and industry of others. That Providence who, I still believe, put it into the heart of Lord Wellesley to lay the foundation, provided a wise master-builder to carry on the design in Mr. Buchanan. If I should say half I know to be due to his well-earned fame, I fear you would think my encomium somewhat extravagant. If the East India Company—if his country—should ever know the worth of his character, they will not pass it over without regard. I have been long an eye-witness of his pure and fervent zeal, of his able and prudent exertions, of his indefatigable attention and incessant labour in all the duties of his respective stations. It is but right I should say he has done all things well, both as a minister of Christ and a ruler of an institution as important as any the world ever saw. To him it must be ascribed that the College has attained so rapidly to perfection, for in some respects it will never attain to higher degrees of excellence.

With great concern we see his family torn from him a second time by sickness. He probably will soon think it his duty to follow them, and the danger is, that when the College loses him, it will lose its mainspring, and as suddenly decline as we have seen it rise. I now perceive what an unspeakable advantage it would have been had some men of piety and learning (as Kempthorne, Bourdillon, and others) come out to us some years ago.

You know what sort of chaplains followed Mr. Buchanan into this service, which is now stocked, for a long time to come. It is now clear what this Presidency has to look to in the way of succession.

But my thoughts are on the College at present, the future fate of which will much depend on the character of its immediate Governors. Though I have so little ability to be useful to it, I have some zeal for its prosperity, which I consider as inseparably connected with the interests of the East India Company, and, what is more, with the interests of true religion, and my zeal prompts me to suggest what now appears to be the only expedient left to preserve it in time to come. At the College examination on Monday last I was lamenting to Mr. Buchanan the want of proper men (such as those named above) to succeed us in office, and to fill the professorships. I hinted how admirably your second son would conduct this institution, if he could be prevailed on to accept the office. He replied that the College would yield him better fruit than the barren profession of the law, and begged me to propose instantly his own situation, which he wishes shortly to resign, and particularly as your son's talents so eminently qualify him for the classical professorship. I scarcely can imagine that he would be reconciled to such a line, or that you would think it eligible for him. But it struck me that your son Charles, who has been disabled from following his profession, might be prevailed on to turn his thoughts this way, for the sake of change of climate, which, no doubt, would be favourable to him; and I think the place which I hold would be acceptable to him on several accounts. Nor can I hope or wish for a greater blessing to the service than that one or both of them should be induced to accept the government of this College.

If, however, they are seeking higher things, I implore you to think of others as well qualified to appoint in their stead, and to do it while you are now in the chair.

I have little more to add on this subject, except that I beg leave to advertise you of the deplorable disadvantages under which those come out who are now appointed writers, without some previous knowledge of classics or a good stock of modern languages. An illiterate youth has no chance in this race. He must lag behind, and sink into worse than nothing. The few instances which have failed of late have all been of this description.

I suppose Mr. Udny returned your book, and I shall be glad to hear of its publication, as it would be of great use in preparing the way for a memoir which Mr. Buchanan is about to print. I shall ever regret that you allowed us no latitude in communicating the contents of your work to any one. I think Mr. Buchanan would have done for your work what you desired Mr. Udny and me to do, and not have laid a new foundation. In a few weeks after you re-

ceive this, his memoir will appear from the press, confirming all you have written, and proposing what appears expedient forthwith to be done. You will find a series of facts in support of the representations which you have given of the Hindoos, and of their idolatry, formally authenticated. The memoir is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Its general title is, "Of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India." I can give you the outline in a few words, for I have just revised the last sheet. It is in three parts.

First, on the means of preserving the profession of the Christian religion among our countrymen in India.

Under this head he gives a view of the present state of the English Church in India, of the present establishment of the Romish Church in the East, of the extent of the proposed ecclesiastical establishment for British India, and closed the first part with considerations deduced from the propriety or necessity of an ecclesiastical establishment; and, lastly, considers objections.

Second part is on the civilisation of the natives.

Here he shows the practicability of civilising them, the policy of so doing, and the impediments in the way of their civilisation, particularly their sanguinary superstitions and numerous holidays.

