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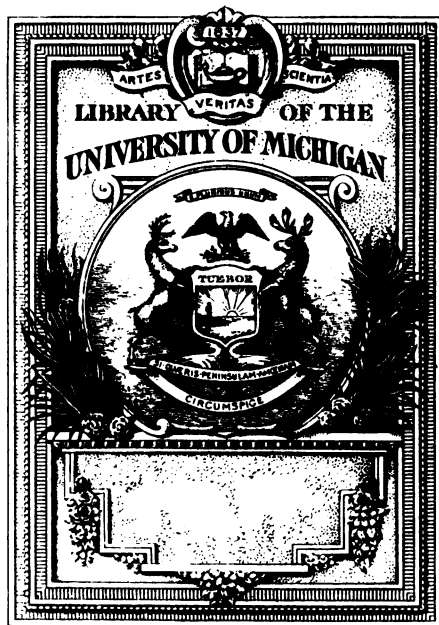
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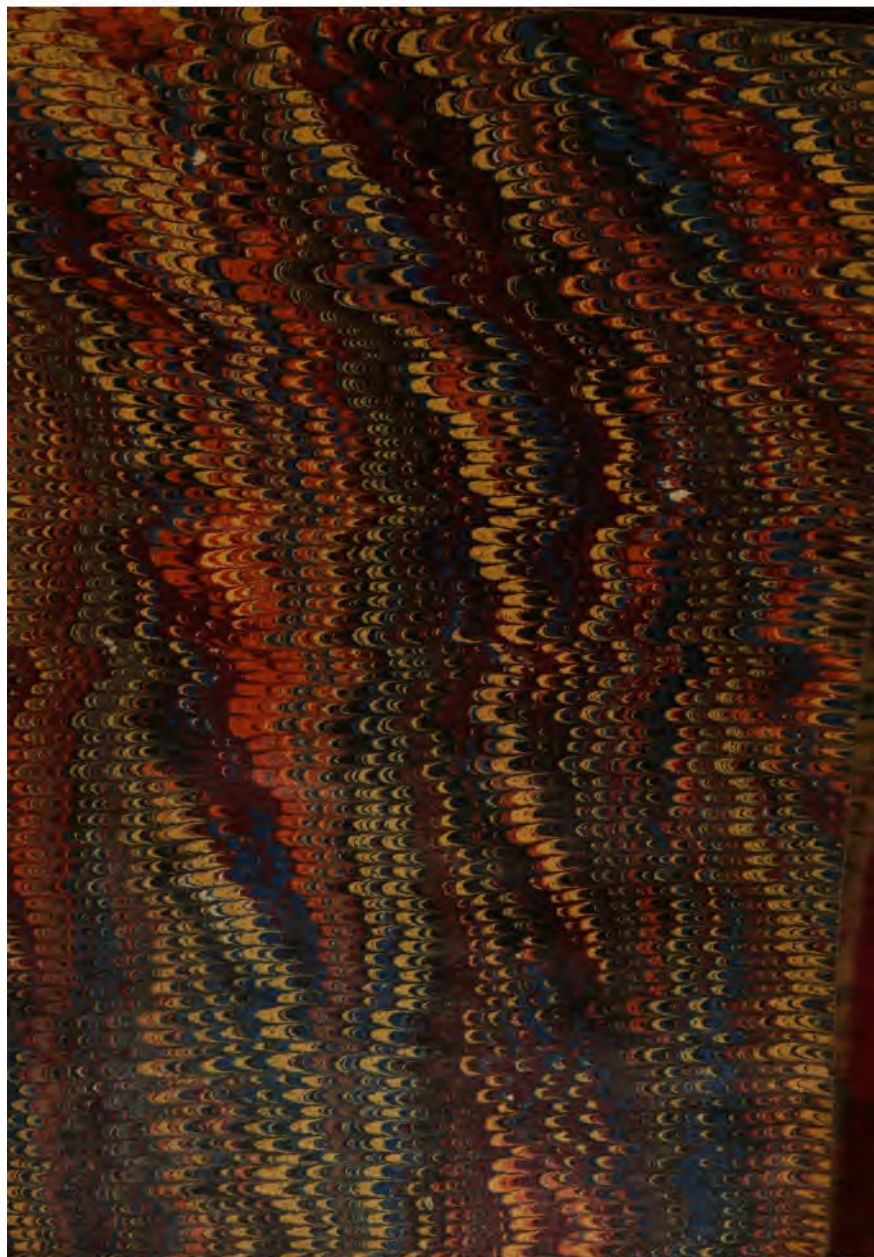
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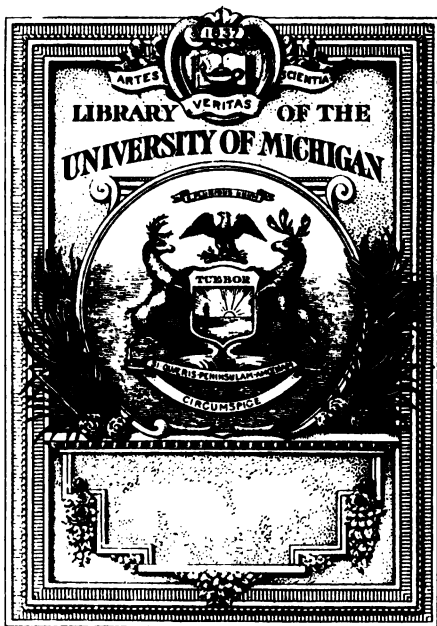
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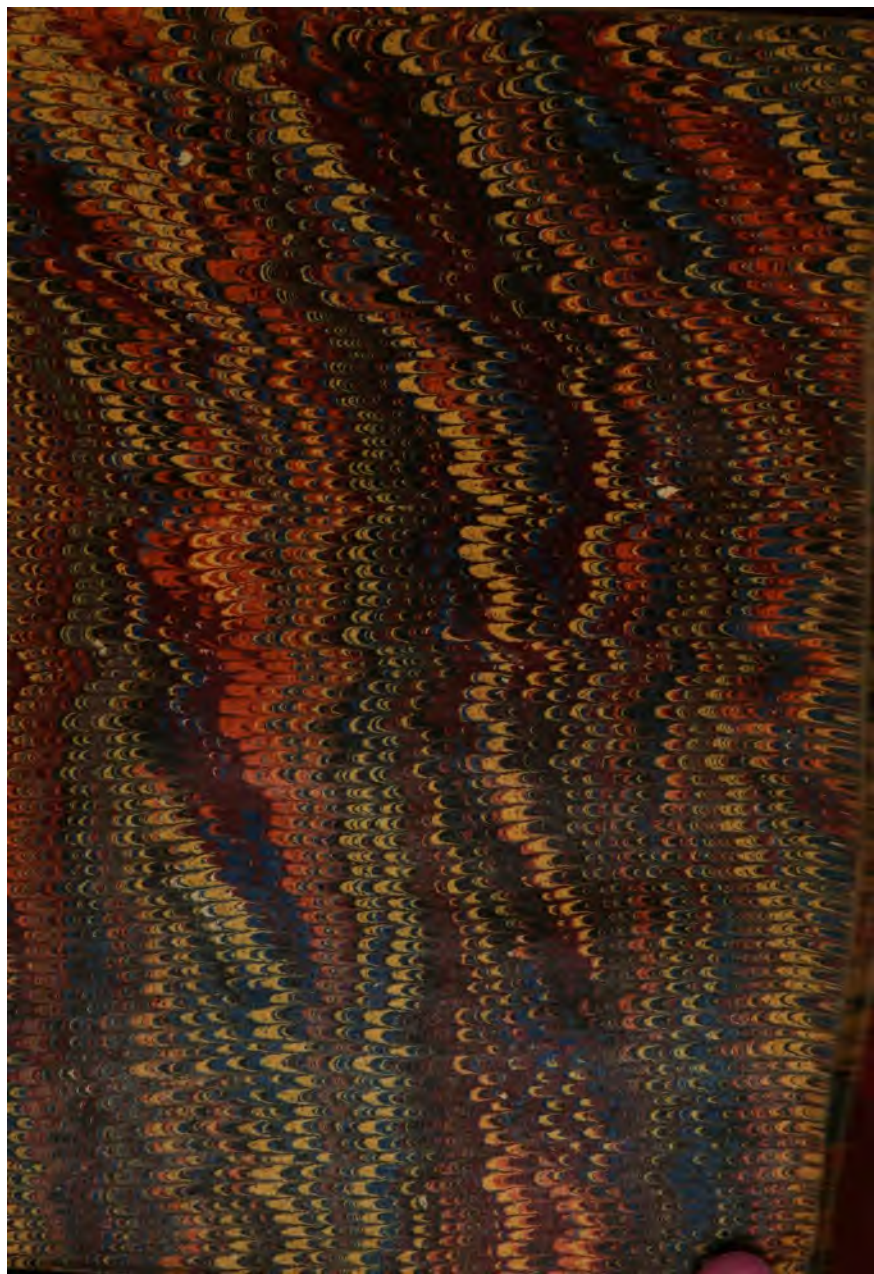
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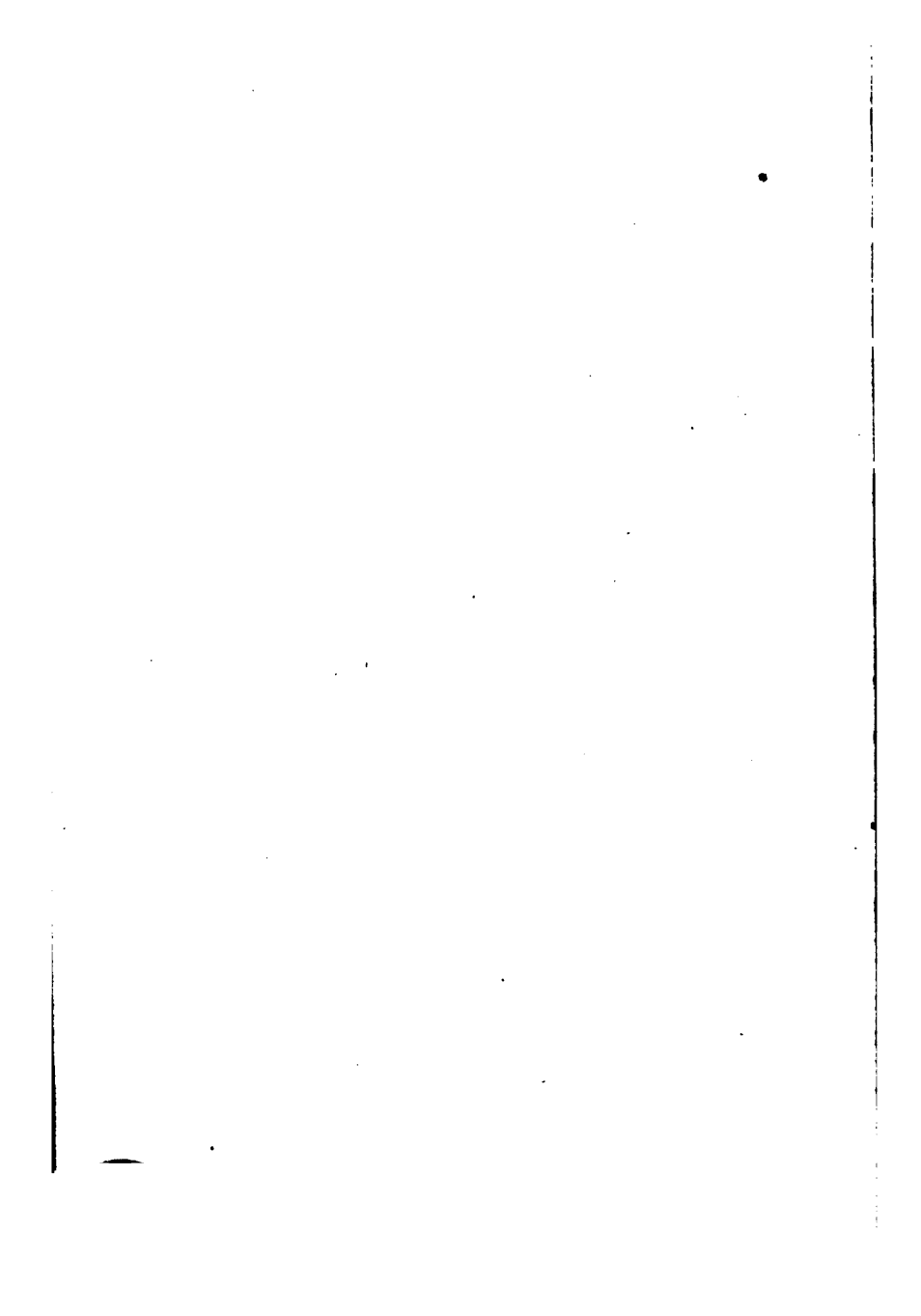
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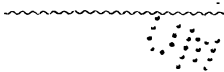




L I F E  
OF  
SIR THOMAS MUNRO.

BY THE REV. G. R. GLEIG, M. A.,  
*George Robert Gleig*  
CHAPLAIN-GENERAL OF THE FORCES.

*A NEW EDITION,*  
REVISED AND CONDENSED FROM THE LARGER BIOGRAPHY.



LONDON:  
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1849.

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## P R E F A C E

### TO THE NEW EDITION.

THE New Edition of the LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MUNRO, which is now presented to the public, does not differ, in any important particular, from the larger and more costly impressions which preceded it. My own portion of the narrative has, indeed, been in a great measure re-written—a process which will not, I trust, be found to be quite without value; but the correspondence remains precisely what it was, except that pains have been taken to lighten, without impairing its value, by the omission of a few state papers that formerly appeared as an Appendix, and the condensation of the details of military events, in which the interest has long since passed away. Not one line, however, is wanting which can in any manner elucidate the public opinions of the writer, or bring into notice the peculiarities of his noble character. For the career of Sir Thomas Munro, as he himself describes it, offers to society too important a moral lesson to be curtailed of any of its just proportions.

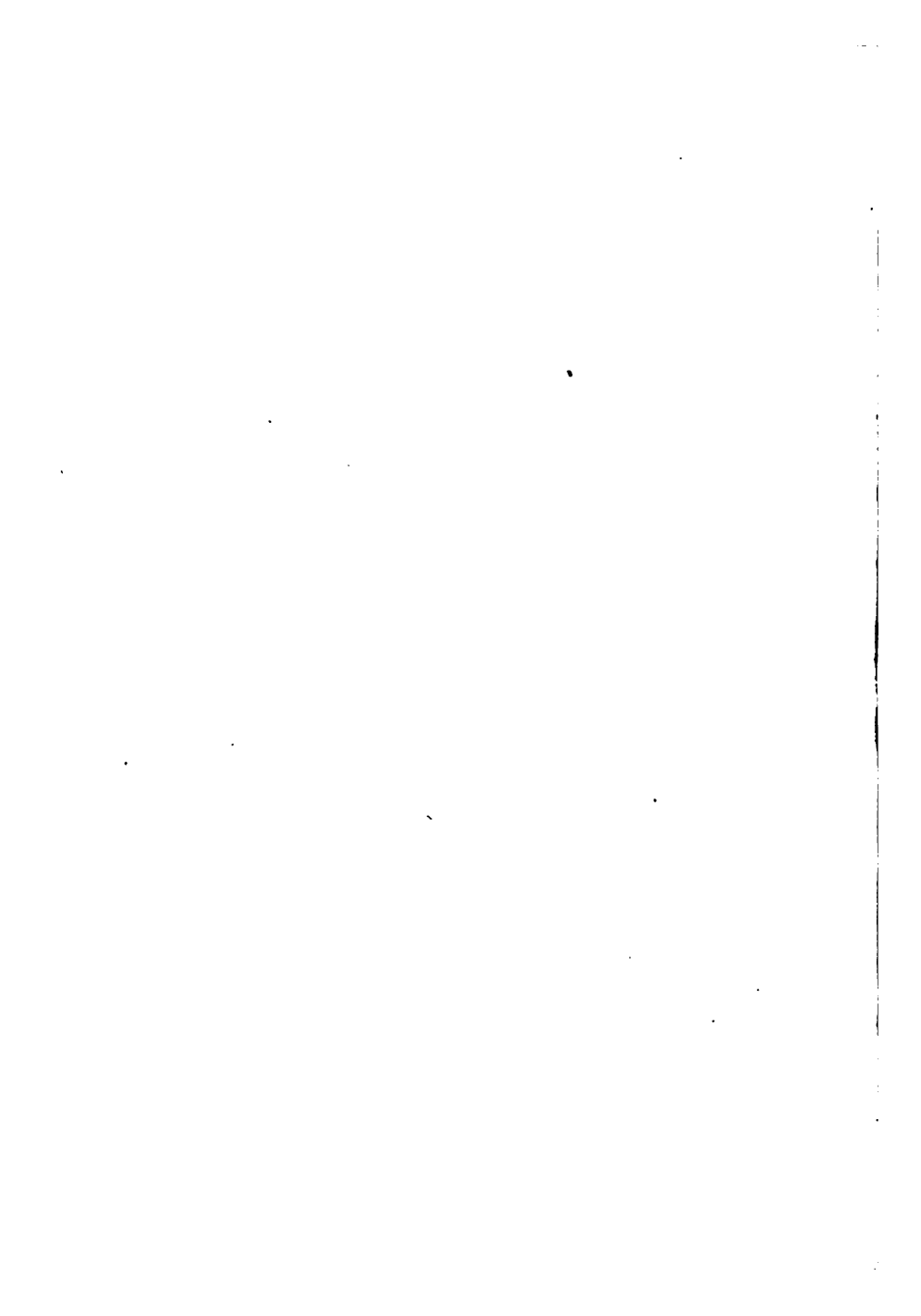
I am glad to send forth my book in a shape which seems to assure to it a still wider circulation than it has already received both at home and abroad. I trust that it will be read to good purpose by multitudes, especially of the young and the aspiring, both in England and her colonies.

London, June, 1849.

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Fr. Cas. M. V.



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THE LIFE  
OF  
SIR THOMAS MUNRO.

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CHAPTER I.

Birth—Early Pursuits—Departure from Home—Arrival in India.

THE subject of the following Memoir was born at Glasgow, on the 27th of May, 1761. He was the second son of Mr. Alexander Munro, a respectable merchant, trading chiefly with Virginia, by Margaret Stark, the sister of Dr. William Stark, an anatomist of no mean reputation in his day. Mr. Munro's family consisted originally of five sons and two daughters. All these, I believe, lived to reach the years of maturity, and some, after watching their brother's ascent to eminence, survived to mourn his loss.

Nothing can be said of the early childhood of Sir Thomas Munro, except that he suffered when very young from an attack of measles, which left a legacy of partial deafness, from which he never afterwards recovered. His education was conducted according to the fashion usual in those days among persons of his rank and nation. After passing through an English, or preparatory day school, he became a member of the High-school, in which classics were mainly taught; and removed thence, at thirteen years of age, into one of the junior classes in the college. Here he remained three years, during which, without neglecting other pursuits, he gave up much of his attention to mathematics and chemistry. He made himself distinguished likewise, as indeed he had been at school, for his expertness in all athletic sports; from which the art of boxing must not be omitted. He was a tall,

robust, and somewhat awkward looking lad ; indifferent, rather than otherwise, to the niceties of costume and manner ; but his disposition was manly, his heart good, and his forbearance and powers of self-denial remarkable. It is said of him, that he, the best fighter of his years, never engaged in a pugilistic encounter except when provoked beyond endurance, or roused to defend the weak against the strong. Such a boy never fails to become a favourite with his companions ; and Thomas Munro is described, in old letters which lie before me, as having been so to a more than ordinary degree.

Though fond of out-of-door sports, especially fishing and swimming, young Munro's thirst of knowledge, and consequent devotion to books, was always great. His reading, apart from the course prescribed by the professors, seems, indeed, to have been of a very desultory kind. But desultory reading, when it is not permitted to take the place of systematic study, and the student turns to it as a relaxation from graver pursuits, often proves in the end to have been as influential in the formation of character as any or all of the lessons communicated to the distinguished man in his youth. Sir Thomas Munro's career seems to justify this opinion to a very considerable extent. His first favourites, out of school, were 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'The Lives of the Buccaneers,' 'Anson's Voyages,' and such like. To these succeeded 'Plutarch's Lives,' 'The Life of Frederick the Great,' 'Roderick Random,' Spenser's 'Faery Queen,' 'Shakspeare,' Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' 'Hudibras,' and 'Don Quixote.' Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' was then, as it deserved to be, in high estimation every where, particularly among the pupils of the university in which the author taught. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that a lad of Munro's reflective turn of thought plunged into it with eagerness. But his dealing with the great work of Cervantes appears to be still more characteristic. Having been told that only they who understood Spanish could relish fully the beauties of Don Quixote, Munro bent himself, with such assistance as a grammar and dictionary could afford, to acquire that language. Many a morning he rose before dawn ; many an hour he stole from recreation in the open air, in order to accomplish his task ; and he succeeded. Moreover success, in this instance, brought with it tokens of the



value of mental labour, such as are not always afforded even in a wider field. There arrived in the Clyde a prize, which one of the letters of marque, or privateers, fitted out at that period by many mercantile houses, had captured. She contained certain Spanish papers, which nobody connected with the firm could read or understand. They were given to young Munro, who translated them faithfully; and, as they happened to contain some information which was likely to prove important, the partners marked their sense of his services by presenting him with a bank post bill. The happy lad gave it immediately to his mother.

It was Mr. Munro's wish that his son Thomas should follow his own footsteps, and enter into commerce. With this view the young man was placed as a clerk in the counting-house of Messrs. Somerville and Gordon; where he continued for some time, working hard, though never, as it would appear, personally interested in the details of his profession. Indeed, his sense of filial duty, which, like that of most Scotchmen of his standing, seems to have been very great, was put to a severe trial, when, the offer of a lieutenant's commission being made to him by the Corporation of Glasgow, he was desired to decline it. And his disappointment was the greater, that not a few of his personal friends, including the late Sir John Moore, and his brother Sir Graham, took their departure about this time, the one to join the army, the other the navy. But that which prudence had at first forbidden, necessity—stern and unbending—forced forward in the end. Mr. Munro's affairs, complicated by the breaking out of the American war, became day by day more embarrassed; and the passing of the Act of Confiscation by the Congress of the United States reduced him to bankruptcy. The commission which had been pressed upon him when Glasgow raised its regiment was now beyond his reach; and Mr. Munro, unable any longer to support his son at home, accepted for him a midshipman's berth in the mercantile marine of the East India Company. Thomas had no taste for the sea, but he had still less relish for a life of idleness; and the thought of burthening his father, even for a day, was intolerable to him. He accepted the appointment, and set out to join his ship, the *Walpole*, at Deptford, on the 20th of February, 1779. But fortune proved more kind to him than he had ventured to anticipate. His father, going to London soon

after the young man had bidden him farewell, contrived to get the midshipman's rating changed for a cadet's warrant; and Thomas received intelligence just before the ship put to sea, that he was not to consider himself a member of her crew, but to go in her as a passenger to Madras. All this was very satisfactory; but then arose the question, whence were the funds to come for defraying the expenses of the passage. The father could not supply them; the son had them not; nor was it in the power of either to furnish the young soldier with a suitable outfit. Again Munro's true nobleness of character bore him over a difficulty which to ordinary minds would have appeared insurmountable. He requested and obtained permission from the captain of the Walpole to work his own way to India, as a man before the mast. I was not aware of this fact when the former editions of the present work were given to the public. I have since learned it; and conceiving that it redounds as much to the credit of Sir Thomas Munro as any other act in his honourable career, I give to it all the publicity which the present reprint of his correspondence will allow. I believe that through the generous interference of some of the passengers to whom his case was known, Mr. Munro, before the voyage came to an end, was relieved from the duties which he had undertaken, and removed to the cadets' mess. But I am by no means sure as to this point; and there are expressions in his first letters, after the arrival of the Walpole at Madras, which seem to contradict the statement. Be this, however, as it may, the fact is undoubted, that he who died Governor of Madras, began his journey in life under all the disadvantages which poverty throws in a man's way, and overcame them by dint of that manliness and lofty principle without which true greatness has never been achieved among men.

The following correspondence describes the writer's manner of life while in London, with as many of the circumstances attending his outward voyage, and first arrival in India, as it seems necessary to detail. He did not, of course, leave the shores of England without letters of recommendation to various persons at Madras. Of their manner of receiving and acting towards him he himself makes sufficient mention.

## TO HIS SISTER.

"DEAR ERSKINE,

"London, 11th March, 1779.

"IF I was to give you as much advice as I have got, about withstanding the predominant vices and follies of the age, and acquiring the graces, I might make a long enough letter. When I came here, I used to walk in Hyde Park every day, from two to four o'clock; at this time it is filled with carriages; the people of quality come to take the morning air; they go home about four o'clock to dress for dinner; the crowd of people and the dust made me desert the Park for Kensington Gardens. I stay with Mr. Gilson, cashier to Mayne and Graham. I went to a tavern yesterday, where we dine for a shilling a head; there was a long table in the room with forty covers; the company amounted to twenty-five, seventeen of whom were Frenchmen. I did not understand one word they said, except commerce and maritime, which they sometimes pronounced with great emphasis, from which I concluded they were not in so good a state as they wished them to be. I live very happily, except sometimes when I am tormented by a tailor's wife, a neighbour of ours; these four or five days past, about four o'clock, a little before I go out to dinner, she opened the door, looked in, and went down stairs. I could not understand her meaning till Tuesday, when she came in at her ordinary time with a large bowl of soup and a penny roll boiled in it. 'The soup will do you good,' says she; 'you don't look well, and I am afraid you eat very sparingly.' I endeavoured to convince her that I was well enough, but to no purpose; I was obliged to take the soup. I might as well have swallowed melted tallow. I thought to have avoided the soup yesterday; I did not come home till night; but I had the same bowl-full to supper last night that I had to dinner the day before. She has been telling the people below that the young gentleman in the garret is either in a consumption or starving himself."

## TO HIS FATHER.

"DEAR SIR,

"Madras, 6th February, 1780.

"WE sailed from the Cape on the 4th of November. We had a strong gale on the 25th, which gave us an opportunity of escaping from the fleet; had we arrived at Madras a fortnight before the other ships, as the Captain expected, it would have been very lucky for the Cadets on board, as we might have been appointed and sent up the country before the rest arrived. But when we arrived on the 17th of January, we found that the Superbe and Eagle had been there six days before us, and the next day the whole fleet arrived.

"Most of the Cadets that have come out this year are for the Ma-

dras Establishment; the greatest part of them are Scotsmen, all particularly recommended to the care of the General. You cannot conceive what a number of relations he has got—nephews, cousin-germans, &c.

“ There are eighty-three Cadets for this Establishment, and very few for Bengal, all of whom Captain H. says will have commissions the moment they arrive. I believe it would have been better if I had been for the Bengal Establishment, as I would have been sure of a commission even though I had no letters. George Smith and John Lennox went home, and George Macpherson died before I came here; all the rest of the people to whom I had letters, except Mr. Haliburton, were gone up the country.

“ As soon as I came ashore, I waited upon Mr. Haliburton; he is a very plain man, and the most entertaining that ever I was in company with: he gave me a general invitation to his house. A few days after, he carried me in his phaeton to the General’s; he asked me many questions upon the road, and told me if I wanted any money, to let him know. I mentioned my deafness to him; ‘ I know that,’ says he; ‘ you must be as near the General as you can, and mind you be on his right hand (he is not a ceremonious man); for he will be surprised if he asks you a question, and you don’t make any answer.’ The General told me that he would do everything for me that lay in his power; then turning to Mr. Haliburton: ‘ You know,’ says he, ‘ there are such a number of Cadets this season, that all that I can do for Mr. Munro is to send him up the country.’

“ Cadets here are allowed either five pagodas per month and free quarters, or ten pagodas and find their own lodging; all the Cadets follow the first way. Of the five pagodas, I pay two to a Dubash, one to the servants of the mess, and one for hair-dressing and washing, so that I have one pagoda per month to feed and clothe me.

“ Hyder Ally has stopped two expresses coming overland; there have been some skirmishes, and a good many officers killed up the country. I hope he will soon begin to act more effectually. Jack Brown is a Lieutenant. I expect to hear from you soon. I have not heard anything of Daniel this long time. Has Alexander gone to sea? if he has, he’ll repent it. I will write to him and D. by the first opportunity, and tell him my reasons against his going to sea.

“ THOMAS MUNRO.”

TO HIS FATHER.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Fort St. George, 30th March, 1780.

“ THERE is a Dr. Koenig lives with Mr. Ross; he is a native of Livonia, a disciple of the famous Linnæus, and a schoolfellow of Dr.

Solander. After having travelled through most parts of Europe, he came out to India in search of natural curiosities; he has been over most part of the country, from the Ganges to the Indus, and from Delhi to Cape Comorin; he was put upon the list of Company's servants in the year 78, when he was sent by the Governor and Council to Siam, and the Straits of Malacca, in search of plants and minerals, from whence he is but lately returned. I suppose Ross told him what a learned man I was, for I had not seen him above once or twice when he began to talk with me of chemistry: he carried me to see his collection. I was with him almost every day, till one day he told me that he would take it as a favour if I would examine an English translation that he had made of the Latin descriptions of some of his plants; I altered most of the spelling, and, in many places, the arrangement of the words. He put a Greek book into my hands, from which he said it was easy to discern that the natron of the ancients was a different substance from the nitre of the moderns: the book did not give me much disturbance; but he talks Latin, Portuguese, and French,—his English is a mixture of all the three, which makes it very difficult to understand him. When he sees I am at a loss for any particular word, he gives me the Latin; if I still hesitate, he gives me the Greek, which is always an effectual method of making me understand. The other day, as usual, the Scots and English had a very warm engagement with the Swedes and Germans; it continued a long time doubtful, till the Doctor cried out, 'Black! pray what has Black discovered? Fixed air—a pretty discovery! But can anybody compare it to those of Becher, Stahl, Homberg, and Reitzius, who has discovered that the acid of sugar is stronger than aquafortis?' after which he repeated a Latin sentence, which totally silenced Black and all the rest of them; then he put two Latin letters into my hand, one from Linnæus, and the other from Reitzius, which he sent him with his book, which is written either in Danish or Swedish; he promised to send it over to-day for my perusal and opinion, which will be no easy matter; and even though I should succeed, I don't know but he may speak Chaldean to me the next time he sees me, so that I must set off for Vellore as soon as I can.

" I am, dear Sir,

" Your affectionate and dutiful son,

" THOMAS MUNRO.

" P. S. Dr. Koenig has taken a house about six miles from this; he says, if I will come and stay with him, I shall have two rooms and a palankeen always ready to carry me wherever I desire to go. I have

declined accepting his offer, for some reasons which I have mentioned, and likewise because I don't choose to be obliged to anybody for a thing of this kind whilst I can live upon my pay. Koenig's principal design in going to Siam was to see the manner in which the Chinese reduce the tin ore; he has written an account of it, which he will send to Mr. Banks, along with several specimens of the ore: the Doctor thinks that this important discovery will be of great advantage to the British nation. I wrote all the descriptions which the Doctor sends to Banks, Solander, and Mr. Greville: after all, I don't think there is any thing in these important discoveries that was not before known in Europe; if there had, I would have written Dr. Irvine upon the subject. I hope Alexander has not gone to sea; he would be much better in Somerville and Gordon's. I hope their business goes on briskly. I never shall forget what I owe to them and Mr. Macrae."

TO HIS MOTHER.

"DEAR MADAM,

"WHEN the ship anchored in the Roads, a number of the natives came on board. They were dressed in long white gowns. One of them, a grave, decent-looking man, came up to me; he held a bundle of papers in his hand which he begged I would read; they were certificates from different people of his fidelity and industry. He said that strangers on their arrival in India were often at a loss for many necessary articles, but that I need give myself no trouble, for if I would only give him money, he would purchase for me whatever I wanted; he would attend me as a servant, and would be content with such wages as I should think upon trial he deserved. I congratulated myself on having met with so respectable a person in the character of a servant. He said he would go on shore and get me another, for that no gentleman could do without two, and that he would at the same time carry my dirty linen to be washed. I had only a few changes clean; I gave him the rest.

"Two days after, when I went on shore, I found my old man standing on the beach with half a dozen of porters to carry my baggage to Captain Henderson's house. I went early to sleep, quite happy at being rid of my old shipmates the soldiers.

"My servant entered the room while I was dressing next morning. He surveyed me, and then my bed, with amazement. The sea-chest, which occupied one half of the chamber, was open: he looked into it and shook his head. I asked the cause of his wonder. 'Oh, Sir, this will never do; nobody in this country wears buff waistcoats and breeches, or thread stockings, nor sleeps upon mattresses; sheets and blankets are

useless in this warm climate : you must get a table and chairs, and a new bed.'

"I was vexed to learn that all the clothes, of which I had taken so much care in the passage from Europe, were now to be of no service.

"He inspected the contents of the chest. The whole was condemned, together with the bed-clothes, as unserviceable, except three or four changes of linen which were to serve me till a tailor should fit me out in a proper manner.

"'It is customary with gentlemen,' said the old man, 'to make a present of all their European articles to their servants, but I will endeavour to dispose of yours to advantage : four guineas will buy a table and chairs, and cloth for the tailor, and as Captain Henderson is gone to Bengal, you must get a couch of your own ; it will not cost above two guineas.' He went out with the six guineas, leaving me with an empty chest, and my head full of new cuts of sleeves and skirts, which the tailor was to make in a few days. But all my schemes were disconcerted by some unfortunate accident befalling my good friend with the credentials, for he never returned.

"This unexpected blow prevented me from stirring out above twice or thrice in a week for several months after. On these days I sallied forth in a clean suit, and visited all my friends. After Dr. Koenig came to live with Mr. Ross, I spent the greatest part of my time at his house, amusing myself with shells and flowers ; but before that I employed it differently.

"I rose early in the morning to review my clothes ; after having determined whether shirt No. 3 or 4 was best, I worked at my needle till breakfast. When it was over I examined the cook's accounts, and gave orders about dinner ; I generally read the rest of the day till the evening, when I mounted to the top of the house to observe the stars I had been reading of during the day in Ferguson's Astronomy. When I had finished this book, I diverted myself in a different manner in my evening walks. After considering the matter for several nights, I at last resolved that my country-house should be near Lochlomond, and that Erskine should be my housekeeper. I rose early in the morning to work in the garden, or if I was lazy, I read Justice, and gave the gardener directions. I then sent five or six messages for my sister to come down and make breakfast. After making an apology for disturbing her repose, I went to fish in the Loch, or in the stream that winded through my garden and woods, or to read a book under a tree in some retired walk. But when I was called down to supper, I did not see anything of the plenty of my country-house.

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“With all my economy, it was near six months before I could save money enough to buy me a few suits of linen. I did not choose then to ask any of Mr. R., and Mr. H. did not seem disposed to give me any assistance till I should leave Madras; but Mr. R., wishing to get me appointed to join the detachment under Colonel Baillie, I continued in Madras, making application for this purpose, till Hyder entered the Carnatic, when I joined the army in the field.”

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## CHAPTER II.

## Early Career as a Soldier.

THE period at which Mr. Munro began his active career as a soldier was one of extreme danger to the maintenance of British influence in Southern India. Hyder Ally, then in the height of his power, had poured an enormous army into the Carnatic; where, being joined by M. Lally and a body of French troops, he wasted the open country with fire and sword. This was in the spring of 1780; yet so little was the English Government prepared for what must have been foreseen, that all the exertions of Sir Hector Munro, then Commander-in-Chief, did not avail to bring an army into the field till autumn was considerably advanced. There was, of course, great alarm everywhere, with its inevitable consequence—hurry and confusion. Detachments of troops which had been thrown out to watch events at distances remote from one another and from the capital were hastily called in. The orders issued for the movements of most of these appear to have been the reverse of explicit, and a point of rendezvous was fixed upon which was so far in advance of Fort St. George as to uncover that important place without offering any countervailing benefits to the divisions on their march. To this point, Conjeveram, Mr. Munro proceeded with the company to which he was attached; and he never afterwards quitted the field till the termination of hostilities.

Of the military operations which occurred during this eventful interval, as well by sea as by land, Mr. Munro's correspondence with his friends and relatives in Europe gives a remarkably lucid account. But the tale has been told so often, and is now so universally known, that to repeat it here, even in the words of one who witnessed many of the events which he describes, seems to me inadvisable. For it must not be forgotten that Mr. Munro's

place was that of a subordinate actor in the drama, and that he was compelled to rely for the truth of much which he stated on reports furnished by others. Under these circumstances it may suffice to state, that in almost all the affairs in which the army was engaged he took a personal part. He was present, for example, in the retreat of Sir Hector Munro from Conjeveram to Madras, subsequently to the destruction of Colonel Baillie's corps on the 10th of February, 1780. He advanced again with Sir Eyre Coote, and witnessed the relief of Wandiwash on the 24th of January, 1781. He shared in the perils of the march from Pondicherry to Cuddalore, when throughout the whole day (February the 17th) the columns moved under a heavy cannonade. He served in the assault of Chillumbrune, in the siege of Tripassore, and in the battles of Porto Novo, Pollilore, and Shilinghur. Next year and the year after gave him an opportunity of witnessing the operations which ended in the capture of Chittore, the battle of Arnee, and the assault of the French lines, and consequent investment of the town and citadel of Cuddalore. In a word, wherever the fortunes of the war led, thither Mr. Munro followed; and his conduct was such that, in November, 1781, he received the appointment of Quartermaster of Brigade to the left division of the army; in which capacity he acted as aide-de-camp to the officer who commanded the centre attack in the second battle of Cuddalore, on the 13th of June, 1783. Such a protracted experience of war could not fail of making a deep impression on a mind so capable of acquiring and digesting knowledge as that of Mr. Munro. His letters accordingly demonstrate that he soon began to be a just and often a severe critic of the proceedings of all around him. Not that these are ever written either in a captious or a fulsome tone: on the contrary, he is neither extravagant with his praise, nor extreme in censure, but expresses himself on each separate occasion as men of a sound judgment are accustomed to do concerning points which they understand. It may not be amiss if I verify this statement by reprinting a specimen of the general style of his correspondence, when writing of the grave public events which passed around him; and I select for the purpose a letter addressed to his father from the Camp at St. Thomas's Mount, 2nd of October, 1782.

“After General Munro’s retreat from Conjeveram, Hyder’s first care was to drive away all the cattle, and to lay waste the country; in which he succeeded so well, that the want of carriage-bullocks has ever since been one of the chief obstacles to all our operations. As most of the forts were at this time garrisoned by the Nabob’s troops, and he had long before gained the commandants, they surrendered at the first summons; but, what was of more consequence than all the rest, Arcot capitulated on the 2nd of November, and was followed by the submission of Bom Rauze, and many lesser poligars, who joined his army with all their dependents. As they were unskilled in war, they were of little service in the field; but their country made ample amends, by supplying his troops with all kinds of provisions.

“Had Arcot been defended with spirit, it might have held out till the army could have marched to its relief. It was garrisoned by a hundred and fifty Europeans, besides sepoy. Two breaches were made in the pettah wall, and both stormed; but so faintly, that it ought rather to have encouraged the garrison to perseverance, than terrified them into surrender.

“The loss of the capital made a great impression on all the country powers; for, though the defeat of Colonel Baillie had convinced them how formidable Hyder was in the field, they had hitherto held in the utmost contempt his capacity for conducting a siege.

“After the fall of Arcot, Hyder, with the main body of his army, sat down before Vellore, whilst detachments invested Wandiwash and Permacoil.

“It was at this time that Sir Eyre Coote arrived from Bengal. The force he brought with him consisted of four hundred European infantry, and two companies of artillery. The army, which, since the retreat from Conjeveram, had been encamped in a strong situation at Marmelong, a village about six miles from Madras, was permitted to go into cantonments in the middle of November, after having been exposed to the most violent and continued rains for fifteen days, and when the face of the country was so much covered with water, that they could no longer be regularly supplied.

“The troops marched out of cantonments, and encamped at the Mount, the 15th of December. Small parties of horse that continually hovered round the camp drove away all the cattle that strayed beyond the outposts; so that when we marched on the 16th of January to the relief of Wandiwash, it was with the greatest difficulty that a sufficient number could be collected to carry the grain and military stores necessary for the expedition.

“The army, when it marched from the Mount, was composed of one thousand four hundred Europeans, five thousand sepoy, and

eight hundred black cavalry, attended by a train of sixty pieces of cannon.

“General Coote halted on the 18th, on the south bank of the Palaur, four miles from Chingleput.

“On the night of the 19th, Captain Davis was detached with three battalions of sepoy to surprise Carrangooly, a fort ten miles distant. By some unforeseen delay, he did not get there till after sunrise; but this did not make him lay aside his design. Leaving a battalion in the rear as a reserve, and placing some parties to fire against the parapet, he with the rest advanced directly towards the gate. A wet ditch had been carried round the place, except where a causeway was left opposite to the entrance. Over this Captain Davis brought two guns, with which he burst open the outer gate, and advanced immediately through a passage with many windings to the second. Though confined in a small space, and exposed to a shower of musketry on every side from the works above, the artillerymen proceeded coolly in their work, and with the second shot made a large breach. The first party that entered was fired on by a party headed by the Killidaur, who then threw down their arms and received quarter; but by far the greater part escaped by the opposite side of the fort, where there was little water in the ditch. The garrison amounted to one thousand two hundred men; but only three hundred, with the Killidaur, were made prisoners.

“Four officers of the detachment were wounded. Ten artillerymen out of twelve, and eighty sepoy, were killed or wounded.

“Nothing of consequence was found here, except a considerable quantity of grain.

“This place, which, while in the possession of the English, had been overgrown with weeds, was now in a tolerable state of defence: the ruinous parts of the walls were repaired, and a new parapet carried round the rampart.

“The army arrived at Wandiwash on the 24th of January: the siege was raised the day before. The enemy's force amounted to twelve thousand horse, and four thousand foot.

“Mheer Saheb, who commanded them, moved about fifteen miles, and then halted to observe our motions; which he continued ever after to do, without once quitting us, till the day of his death.

“He invested this place in the beginning of December, and the latter end of the same month opened a battery of four twenty-four pounders, within three hundred yards of the wall. The fire of the fort was so much better directed, that after ten days he had done little more than demolish part of the parapet, which the garrison soon supplied with a stronger one of gabions and the trunks of Palmyra-

trees. The walls, like those of most of the forts of this country, were built of so hard a species of stone, that it was a considerable time before the shot made any impression.

“A party from the garrison, under the command of a black officer, sallied on the 10th of January, surprised the battery, and spiked the guns so completely, that they could never afterwards be used. Upon this, another approach was carried on to the edge of the ditch, where a four-gun battery was raised, which was to have been opened the day the army arrived.

“The garrison was composed of a hundred of the Company’s sepoys, and near double that number of the Nabob’s. Lieutenant Flint, who commanded, was much admired for his activity and the judgment he had shown in the defence; and he deserved as much praise for what he intended to have done, as for what he really performed. He cut off an angle of the fort which was more elevated than the rest; he mounted guns upon it, and laid in a stock of water and provisions; so that had he been obliged to abandon the body of the place, he was to have retired to this post, and to have defended it some days longer.

“It was here that the General received information of Hyder’s having raised the siege of Vellore. The Mysorean army, which encamped before it on the 14th of December; was commanded by Mahomed Ally: Hyder himself remained at Arcot.

“Vellore is situated at the entrance of the Amboor valley, which leads to one of the principal passes into Mysore, and all convoys coming this way must pass in sight of it; for which reason, a strong guard was always requisite to prevent their being intercepted by the garrison. It was chiefly the dread of this that determined Hyder to attack it. The force that Colonel Lang had to defend it with was two hundred and fifty Europeans and five hundred sepoys, besides a rabble of one thousand two hundred Nabob’s troops and poligars.

“The fortifications were built by the Mahrattas more than two hundred years ago. The walls were formed of the same hard stone which had been used at Wandiwash. The stones were three or four feet thick, and eighteen or twenty long, and were placed end-ways. The ditch which surrounded it was two hundred feet broad, and fifteen or twenty deep. Two miles to the right of the fort were three fortified hills. A six-pounder from the nearest threw a shot three hundred yards over the opposite rampart. It was against this that the enemy directed their attack. They began their approaches near a mile from the foot of the wall. Nothing but their numbers could ever have accomplished a work of such amazing labour: the soil on the hills was so thin that they could not make trenches, but were obliged to advance under cover of a wall

of gabions, and to fill them they had to bring earth from the plain below. They met many large fragments of rock in their way. They undermined some, and rolled them down the hill; and those they could not manage they avoided by making a sweep round them. In three weeks they had got the better of all these obstacles, and raised a battery, which in a few days demolished one of the angles of the fort. They at the same time raised another on an eminence which overlooked the place; and the garrison, having only a few small guns, could neither return their fire, nor show themselves in the daytime. They laboured hard during the night in cutting off the ruined angle, by a deep trench with a breastwork behind it. On the night of the 10th of January, the enemy, headed by Mahomed Ally in person, made two attacks, and in both were repulsed with great loss.

“It was surprising that Hyder, after raising the siege of Vellore, did not hasten to engage the English army before it was reinforced. Had he been so inclined, he had time enough to have overtaken it, as it lay three days at Wandiwash. Perhaps the high military character of General Coote made him doubtful of success.