Part third, which is the most gratifying, is on the progress already made in civilising the natives of India. Here he treats of the extension of Christianity in India under the influence of episcopal jurisdiction, and, finally, of the extension of the same by the labours of Protestant missionaries. To this memoir is added a copious appendix of facts, supporting every part of it. It is well and faithfully done, and it has with your book (its precursor) my hearty prayers for success.

As you are in the chair, I have the greatest hopes that this is a favourable time for the accomplishment of good purposes. The Governor-General, who read your book, has also had the outline of this in his hands; but he does not know the extent of what is now to be published. His most decided support may be depended upon, but I fear political animosities will prevent him from taking an active part in the business.

I have other matters to write you upon, which I purpose to do by the public packet.

I remain, &c.,

D. BROWN.

THE REV. D. BROWN TO C. GRANT, ESQ.

Calcutta, May 25, 1805.

MY DEAR SIR,—

ON Saturday last, I received the orders of this Government for the reduction of the College of Fort William to a scale suitable to the present confined number of students.

It is now what the Court of Directors originally intended it to be, “a Bengal seminary, like unto that formerly under Mr. Gilchrist.” If this event could have been foreseen, much trouble, much disappointment, and much expense might have been spared.

As I have formerly said, I am not a judge of the propriety or expediency of commencing on the grand scale we did, but the fruits proved all that could be expected or wished. The College rose in a few years to a degree of efficiency and splendour that could not have been anticipated. With this before his eyes, Lord Wellesley has deemed it proper to yield to the necessity laid upon him by orders from home, and to confine the studies of the present institution strictly to the three languages here in use. I shall for ever regret the fall of the Arabic, which, as Sir William Jones most truly observed, is the foundation of all Oriental literature; and the loss of the Sanscrit does not grieve me less, its utility being, in my mind, equal to what the Arabic was in Sir William Jones’s.

It is impossible for me to describe the disheartening gloom now diffused over the College. The professors, students, and learned natives look on this revolution with amazement and concern.

“The glory is departed.” But it is the will of God that this should have come to pass, and some wise end will, no doubt, be answered by it.

The following description may be applied, I think, as detailing with wonderful accuracy the former and present state of the College of Fort William :

“Behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven” (*vide* Translations of the Scriptures), “and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth; and the leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much.

“And one came down, and cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, . . . shake off his leaves, . . . and scatter his fruit.

“Nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth.”

After what has been already said on this subject, I find nothing further to suggest or add. But I thought it a duty to apprise you of the general feeling which has followed on this pruning operation.

With regard to the future fate of the College, I leave it without prophesying either good or evil concerning it.

The stump may, I hope, hereafter flourish, contrary to all human appearances or expectations.

May its glory, honour, and brightness return! May it be re-established; and may excellent dignity be added unto it!

I am, &c. &c.,

D. BROWN.

[As an interesting sequel to the preceding correspondence relating to the rise and fall of the College of Fort William, and the conflict between Lord Wellesley and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, two letters are appended, bearing date thirty-six years later than the foregoing, which afford a remarkable illustration of the manner in which the "whirligig of time brings in its revenges," and teaches men "to labour and to wait."]

LORD WELLESLEY TO W. B. BAYLEY, Esq., AND GEO. LYALL, Esq.
Kingston House, March 18, 1841.

GENTLEMEN,—

So high is my estimation of the transcendent honour conferred upon me by the unanimous resolution of the whole body of the East India Company, that my first emotion was to offer up my thankful acknowledgments to the Almighty Power which has preserved my life beyond the ordinary limits of human nature, to receive a distinction of which history affords so few, if any, examples.

Three years have elapsed since this great and powerful body conferred on me a signal mark not only of honour but of generous and affectionate consideration. The wisdom of that great body does not deem the value of public services to be diminished by the lapse of time; it is for weak, low, and frivolous minds, themselves incapable of any great action, to take so narrow a view of public merit. True wisdom will ever view time as the best test of public service, and will apportion its rewards accordingly. I therefore considered the former act of the East India Company as greatly enhanced in value by the deliberation which preceded it. The present consummation of their justice and wisdom is marked by the same spirit of deliberation, reflecting equal honour on those who confer, and on him who receives this high and glorious reward.