“On the 28th we were on the road to Pondicherry, when the General was informed by an express, that a French fleet had appeared off Madras. It was necessary that the army should be at hand to oppose their landing any troops. Carrangooly was thought the most proper place, being half-way between Pondicherry and Madras. The General encamped there two days after, and remained till he received advice that the fleet was gone to the southward, and that it had no land forces on board; he then continued his march to Pondicherry, where he arrived in the beginning of February, and found the French at anchor in the roads.

“On the 6th, in the morning, he went to see some artillery destroyed, which had been left here ever since the siege of 1778. He was not gone above half an hour, when Hyder's army appeared in sight of the camp, marching towards Cuddalore. He returned instantly, and detached two battalions to secure the passage of the Ariancopang river; but as three battalions and the greater part of the followers and cattle were in town, it was four o'clock in the afternoon before the army marched. The two armies took different roads, which ran in the same direction, at the distance of a mile from one another. The enemy kept up a constant cannonade the whole night; but to very little purpose, for they either fired too high, or so low that the shot sank into the rice-fields which lay between the two roads. General Coote reached Cuddalore at break of day, with the loss of an officer and twenty men.

“It seems to have been Hyder's intention, by this rapid march, to have gained possession of the bound-hedge, where the English army

must either have fought him under every disadvantage, or abandoned the place to his mercy. After the General had prevented the execution of this scheme, he found himself involved in the greatest distress from the want of provisions; for all that had been brought from Madras were now consumed, and the whole that could be collected in Cuddalore could not serve more than two days. But he was soon relieved from his anxiety on this account, for Hyder not choosing to comply with the demands of the French for money, they sailed from the coast the following day, and left the navigation open to Madras, from whence supplies were immediately sent to camp.

“ On the 8th of February, the day after the departure of the squadron, General Coote drew up in front of the bound-hedge, and offered Hyder battle, which he very properly declined, as the position of the English army was so strong that it did not afford him the smallest hope of success. He therefore continued his march to the southward, whilst the English returned to their encampments within the bound-hedge.

“ During the five months that the army remained at Cuddalore, they received rice from Madras, but were obliged to find beef and mutton the best way they could. This was attended with much labour, the enemy having swept away all the flocks and herds, except a few that ran wild in the woods. The little excursions in quest of them were the most fatiguing duties of the campaign. Sepoys only were sent upon them. The detachment was usually composed of three or four battalions, which set out from camp an hour or two after sunset; they marched all night, and reached their destination by noon the day following. After having collected what cattle they could find, and halted an hour or two to refresh themselves, they hastened back to camp, where they arrived next morning, fatigued beyond any thing that can be conceived, except by those who have felt it. Mheer Saheb, with the army of observation, lay at Trividi, a village 15 miles west of Cuddalore, from whence he detached small bodies of horse on every side to hinder any supplies from the country passing to the English camp. Parties were frequently sent to surprise them, and most commonly, when there was any prospect of success, commanded by Colonel ——. Yet, notwithstanding this advantage, he was seldom so fortunate in his expeditions as might have been expected. I shall only mention one instance, which will serve as a specimen of the rest.

“ One morning, a little before day, he came so suddenly upon one of the advanced sentries belonging to a party of horse, that the fellows immediately rode off across the country, without having recollection enough to alarm their comrades. The Colonel continued to advance till he got so near the main body, that he could see that all was quiet, except a few that were sitting smoking round some little fires they had

kindled. Here he halted, and sent to the rear for the guns; and whilst they were coming, he drew up the troops, as well as the darkness and the ground would admit, with about one-third of them above the knees in mud. The guns came up, and began a heavy fire both of round and grape. When it had continued ten minutes, the line advanced to take advantage of the confusion into which it was not doubted the enemy must be thrown by such a battery; but they did not think that it would be convenient to stay to judge of the effect of the fire; and the Colonel, entering their camp by storm, found nothing but a few horses sick, which the enemy, in their retreat, were obliged to abandon to his fury. The Colonel was not more successful in any of his other expeditions. He failed by not adhering to his original plan of attack, and by substituting a worse in the moment of decision.

“ Whilst General Coote carried on this petty war about Cuddalore, Hyder made himself master of Ambore and Thiagur, in the Carnatic; and of all Tanjore but the capital. We must, however, suppose we had good reasons for remaining there. If it was not the smallness of his force, it might have been with a view to keep Hyder to the southward, and to draw his attention from the reinforcement which was then coming from Bengal.

“ The General moved in the end of May to raise the siege of Thiagur. He reached Trividi the 1st of March, from whence Mheer Saheb retreated on his appearance: here he halted two days, and then returned to his old camp at Cuddalore. I cannot account for this conduct, unless by supposing that from Baillie's defeat he conceived too high an opinion of Hyder's army, and relied too little on his own, or that he did not think the place of sufficient consequence to risk a general engagement to prevent its fall, and that he only moved to divert the enemy and protract the siege.

“ The Bengal troops having by this time entered the Carnatic, the General, to hinder Hyder from striking any blow against them, marched to the southward on the 16th June, and two days after arrived at Chiliumbrune, a fortified pagoda, 30 miles south-west of Cuddalore. Adjoining to the pagoda there is a large pettah, surrounded by a mud wall: the garrison were between two and three thousand poligars. In the evening the General sent three battalions to attack the pettah: the enemy, after a scattered fire, ran to shelter themselves in the pagoda. By some mistake, without orders, the foremost battalion pursued them to the gates; which finding shut, they brought up a twelve-pounder against them. The second shot burst open the outer gate. The sponge staff was fired out of the gun in the hurry, and the man who carried the match was not to be found. In this exigency, Captain Moorhouse of the artillery, with great recollection, loaded and discharged twice, by the



help of a musket, and made a breach in the second gate large enough to allow one man to go through at a time. The sepoys rushed in: the space between the two inner gates was in a moment full of them: they did not observe, midway between the two, a flight of steps which led to the rampart. The garrison, every moment dreading the assault, called for quarter, but their voice was not to be distinguished in the general tumult which now ensued; for, some straw having taken fire, caught the clothes of the sepoys, who were crowded between the gateways, and every one pressing back to avoid suffocation and the fire of the enemy, (which was now redoubled at the sight of their disaster,) many of them were scorched and burned to death, and those who escaped hurried away without attempting to bring off the twelve-pounder. Six officers and nearly 150 men were killed and wounded in this unfortunate affair. The General, who was in the pettah at the time, ordered some pieces of cannon to batter the wall. A fine brass eighteen-pounder was ruined without making any breach; and day beginning to dawn, the troops returned to camp. All thoughts were now relinquished of taking the place by assault; and there being no battering-guns with the army, it was resolved to send for them to Cuddalore; and, after taking the rice out of the pettah, to proceed to Porto Novo to cover their landing. We marched to this place on the 22nd, and the same day Mheer Saheb encamped five miles to the westward of it.

“ Sir Edward Hughes arrived on the 24th with the battering train; and, whilst rafts were preparing to carry it up the river to Chiliumbrune, our attention was called to an object of much greater consequence; for, at daybreak on the 28th, the sound of the réveillé was heard in front of the camp, and the rising of the sun discovered to our view the plain for several miles covered with the tents of the Mysorean army. Hyder was preparing to besiege Trichinopoly, when the commandant of Chiliumbrune advised him of his having repulsed the English, and that they had retreated to Porto Novo. The time he had so long wished for he imagined was now come, when he might, in one day, destroy the only army that remained to oppose him. His expedition showed his confidence of success—he marched seventy miles in two days, and encamped at Mootypollam, four miles from Porto Novo. His troops were no less sanguine than himself. Some came near enough to the grand guard to warn them of the fate that awaited them so soon as they should come forth to the plain. They bid the foragers, who kept out of reach of the English sentries, not fear them, but go wherever they could find the greatest plenty, for that they would not dare to touch them when they themselves were in the power of Hyder. This language afforded little comfort to the desponding part of our army, who, when they beheld the great extent of the Mysorean camp, and the

numerous bodies of horse and foot that moved about it, could not avoid thinking Hyder as formidable as he was represented by those who had escaped from Perimbacum, and entertaining the strongest apprehensions of the event of the approaching engagement; but those who considered our artillery, served by men whom Mr. Bellecombe had pronounced superior to everything he had seen in Europe, the perfect discipline of the troops, and their confidence in their commander, regarded Hyder offering battle as the most fortunate circumstance that could have happened.

“ A little after daybreak, on the 1st of July, the General drew up the army in a large plain which lay between the two camps. On his right was a chain of sand-hills, which ran along the coast at the distance of about a mile from the sea in the rear; and on the left, woods and enclosures, but with an open space between; two miles to the left ran another chain of sand-hills, parallel to the former, and behind them lay the principal part of the Mysorean army. At eight o'clock the enemy opened eight guns, in two batteries which they had raised among the sand-banks; but they were too distant to do much execution. The General, having reconnoitred their situation, saw that it was their wish that he should advance across the plain, under the fire of the batteries they had constructed on every side, that their cavalry might be able to take advantage of the impression: he therefore made no change in his disposition, but kept his ground, offering them battle till eleven o'clock, when, finding they did not choose to make the attack, he moved to the rear of the sand-hills on his right. The army marched in two lines, the first commanded by General Munro, the second by General Stuart. In the first were all the European infantry, with six battalions of sepoy equally divided on the flanks; in the second, four battalions of sepoy. One-half of the cavalry formed on the right of the first, the other half on the left of the second line. The baggage, guarded by a regiment of horse and a battalion of sepoy, remained on the beach near Porto Novo. The army, after marching a mile between the sand-banks and the sea-shore, again defiled by an opening into the plain, where the enemy's infantry and artillery were drawn up waiting our coming; but their horse still remained behind the sand-hills. In an hour the whole of the first line got into the plain, where they formed under the fire of forty pieces of cannon. Not a shot was returned; the guns were not even unlimbered; but everything remained as if the army had been to continue its march. The enemy, encouraged by this, which they attributed to an intention of escaping, brought their artillery nearer. Every shot now took effect. The General rode along the front, encouraging every one to patience, and reserve their fire till they were ordered to part with it. He only waited accounts from the

second line. An aide-de-camp from General Stuart told him that he had taken possession of the sand-hills; he immediately gave orders to advance, and to open all the guns. The artillerymen, who had been so long restrained, now exerted themselves. Their fire was so heavy that nothing could stand before it. The Mysorean infantry only stayed to give one discharge; the drivers hurried away the cannon, while the horse attempted to charge; but they were always broken before they reached the line. In a quarter of an hour the whole were dispersed.

“ Whilst the first line were engaged with Hyder, the second was attacked by Tippoo and Lally, who were repulsed by General Stuart in all their attacks to drive him from the sand-hills; and when Hyder fled, they followed him. A deep watercourse saved the enemy from pursuit, for we were six hours in crossing it, which they, from the number and goodness of their cattle, had done in one. Our army was 7500 fighting-men. The force of the enemy has been variously estimated. A Portuguese captain, who deserted to us during the action, and who pretended to have seen the returns, made it amount to 300,000 or 400,000 (I do not remember which; it makes little difference) men that could fight. However it may be, it is certain that their numbers were such that the most exact discipline never could have brought the whole into action.

“ I am sure you will be tired before you get to the end of this long story; but I have been particular, because it was this action that first gave a turn to our affairs in the Carnatic, and because it was considered at the time as the most critical battle that had been for a long time fought in India; for what could be a more serious matter than to engage an enemy so superior in numbers, whose great strength in horse enabled him to take every advantage, and when there was no alternative between victory and entire ruin? Had we been once broken, it would have been impossible ever to have rallied when surrounded by such a multitude of cavalry. It was known afterwards that when the action began Hyder issued an order to take no prisoners.

“ The army halted a few days at Cuddalore, and then went to the northward to meet the Bengal detachment, which it joined, without any interruption, in the beginning of August, near Pulicat. This detachment amounted when it left Bengal to 5000 men; but was now reduced by sickness and desertion to little more than 2000: it was commanded by Colonel Peirce.

“ After this junction we laid siege to Tripassore, a small fort thirty miles north-west from Madras: it had a strong garrison, but only four old guns on the works: and in two days, a breach being made, it sur-

rendered. Scarce had the party sent to take possession got within the walls, when the Mysorean army came in sight, hastening to raise the siege.

“The English colours, and a few shot, convinced Hyder that he was too late: he turned back immediately, and encamped at Pereimbaticum. It was said, and I believe with foundation, that he sent a challenge to General Coote to meet him on the same ground where he had cut off Colonel Baillie, where, as well from the natural strength of the situation as from the superstitious notions of his people about fortunate places, he knew that, if ever he was to be successful, it must be there. Coote, always fond of fighting when there was a prospect of victory, marched on the 27th to attack him.

“The advance-guard, marching along the avenue which leads to Conjeveram, received a discharge from four eighteen-pounders, placed in a grove to the left of the road: it was immediately ordered to halt, till the line should come up and form. While this was doing, the General rode out to view the position of the enemy, and found that a stronger could not have been imagined. Besides three villages which they had occupied, the ground along their front and on their flanks was intersected in every direction by deep ditches and watercourses; their artillery fired from embasures, cut in mounds of earth, which had been formed from the hollowing of the ditches, and the main body of their army lay behind them.

“The cannonade became general about ten o'clock, and continued with little intermission till sunset; for we found it almost impossible to advance upon the enemy, as the caanon could not be brought without much time and labour over the broken ground in front. The enemy retired as we advanced, and always found cover in the ditches, and behind the banks. They were forced from them all before sunset; and after standing a short time a cannonade on open ground, they fled in great hurry and confusion towards Conjeveram. More than six thousand of them were killed or wounded. Our loss was about five hundred men. General Stuart and Colonel Brown lost each of them a leg by the same cannon-ball, as they were talking together in the beginning of the engagement; the Colonel died a few hours after; but the General recovered, and is now in the field. It is doubted by many whether we have derived any advantage from this battle: they say, that where everything is to be lost by a defeat, and little gained by a victory, an engagement ought not to be hazarded, except some essential point is to be accomplished; that, in the present instance, this was not the case; that the strength of the enemy's situation made victory uncertain; and that though they were totally defeated, the want of provisions prevented

us from pursuing our success; and that the General, by attacking them in front, instead of turning their left flank, a little beyond which the ground was clear, showed little knowledge of the country.

“Others again say, that as we cannot follow Hyder all over the Carnatic, we ought to fight him wherever there is an opportunity; that he had collected his whole force, and waited for us on the same spot where he had defeated Colonel Baillie; and that if we could drive him from his ground, where his army thought itself invincible, he never would again dare to face us.

“The army returned to Madras immediately after the action, for a supply of provisions; and in the end of September we again marched to try to bring Hyder to another battle. He arrived at Sholingur two days before us, and, as usual, took post near the road by which we were to march. On the 27th, in the morning, the General went out to observe his situation: having considered everything attentively, he sent to camp for a brigade, to take possession of the ridge of rocks within two miles of Hyder's right. This being done, and everything still appearing quiet in the enemy's camp, (for though they observed the troopers that accompanied the General as a guard, they considered them only as a reconnoitring party, and in that persuasion all, except a few sentries, retired to rest in the heat of the day,) the General ordered the whole army to advance immediately. The head of the line passed the stony ridge at two o'clock: the enemy were astonished at the sight, and made haste to strike their tents. They had scarcely got into order when our army came opposite to them, and halted within random shot. The camp colours were planted, as if we intended to encamp; and Hyder, equally afraid to leave his advantageous post to attack us, as to remain so near us during the night, began to retreat in confusion. They could only get away by the left, along the road leading to Arcot; for there was a range of hills in their rear, at the distance of three miles, and the ground on the right was covered with wood, and so rugged that no guns could pass over it.

“The General detached the second brigade to turn Hyder's left, and draw up across the Arcot road, to prevent his escape that way; whilst the rest of the army advanced briskly in front, to take possession of the encampment he was quitting, and to drive him back on the hills in his rear. Hyder, seeing that nothing could now save him but a bold push, divided his best horse into three bodies, and sent them, under three chosen leaders, to attack as many different parts of our army at the same time, promising them the highest rewards in case they should succeed. They came down at full gallop till they arrived within reach of grape, when, being thrown into confusion, the greater part either halted or fled; and those that persevered in advancing were dispersed by a discharge of

musketry, except a few, who thought it safer to push through the intervals between the battalions and their guns than to ride back through the cross-fire of the artillery; but most of these were killed by the small parties in the rear. This attack, though made with little spirit, enabled Hyder to save his guns, which passed within half a mile of the second brigade, while it halted by an order from the General, to be at hand to support the rest of the line, in case the cavalry had made any impression. Excepting the escort with the artillery, every one in the Mysorean army shifted for himself; we followed them till sunset, when they were all out of sight, and we halted for the night two miles in the rear of their camp. Our loss was not above fifty men killed and wounded; Hyder's loss was great for the shortness of the action, and fell chiefly among his best cavalry, upwards of seven hundred of whom were counted dead on the field; he also lost one piece of cannon, which was the first ever taken from him in the field of battle by a European army.

“After the defeat nothing was wanting to drive Hyder out of the Carnatic but the means of carrying provisions, and a train of artillery, for the reduction of Arcot; but we were so far from having rice sufficient for this purpose, that we had not more than enough for two days, nor did we know where to find a supply. In this distress we were relieved by Bom Rauze, the most powerful Rajah dependent on the Nabob of Arcot. The pass which led into his country was not above two miles from the field of battle. The army entered it the following day. The country of Bom Rauze is situated among a heap of naked hills. The intermediate valleys are cultivated in the highest perfection: the communication between them is only by narrow and difficult roads, through which no army had ever marched. The inhabitants, secure in the natural strength of the country, lived in quiet; none of them had ever seen the face of an enemy. Hyder, when he entered the Carnatic, summoned Bom Rauze to repair to his standard, who refused to obey till the fall of Arcot, and then complied only to save his lands from being laid waste. He went to the Mysorean camp, attended by a numerous body of his subjects, who serve without pay; he followed Hyder in all his expeditions; and in the confusion which attended the defeat in the last engagement, he escaped into his own country.

“He gave permission to his people to bring provisions to the camp, and he himself collected considerable quantities for our use in different villages; but as many of them lay at a great distance from the camp, and the only access to them was by rugged and intricate paths, the supplies arrived so slowly, that although the greater part of the cattle of the army was employed in conveying them, they were little more than sufficient to replace the daily consumption. It was to lessen this inconvenience that the General detached Colonel Owen with six battalions of

sepoys and 200 cavalry, to a village 15 miles off; the Colonel sent a battalion six miles farther to a fort, the residence of a petty poligar, to which the country people brought rice enough to serve the detachment. This place was separated from the valley where Owen lay, by a chain of rocks. He encamped with his right to the hill, his rear was secured by another hill, his left was open, and there was a choultry two miles in the rear, on the Arcot road, in which an officer was posted with a company of sepoys. A range of hills ran along his front at the distance of a mile; and 200 or 300 yards from the foot of them, opposite to the right of the camp, was the entrance of the pass, which led to the valley, where General Coote lay. In this situation Owen remained till the 22nd of October, when his spies brought him intelligence that Hyder's army was approaching: he did not pay much regard to this information, at least he made no change in his disposition. Next morning, at sunrise, the officer at the choultry gave him notice that the enemy's army was in sight, as he believed, at the distance of four miles, and that they were advancing with the utmost rapidity. Upon this, he went out himself with five companies to observe their strength. It was, unfortunately, a considerable time before he was convinced that it was their whole force; he had even once resolved to meet them; but a little reflection made him take the wiser step of retreating. The baggage, which had hitherto been forgotten, was now buried, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.

“ The Colonel was detained so long waiting for the arrival of the party from the choultry, that a large body of horse came down with two guns, which opened upon his rear before it moved from the encampment. As the pass was at no great distance, the front of the line soon gained it, and placed two field-pieces to cover the entrance, under the command of Captain Moorhouse, an officer equal to any danger. Two battalions entered, without losing a man; but the other three were obliged to halt to oppose the enemy, who now fired from above 30 pieces of cannon, whilst their matchlock-men kept up a continual discharge from behind rocks and bushes; and their cavalry hovered round, looking for an opening to charge. The rear battalion gave way; but the other two remained steady, and entered the pass in good order, yet so hard pressed that they were forced to abandon one of the six-pounders posted to defend it. As soon as Colonel Owen learned this misfortune, he determined to make a bold push, not only to retake the gun, but to check the enemy. Captain Moir, a Bengal officer, and Captain Moorhouse of the artillery, offered their services, which were gladly accepted. Captain Moir, putting himself at the head of his grenadier company of Europeans, marched back to the spot where the gun had been left: finding it surrounded by a large body of horse and foot, who were attempting

to drag it off, he attacked them vigorously, and was so much favoured by the ruggedness of the ground, that notwithstanding the inequalities of numbers, he put them to flight, and rejoined the line with the gun. The enemy, though they kept a greater distance after this repulse, followed the detachment, firing from behind bushes, to the end of the pass, when they retired; and Owen, continuing his march a few miles farther, met the General hastening to support him. Seven officers and near 200 men were killed or wounded in this action: the number that engaged, including a company of European grenadiers that had joined two days before, did not exceed 1500 men. The battalion which had been sent to collect rice was not informed of the enemy's approach till eleven o'clock, when it retreated along the hills, and joined the army next morning.

“ Colonel Owen gained great praise for the calmness with which he gave his orders, and for the intrepidity with which he exposed his person during the action; he was, however, blamed for some dispositions. It was thought by many, that his having an outpost at the distance of a mile and a half was injudicious, as it gave the enemy time to come up before it could be recalled; and that his encampment was ill chosen, for that had he established it close to the pass, he might have entered it with his whole force before the enemy could have overtaken him, when the nature of the ground would have counterbalanced the inequality of numbers.

“ The season being now far advanced, the army made haste to relieve Vellore; but, notwithstanding every exertion, it was found impossible to throw in more than three months' grain. We left it in the beginning of November, and next day encamped near Chittore, a fort of little strength, which had formerly been the residence of Abdulwahab Khan, brother to the Nabob, who defended it some days against Hyder; but having no prospect of relief, he made his escape by night. The officer who succeeded to the command, after a fortnight's siege surrendered. The person to whom Hyder intrusted the care of it was a man of great resolution; but having no artillery, and a breach being made, in two days he capitulated. A battalion of sepoy's being left to garrison it, the rest of the army marched on the 16th to raise the siege of Tripassore, which was invested by a strong detachment; we had only one day's rice with us; there were seven corps which had received none the preceding day. A supply of six days luckily joined us on the march. On the 19th, in the midst of a heavy rain, we quitted the woods by a road that no army ever had passed before; and though we did not advance above five miles, it was attended with such difficulties, that the rear-guard did not reach camp till twelve o'clock next day. The rain continued all this time increasing, and was accompanied with such extreme cold, that



many hundreds, both of men and bullocks, perished by the way ; whole families, worn out by hunger, fatigue, and the severity of the weather, laid themselves down under the bushes and died together. The rain continued without abatement for two days ; there were two rivers between us and Tripassore, and there was only two days' rice in the camp. From this dismal situation we were relieved on the third day, when the weather cleared up ; we crossed both rivers with less trouble than had been expected, and the whole army was encamped before midnight within three miles of Tripassore, after being obliged to shoot four elephants and 100 horses, that could not get through the river.

“Tippoo raised the siege on the 20th, after having lain a week before it. The artillery of the garrison consisted of two eighteen-pounders and six small old guns.

“Tippoo opened a battery of four eighteen-pounders, and in a few hours broke the carriage of one of the large guns in the fort, which constrained the besieged to cease firing. The enemy soon demolished the defences, and breached the wall ; but the garrison, having repaired the damaged carriage, opened all their guns, and soon silenced the battery.

“Tippoo, finding, from the deepness of the ditch in that place, that he would be obliged to fill it before he could storm the breach, raised another battery opposite to a place of the fort where the ditch was fordable ; but was hindered from mounting guns on it by the approach of the army. The army went into cantonments in the neighbourhood of Madras, on the 3rd of December. I am, &c.”

This is a very remarkable narrative to have proceeded from the pen of a subaltern in his first campaign. It is not discredited by the tone of the more personal intercourse which he maintained at the same time with other members of his family. He thus writes to his mother :—

“I HAVE long been impatiently expecting to hear from you. Every fleet, I imagined, would bring me a letter from at least one member of the family ; but though several ships have arrived, they have brought not a single line for me. Your mentioning in your letter of October, 1779, my father's disappointment at London, with your hopes of his having gained some friends who might be of service to him hereafter, makes me extremely anxious to know if your expectations have been answered. Two years is a long time to remain in uncertainty of your situation.

“When I have found myself here at my ease, I have often reflected how very different the case might be with you, and that thought has

given me more pain than any disappointment that could possibly happen to me here would do."

TO HIS BROTHER JAMES.

"Camp at the Mount, November 1st, 1782.

"ALL my correspondents mention with wonder your extraordinary talents. They say that you talk in quite a different style from the other boys of your age, and that you imitate none of them: this peculiarity is a sure mark of an original genius. They also say that your deportment is grave, and that you despise making a vain display of your abilities; that you are the wonder of your schoolfellows; that thoughts like yours never entered into any of their heads; and that you never open your mouth but to say something new and uncommon, and utter sentences that deserve to be noted in a book. Whatever the boys may think, I hear that it was entirely owing to you that they all got books at the examination. When you go to the College, you will be of great use as a speaker in the societies. I have even hopes that you will rival your brother Daniel, who was a great ornament of them in former times. He once, if I mistake not, made a speech, and was, when he *stuck* in the middle of it, within an ace of gaining great applause.

"Let William and Margaret know that it is my orders that they do not presume to interrupt your meditations. Should William not comply, he shall not hear a word about the Great Mogul: as for Margaret, she is a female, and they, you know, always take advice."

TO HIS BROTHER WILLIAM.

"DEAR WILL,

"Camp at the Mount, November 1st, 1782.

"THE above appellation will, I fear, be pronounced by the gentlemen of the College to be rather too familiar for a man of such profound erudition as you assert that you are, notwithstanding what appearances may say.

"Among a number of Europe letters I received the other day, I saw one which, from the superscription, I concluded to be from James. I rejoiced at the thoughts of having my understanding enlightened by some of those sententious remarks and grave observations that he delivers without premeditation; but what was my surprise, when, on breaking the seal, I found I had got for a correspondent one of the most eminent of the literati, who was a proficient in geography, was master of Euclid, understood all the cases of right-angled and oblique-angled trigonometry; had gone over the mensuration of heights, distances, and superficies; talked Latin as fast as Greek, and English as fast as either, and had

crowned all his studies by the attainment of the four common rules of arithmetic! I was one evening amusing myself in a boat upon the Canal—your great discernment will tell you that it was before I left home—when the sun went down, and one of the company, (a weaver,) a sensible man, observed that it put him in mind of Young's Night Thoughts. In imitation of this gentleman, Sir, give me leave to say, that your extensive learning puts me in mind of a Doctor—I have forgot his name—no matter, you will remember it, when I tell you it begins with an **M**—, and that he was a great theologian, and made speeches at the Council of Trent, and was less attended to than several who spoke less of themselves, and more of the public business.

“You demand an account of the East Indies, the Mogul's dominions, and Muxadabad; but I shall be cautious how I submit it to your inspection till it is properly digested, especially as I am advised by you of a circumstance of which I was before ignorant, that Muxadabad is more *populous* than London. I imagine, when you made the above requisition, that you did it with a view rather to try my knowledge than to increase your own; for your great skill in geography would point out to you that Muxadabad is as far from Madras, as Constantinople is from Glasgow; you will, therefore, I hope, favour me with a description of the Turk and his capital.

“I am sorry to learn that your Spanish drove out the French, and went after them. With proper respect and due decorum, I am, profound Sir, your admirer,

“THOMAS MUNRO.”

TO HIS SISTER.

• “Camp before Cuddalore, 17th July, 1783.

“You must not think me forgetful if I do not write to you so often as to my father and mother, since I consider it of little consequence to which of you my letters are addressed: if they reach home, they are considered as family epistles.

“You cannot conceive what labour I go through a little before the departure of the Europe ships. I have half a dozen long letters to write, which employ me three or four nights. I often wish, before I have half done, that some quicker method could be invented of conveying our thoughts. This would be of greater use to you than to me, if your correspondence is now as extensive as it formerly was. I have heard it frequently observed, that most men, by a few years' absence from their native country, become estranged from their old acquaintances, and look back with indifference on the scenes of their earlier years. I have never yet been able to divest myself of my partiality for home; nor can I now reflect without regret on the careless, indolent life I led in my father's house, when time fled away undisturbed by those anxious

thoughts which possess every one who seeks earnestly for advancement in the world. I often see my father busied with his tulip beds, and my mother with her myrtle pots; I see you drawing, and James lost in meditation: and all these things seem as much present to me as they did when I was amongst you. Sometimes, when I walk on the sea-shore, I look across the waves, and please myself with fancying that I see a distant continent amongst the clouds, where I imagine you all to be. John Napier Greenhill is the only person here with whom I can talk of these things: he is so great an admirer of yours, that he one day solemnly declared to me, that he did not think you inferior in vivacity to his sister Anne. When I told him that he must not think me so credulous as to regard this flight as his real opinion, he assumed a grave countenance, and protested that he never was more serious in his life. This is farther confirmed by a letter I had some time ago from John Brown, informing me that his amiable correspondent, Erskine, had written him by the last ships a lively letter: his opinion goes farther with me than John Napier's, which I never have placed any confidence in since he one day told me that he had beaten my mother at backgammon, and that, had he not been afraid, he could have beaten my father also. A man, after such assertions as these, will say any thing."

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## CHAPTER III.

Attached to the Intelligence Department.

THOUGH the treaty of peace with Tippoo was not ratified for many months afterwards, a cessation of hostilities with France took place in July, 1783; and the army, which was at that time engaged in the siege of Cuddalore, broke up. Part moved to reinforce Colonel Fullerton's corps before Trichinopoly, part to the neighbourhood of Madras, where it went into cantonments. Mr. Munro, whose staff duties ended with the close of the campaign, rejoined his regiment, the 21st battalion, at the latter place, whence, in January, 1785, he passed into the 3rd battalion at Tanjore. Here he remained till 1786, when being promoted to a lieutenancy, he found himself attached, for a brief space, to the European regiment in Madras itself. But neither the climate of the capital, nor a constant association with gentlemen who persisted in adhering to the exclusive use of their mother tongue, proved agreeable to his tastes or sense of duty; for he had early recognised the soundness of a principle on which the Indian government now happily acts—that to think of governing a people by functionaries who are unable to communicate with them except through the medium of an interpreter, is an absurdity. He therefore applied himself with diligence, from the day of his arrival at Madras, to the study of the native languages, and became, in consequence, one of the few Englishmen who in those days can be said to have made any real progress in them. He was not now disposed to relax in these honourable exertions, and therefore solicited a removal into the 11th battalion of native infantry, then quartered at Cassimcottah, near Vizagapatam. Here he continued till January, 1787, when another transfer to his old corps, the 21st, removed him to Vellore. But the extent and value of his acquirements had by this time attracted the attention of the higher powers, and he was placed, in 1788, upon the general staff of the army. He thus became associated in what

was called the Intelligence Department, with Captain Read, one of the ablest of the many able men whom the school of Indian warfare and politics has produced. The circumstances under which this arrangement took place, and the immediate consequences to which it led, are explained in the following letters; some of which are inserted for the purpose of giving to the reader an insight into the working of a mind of no ordinary texture; others as the readiest and most agreeable channel through which to record the history of the writer's life.

TO A CORRESPONDENT IN GLASGOW.

[Without date.]

“A COUNTRY like India, which has been so often overrun by historians and travellers, and the manners of whose inhabitants have undergone but little change in so long a succession of ages, affords nothing to engage the curiosity of Europeans, except when it becomes the theatre of political revolutions, or is laid waste by contending armies. The powerful kingdoms you meet with in the accounts of the early voyagers have been long since overthrown. They have, within these 200 years, suffered numberless changes,—now joined into great kingdoms, now separated into a variety of petty principalities;—they have been ruled alternately by Indians and Mohammedans. The Zamorin is the only ancient sovereign in the south of India; he possesses a small district on the Malabar coast, from which he is in continual apprehension of being expelled by Tippoo. He joined Colonel Fullerton's army, with some of his followers, in the last war.

“The Peninsula is at present divided among four great powers,—the Mahrattas, the Nizam, Tippoo, and the English. There are besides a few independent chiefs, such as the King of Travancore and others; but they are too inconsiderable to be of any consequence in the great scale of politics. You may see, in the map published some years ago by Major Rennell, the extent and boundaries of their respective territories. The war which has been carried on for two years past by the Mahrattas and the Nizam against Tippoo has made little alteration in them.

“I have been for some years past amusing, or rather plaguing, myself with the Hindostanee and Persian languages. I began the study of them in the hopes of their becoming one day of use to me; and I was encouraged to go on by the wonderful relations given by Messrs. Richardson and others of the magazines of the useful and the agreeable concealed in Oriental manuscripts. I have been unlucky enough not to have yet found any of these treasures; but I have found, at least I

think so, that these gentlemen have been rather lavish in their encomiums. They have pronounced a number of books to be elegant, beautiful, and sublime; and they have supported the old opinion, that fancy abounds much more in the East than in the West. This doctrine may be very well adapted to those people who imagine that a writer who frequently introduces the sun and the moon, and roses and nightingales, must be a very grand and very fanciful genius; and to those learned authors who attribute the fertility of Oriental imagination to the heat of the sun—who conceive it to be expanded by that luminary, in the same manner as air;—and that, in tropical climes, the unfortunate owner is hurried away by it, sometimes above the clouds, and sometimes into the sea, as if he were tied to Major Money's balloon.

“ Among the many books that they admire, is the poem of Yoo-seph and Zuleiha by Tami—a most patience-proving story, founded on that of Potiphar's wife. Here the lady does nothing but pine, and cry, and string similes from the beginning to the end; and her swain appears to be an honest, wholesome, counsel-giving divine.

“ After an exordium, with which all Persian books begin, in praise of God and the Prophet, Zuleiha's birth and qualifications, mental and personal, are described. Among the latter is one somewhat singular:—the poet, after mentioning the largeness of her hips, says, the flesh was so soft, that, when pressed by the hand, it came out between the fingers like dough.

“ Not satisfied with his first description of her roses, rubies, and narcissuses, he gives you a second, in which he compares her features to the different letters in the alphabet; and on this occasion his ideas are so far-fetched, that I was more puzzled to find the smallest similarity than ever I was by any geometrical problem. His pathetic scenes are everlasting lamentations, in which the lady is angry with her father and mother for bringing her into the world, and with her nurse for giving her suck,—and curses the day in which she was born. His moral observations consist of a heap of old maxims, commonly called proverbs.

“ When Joseph's brethren consult about making away with him, they lay their heads together: because wise men say that two contain more than one; and that if a man cannot see to do his work with one candle, he lights another.

“ The Leili and Mujnoon by Nizami is, if possible, still more extravagant, absurd, and insipid than this. When Mujnoon hears that Leili is to be given in marriage to another, he flies to the wilderness, and tells his griefs to the beasts of the forest—by which they are so affected, that they acknowledge him for their chief, and follow him wherever he goes.

“ Colonel Dow, who, from his translations, appears to have been but

a poor Persian scholar, affects to be a great admirer of these eloquent writers. Abul-Fazel, secretary to the Emperor Ackbar, is, he says, 'sometimes too flowery; but at other times he comes down in a flood of cloquence on his astonished readers, like the Ganges when it overflows its banks.'

"I cannot say that, in perusing this author, I did not feel the astonishment which the Colonel describes; but it was owing to the immoderate length of his periods, that came down upon me in floods of such paltry nonsense, as can be imagined only by those who have read the *Lady's Magazine*.

"The Persian writers have always been fond of long, pompous periods; and Abul-Fazel, who seems to have thought that the essence of all good writing consisted in this, has been so eminently successful, that his nominatives and verbs are often posted at the distance of three pages from each other; and the space within is occupied with parentheses, where the sense, if any, lies concealed behind such a number of intrenchments, that the Council of Trent would be more puzzled to discover it than they were to settle the meaning of Grace. Antitheses, and conceits of all kinds, are as much admired as long periods: these are chiefly employed in pathetic scenes; but when they have occasion to argue or moralize, every thing is done by the help of proverbs.

"An old schoolmaster, to give me an idea of the sagacity of the philosophers of ancient times, told me a story the other day of the poet Tami, who was also a notable divine, and one of his scholars. He was, it seems, one of those wise men who are fond of talking mystically on the most common occasions; this continually kept up the attention of his scholars, to know what he meant or wanted. He happened once to drop an orange; one of his scholars immediately began to reason with himself on the meaning of it. My master does nothing without a design. Tun was the sound the orange made in falling. Tun, zun, zun, and gumaun, have the same signification: gumaun, kumaun, are written in the same way. Kumaun is koos in Arabic; koos inverted is sook; sook, in Persian, is bazar; bazar and nar-ar have the same appearance on paper: this must be his meaning. The scholar ran and brought a pomegranate, nar signifying a pomegranate, and ar, bring.

"Saadi is looked upon as the standard of Persian moral writers, and from his works are taken most of those little stories you find in the *Spectator*—of the drop of rain that fell into the ocean, and others; but these are his best—the rest are nothing but heaps of proverbs and wise sayings, to illustrate what every body knows; such as—a wise king should not be rash in ordering any one to be put to death, because the doctor cannot put things to rights afterwards. No man, with all his exertions, can ever get more than is decreed for him by Providence;



and if he is not to catch fish, he may throw his net into the Tigris till he is tired.

“ Sentences of their books are continually in the mouths of every Mohammedan who understands Persian. Their conversation, the most self-sufficient and pedantic that can be imagined, and which turns unceasingly on Providence and the prophets, is stuffed with verses from them and other books of poetry, except when they argue on religion, and then they attack and defend with verses of the Koran, though they understand no other Arabic; and assert at the same time, that it is impossible to render the divine spirit of it into any other language, or even to understand it properly in the original.

“ Books are very dear in the East, and the barbarous character in which they are written occasions a thousand errors in transcribing; so that the generality of people can afford to buy but few, and these few, from their incorrectness, they read with much difficulty; but then they have this advantage, that by the time they finish a book, they have the greatest part of it by heart, and are enabled to dispute more successfully. If they have any correct copies, they are confined to the libraries of princes and great men; but even these cannot be read without hesitation, as there are thousands of words in Persian that are written in the same manner, but have different meanings, and are differently pronounced.

“ Their histories since the eighth century are faithful; but are written in a dull, heavy style, like the genealogical chapters in the Bible. They contain but two descriptions of men—the good and the bad. The former are, without exception, as strong as elephants, as brave as Alexander, and as wise as Solomon; the latter oppressed their subjects, despised men of letters, and are gone to hell.

“ But of all their writings, none are more ridiculous, affected, and quaint, than their letters. They are composed of wise sayings, allusions, hints, broken sentences, and the blessing of God, without which, they observe, nothing can be done—of the most high-flown expressions of friendship or fidelity; but the same in all; and of the most extravagant complaints of the pain and torment of absence.

“ But every thing is set to rights again by philosophy’s luckily coming to the aid of the letter-writer, and reminding him, that between friends an apparent separation is of no consequence, as they are always present to each other in idea. This is what they call the ‘Molakali Jismania Bohani,’ or corporeal and spiritual meeting; and without these, few letters are ever written.

“ The Emperor Ackbar, the most enlightened of the monarchs of Asia, makes great use of them; and consoles himself with the one, for the want of the other; but I am not so much a philosopher as the Emperor, for I never write to a Mussulman without telling him, that

notwithstanding our spiritual meeting, unless the Cause of causes, God, shall cause a cause, that shall be the cause of our corporeal meeting, it will be altogether impossible for me to remain much longer in the vale of tears.

“Their best style of writing is, I think, their tales, which are more simple than is generally thought in Europe. To prove this, I send you the story of Shylock, which I found in a Persian manuscript, with a literal translation of that part which concerns him—for it is more properly the story of the Cazi of Emessa.\*

#### TRANSLATION.

“It is related, that in a town of Syria, a poor Mussulman lived in the neighbourhood of a rich Jew. One day he went to the Jew and said, ‘Lend me a hundred dinars, that I may trade with it, and I will give thee a share of the gain.’ This Mussulman had a beautiful wife, and the Jew had seen and fallen in love with her; and thinking this a favourable opportunity, he said, ‘I will not do this; but I will give a hundred dinars with this condition, that after six months thou shalt return it to me. But give me a bond in this form, that if the term of the agreement be exceeded one day, I shall cut a pound of flesh from thy body, from whatever place I choose.’ The Jew thought that by this means he might perhaps secure the Mussulman’s wife.

“The Mussulman was dejected, and said, ‘How can this thing be?’ But as his distress was extreme, he took the money on that condition, and gave the bond, and set out on a journey, and in that journey he acquired much gain, and was every day saying to himself, ‘God forbid that the term of the agreement should pass away, and the Jew bring vexation on me!’ He therefore gave a hundred gold dinars into the hands of a trusty person, and sent him home to give it to the Jew; but his own family, being without money, spent it to subsist themselves.

“When he returned from his journey, the Jew required payment of the money, or the pound of flesh. The Mussulman said, ‘I sent the money a long time ago.’—The Jew said, ‘The money came not to me.’ When this, on examination, appeared to be true, the Jew carried the Mussulman before the Cazi, and represented the affair.—The Cazi said to the Mussulman, ‘Either satisfy the Jew, or give the pound of flesh.’ The Mussulman not consenting to this, said, ‘Let us go to another

\* This story is given verbatim, as coming from Ensign Thomas Munro, in the collection of notes at the end of the Merchant of Venice, in Malone’s edition of Shakspeare. A copy of the original Persian MS. written by Mr. Munro at the time he discovered it, that is, in the year 1785 or 6, was sent by him to his friend Mr. Haliburton; but that gentleman, unfortunately, did not preserve it.

Cazi.' When they went, he also spoke in the same manner. The Mussulman asked the advice of an ingenious friend that he had. He said, 'He is a Jew, and thou art a Mussulman; he is subject to thee: say to him, Let us go to the Cazi of Emessa; go there, that thy business may be well.' The Mussulman went to the Jew, and said, 'I shall be satisfied with the decree of the Cazi of Emessa.' The Jew said, 'I shall be so too.' Then both departed for the city of Emessa. (Here follows a recital of the adventures they met with on the road; but I only translate that part of the story which concerns the Jew.) The Jew said, 'O Judge! this man borrowed a hundred dinars of me, and made a pound of flesh from his own body the pledge—command him to give the money or the flesh.' It happened that the Cazi was the friend of the Mussulman's father, and on this account he said, 'Thou sayest true,—it is the purport of the bond.' He desired them to bring a knife. The Mussulman on hearing this became speechless. The knife being at length brought, the Cazi turned his face to the Jew, and said, 'Arise, and cut a pound of flesh from his body, in such a manner that there may not be a grain more or less; and if thou shalt cut more or less, I shall order thee to be put to death.' The Jew said, 'I cannot; I shall leave this business and depart.' The Cazi said, 'Thou mayest not leave it; for the cruelty of the Jew is great.' He said, 'O Cazi! I have released him!' He said, 'It cannot be; either cut the flesh or pay the expenses of his journey;' and family mediators came in between them, and settled it at two hundred dinars. The Jew paid another hundred and departed.

"I have translated literally, without paying any attention to the English idiom, that I might give you a better idea of their manner.

"The best imitators I have ever seen of the Persian writings are in the Turkish Spy. The tedious allegories of the Adventurer have not the least resemblance to them:—but why attempt at all to imitate productions so much inferior to our own? Nothing is so absurd that does not find admirers in Europe.

"The Vision of Mirza in the Spectator set all the literati a-dreaming; and for many years none of them would venture to write until they had first taken a nap.

"This letter is already so long, that I must defer till my next what I have farther to say on this subject. I shall only say now, that the more I read, the more I am convinced of the justice of Monsieur Voltaire's observations, that the Persian poetry is something like the titles of their kings, in which there is 'souvent question' of the sun and moon, or, if you please, 'It is full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.' I would not give a chapter of the Don for the whole of it."

The date of the preceding letter is not given. It was received in Glasgow in October, 1787, and was probably written early in the same year; but the following tell their own tale, as well in this as in other particulars. They breathe a fine spirit of philosophy, as well as of disinterestedness and affection. It is to be observed, that though in one of them he speaks for the first time of settling an annuity on his father, the practice of sending remittances home was not then beginning. He had lived, even during his maiden campaign, upon his pay; and all his extra allowances were regularly transmitted to Scotland.

TO HIS MOTHER.

“ Tanjore, 10th November, 1785. ”

“ THOUGH my situation is not such as I might have expected, had Sir Eyre Coote lived, yet I still look forward with hope, and do not despair of seeing it bettered. The only cause I have for repining, is my inability to assist my father as I wish, and the hearing that your spirits are so much affected by the loss of his fortune. Yet I cannot but think that you have many reasons for rejoicing. None of your children have been taken from you; and though they cannot put you in a state of affluence, they can place you beyond the reach of want. The time will come, I hope, when they will be able to do more, and to make the latter days of your life as happy as the first. When I compare your situation with that of most mothers whom I remember, I think that you have as little reason for grieving as any of them. Many that are rich, are unhappy in their families. The loss of fortune is but a partial evil; you are in no danger of experiencing the much heavier one—of having unthankful children. The friends that deserted you with your fortune were unworthy of your society; those that deserved your friendship have not forsaken you.