At my advanced age, when my public career must be so near its close, it would be vain to offer any other return of gratitude than the cordial acknowledgment of my deep sense of the magnitude and value of this unparalleled reward. May my example of success and of ultimate reward encourage and inspire all the servants of the East India Company to manifest a similar zeal and devotion to the service of the Company and of the British Empire in the East, and may their continued efforts preserve and improve to the end of time the interests of that great charge so long entrusted to my hands! Your congratulations on this occasion are peculiarly interesting to me.

The high character of Mr. Lyall, the Deputy-Chairman, and the distinguished place which he holds in the estimation and confidence of his fellow-citizens of London, must ever render his favourable testimony of the highest value to every public servant of the British Empire. But the Chairman, Mr. Bayley, in his own person, furnishes the strongest practical instance of the true spirit, objects, and result of my system of administration in the government of India.

He was educated under my eye in the College of Fort William, founded by my hands, and conducted under my constant and close superintendence. He was employed for a considerable period of time in the Governor-General's office, an establishment intended for the express purpose of qualifying the civil servants of the Company for the highest offices in the State, by rendering them daily conversant with the whole system and detail of the office and duty of the Governor-General. Thus instructed, he obtained, most justly, a seat in Council, and held occasionally at the Presidency the office of Governor-General, with such distinction, that on his return to England he was elected into the Direction, and now most worthily fills the high station of Chairman of the East India Company.

To receive such a reward from such a hand at once enhances its value and confirms its justice. Mr. Bayley will, I trust, excuse this tribute to his character, which my duty of gratitude to the East India Company requires from me on this great and solemn occasion, on which I cannot use any terms which will convey my sentiments more correctly than those which I employed on a similar occasion in returning my thanks to the inhabitants of Calcutta on the 2nd of March, 1804, at the close of the war with the Mahratta chieftains.

The just object of public honours is not to adorn a favoured cha-

racter, nor to extol individual reputation, nor to transmit an esteemed name with lustre to posterity, but to commemorate public services and to perpetuate public principles.

The conscious sense of the motives, objects, and result of my endeavours to serve my country in this arduous station inspires me with an unfeigned solicitude that the principles which I revere should be preserved for the security of the interests now entrusted to my charge, and destined hereafter to engage my lasting and affectionate attachment.

May, then, the Memorial by which you are pleased to distinguish my services remind you of the source from which they proceeded, and of the ends to which they were directed, and confirm the principles of public virtue, the maxims of public order, and a due respect for just and honest government.

I have, &c.,

WELLESLEY.

LORD WELLESLEY TO W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.

Kingston House, March 21, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—

YOUR most kind and affectionate letter of the 17th of March demanded an earlier reply, and should certainly have received earlier acknowledgments of gratitude and reciprocal affection, but that I really was so overwhelmed with the noble, most generous, and most affecting conduct of the Court, that I had not strength to write to you on the same day; besides, the nature (just and honest) of my letter to the Chairs necessarily led to topics which essentially conveyed my feelings on the subject of your most amiable private letter of the 17th.

In truth, I have ever considered my foundation of the College of Fort William and of the Governor-General's office, as my primary public service both in principle and result: in principle, because its object was to provide public servants, qualified for their duty; in result, because it actually has produced you, with several others, Adam, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Jenkins, Mackenzie, &c., who have fully justified all my intentions, hopes, and expectations from those institutions. I greatly admired the address which you have so aptly quoted, and the sentiments of which you have so faithfully and affectionately preserved in your excellent heart. Every trace of right feeling must depart from me before I can consider every part of this transaction as anything less than a solid ingredient of happiness and glory to my inmost soul, and as the eternal subject

of thanksgiving, and gratitude, and humble love towards the Almighty Disposer of all human events and ruler of all virtuous hearts. I hear from everybody a very different account of your speech from that which you give: the account given in all the newspapers contains everything to which my most eager hopes could aspire.

Ever, my dear sir,
Your most affectionate friend and obliged servant,

WELLESLEY.

END OF VOL. I.

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