“ Alexander and I have agreed to remit my father 100*l.* a-year between us. If the arrears which Lord Macartney detained are paid, I will send 200*l.* in the course of the year 1786. John Napier will tell you the reason why it was not in my power to send more.”

Soon after the above was despatched he heard of the death of one of his brothers, and wrote by the next opportunity to condole with his father on the event.

“ Cassimcottah, 29th September, 1786.

“ YOUR last letter brought the melancholy accounts of the irreparable loss we have sustained in the death of poor William. Your former misfortunes might have been alleviated by the pleasure of seeing

all your children in health, and by the hopes of their doing well, and being enabled to assist you; but this last stroke admits of no alleviation. He who could have been least spared has been torn from you! He would have been the joy of his parents, and the friend and companion of his sisters. I vainly flattered myself that I should return home and spend many years in his company, and that I should rejoice in having a brother of such excellent dispositions and abilities. It will be long before he dies out of my remembrance. Every circumstance, every place where you were accustomed to see him, must place his fond image before your sight. What must you not all have felt in sitting down to table without him! I read with delight every part of your letters that mentioned his progress in his studies. When I began your last, mentioning your intention of sending him to London, I little thought that it was also to inform me of his death. I hope that you and my mother will be able to support this severest trial that you could have undergone, that it will be the last you will ever experience, and that the conduct of your remaining children will afford you as much comfort as you can receive after such a loss. Alexander, who was once so sickly, is now as healthy as any of his brothers. I had a letter from him a few days ago, dated the 6th instant, in which he mentions his having sent five hundred rupees to Calcutta, to be remitted to you.

“I was appointed a Lieutenant in March last, and as there was no vacancy for me at Tanjore, I was removed to the regiment at Madras, where I lived three months with Mr. Ross. Your letters, which I then received, led me to believe either that Daniel would not come to India, or, at least, that he would not come till next fleet; I therefore applied to be removed to a Sepoy corps. I sailed from Madras the 24th of June, and soon after my arrival at Vizagapatam, I received a letter from Daniel, acquainting me of his having landed at Madras five days after I left it. I could not return to see him without getting leave from the General, of which there was little chance: besides, I had no money to carry me down, as I had left Madras with only six pagodas in my pocket. Although I had no money of my own, I had ninety pagodas, in bills, of the hundred that I received for Alexander's horse, about two years ago. I sent them to Mr. Ross, and requested that he would advance him the amount in money. I have not yet learned whether he has done so or not. I have too little knowledge of the different branches of trade in this country to point out to Daniel what line would be the best for him to adopt; his own inclination, and the advice of his friends at Madras, must determine him. If he goes to Bengal, Mr. Ross will recommend him to his friend Mr. Ferguson, to whom he may be of use in the great sugar manufacture that he carries on. I have mentioned this to him. I am only afraid that Mr. Ferguson may have no

use for him, as he has already got Mr. Lennox for his manager. But I need not say any more: he will write you fully himself. Alexander writes me that he will allow him a certain sum monthly until he is settled.

“ I have applied to return to Tanjore; if I succeed, I shall have an opportunity of spending a few days with Daniel at Madras.

“ My pay as a Lieutenant is thirty pagodas a month, and half batta, sixteen: but it has been stopped since the end of last year, and will not be paid till the Treasury can afford it. I shall always endeavour to live on my pay, and remit the batta to you, as it is paid. Mr. Ross sent you in March last a bill on the Royal College of Commerce of Copenhagen for 268*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, payable in London at six months' sight.

“ I do not know if I mentioned to you in my last, General ——'s offer of appointing me a cornet. As I was not in Madras, he made the proposal to Mr. Ross, who declined it, by the advice of my military friends. They told him that I would be a lieutenant in a few weeks, when I should have more pay than a cornet; and that, if he accepted the General's offer, I would be superseded by above a hundred ensigns of infantry, who would be lieutenants before I could be a lieutenant of cavalry. The General said, that whatever Mr. Ross might think, it was intended for my good, and that the present difference in opinion should not prevent him from attending to my interest on a future occasion: but he has had the disposal of more appointments than any of his predecessors, and has found no one proper for me. Besides other posts, he has disposed of six brigade-majorships, and five quartermasterships, without ever thinking that the holding of any of them could be for my interest; though I had some kind of claim to one, from having acted on the Staff till the army was new modelled by General Lang. But though the General's conduct has not answered my wishes, I do not consider myself the less indebted to Mr. H. Ross for his friendly letter. I shall write him whenever I get his direction from Daniel.

“ It gives me much pleasure to hear of the sympathy you have met with from your friends on the loss of poor William, but particularly the tender attention that Miss Stark showed him during his illness. I hope that you and my mother, though you can never forget how much you have lost, will be able to support it with resignation. I intended to have written my mother, but as my last was to her, and it makes no difference to which of you I write, I thought it as well to answer your letter.

“ This place is about twenty-four miles west of Vizagapatam. Direct for me in the 11th battalion. There will be no need to inclose to Mr. Ross, as a post-office is established.”

## TO THE SAME.

“ Vellore, 15th February, 1787.

“ YOUR two last have made me almost afraid to hear from you, which was one of the greatest pleasures I had on earth ; for the one brought me the melancholy account of the death of a brother, whom, of all my brothers, if ever I felt a partiality in favour of any of them, I loved the most ; and the other, of the friend whom, of all my friends, I most esteemed.

“ I cannot help being alarmed at my mother’s situation : her indulging her grief so unceasingly must prey upon her health. I know the warmth of her feelings, and the strength of her affection for her children ; but I hope her religion and good sense will enable her to bear with resignation the loss she has sustained. She has still many children left, whose cares and attentions, though they can never make her forget how excellent a son she has lost, may, in some measure, console her for that which is now irreparable.

“ I mentioned to you in my last that Daniel had gone to Bengal. He tells me in his last, from Calcutta, ‘ I leave this to-morrow for Batavia, Malacca, and China. Mr. Graham proposed my going there for a voyage with 200 rupees per month. I was induced to close with it, from the consideration of its being an introduction, and as an opening to something more beneficial hereafter. You will consult Mr. G. as to the best mode of transmitting 150*l.* to our parents, and the earlier it can be done the better ; I mean that that sum shall annually be paid them by me. As I shall be much at sea, 100*l.* per annum will defray my expenses. In addition to this you will endeavour to get my allowances in the 36th regiment remitted.’ Daniel is generous and sanguine ; and I believe that his wish to assist you has made him undervalue his own unavoidable expenses.

“ I must own that I shall advise him not to make any remittance till his allowances are larger, unless it be his pay in the 36th regiment, which I am afraid he will not be allowed to draw if he is long absent ; for by distressing himself at his outset, he might get into difficulties from which he would hereafter, perhaps, find it difficult to extricate himself.”

The following accounts for the formation of the corps d’armée, of which, with Captain Read, Mr. Munro became a member, and expresses the opinions of the writer in regard to the injustice of the policy which sent it into the province of Guntoor.

## TO HIS FATHER.

“THE most important public transaction, since my last, is the surrender of the Guntoor Circar to the Company, by which it becomes possessed of the whole coast from Jaggernaut to Cape Comorin. The Nizam made himself master of that province soon after Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic, as an equivalent for the arrears of peshcush due to him by the Company for the other Circars. The Company not being at that time in a situation to compel him to restore it, he kept it quietly for several years; and though Sir John Macpherson sent Mr. Johnson to Hyderabad to demand the restitution of it, he paid little attention to his request. But the Company, seeing their affairs again in a respectable situation, determined to compel him to deliver what they considered as their own property. They ordered Lord Cornwallis to intimate to him that they were willing to discharge their arrears of peshcush, and to pay it regularly in future, but that the restoration of Guntoor must be the price; and that, in case of refusal or delay, their troops would enter the province in fourteen days.

“Colonel Edington, with a detachment of a regiment of Europeans and four battalions of sepoy, being already arrived on the boundary of the Company's territory, on the 9th of September, Captain Kennaway, from Calcutta, presented to the Nizam a paper, containing a demand of the surrender of the Circar, a promise of a faithful discharge of all arrears, as well as regular payment hereafter, and notifying the time limited for the advance of the Company's troops. The Nizam, unable singly to contend with such an antagonist, and despairing of assistance from any of the country powers, (for Tippoo was unwilling to make any movement without the co-operation of France, and the Mahrattas were employed in expelling a usurper, and reinstating Shah Alum on the throne of Delhi,) submitted to the terms imposed upon him. He instantly issued orders for his forces to evacuate Guntoor, but, at the same time, protested against the violence and injustice of the Company. ‘They ought,’ he said, ‘to have paid their arrears previous to their insisting on the restoration of the country;—and what security have I,’ he asked, ‘that they will be more punctual in future in discharging their peshcush than they have hitherto been?’

“It would certainly have been a more honourable and manly policy to have paid him, first, all his just claims, and then to have made the requisition. The consequence would have been the same, with this difference, that adopting this method would have raised, while following the other has degraded, the name of Englishmen!

“The spirit of the nation humbled in the West by an unfortunate



war, seems to have extended its effects to this country, in stooping to a timid, where a bold policy would have been equally safe. The apprehension, if any existed, was groundless, that the Nizam, if he had received the money, might have employed it against the Company, and refused to give up the province. The sum did not amount to the quarter of one year's revenue; and had it been ten times more, it would have availed little; for to a weak and distracted government, without an army, *money* is but a poor defence against a warlike and powerful enemy. He knew that resistance would be in vain, and that it would serve no other purpose than to afford the Company a pretence for withholding the peshcush of the other provinces. He was too wise to give them such an opening, and was no doubt happy to save, in some measure, his credit, by the consideration that they had some claim to the possession of Guntoor. His reply to Captain Kennaway's demand is sensible and candid,—it is the language of a prince, who feels that he is insulted without having the power to avenge himself. The perusal of it is affecting—it displays the humiliation of a great prince compelled to sacrifice his dignity to necessity, and to suppress his indignation at being told that this is done with his own approbation, and purely from motives of friendship, by the English. If I can get a sight of the original, and a few spare hours, I shall send you a translation of it.

“ I am, dear Sir, your affectionate son,  
(Signed) “ THOMAS MUNRO.”

I subjoin three letters, two of them addressed to his friend Mr. Foulis, and one to his sister. They are written in a different style from the foregoing, and treat of very different matters.

TO MR. FOULIS.

“ Madras, December, 1788.

“ YOUR last despatches left you (I presume from their contents) making a display of your loyalty, after the good old English manner, on the transactions in Holland, by getting drunk with a parcel of swaggering companions, ascribing the success of the Prussians to the spirit of the British councils, the majority of the people so much respected by foreign nations, and the five hours' speeches of our indefatigable orators, so much dreaded by every Sovereign in Europe who has any taste for eloquence, and abusing the House of Bourbon, setting both branches at defiance, and manfully asserting that Britons were now as superior to them in the cabinet as they had always been in the field. It is well for Master Bull that his head is filled with the same kind of fantastic visions that possess those men who are in quest of the philosopher's stone; for if it were not, the knowledge of

his misfortunes must long ago have deprived him of the little sense he has left. Let him be mauled by every foe he encounters in the field; let disasters rain upon him as thick as Lairds in Scotland, and himself be duped and outwitted by every one he treats with in the closet; yet, if his troops by chance gain a petty advantage, or if a negotiation in which he is engaged is brought nearly to the point he wishes, then Europe is swayed by his councils or trembles at his arms. I made allowances for your giving a loose to the exultation of your heart on the triumph over insidious France, obtained by a Prussian army inspired by British valour and directed by British wisdom, and therefore easily accounted for your not having written to me for some time past; but when I heard of the commotions in France, and of the fate of Du Presmenil and Monsabar, and the proceedings of the bed of justice, and saw Mr. Vander Spengel's treaty and no letter from you, I said with a sigh, 'This likes me not;' for if he did not perceive in these events more danger to the prosperity of Britain than ever past times have witnessed, or perhaps future will experience, why this profound silence? He is certainly alarmed, and no wonder; for even I, unskilled as I am in political phenomena, think I see some cause for serious apprehensions for the safety of the empire. I wish Louis may avail himself of the powerful engine he has in his hands, a standing army, to crush the mutineers of his parliament; for if they carry their point of establishing a free government, commerce will become as honourable among them as it is in England, and France will then prove by sea what she is now by land, the greatest power in the world; and you and I may live to see Britain stripped of all her foreign dominions; her free-born sons restrained from quitting their barren isle without a French passport, and left to talk of the empires they once held in the East and West, and their empire of the sea, when no trace of it remains; but 'Come, cheer up, my lads,' and 'Rule, Britannia.' To avert such evils as these, I would recommend to you and your loyal party to drink prosperity to Louis and confusion to his parliament, for every means ought to be taken to discourage and suppress the spirit of liberty in a nation that is so formidable a rival as France."

TO THE SAME.

"Amboor, April 2, 1790.

"If, like you, I were liable to be possessed by blue or any other devils, the situation of affairs in France would be more likely than any thing besides to produce such an event; for as a friend to the glory and prosperity of Britain, I cannot behold with indifference the restoration of French liberty. That nation, already too powerful, wanted nothing but a better form of government to render her the arbiter of Europe; and the convulsions attending so remarkable a revolution having subsided, France will soon assume that rank to which she is entitled from her

resources, and the enterprising genius of her inhabitants. You and I may live to see the day when the fairest provinces of India (reversing Mr. Gibbon's boast) shall not be subject to a company of merchants of a remote island in the Northern Ocean; but when, perhaps, those merchants and their countrymen, being confined by the superior power of their rival to the narrow limits of their native isle, shall sink into the insignificance from which they were raised by their empire of the sea. With the freedom of our Government we may retain our orators, our poets, and historians, but our domestic transactions will afford few splendid materials for the exercise of genius or fancy, and with the loss of empire we must relinquish, however reluctantly, the idea so long and so fondly cherished by us all, of our holding the balance of power. In looking forward to the rising grandeur of France, I am not influenced by any groundless despondency, but I judge of the future from the past; and when I consider that after the Revolution she opposed for some time, successfully, the united naval powers of England and Holland; that she did the same under Queen Anne, and under George II. till 59; and that notwithstanding the almost total annihilation of her marine in that war—in the East, in Europe, America, and the West Indies, she never shunned, and sometimes sought our fleets, and met us in this country (the East Indies), if not with superior force, at least with superior fortune, and perhaps bravery; that she made all those exertions when she was left to the mercy of capricious women, who made and unmade ministers, generals, and admirals almost every month, and when commerce and even the naval profession met with no encouragement; I cannot but fear that when she shall direct her attention to the sea, she may wrest from Britain her empire of that element, and strip her of all her foreign possessions. When two countries have made nearly the same progress in the arts of peace and war, and when there is no material difference in the constitution of their governments, that which possesses the greatest population, and the most numerous resources from the fertility of her soil, must in the end prevail over her rival. But let us leave this struggle with France, which I hope is yet at some distance, and talk of the affair which we have now upon our hands with Tippoo," &c., &c.

TO HIS SISTER.

"Madras, 23rd January, 1789.

"Not a scrap from you for almost two years; but my father, by sending me your fragment on Old Maids, has taken care to let me see that you are taken up with matters nearer home, than writing letters to me. Since reading this poem, I have often wished that you were transported for a few hours to my room, to be cured of your Western notions

of Eastern luxury, to witness the forlorn condition of old bachelor Indian officers; and to give them also some comfort in a consolatory fragment. You seem to think that they live like those satraps that you have read of in plays; and that I in particular hold my state in prodigious splendour and magnificence—that I never go abroad unless upon an elephant, surrounded with a crowd of slaves—that I am arrayed in silken robes, and that most of my time is spent in reclining on a sofa, listening to soft music, while I am fanned by my officious pages; or in dreaming, like Richard, under a canopy of state. But while you rejoice in my imaginary greatness, I am most likely stretched on a mat, instead of my real couch; and walking in an old coat, and a ragged shirt, in the noonday sun, instead of looking down from my elephant, invested in my royal garments. You may not believe me when I tell you, that I never experienced hunger or thirst, fatigue or poverty, till I came to India—that since then, I have frequently met with the first three, and that the last has been my constant companion. If you wish for proofs, here they are:—I was three years in India before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge-pouch; my bed was a piece of canvas, stretched on four cross sticks, whose only ornament was the great coat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky invention, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather, by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts over my head. In this situation I lay, like Falstaff in the basket—hilt to point—and very comfortable, I assure you, all but my feet; for the tailor, not having foreseen the various uses to which this piece of dress might be applied, had cut the cloth so short, that I never could, with all my ingenuity, bring both ends under cover; whatever I gained by drawing up my legs, I lost by exposing my neck; and I generally chose rather to cool my heels than my head. This bed served me till Alexander went last to Bengal, when he gave me an Europe camp-couch. On this great occasion I bought a pillow and a carpet to lay under me, but the unfortunate curtains were condemned to make pillow-cases and towels; and now, for the first time in India, I laid my head on a pillow. But this was too much good fortune to bear with moderation; I began to grow proud, and resolved to live in great style: for this purpose I bought two table-spoons, and two tea-spoons, and another chair—for I had but one before—a table, and two table-cloths. But my prosperity was of short duration, for, in less than three months, I lost three of my spoons, and one of my chairs was broken by one of John Napier's companions. This great blow reduced me to my original obscurity, from which all my attempts to emerge have hitherto proved in vain.

“My dress has not been more splendid than my furniture. I have never been able to keep it all of a piece; it grows tattered in one

quarter, while I am establishing funds to repair it in another; and my coat is in danger of losing the sleeves, while I am pulling it off to try on a new waistcoat.

“ My travelling expeditions have never been performed with much grandeur or ease. My only conveyance is an old horse, who is now so weak, that, in all my journeys, I am always obliged to walk two-thirds of the way; and if he were to die, I would give my kingdom for another, and find nobody to accept of my offer. Till I came here, I hardly knew what walking was. I have often walked from sunrise to sunset, without any other refreshment than a drink of water; and I have traversed on foot, in different directions, almost every part of the country between Vizagapatam and Madura, a distance of eight hundred miles.

“ My house at Vellore consists of a hall and a bed-room. The former contains but one piece of furniture—a table; but on entering the latter, you would see me at my writing-table, seated on my only chair, with the old couch behind me, adorned with a carpet and pillow; on my right hand a chest of books, and on my left two trunks; one for holding about a dozen changes of linen, and the other about half-a-dozen of plates, knives and forks, &c. This stock will be augmented on my return by a great acquisition, which I have made here—six tea-spoons and a pair of candlesticks, bought at the sale of the furniture of a family going to Europe. I generally dine at home about three times in a month, and then my house looks very superb; every person on this occasion bringing his own chair and plate.

“ As I have already told you that I am not Aladdin with the wonderful lamp, and that, therefore, I keep neither pages, nor musicians, nor elephants, you may perhaps, after having had so particular an account of my possessions, wish to know in what manner I pass my leisure hours. How this was done some years ago I scarcely remember; but for the last two years that I have been at Vellore I could relate the manner in which almost every hour was employed.

“ Seven was our breakfast-hour, immediately after which I walked out, generally alone; and, though ten was my usual hour of returning, I often wandered about the fields till one; but when I adhered to the rules I had laid down for myself, I came home at ten, and read Persian till one, when I dressed and went to dinner. Came back before three: sometimes slept half an hour, sometimes not, and then wrote or talked Persian and Moors till sunset, when I went to the parade, from whence I set out with a party to visit the ladies, or to play cards at the commanding-officer's. This engaged me till nine, when I went to supper, or more frequently returned home without it, and read politics and nonsense till bed-time, which, according to the entertainment which I met with, happened sometime between eleven and two. I should have

mentioned fives as an amusement that occupied a great deal of my time. I seldom missed above two days in a week at this game, and always played two or three hours at a time, which were taken from my walks and Persian studies. Men are much more boyish in this country than in Europe, and, in spite of the sun, take, I believe, more exercise, and are, however strange it may appear, better able to undergo fatigue, unless on some remarkably hot days. I never could make half the violent exertions at home that I have made here. My daily walks were usually from four to twelve miles, which I thought a good journey in Scotland. You see children of five or six years of age following the camp, and marching fifteen or sixteen miles a-day with the same ease as their fathers.

“ I have almost as much local attachment to Vellore as to Northside ; for it is situated in a delightful valley, containing all the varieties of meadows, groves, and rice-fields. On every side you see romantic hills, some near, some distant, continually assuming new forms as you advance or retire. All around you is classic ground in the history of this country ; for almost every spot has been the residence of some powerful family, now reduced to misery by frequent revolutions, or the scene of some important action in former wars.

“ Not with more veneration should I visit the field of Marathon, or the Capitol of the ancient Romans, than I tread on this hallowed ground ; for, in sitting under a tree, and while listening to the disastrous tale of some noble Moorman, who relates to you the ruin of his fortune and his family, to contemplate by what strange vicissitudes you and he, who are both originally from the North of Asia, after a separation of so many ages, coming from the most opposite quarters, again meet in Hindostan to contend with each other—this is to me wonderfully solemn and affecting.”

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## CHAPTER IV

## War with Tippoo.

SOON after the preceding letters were written, the political horizon, over which dark clouds had for some time been gathering, became overcast. Smarting under the pain of former humiliations, and jealous of the alliance between the English and the Nizam, Tippoo, the son and successor of Hyder Ally, after reducing to obedience many chiefs whom late events had tempted to rebel, suddenly turned his arms against the Rajah of Travancore. It is curious to look back upon the earnestness with which all successive governments have laboured to circumscribe the British possessions in the East within moderate limits, and to contrast it with the force of that irresistible necessity which has driven them, one after another, into schemes of war and of conquest. The same principle which induced Lord Hardinge, in 1846, to interpose a native power between the English and the mountaineers of Central Asia, created in the minds of Lord Cornwallis and his advisers a disinclination to crush Tippoo, whom they regarded, in his crippled state, as a convenient check upon the Mahrattas. But in these views Captain Munro did not coincide. He felt that the time was come for asserting, in the Peninsula at least, the supremacy of British power, and deprecated the attempt to adhere to a policy which was no longer compatible either with the honour or the safety of the empire. The following letter to his father, though referring to contingencies long past, will not, I think, be read without interest; for there is in it a prophetic tone which becomes every day more intelligible:—

TO HIS FATHER.

“ Amboor, 17th January, 1790.

“ TIPPoo, after having been for the last two years employed in suppressing a rebellion among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, has at

length turned his arms against the King of Travancore. His design against this prince has been known above a year in every part of India ; and Government, on their part, have not failed to demand explanations, and to trust, as usual, more to assurances, so often broken, than to the more certain evidence of his ambition, and the hostile movements of his armies. It is above a year since the King of Travancore, seeing the storm gathering, requested that two battalions of sepoy, to be paid by him, might be sent to his assistance : his demand was complied with ; and he hoped that the presence of these troops would either deter Tippoo from attacking him, or at least induce his allies, the English, to support him in the event of a war. Experience has already shown that he was mistaken in the first instance : how far he was right in the second, a few days must now determine. His country is naturally strong, and his people are warlike ; but, unassisted, he will not long be able to contend with his powerful antagonist. His dominions are entirely surrounded by a range of mountains and the sea, except an opening to the north, of about ten miles, between the termination of the hills and the Malabar shore. This space is defended by a high mound of earth planted with a thick bamboo hedge, and is farther secured by the fort of Cranganore, which the Dutch sold last year to the King of Travancore. On this transaction Tippoo grounds his reasons for now commencing hostilities, asserting that the Rajah of Cochin, being his vassal, had no right to sell it to the Dutch without his approbation, nor they to another power. He demanded its restoration some months ago, and was refused by the King. The Government have signified to him their intention of not supporting him in maintaining any acquisitions he may have made since the last peace. They at the same time wrote to Tippoo, telling him that their ally, the King, was under great alarm at his assembling an army on his frontiers ; but testifying their own confidence in his pacific disposition. Tippoo was not yet ready for action, and therefore replied that nothing was farther from his thoughts than war ; but having at length completed the reduction of his rebellious subjects, he turned his arms instantly to the southward, and cannonaded and stormed the Travancore lines on the 29th of December, but was repulsed with the loss of eight hundred men. A second attack is daily expected ; and, if the King is left alone, all his exertions against a power so superior can delay but for a very short time his ruin. The English battalions were behind the lines, but not at the place attacked ; and it is said that they have orders not to act, even on the defensive. If such be the case, the Rajah ought to dismiss them with scorn ; for the present is the only moment in which the aid of such a handful of men can be effectual. The barrier once forced, orders for them to act will arrive too late. All their efforts will then avail but little against



the numbers of their enemies, and will only serve to draw a heavier vengeance on themselves and the unfortunate Rajah.

“ The distinction made between recent acquisition and ancient territory appears to be a subterfuge of Government to cloak their dread of war under a pretended love of peace; for Cranganore was a fair purchase of the Dutch from the Rajah of Cochin, subject, however, to an annual tribute of 35 rupees. And Tippoo, after the conquest of that prince’s country, could not, with any colour of justice, as long as he received the annual acknowledgment paid to the former sovereign, hinder the Dutch from selling it.

“ Should the English determine to support their ally, they could not wish for a more favourable conjuncture than the present. The Nizam, afraid of the growing power of Tippoo, and his former caution increased with years, would remain neuter; and the Mahrattas, during the present unsettled state of affairs at Delhi, and their disputes with the Rajah of Jaipore, and other princes of the North of India, would hardly engage in new wars, unless with the view of regaining the provinces wrested from them by Hyder. The flame of rebellion, too, being scarcely extinguished in his own dominions, all the Nairs, from Mangalore to Cochin, would crowd in arms to the standard of an invading army. But for this invasion I fear that we are not yet in the state of readiness which we ought to be. It will require some time to assemble an army able to face the enemy; and before such an army can be put in motion, Tippoo may be in actual possession of Travancore and all the southern countries. We have derived but little benefit from experience and misfortune. The year 1790 now sees us as unprepared as the year 1780 did for war. We have added to the numbers of our army, but not to its strength, by bringing so many regiments from Europe; for so great a number of Europeans serve only to retard the operations of an Indian army, less by their inability to endure the fatigues of the field, than by the great quantity of cattle which is requisite to convey their provisions and equipage. No addition has been made to our sepoy, on whom we have long depended, and may still with security depend, for the preservation of our empire in this country. We have, therefore, made our army more expensive and numerous, though less calculated for the purposes of war, than formerly, both on account of the multitude of Europeans and the want of cattle. We keep up, it is true, a small establishment of bullocks, but hardly sufficient to draw the guns, far less to transport the prodigious quantity of stores and provisions which follow an army. Had half the money, idly thrown away in sending a naval squadron and four additional regiments to this country, been employed in increasing the establishment of sepoy and cattle, we should

then have had an army which, for its lightness and capacity for action, would have broken the power of our formidable rival.

“ Exclusive of the unwieldiness of our army, we shall commence the war under the disadvantage of a want of magazines, for we have none at present but at Madras. Since the conclusion of the late war, we have acted as if we had been to enjoy a perpetual peace. The distresses and difficulties which we then encountered, from the want of them, have not cured us of the narrow policy of preferring a present small saving to a certain though future great and essential advantage. The money disbursed on such an occasion would have been amply repaid by the facility which it would have given to our warlike operations. Magazines at this place, for instance, would have prevented us from being obliged to leave Madras encumbered with a great quantity of stores and provisions; from being forced to fight in that situation, and after losing half of them, compelled to return for a supply—would have brought us 130 miles nearer the enemy’s frontiers, and by that means have rendered it unnecessary to have carried any great store of grain, as we should have found it every where in the Mysore country, and would have enabled us to have reduced the whole of Tippoo’s dominions in one, or, at most, in two campaigns. It may be thought that Tippoo, on our entering his territories, would cut off all supplies of provisions; but this is not so easily to be done as may at first sight appear. It is not here as in Europe, where they have only one harvest. Every month produces a crop of some kind of grain or other, which would serve for the subsistence of our army; or if that was not sufficient, we should find enough in every little village. Tippoo, it may be said, might burn the standing grain, as well as that laid up in the villages. The former he might soon destroy, but not the latter, because it is not at all collected in a public magazine, but every man has as much as will support his family throughout the year concealed in pits, in his own house; and the quantity is very considerable, as grain is the only food of the inhabitants: but Tippoo, in burning the grain, would distress himself more than us; for, having little intercourse with other nations, and his own being almost entirely composed of husbandmen, he would deprive himself of the principal source of his revenue. Besides, if he laid waste the open country, he must collect great magazines, in a few of his principal forts, to supply his numerous armies; and whenever any one of them fell, it would give us the means of fixing ourselves firmly in his country; for that which would subsist his army for a month, would maintain ours for a year.

“ It would therefore have been more wise to have made these preparations, which would have facilitated the movements of the army,

than to have increased its unwieldy force. It was not men that we wanted,—for we were strong enough before to fight and beat the enemy,—but the power of giving action and energy to the force in our hands; for it is an army that, while it is strong enough to face our enemy, is also able to march with rapidity, that can alone be formidable to him.

“ Notwithstanding our unprepared state, our force is so superior, and our advantage so great in having the choice of entering any part of his dominions, that many are of opinion, that were we now to proceed with despatch to form magazines, and to commence the war with vigour, we might, without any great display of military talents, conclude it with the subversion of the rising empire of our most inveterate enemy.

“ It has long been admitted as an axiom in politics, by the directors of our affairs, both at home and in this country, that Tipgoo ought to be preserved as a barrier between us and the Mahrattas. This notion seems to have been at first adopted without much knowledge of the subject, and to have been followed without much consideration. It is to support a powerful and ambitious enemy, to defend us from a weak one. From the neighbourhood of the one, we have every thing to apprehend; from that of the other, nothing. This will be clearly understood by reflecting for a moment on the different constitutions of the two governments. The one, the most simple and despotic monarchy in the world, in which every department, civil and military, possesses the regularity and system communicated to it by the genius of Hyder, and in which all pretensions derived from high birth being discouraged, all independent chiefs and zemindars subjected or extirpated, justice severely and impartially administered to every class of people, a numerous and well-disciplined army kept up, and almost every employment of trust or consequence conferred on men raised from obscurity, gives to the government a vigour hitherto unexampled in India. The other, composed of a confederacy of independent chiefs, possessing extensive dominions and numerous armies, now acting in concert, now jealous of each other, and acting only for their own advantage, and at all times liable to be detached from the public cause by the most distant prospect of private gain, can never be a very dangerous enemy to the English. The first is a government of conquest; the last, merely of plunder and depredation. The character of vigour has been so strongly impressed on the Mysore government by the abilities of its founders, that it may retain it, even under the reign of a weak prince, or a minor; but the strength of the supreme Mahratta government is continually varying, according to the disposition of its different members, who sometimes strengthen it by union, and sometimes weaken it by defection, or by dividing their territories among their children.

“That nation likewise maintains no standing army, adopts none of the European modes of discipline, and is impelled by no religious tenets to attempt the extirpation of men of a different belief. But Tippoo supports an army of 110,000 men, a large body of which is composed of slaves, called Chelas, trained on the plan of the Turkish janizaries, and follows with the greatest eagerness every principle of European tactics. He has even gone so far as to publish a book for the use of his officers, a copy of which is now in my possession, containing, besides the evolutions and manœuvres usually practised in Europe, some of his own invention, together with directions for marching, encamping, and fighting; and he is, with all his extraordinary talents, a furious zealot in a faith which founds eternal happiness on the destruction of other sects.

“An opportunity for humbling an enemy so dangerous, and so implacable, has now appeared; and had we been in the state of readiness for action which good policy demanded of us, one army might have entered the Coimbatore country and another sat down before Bangalore, almost before he could have opposed us. But so far from this, no army is yet likely to assemble; and it was with much difficulty that Colonel Musgrave prevailed on the Governor to send the 36th regiment, two battalions of sepoys, one regiment of cavalry, and a company of artillery, to Trichinopoly; but the troops there, even when joined by this detachment, will not form an army that will be able to act offensively.

“Our operations will be still farther impeded by the reference which it will, most likely, be judged expedient to make to Bengal, before we proceed on an offensive war. The public look impatiently for the arrival of ——, and seem to be sanguine in their expectations of the happy effects to be derived from the ability and exertions of so distinguished a character. Experience might have taught them, at least in this country, to build less on great names; for they have seen so many impositions on the understanding of mankind, invested with high offices, and recommended by common fame, as were enough to prejudice them against any man who should come among them with such credentials.

“I am, dear Sir,” &c.

Into the details of the military operations which followed, and of which Mr. Munro, in his correspondence, gives an admirable account, it is not necessary to enter. History has long ago recorded the issue of Tippoo's second assault on the fortress of Cranganore, and described the war, extending over two expensive and hazardous campaigns, to which it led. In the former of these campaigns, though successful in the field, our arms suffered some tarnish in the compulsory retreat to Bangalore: in the

latter, a more judicious arrangement of supplies, and the choice of a better season, enabled Lord Cornwallis to dictate his own terms of peace under the walls of Seringapatam. With these Mr. Munro appears not to have been satisfied. He held to the opinion, which after experience confirmed, that, by leaving Tippoo in command of a portion of his resources, the English government was simply arranging fuel for a second conflagration; and he argues the point so well in a letter which is otherwise full of interest, that I am tempted to subjoin it.

“28th April, 1792.

“I HAVE written to you one or two short letters since the peace; they would have been longer had I not, since the month of January, been employed in a laborious situation, which takes up so much of my time as to leave me none for private correspondence. I write from daybreak till sunset every day; and at night I am either engaged with idle people, or so much exhausted as not to be able to think correctly on any subject. I am, besides, so little pleased with the peace, that I cannot without difficulty bring myself either to talk or write of it. When hostilities ceased, Tippoo had no place above the Ghauts from Gurrumconda to Seringapatam. Besides the former of these forts, he had Gooty, Balhari, and Chitteldroog; but all either so distant from the scene of action, or so weakly garrisoned, as to give him no benefit from holding them; he had likewise Kisnagerry in the Baramahl, which was, however, at this time, of no consequence in the operations of the war, because its garrison was not strong enough to attack convoys coming from the Carnatic, and because the Peddanadurgum Pass, in the neighbourhood of Amboor, being repaired, all convoys, after the month of September, took that road as the most direct to the army. He had lost the greatest part of his troops by death or desertion in the attack of his lines, and he himself had lost his haughtiness, his courage, and almost every quality that distinguished him, but his cruelty, which he continued to exercise every day on many of the principal officers of his government, particularly Brahmins, on the most idle suspicions. The remains of his infantry were in the fort, and his cavalry on the glacis. He slept at night in the fort, in the great mosque,—for he never visited his palace after his defeat on the 6th; and during the day he stayed on the outside amongst his horsemen, under a private tent, from whence he observed, with a sullen despair, his enemies closing in upon him from every side—the Carnatic army, on the north bank of the river, with their approaches, which even on this side were carried within four thousand yards of the wall, and a strong detachment occupying the pettah, and half the island—the Bombay army on the south side, about four miles distant, on the Periapatam

road—Purseram Bhow, after ravaging Biddanore, advancing by rapid marches to fill up the interval between the right of the Bombay and the left of the Carnatic army, and complete the blockade—and no possibility of protracting the siege, even by the most determined resistance, beyond fifteen days. In this situation, when extirpation, which had been so long talked of, seemed to be 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 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 Powers and Tippoo Sultan.”

“ His Lordship probably at this time supposed that everything would soon be finally settled, and that he would be able in a few days to leave a sickly camp, where he was losing great numbers of Europeans ; but Tippoo continued to work with more vigour than before the cessation, and used so many delays and evasions in ratifying the definitive treaty, that notwithstanding his having already sent his two eldest sons as hostages, and a million sterling, it was believed that hostilities would be renewed. His Lordship furnished him with the means of protraction by adopting a revenue instead of a geographical division of his country. It was stipulated that the Confederates were to take portions of his territories contiguous to their own, and by their own choice, which should amount to half his revenue. He was desired to send out an account of his revenues, that the selection might be made. He replied that he had none—that they had all been lost at Bangalore and other places ; and on being told that in that case the allies would make the partition agreeable to statements in their own possession, he sent out accounts in which the frontier countries were overrated, and all those in the centre of his kingdom, which he knew he would retain for himself, undervalued. The fabrication was obvious, not only in this particular, but also in his diminishing the total amount of his revenue about thirty lacs of rupees. The confederates, however, after a few days, consented to submit to this double loss for the sake of peace ; but Tippoo, after gaining one point, determined to try his success on some others. The value of the whole had been fixed ; but on proceeding to fix that of the districts which were to be ceded, he threw so many obstacles in the way, that the Allies found themselves at last compelled to adopt the measure with which they ought to have begun. A list was sent to him, which he was told contained half his dominions, and he was desired to put his seal to it.

After a delay of two days, he replied that he would neither give up Kisinagerry, Chittledroog, nor Gooty. His unwillingness to part with these places, which could only be useful to him in an offensive war, convinced his Lordship of his hostile designs, and made him resolve to insist on their being surrendered: he ordered parties to make fascines, and the young princes to go next morning to Bangalore. The Vakeels of Tippoo, seeing his sons marching off at daybreak, ran and called up Sir John Kennaway, and begged that they might be detained till they should inform the Sultan, and get *another* final answer from him. His Lordship, with his usual mildness, permitted them to halt after they had proceeded about two miles; but still it was not till the 16th, three days afterwards, that the Vakeels signed the treaty; and it did not come out till the 19th with the signature of Tippoo. So much good sense and military skill has been shown in the conduct of the war; that I have little doubt but that the peace has been made with equal judgment. It has given us an increase of revenue amounting to thirty-nine and a half lacs of rupees, which, though from Tippoo's mismanagement of his finances, it has not produced that for some years past, will soon be easily afforded by the country; and by giving us possession of the Baramahl, it has rendered it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Tippoo to invade the Carnatic in future from the westward,—for the passes from Mysore into the Baramahl, though good, are few; and though not defended by fortifications, there are so many strong posts near them, that an invading army must either take them, which might require a whole campaign, or else leave them in the rear, and run the risk of being starved by the loss of its convoys. These are, no doubt, great advantages; but because greater might have been with ease obtained, I cannot help thinking but that something has been left undone. Why, instead of stumbling upon revenue accounts, could we not have traced our boundary on the map, taken such places as suited us from their political situation, sent him entirely above the Ghauts, and not left him in possession of Carore and Coimbatore, to plunder our southern provinces whenever he shall find it convenient to go to war? It is true, that the possession of Palgatcherry will make it always easy for a Bombay army to take Coimbatore, and force him above the Ghauts, with the assistance of a Carnatic army; but to collect our troops is a work of some months, and in that time he may pass Trichinopoly, and ravage the Carnatic as far as Madras; whilst, by driving off the cattle and inhabitants, he may render it difficult for us to equip an army for the field. If we are in a situation to march, he will probably lose Bangalore in the first campaign; but he will always be able to prevent an army without cavalry from besieging Seringapatam; and while he can

do this, he can force us, after an expensive war, to relinquish our conquests for peace. We ought, therefore, to have kept Coimbatore, and established a strong post at Sattimungalum, which would have made an invasion on that side as impracticable as on that of the Baramahl. Tippoo being then without magazines in the low countries, and seeing strong posts in the neighbourhood of all the passes, which could defy his unskilful attacks and intercept his convoys, would have had no temptation to begin a hopeless war: but as the Allies must also have had a proportional increase of territory, it is said that he would then have been reduced too low. He would have been more powerful than Hyder was when he usurped the government, and would have been as able as he to defend his possessions; and if he was not, so much the better; for every person who has seen his army, and that of the other country powers, must be convinced how much is to be feared from the one, and how little from the other.

“Lord Cornwallis was apprehensive that he should have been driven to the necessity of taking Seringapatam; and frequently exclaimed, ‘Good God! what shall I do with this place?’ I would have said, ‘Keep it as the best barrier you can have to your own countries; and be confident that, with it, and such a frontier as the Cavery, skirted by vast ranges of rugged mountains, which make it impassable for an army from Arakeery to Caveryporam, no Indian power will ever venture to attack you.’ But every thing now is done by moderation and conciliation;—at this rate, we shall be all Quakers in twenty years more. I am still of the old doctrine, that the best method of making all princes keep the peace, not excepting even Tippoo, is to make it dangerous for them to disturb your quiet. This can be done by a good army. We have one; but as we have not money to pay it, we ought to have taken advantage of our successes for this purpose, and after reducing Seringapatam, have retained it and all the countries to the southward and westward of the Cavery. By doing this, we could have maintained a good body of cavalry; and so far from being left with a weak and extended frontier, the usual attendant of conquests, we should, from the nature of the country, have acquired one more compact and more strong than we have at present. If peace is so desirable an object, it would be wiser to have retained the power of preserving it in our hands, than to have left it to the caprice of Tippoo, who, though he has lost half his revenue, has by no means lost half his power. He requires no combination, like us, of an able military governor, peace in Europe, and allies in this country, to enable him to prosecute war successfully. He only wants to attack them singly when he will be more than a match for any of them; and it will be strange if he does not find an opportunity when the Confederates may not find it convenient to



support the general cause. When we have a general of less ability than Lord Cornwallis at the head of the Government, (such men as we have lately seen commanding armies,) Tippoo may safely try, by the means of Gooty, Chitteldroog, and Biddanore, to recover the conquests of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. If Lord Cornwallis himself could not have reduced Tippoo without the assistance of the Mahrattas,—for there is no doubt that without them he could never, after falling back from Seringapatam in May, have advanced again beyond Bangalore,—if his integrity, his sound manly judgment, and his great military talents could have done nothing, what is to be hoped for from those whom we may expect to supply his room? We cannot look for better than ——— or ——— or ———, men selected from the army as great military characters; but these gentlemen themselves are as well convinced as any private in the army, how cheap Tippoo held them, and how little honour he could have gained by foiling them. One, or rather two, sallied forth; and after spouting some strange, unintelligible stuff, like ancient Pistol, and the ghosts of Romans, lost their magazines by forning them in front of the army, and then spent the remainder of the campaign in running about the country, after what was ludicrously called by the army the invisible power, asking which way the bull ran?

“The other, in May last, on a detachment of Tippoo's marching towards him without ever seeing them, with an army superior to Sir Eyre Coote's at Porto Novo, shamefully ran away, leaving his camp and his hospital behind; and in advancing in February, a second time, when Tippoo had lost the greatest part of his army, he allowed a few straggling horse to cut off a great part of his camp equipage, and would have lost the whole had not Colonel Floyd been sent with a small detachment to bring him safely past the ferocious Tippoo. The Colonel found him as much dismayed as if he had been surrounded by the whole Austrian army, and busy in placing an ambuscade to catch about six looties;—he must have been a simple looty that he caught. Lord Cornwallis said one day, on hearing that the looties had carried away nine elephants near Savendroog, ‘that they were the best troops in the world, for that they were always doing something to harass their enemies;’ and I am confident that Tippoo has not lost a looty in his army who is not a better soldier than any of these three Generals. Had his Lordship not arrived, Tippoo would have been too much for them all, and their confederates at their back. These characters have led me out of my way, or I should have said a great deal more about the armies of the Native Powers, the old subject of Tippoo as a barrier against the Mahrattas, and some oversights which his Lordship had nearly committed when he intended sending Meadows with a part of

the army to Assore to wait for him ;—but I feel myself getting blind, and am besides afraid of losing the Manship, if I have not done so already.

“ Your affectionate son, .

“ THOMAS MUNRO.”

During the progress of the war, of which the preceding letter communicates the issues, Mr. Munro served with the 21st battalion of Native Infantry, under the immediate command of Colonel Maxwell. He could not rest content with the performance of a civilian's duties while the army of which he was a member kept the field, and he therefore solicited and obtained permission to abandon his post at Amboor, and join his regiment. He entered the Baramahl with Colonel Maxwell, and his descriptions of the scenes into which the progress of the campaign introduced him are as soldier-like as they are graphic. I regret that my limits will not permit me to give more than a specimen of his style of military narration ; but the following account of the assault and capture of Bangalore, and of the state of the British camp when that important place fell, is too striking to be passed over.

“ The fire of the enemy was now reduced to a 32-pounder from one of the ravelins, and a few small guns from the more distant bastions and some works in the covered way. An approach was begun, and at midnight, on the 20th, a parallel was completed within fifty yards of the sortie. At daybreak Tippoo seemed to be determined to make a diversion in favour of the besieged : a detachment with four guns approached towards the pettah on the west side, another with ten or twelve guns was posted in a cypress-grove, about a thousand yards to the eastward ; and a little to the southward of it his whole army was drawn up. Whatever his design was, he relinquished it when we got under arms ; and the right wing, under Colonel Stuart, advanced towards him : he was afraid, but I believe with little reason, that the Colonel would turn his right flank, and he retreated immediately to his old ground. The party in the grove, being covered by the fire of the fort, kept their station, and were observed all day to be busily employed in making embrasures in the bank of a tank to enfilade the batteries ; and as three of the bastions of the gateway were now breached, and our powder nearly expended, it was resolved to storm in the evening. The troops destined for this service were composed of all the European grenadiers and light infantry of the army, supported by the 36th and 76th regiments. They were commanded by Major S. Kelly, under the

orders of Colonel Maxwell, who, as commanding officer in the pettah, had the entire management of the attack. It was a clear moonlight night. They left the trenches a little after ten o'clock; and as they rushed forward by the sortie towards the breach, there was a very heavy but ill-directed fire from the ramparts and the covered way: after a little difficulty in finding out the road along the top of the works which formed the gateway, and passing with ladders some gaps cut in them by the enemy, they ascended the main rampart with very little opposition, for no considerable body of the enemy was formed near the breach; an irregular fire which had begun among them being soon stopped by the officers, they gave three cheers, which were heard as far as the camp: they advanced along the ramparts in two divisions, one to the right and the other to the left, bayoneting every man they met: few of the guards escaped, for the ramparts were remarkably high, and had few passages for descending. The enemy made scarcely any resistance, but every man endeavoured to save himself: above three hundred were bayoneted in the Mysore gateway, the passage of which was blocked up by the throng that attempted to get through it. Above twelve hundred fell in different parts of the fort, and among them several women and children, but as few as could be expected in the confusion of taking a place at night by storm. The Kellidar, Bahader Khan, whom Tippoo had brought with him from Tisnaghery, when he left the Carnatic, was among the slain: he had in vain endeavoured to collect a party to make a stand at the breach; he was forced to retreat, and was followed by two soldiers, against whom he defended himself for some time with his sword, calling for quarter; but they either did not, or pretended not to understand him. They conceived him to be Lally, and they shot him through the head, and stabbed him in many places with their bayonets; his body, covered with a cloth, lay on the rampart the whole of the next day. It was visited by almost every man in the army, and all who saw it were struck by the nobleness of its appearance. He was a tall, robust man, about seventy years of age, with a white beard descending to his middle; and he was altogether one of those majestic figures which bring to the mind the idea of a prophet. All firing ceased, and in less than half an hour from the beginning of the attack we were in perfect possession of the fort. Tippoo was soon informed of its fate, and he marched off immediately. The greatest part of the garrison, being in the covered way, made their escape to him: of two thousand that were in the fort, most were killed or taken. Our loss did not exceed twenty men. Lord Cornwallis had many reasons to be anxious for the fall of Bangalore. It was stronger than had even been supposed: the enemy had made near twenty embrasures in the bank of the tank, to enfilade the batteries; and though they could not have hurt

the nine-gun, they would have silenced the six-gun battery, and killed many of the troops on duty ; and he had not powder left for more than a day.

“The country round the camp for several miles had been destroyed by the enemy, and presented nothing but a naked waste of land. All the forage found in the pettah had been consumed by the middle of the month. Five thousand of the public bullocks had died during the last ten days ; and there being no slaughter-cattle now remaining, near a hundred carriage-bullocks were taken every day to victual the Europeans. His Lordship, 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 ; but some favourable circumstances, which he could not possibly have foreseen, also concurred to the accomplishment of his views. The enemy were surprised : they expected the storm on the 20th, and were prepared ; but on the 21st, Tippoo having encamped within the range of their guns, they thought themselves safe, and took no precautions to defend the breach ; and the noble ditch which surrounded the fort had not been carried in front of the gateway : had we met with it there, it is not unlikely that, before we could have filled it up, we should have been compelled, from want of ammunition, to raise the siege.”

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## CHAPTER V.

Attached to the Civil Service.

REFERENCE has elsewhere been made to the general neglect, by the Company's European servants, of the languages of the people whose affairs they were appointed to administer. This was universally the case, not in the military department alone, but in the departments of justice and revenue, over which civilians presided; and the consequence was, that all the real business of the state came to be transacted by native assistants and interpreters. A good deal of inconvenience resulted even at the Presidency; but there, as well as in the old provinces, where a patient people had become accustomed to the usages of their masters, the machine, though subject to occasional checks and crosses, worked, upon the whole, satisfactorily. In proportion as the limits of the empire extended, however, it was felt that so clumsy a method of government and finance would not answer. Native assistants and interpreters, brought up amid the corruptions of the capital, were not to be trusted in places where English habits were unknown; and the farther the power of England was pushed back from the coast, the more urgent became the necessity of striving to do without them. This was particularly the case in the Baramahl. Inhabited almost exclusively by Hindus, who from time immemorial had followed the customs of their fathers, who had never, up to the present moment, had any intercourse with Europeans, and were moreover suffering from the effects of war recently waged among them, the Baramahl, it was felt, would require the presence of discreet men in order to reconcile its people to a foreign yoke; and the very first requisite in the individuals appointed to conduct so delicate a charge, was their ability to communicate directly with the inhabitants. There was not a civil servant at Madras competent to do this: therefore Lord Cornwallis made choice of Captain Read as the fittest person to undertake the task, and

Read selected as his assistants, Mr. Munro, with two other military officers.

We must not be surprised to find that the postponing of what the civilians regarded as their just claim of right, should have excited a good deal of jealousy and heart-burning in that department of the service. There is even too much reason to believe that the gentlemen who proved the innocent means of putting the imaginary affront upon them, never afterwards succeeded in overcoming the strong personal feeling that was roused by it. But neither Captain Read nor Mr. Munro took much account of that circumstance at the moment; they certainly did not allow it at any future period to hamper them in the faithful discharge of their duties. Mr. Munro began his services in the Baramahl in April, 1792, and continued them with unremitting diligence and perfect success up to the spring of 1799. The following letters give a correct view of his manner of life and habits of thought throughout that important period in his career.

TO HIS BROTHER JAMES.

“ Pinagur, 9th June.

“ Captain Read and I have been here since the 4th; we move again in a day or two, in different directions; he for Caveryporam, and I for Tingrecottah. I shall be moving up and down the country for about six weeks more; after which I shall take up my quarters either at Darrampoory or some other convenient place, of which I shall give you notice, that I may have a visit from you. You ought to get up in the morning, and take exercise, and mix with the people of the garrison, to whom you have already, I suppose, received an addition, by the arrival of Cuppage. You will find him an excellent man in every respect, both as a commanding officer and a companion. When you do not like the manners of people who are generally esteemed, you should attribute it to your having mixed little with the world, and not to its want of discernment. You will soon by habit approve of many things about which you are now indifferent; and even your anxiety to return to Europe will, by degrees, be so far lessened, and your attachment to this country so much increased, that if it should be in your choice to stay here or return, you will be undecided which course to take. If you have no sick officers, and few men, bad cases, you can accompany Cuppage, Irton, or any of the garrison in their excursions about the country. This kind of exercise will contribute both to your health and amusement: it will prevent you from indulging melancholy reflections,

and will insensibly improve your mind, by showing you the country and the manners of its inhabitants: but to make these expeditions, you must have a horse, which I am too little of a jockey to purchase for you. You might get one for your purpose for about a hundred pagodas. Sam Bub is, I believe, the best judge of horse-flesh with you; but Kisanagerry is not a favourable place for purchasing. If you cannot supply yourself there, I shall write to Captain Dallas. Let me know what money you have, and in what time you can get payment, that I may look for a bill on Europe. Remittances are bad just now: but it is as well to make it as to keep money without interest, as none is now given at Madras, owing to the great quantity of specie brought there by the war.

“If you have got your books from Madras, send me Smith’s Theory of Moral Sentiments. You ought to get rid of the Moorman, by sending him with Kippen to be reduced. A cook, a boy to attend you at table, and some one to assist you in medical preparations, are all the servants you have occasion for. All bullocks should be sold, no matter at how small a price: the randy one, if recovered, send to me. Your expenses should be within your pay, but not on too narrow a plan; while you have no horse, you may easily manage on thirty-five pagodas a month.”

## TO THE SAME.

“It is now a good while since I wrote to you, but you never told me whether or not you received my last letter. Your silence, I am afraid, is owing to bad health, or the consequence of it—low spirits. Graham tells me that he has been ill, and that you are but poorly, and that he thinks Kisanagerry unhealthy: but if there are not other instances against the place, your case and his are not sufficient to condemn it. You gave me no answer what steps you were taking to get a horse, or if I should write to Captain Dallas about one for you. Your anxiety after home will leave you by degrees. I had as much of it as you for a year after my arrival; but having good health, and something to take up my attention in camp, it soon left me. Nothing is so bad as moping and shutting yourself (unless absolutely unable to go out) up from society. You should mix with all men, and enter into all boyish amusements, and not suppose that it is necessary to imitate the formality of the learned in Europe. You have a strange, or rather, I should say, ill-founded idea—for many young people have it—that happiness is to be found only in living in retirement with a few of our school or college friends. Nothing can be more absurd than such a sentiment: our attachment to early acquaintances is as frequently owing to chance placing us together, to being engaged in the same studies or amusements,

as to worth or merit of any kind. Such friends are not selected; and therefore men, as they advance in years, drop them for others they think better of; and if they retain an affection for any of them, it is perhaps only for one or two who may possess those qualities which they would wish chosen friends to possess, though it may have been circumstances very different from those qualities that first formed the attachment. If among your school-friends there are many who are worthy of a warm friendship, you have been more fortunate than I: for though I was happy with my companions at home, when I pass them in review, and recollect their habits, tempers, and dispositions, I can hardly see more than one or two whose loss I can with reason regret. Whatever you may think now, you may be assured that those who have now the first place in your esteem will give way to objects more deserving, because chosen when your discernment was more mature. It must be confessed that there is a satisfaction in the company of men engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves; but it does not follow that they alone are deserving of our friendship, and that there is no happiness in the society of other men. I like an orientalist, a politician, a man that walks and swims, or plays fives, because I like all these things myself; but I at the same time have perhaps a greater friendship for a man who cares for none of these amusements.

“You should learn to play whist to pass the evenings.”

TO THE SAME.

“Oscottah, 29th October.

“I HAVE received your letters of the 16th and 18th, and also one from your friend Mr. Bryden. Your mutual attachment is a proof of the good disposition of both, and I wish your desire of continuing together could be effected without injury to either; but this, from the nature of the service, can only be done while at the General Hospital, where no man can wish to remain, except with the view of gaining some experience of the country practice. But there are other claims upon you besides those of friendship. The expense of your outfit was considerable, and our father is in no situation to pay it off. To enable him to do this ought to be your first object. A vacant situation now presents itself, which if you can secure, it may be the means of attaining this end. The 16th battalion wants a surgeon, and I have written to Mr. Duffin to get you appointed to it. If you succeed, you will have no cause to regret the loss of your friend. You will be under an intimate friend of mine; and, what is better, a most excellent man—Captain Alexander Read; and you will also have as a companion your townsman George Kippen. With them you will not find yourself among strangers, but, in two days, more at home than you have been since you left Glasgow. Your backwardness



to go into company is, I suspect, almost as strong a motive as friendship for your wishing to remain at Madras; but you will find that there is no occasion for that kind of diffidence when you come here: and I should likewise hope, that by moving about, and having less employment than at Madras, your health will improve.

“ Your affectionate brother,  
(Signed) “ THOMAS MUNRO.”

TO HIS FATHER.

“ Darrampoor, 14th April, 1793.

“ IT will be unnecessary to say much of myself, as James\* will tell you everything you can wish to know respecting me; and also George Kippen, of whom you are so anxious that I should make honourable mention. I believe I have already told you that I am perhaps more indebted to him than to Lord Cornwallis, or any body else, for my present appointment; for I declined once or twice Captain Read's proposals for acting with him again, between the months of July and October, 1791, because the conclusion of the war at that time appeared still distant. I thought it improper to quit the grand army to join a detachment employed only in the escort of provisions, and always far removed from the scene of action. Read, however, thought it a want of friendship, and applied for other assistants. His Lordship refused them. Kippen, on this, immediately set to work; puffed me off everywhere, as he does in Glasgow; talked and wrote to Read and me; and at last persuaded me to write that I had no objections to being employed in the revenue. The moment this was done I was ordered to join Read at Bangalore. I formerly gave myself the merit of having been entirely influenced in this affair by the accounts of your situation at home; but had Kippen not exerted himself, I would certainly not have quitted the army: so that you see I have some reason for being ‘proud of my friend.’ You must not take all his expressions about me in a literal sense: he is so great a politician, that he thinks it necessary to make use of parliamentary-constitutional language on all occasions. ‘A proud day,’ ‘proud of my honourable friend,’ are not reserved for me alone—every man that he meets with becomes, almost at the first blush, entitled to such honourable distinction. He wishes that people should not only be on good terms with themselves, but also with him; and both these ends he accomplishes by being proud of his friends. When his reports are confirmed by —— and other Indian travellers, you will hardly suspect that they have very little foundation. The —— is a worthy man, and was much esteemed in this country; but I perceive by your letters that his

\* His brother had returned to Europe by this time in bad health.

good-nature sometimes gets the better of his sincerity. But what could he do? You anticipated his answers to your questions, and he was too polite to contradict you. You will perhaps not let me off so easy, when I tell you that he is a greater stranger to me than to you, and that you had more conversation with him at your first meeting than I have had in the whole course of our acquaintance. I don't remember ever having been in company with him. I have sometimes rode in a crowd with him on the march during Hyder's war; and I believe the only tête-à-tête I ever had with him was on Owen's expedition, when one of my legs swelled in consequence of standing all night in a torrent, that came down upon us in a narrow valley: he attended me constantly twice a day for about a week till I got well. From all this I could not have supposed that he could have given you any other information about me than that we once had some very interesting conversation on fomentations.

“ I mentioned to you in a former letter the amount of my allowances, and that beyond them I cannot get a sixpence. I observe the Glasgow politicians have given a large fortune to Captain Read, and some *pickings* to me. Read is no ordinary character: he might, in Mysore, have amassed as much money as he chose, and by fair means too; but he was so far from taking advantage of his situation for this purpose, that he even gave up his bazar and many other perquisites of his military command, and received nothing but his prize-money and commission, which altogether, I believe, amounted to about six thousand pounds. Whatever I might have done had I been left to myself, I could get no pickings under such a master, whose conduct is invariably regulated by private honour and the public interest. These, and an unwearied zeal in whatever he undertakes, constitute the great features of his character. The enthusiasm in the pursuit of national objects, which seizes other men by fits and starts, is in him constant and uniform. These qualities, joined to an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people, and a happy talent for the investigation of everything connected with revenue, eminently qualify him for the station which he now fills with so much credit to himself and benefit to the public. He will, however, I am afraid, be removed in March, or, at the farthest, July, 1794, in order to conform to system, which requires that civilians only should be collectors. I have urged him to address Lord Cornwallis, to solicit a continuation in office; but I don't believe he will do it: his principle is to exert himself, and to leave it to Government to discover the necessity of employing him. When we were together at Seringapatam, during the cessation, I prevailed on him to apply for the management of the Baramahl. His Lordship replied, that he could not venture to interfere, for it would bring all the civilians on his head.

He however, a few days after, actually sent him a commission to command the forts in the ceded provinces, and to settle the revenue. Read was, however, of opinion, and I believe he was right, that Lord Cornwallis would have done this of himself, without any solicitation on his part."

## TO HIS SISTER.

"Kisnagerry, 23rd January, 1798.

"DANIEL, after all his disappointments, is, I believe, in a fair way of doing well; he is engaged in the indigo business, which has lately become of great consequence in Bengal, and is still rapidly increasing; and I imagine he attends closely to it; for Alexander says nothing of his having made excursions for several months. If he can only, in the course of a year or two, get clear of debt, and make a little money of his own, there can be no danger afterwards; for it is probable that success will give him a confidence which will not be shaken by any trifling losses he may in future experience. Alexander says, however, that he is the most desponding of mortals, and that he is always foreseeing calamities that never happen. This is quite different from me; for, though I have been half-starved for these dozen years, I have never ceased to look, with great confidence, for some signal piece of good fortune; and though I have, to be sure, been mistaken, this has had no other effect than that of making me more sanguine; for I don't reason as philosophers do, from analogy, and other such matters. I don't say, bad luck to-day, and worse to-morrow; but rather, that bad luck, like other things, must have an end,—that mine having already lasted so long, is a strong argument that I cannot have much more of it; and that I may, therefore, like Quixote, very reasonably suppose myself to be on the point of achieving some rare adventures. And should I go on for another dozen years in the same way as the last, my confidence will hardly be diminished. Were it possible that I could, by any supernatural means, be informed that I should never be independent in my fortune, it would not, I believe, sit very heavy on my mind; for I have considered very seriously the consequences likely to follow my acquiring what is called a moderate fortune, and I have doubted if I should be more happy with it than I am without it.

"After spending a great part of my life in India, I should not easily reconcile myself to sitting down quietly in a corner with people among whom, as I should begin my acquaintance so late, I should perhaps always remain a stranger. Should the want of society tempt me to fall in love, and get a wife, such a change would, I fear, add little to my happiness. Would it not be a very comfortable matter, about the end of the century, to read in the Glasgow Courier—'Yesterday was

married Lieutenant Munro, the eldest subaltern in the East India Company's service, to Miss —, one of the eldest maiden ladies of this place. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Mr. —, in the Ramshorn, and immediately after the happy couple, &c. ? I have no relish, I suspect, for what is called domestic felicity. I could not endure to go about gossiping, and paying formal visits with my wife, and then coming home and consulting about a change in our furniture, or physicking some of the squalling children that Providence might bless us with. You will say—'You will be a more respectable character at home, settled with your family, than wandering about India like a vagabond.' But I cannot perceive that the one situation is more creditable than the other. Men, in general, go home, and stay in this country, for the same reason—to please themselves—not to raise their own or the national character; and the greater part of them go to their graves without having done either much good or much harm in this world. Why should I be eager to scrape together a little money, to go and linger through twenty or thirty dull years, in a family way, among my relations and neighbours? In a place like Glasgow, I should be tired in all companies with disputes about the petty politics of the town, of which I know nothing, and anecdotes of families in whose concerns I am in no way interested. Among the merchants, I should be entertained with debates on sugar and tobacco, except when some one touched upon cotton, which would give me an opportunity of opening my mouth, and letting the company know that I had been in India, and seen one species growing on bushes, and another on trees taller than any that adorn the Green. After thus expending all my knowledge, I should not again venture to interrupt the conversation. Should I, after being tired of preserving silence among these gentlemen, saunter towards the College, for the purpose of having some discourse on general topics of literary taste, of which men in all professions may talk, and, in some measure, judge—here I should encounter the prejudices and dissensions of small societies. If I spoke to Mr. Richardson of Macbeth, he would probably start, and reply in a fine frenzy—'John Anderson hath murdered sleep!'—and send me home in amazement, like Hamlet, 'with each particular hair on end.' After making my escape from the professor of the 'rolling eye,' should I give up the men in despair, and hasten to some of my old female acquaintances, to see if they talked anything nearer the level of common understanding, I should very likely find them in high argument on some abstruse point of the mitre and pine-apple schisms.

"In a place filled with nothing but sectarians of some kind or other, I should search in vain for any rational entertainment; and, instead of congratulating myself on having been able to return and live in my native

country, I should look back with regret to the society and the interesting wars of India. It is this circumstance,—the not perceiving any new sources of honour or happiness that could arise to me from the possession of money, that makes me indifferent about it, any farther than just to get enough to place me above want. My indifference, however, is only confined to a moderate fortune; it does not extend to a great one, for that would enable me to spend money without troubling myself much about accounts, and to live in any part of the world I should like best. I could have my town and country-house, where you might display your taste without begging me. We should look out for a spot with plenty of wood; rocks and water would be wanting to complete the landscape,—but these are easily found in Scotland.

“After putting you in possession of these three great elements of natural beauty, I should expect that you would lay out the *policy*, and that you would manage your rocks, and woods, and cascades, in such a way as to make me fancy myself in Arcadia, or the Candia of Mr. Savary, or the fabulous Tinian of Anson; and if they were not to my taste, I should entreat James’s poetical friend, Mr. —, to celebrate both you and them in his unwieldy numbers. But we can talk more of this when some of my dreams are realized. James has, I believe, said everything you can wish to know of himself and me. I expect your chef-d’œuvre, Margaret’s picture, in a few days, from Madras.

“Your affectionate brother.”

TO THE SAME.

[*Giving an account of the arrival of her miniature.—The date is wanting.*]

“You fell into the hands of James George Graham at Madras; James can tell you who he is; and he marched you off for the Baramahl without giving me any notice of your approach. I happened to call at Kisingerry a few days after your arrival. There was a meeting of the officers to read some papers respecting the arrangements of the army, and you were introduced. I thought you were one of Graham’s female cousins whom he had just returned from visiting, and I declared that it was highly improper that the gravity of our deliberations should be interrupted by women. I had just seized you, to force you into your dark retreat, when the secret was discovered. You may easily guess that I granted you a reprieve, and surveyed you with more inquiring eyes, and with very different feelings, but still I could find no traces of the countenance which I once so well knew. I could perceive no marks of age to account for this change; but time, without making you old, has worked such a total revolution either on your looks or my memory, that

you are now a perfect stranger to me. I cannot think that the fault is mine, for in general I remember long and distinctly both what I read and what I see. It must be you who have thrown off your old face and disguised yourself with a new one. I suspect, however, that the painter has assisted, for there was a Lieutenant Noble, from Greenock, present, who declares that he has often seen you and recollects you perfectly, yet he did not know your picture. The consolation to be derived from all this is, that we cannot meet after a separation of twenty years exactly as we parted. I have not been idle in that time, as you shall see when I return to expose my sun-dried beauty.

“ I have myself so vulgar a taste, that I see more beauty in a plain dress than in one tricked out with the most elegant pattern that ever fashionable painter feigned. This unhappy depravity of taste has been occasioned, perhaps, by my having been so long accustomed to view the Brahman women, who are in this country both the first in rank and in personal charms, almost always arrayed in nothing but single pieces of dark blue cotton cloth, which they throw on with a decent art and a careless grace which in Europe, I am afraid, is only to be found in the drapery of antiques. The few solitary English ladies that I meet with only serve to strengthen my prejudices. I met with one the other day all bedizened and huddled into a new habit, different from anything that I had ever seen before. On asking her what name it went by, she was surprised that I did not know the *à la Grecque*. It looked for all the world like a large petticoat thrown over her shoulders, and drawn together close under her arms. I could not help smiling to think how Ganganelli, and the Abbé Winkelman, and the King of Naples, would have stared had they dug such a Greek as this out of Herculaneum. The fashions of the gentlemen are probably as fantastical as those of the ladies, though from having them continually before my eyes, the absurdity of them does not strike me so much. We have black and white hats, thunder and lightning coats, stockings of seven colours, and tamboured waistcoats bedaubed with flowers, and more tawdry finery than ever was exhibited on old tapestry. I have heard some military geniuses deplore very feelingly the neglect into which three-cocked hats had fallen. They have been accustomed when they were young to see some strutting warlike phantom or other with a hat of this kind, and they can never afterwards look upon it without being filled with ideas of slaughter and devastation. They think that in it consists half the discipline of armies, and that the fate of nations depends as much upon the cock of the hat as of the musket. I see so many turbans and handkerchiefs every day, and so seldom any hats but round ones, that I have lost all taste for the sublime, and think a three-cornered hat as absurd a piece of head-dress as a tiara. I wonder that the women, among all their

changes of fashions, never thought of trying it. If I were sure that any one of the nine Muses had ever worn one, I would advise Mrs. Grant to do the same, but I suspect she is like Professor M——, too much degenerated from her ancestors to try it. I think she had no right to accuse the long-descended Celtic bard of effeminacy, when she herself has forgotten the simplicity of her ancestors, and does not hesitate to drink tea and ride about the country in worsted stockings. I do not find that Malvina had a single pair, or even Agandecca, who lived farther north, and had a better excuse for such an indulgence. What these two ladies drank at the feast of shells, if they drank at all, I don't know. It might have been whiskey, but certainly was not tea. If the Muses must drink, as most poets tell us, it is perhaps as well that they should drink tea as anything else: but it is nowhere said that they must wear worsted stockings. This unhappy corruption of manners would be inexcusable in an ordinary woman, but poetry covers a multitude of sins, and Mrs. Grant has a lyre which Ossian would have laid aside his harp to hear, and to which it is impossible to listen without forgetting all her offences against the customs of her forefathers, the bare-legged bards of other times. The Professor, though not born a poet, seems to have taken some trouble to make himself one; and if he has, like most modern Sophs, been unsuccessful in conjuring up any sprite of his own, he has at least no common merit in having called forth the muse of Mrs. Grant with—

‘Poetic transports of the maddening mind  
And winged words that waft the soul to heaven.’

In her journal she has used the privilege, which superior geniuses often do, of writing carelessly. I lose much of the interest of the piece from not being acquainted with any of the characters she describes. Her ladies are all from the Grandison school—so full of smiles and gaiety, and wit and sense, and so charming and divine—that I am almost as happy as she is herself, when escaping from George's-square, to get into the open fields, and follow her through Bedley's ancient Grove, ‘by Carron's streams or banks of Forth.’ There is so much of inspiration in her poetry, on seeing the Perthshire Hills and Allan Water, that I am much out of humour at being forced away in such a hurry to drink port at the Inn: but she, however, makes ample amends at Killi-kranky; and again, where we

‘Hear young voices sounding on the mountain gale.’

The whole is so animated, that it makes me more impatient than ever I was before to see the scenes which she describes. And were I not afraid of being taken for a Nassau, or some other foreigner, on all of whom Mrs. G. looks so indignant from her misty mountains, I would mount

the yellow horse and pay her a visit. She has the same faults that all modern poets have, and that you give us a specimen of in your *Celestial Spark*—she is continually running after the ancients. A man cannot look into an ode, or sonnet, or any thing else, but he is instantly thrown over ‘*Lethe*’ Wharf, or plunged into *Cocytus*. The hills and the glens of the Highlands are as wild as any of the old poetical regions: or, if they are too vulgar from being so well known, yet still we have other scenes of real nature—the wilds of America and Africa, the Andes with all their rushing streams, and the frozen seas in the Polar regions, with their dismal islands never trod by human foot—sublimier subjects of poetry than all the fictions of Greece and Rome. In Burns’s best poems there is no mythology. I don’t care how many Scandinavians we have, but I am almost sick of Jupiter and Neptune.”

## TO THE SAME.

“Darrampoory, 21st January, 1794.

“I HAVE had no reason for some years to complain of your correspondence, except in one point, that it has, in general, I believe, cost me more time to read than you to write. Had it not been for the assistance of James and George Kippen, I should never have been able to make out a number of old characters whom you have introduced at different times under new names. But now that I have got a key from them, you may write away without fear; for I am, to use a figure of your own, ‘up to every thing.’ Even the Governor-General will not now make me, like the Persian poets, scratch the head of thought with the nails of despair. All your letters for James this season have fallen into my hands: but I must look for no more, as I hope he is now near enough to tell you of all his sufferings in this country, and the doctors of their mistaken notions of climates and constitutions, though not to convince them; this, like other great works, is, I suppose, reserved for your millennium, when the world is to be inhabited only by Marats and modest physicians. James has as much reverence for the faculty as yourself, and would not venture to confute any of them, however much he might think them in the wrong. He would rather sit among them as silent as a young Pythagorean, swallowing, like pills for his mental constitution, all the profound nothings they utter. This is not the case with you; for if it was, I am sure you would not admire their company so much as you do: for, from your letters, I should expect, on going home, to see you with a scalping knife rather than a pencil in your hand, and to find more skeletons than pictures in your room. You mention no less than eight or nine doctors in one letter. There is Maclane



and M'Farlane, and Cowan and Murray, and five more; and you speak of them all with as much kindness and affection as Madame Sévigné does of her daughters. It is they, I suspect, who are the cause of your so often complaining of want of time, and of being hurried in writing your Indian letters; for Andrew Ross, of whom James can give you some account, once told me that he had been kept idle for near five years by one doctor, the Rev. Mr. Bell, who lived in his house. I remember having been a witness one day of the manner in which he effected this:—he heard the Doctor speaking to me, and called him into his visiting room, when he immediately commenced a learned discourse. 'Well, Sir, have you shown Lady Campbell the ice you made this morning?—have you got your air-pump in order?—have you seen Mr. Spalding's diving machine?'—and was proceeding with fifty more questions, when he was interrupted by the guns of the ship, which was to carry the letters he was then writing, saluting the fort on her leaving the roads for Europe. On this, he started up, turned out the philosopher, ordered his servant to get a catamaran, or raft, to chase the ship with his dispatches; finished his letter in about an hour, and then came to me, when we both began to abuse the doctor, who had by this time taken shelter up-stairs in his museum.—'This is the most preposterous man I ever met with; he always makes a point of coming to me when he sees me busy, and when he knows too that it is a matter of consequence about which I am engaged, and of pestering me with absurd talk about ice, and air-pumps, and diving-bells, and such like trumpery.' I don't know if the conversation of your doctors turns on the same subjects as that of Mr. Ross', but it seems to have the same effect on your correspondence. It is now about 15 years since I left home, and in all that time you have not sent me a single letter which has not been written just as the post was going away, or the ship weighing anchor, and in which our father is not blamed for keeping so bad a look-out. 'I have just had a dreadful fright,—I have this moment been terribly alarmed,—my father has this instant informed me that I am too late,' is the exordium to every one of them. I now receive such tidings without emotion, but it was not the case at first; when on breaking the seal such terrible, dreadful words met my eyes, I had no power to read farther; I stood aghast, with the fatal letter ready to drop from my hand like the ring or bracelet or other token from that of a hero or heroine in tragedy. I was filled, as the poets say, with dire alarms—I had the most dismal presages,—I thought that death in the shape of a Doctor had triumphed over Mrs. Maxwell the brewer, or untimely stopped the tuneful tongues of the Blackstone Signoras. But after musing, I believe the ladies say stringing, all my scattered nerves, and venturing to cast another melancholy glance on the letter, I discovered

that the postboy, by not waiting for you, had been the innocent cause of your horrible frights and of my constitution suffering such a shock as had almost entirely unhinged my woe-worn frame. So much for the pathetic. I begin now to be very anxious to hear from home; it is almost time to have accounts of James's arrival. I wish to know what effect the voyage has had on him. Mr. Hoar, Paymaster of the army, the two last campaigns, was his fellow passenger, and would, I am sure, pay him every attention. The doctors tell me that his complaint can only be removed by medical assistance at home. I am also a good deal uneasy about Foulis, who was ill at the date of my father's last letter; he has now had a long period of bad health, and for the greatest part of the four last years he has been very little better than when my father saw him in Edinburgh. When I saw him last, in the beginning of 1791, both his looks and his temper were so much changed from what they had been three years before, that I hardly knew him again; but the moment that he recovers his health, his flow of spirits will return, and you will see that I have not said more of him than he deserves. You have by this time, I suppose, met your old acquaintance Colin M—— again; if you wish to learn any thing respecting this country apply to him, for no one is more able to answer all your questions—he has read a great deal, chiefly politics, he has a great fund of information, and his head is clear and methodical, and you may depend on the correctness of whatever he tells you—he is studious, and as inquisitive as Kippen, though not like him troublesome in his inquiries; he has much more acquired knowledge than Foulis, but is very inferior to him in natural endowments. M—— knows more of books, and Foulis more of men. I hear nothing of George Kippen, except that he is cantoned at Cuddalore, and that he is much admired by the French officers at Pondicherry for making so much stir in the public rooms there; he is, I am told, grown prodigiously fat. There is another acquaintance of yours at Pondicherry—Captain —— . I have never yet met him in India, but an officer lately arrived at Kisanagerry from Pondicherry told me a few days ago, that he had given him a very full account of all our exploits at school. Now I remember no more of him than Falstaff did of Justice Shallow; that he was a puny creature, and looked for all the world like a forked radish with a head fantastically carved upon it. Daniel is very well pleased with his situation; his manufacture must be going on as he wishes, and I suppose he writes to you of it, and I hope will in a few years visit you along with one of his indigo cargoes. Alexander is only beginning, and from his connection with Mr. Johnson there can be no doubt of his success."

## CHAPTER VI.

## Life in Baramahl.

IN the former editions of this memoir I did not hesitate to introduce many letters which, however valuable they may be as expressing Sir Thomas Munro's views on Indian finance, are necessarily, to the general reader, dry and uninteresting. They have served their purpose, and may now, I think, be laid aside; especially as in his more general correspondence frequent reference is made to the subject. But I am bound to state that the whole of his policy as a collector kept the permanent welfare of the people steadily in view. In Baramahl, for example, he found that Hyder and Tippoo had been accustomed to lease the revenues of extensive districts to a set of men who paid their rents to the crown with tolerable regularity, because they squeezed more than double the amount out of the necessities of the cultivators. Mr. Munro abolished this practice at once, and returning to the ancient usage of village settlements, made, indeed, at the outset a less imposing show than a more arbitrary course of proceeding might have occasioned, but laid the foundation of a steady improvement, both in the condition of the people and in the amount of the revenue. He kept also the waste, of which there was a large portion in all the rural districts of India, in the hands of the Government, as a resource, to use his own words, "against an increasing population." The head men of the villages he restored to something like their ancient position among their neighbours, and encouraged persons who felt or fancied that they had suffered wrong, to seek redress before the rude arbitration courts, which immemorial usage had endeared to them. At the same time Mr. Munro was not only willing, but desirous of creating in the mind of each particular cultivator a sense of property in the soil. Hence his object was to ascertain as nearly as possible what amount of revenue the several holdings could afford to pay; and to make over all beyond this, no matter how

large the increase arising out of improved cultivation, to the peasant. For he was never misled by the phantom which on the Bengal side led the government to deal with mere collectors of districts as if they had been feudal chiefs and hereditary land-owners. The Tussildars of Baramahl, like the Zemindars of Bengal, were neither more nor less than the receivers of the revenue due to the supreme government; and Mr. Munro both in reasoning and in fact so dealt with them.

The following letter to his father touches briefly upon this point. It seems to have been called forth by some acts of imprudence into which, through a natural desire to set his son's merits in the most favourable light, the old gentleman had been hurried.

“ Bank of the Cavery, opposite to Erode,  
31st January, 1795.

“ I SEE that you catch at every thing from which you think that there is any chance of my drawing the smallest benefit hereafter; but I suspect that my communications will not much forward the accomplishment of your wishes: they might raise the curiosity of Mr. P., but could give him no very favourable opinion of me. This, however, is of little importance, as it is not likely that his sentiments will ever affect my views, either in one way or another; but had I sent the statement, though it could have done me no service, it might in his hands have done me much injury. My opinions on this subject are already known to the Revenue Board as individuals, though never communicated to them as a public body. They are anxious to gain information from every quarter, in order to reform past abuses. Whatever is given privately, they take in good part; but it cannot be supposed they would relish a newspaper attack. It is of more consequence for me to be well with them than Mr. P., for my future progress must depend on my own exertions and their support. There is but little probability that he would interest himself about me; and if he did, it can hardly be imagined that Mr. Dundas would, upon such a recommendation, take any step in my favour; his doing so would be highly improper, for it is from the reports of the Government and the Board of Revenue, under whom I immediately act, and not from my own, that he ought to form his judgment of my fitness for being entrusted with a civil employment.

“ Great additions might certainly be made to the Company's revenue on the coast. The first step should be to find proper men to manage it; for, unless this is done, every attempt at improvement will be in vain. No man should get the charge of a district who does not understand the

language of the natives; for, unless he had perseverance enough for this, he will never have enough for a collector: and he would besides be kept under the dominion of his servants, and ignorant of every thing that was passing around him. Government have at last been convinced of the necessity of such a regulation; and Sir Charles Oakeley, just before he departed, issued an order, that after the 1st of January, 1796, no person would be appointed a collector who did not understand some of the country languages. To this knowledge and zeal in fulfilling the duties of their station, collectors should also unite a sound constitution, capable of bearing heat and fatigue; for if they are not active in going about their districts, and seeing every thing themselves, the petty officers under them, in combination with the head-farmers, will make away with the revenue on pretence of bad seasons. In this country, where there are so few Europeans, and where all business of taxation is transacted in a strange language, Government have scarcely any means of learning how the collector conducts himself, except from his own reports; and to think of preventing his embezzlements by multiplying official checks, would only be an idle waste of time and money. This evil, which can never be entirely removed, would best be remedied by selecting men of industry and talents, and placing them beyond the necessity of perverting the public money to their private use. A collector ought to have at least a thousand pagodas a month; he will probably have been eight or ten years in the country before he receives his appointment; and allowing that he remains ten more, and that he annually spends half his income, which he may do without being very extravagant, by having no fixed place of abode, and keeping an extra number of servants and horses for frequent travelling, he may, at the end of twenty years, return home not much richer than he ought to be. The Revenue Board made some time ago an application for an increase of salary to collectors, which Government rejected, with great marks of displeasure; but, in doing this, they showed little knowledge either of true policy or human nature; for when men are placed in situations where they can never become independent by their avowed emoluments, but where they may also, by robbing the public without any danger of discovery, become so on a sudden, the number of those who would balance which side to take is so small, that it ought not to be brought into the account. We see every day collectors, who always lived above their salary, amassing great fortunes in a very few years. The operation by which this is accomplished is very simple:—when rents are paid in money, by giving government a rent-roll below the real one, and when in kind, by diminishing the produce of the land or of the sales. It is in vain to say that collectors, being men of education and character, will not descend to such practices; the fact is against this conclusion. It is the same thing

whether it is done by themselves or by those under them. It may be said, that their gains arise from the successful trade of their agents: but when these very agents are invested with all their authority, and can, by pushing the payment of the rents, and other contrivances, get the whole produce of the lands into their hands at their own price, it is easy to see how dear such a trade costs both Government and the people. The immediate deduction, though considerable, is not all the loss that revenue sustains, the obstruction of improvement ought also to be reckoned; for men occupied in such schemes cannot have much leisure to attend to the extension of cultivation.

“The collector cannot expect that the country is to flourish, when he himself has given the signal to plunder it. The numerous band of revenue servants require no encouragement to exercise the trade which they have always followed; but they now act without restraint, and are joined by the head farmers, in stripping the unfortunate husbandmen of a great part of the produce of their labours. This is the system under the Nabobs, under Tippoo, under the Company, and, I believe, under every government in India. The collectors and their deputies, not being paid, help themselves, and by this means the country is often as much harassed in peace as in war. The private dividend among Tippoo’s managers is from 20 to 40 per cent. A great part of the Nabob’s revenues are remitted through agents to Madras at three and four per cent. per month. The rents in some parts of the Carnatic are regulated by the grain sown, every kind paying a different rate, and in others they are levied in kind; and, in all, the leases are annual. Where the rents are fixed according to the grain, the lands are measured every year. The surveyors, in making their reports, are guided by the bribes they receive, and a thousand frauds are practised both on the farmers and the Government; and where they are collected in kind, the produce of the land is either thrown upon the cultivator, at a price much above its value, or else a standard is fixed for the market, below which no person can sell until the whole of the public grain has been disposed of. Such wretched management, one would think, must soon ruin the country; but the universal custom of early marriages is favourable to population; and the inhabitants, under all their oppressions, seldom quit their native villages, because they are attached to them, and can go nowhere that they will not experience the same treatment. They soon forget their wrongs, for they must live; and they again cultivate their fields the succeeding year, with the certainty of being plundered in the same manner as the last. This insecurity of property, though a great obstacle to the increase of revenue, does not diminish it much; for, as the greatest part of it is at present drawn from grain, the source of it cannot be lessened in any great degree without starving the inhabit-

ants ; and they will not want subsistence as long as it can be provided so easily. A man has only to furnish himself with a couple of bullocks, —a plough hardly costs a sixpence. If he turns up the soil three or four inches, and scatters his seed, he is sure of a sufficient return. Were we to abandon our present oppressive mode of taxation, the country, instead of rice and dry grain, would be covered with plantations of betel, cocoa-nut, sugar, indigo, and cotton ; and the people would take a great deal of our manufactures, for they are remarkably fond of many of them, particularly of scarlet ; but, unfortunately, few of them can afford to wear it. Many Brahmans use a square piece of it as a cloak, during the wet and cold weather ; but I don't remember ever seeing any of the farmers with it. When they can appear fine, and think there is no danger in doing so, there is no doubt but that great numbers of them will substitute it for the camly, a coarse thick woollen stuff, with which all of them are provided, which they carry in all seasons to defend themselves from the sun and rain, and on which they sit by day and sleep by night.

“ It is a mistaken notion that Indians are too simple in their manners to have any passion for foreign manufactures. In dress, and every kind of dissipation but drinking, they are at least our equals. They are hindered from taking our goods, not by want of inclination, but either by poverty, or the fear of being reputed rich, and having their rents raised. When we relinquish the barbarous system of annual settlements ; when we make over the lands, either in very long leases or in perpetuity, to the present occupants ; and when we have convinced them, by making no assessments above the fixed rent, for a series of years, that they are actually proprietors of the soil, we shall see a demand for European articles of which we have at present no conception. If we look only to the security of our own power in this country, it would perhaps be wiser to keep the lands, as they now are, in the possession of Government, giving them to the inhabitants in leases of from five to twenty years, than to make them over to them for ever, because there is reason to fear that such a property may beget a spirit of independence, which may one day prove dangerous to our authority ; but neither the present revenue, nor any future increase of it, can be depended upon, while our military force is inadequate to the defence of our territories, and while the enemy can ravage them, and drive away the people, without our being able to hinder them. We require for this purpose at least 6000 or 7000 cavalry : an invasion would cost us more in six months than the additional expense of such a corps would amount to in ten years. While our army is composed only of infantry, our power here will always be in the most critical situation in the time of war ; for one defeat may ruin us ; because against an enemy strong in

horse, defeat and extirpation are the same. He may lose many battles without much injury to his affairs, because we cannot pursue; but by one victory he annihilates our army. It was on this principle that Hyder fought us so often in 1781; and had he once defeated Sir Eyre Coote, he would soon have been master of every place in the Carnatic but Madras. Four or five thousand horse might just now lay waste the Carnatic, and Tippoo, by following rapidly with the main body, might make it a very difficult and tedious business for us to collect our scattered army to oppose him. He might, in the mean time, collect and drive off the inhabitants; the communication with his own country would be secured by posting a detachment at Policade,—for Kishnagerry, the only place of consequence in the neighbourhood, is above 15 miles from the great road, and as the garrison is only one battalion, no party could be spared from it to interrupt the march of his convoys. But if we had 6000 or 7000 cavalry, such an invasion could not with safety be attempted: irregular horse would not venture alone into the Carnatic; and if they waited till Tippoo marched with his infantry, our army might be drawn together in time to oppose him at entering, or at least to overtake him before he could reascend the Ghauts. He might be forced to fight, and the loss of a battle, at so great a distance from home, and against an enemy now strong in cavalry, might be attended by the total destruction of his army. There is no way of protecting the country but by such a body of horse: it would be more effectual than a dozen of forts. The revenues of the Carnatic, under proper management, might, in a few years, yield the additional sum that would be required for this establishment.

“ It is of the greatest importance to have a well-appointed army, not only to carry us successfully through a war, but also to deter any of our neighbours from attacking us; because, whether beaten or not, they still receive some new instruction in the military art. Though they are averse to innovations, yet the force of example will at last operate on them as well as on other people. Their improved mode of carrying on war is a sufficient proof of this; and if they continue to make such advances as they have done under Hyder, Scindiah, and Tippoo, they will, in 30 or 40 years, be too powerful for any force that we can oppose to them. It is on this account very absurd policy to keep two battalions with the Nizam, to teach him, or his successor, to fight us. He has already formed above 20 corps on the same model. We have got a strange fancy, that, for the sake of the balance of power, it is necessary to support him against the Mahrattas; but we have less to fear from them than from him and Tippoo; because the Moors are more ready than the Hindoos in adopting the improvements of strangers, and are likewise, by the spirit of their religion, strongly impelled to extend



their empire. I am convinced that, were the Mahrattas to overturn both the Mohammedan powers, we would be more secure than at present. They would see that nothing was to be gained by attacking us, and would therefore let us remain quiet, and either fight among themselves, or turn their arms to the northward; and when they had only Asiatics to contend with, they would by degrees lose the little of European discipline which they have already learned. I believe I have all this time only been repeating what I have often said to you before."

The following letters to his sister contrast strongly with the preceding. The first alludes to the return of his brother James to Scotland, in consequence of the total loss of health. The others tell their own tale.

"I consider life as valuable merely in proportion to the comforts and pleasures it affords, and I would rather have them strewed through its whole course than treasured up for its last remnants. It appears to me little better than madness for a man to expend his best days in toiling through a perpetual succession of irksome scenes, from the absurd hope of retiring to happiness when the period of enjoyment is gone. If James, by visiting Europe again, acquire one idea or an hour of comfort more than he could have done by remaining in India, I shall think him well employed—much better than if he had, while lingering under a painful disorder in this country, amassed a large fortune in the course of a number of years and retired at an advanced age, among his relations, to build a house and take a wife; as if he lived only for posterity, or as if we were all created, like Jews in the Old Testament, solely for the purpose of filling up so many links in a chain of prophets. The two next years will be probably the happiest of all James's life, and those to which he will hereafter, with most fondness, look back, instead of two years of constant pain under the burning rock of Kishnagerry: he will recover his health, and return to his friends and native country, when he has been long enough absent to make him impatient to see them, but not to diminish his attachment. He will sail, I hope, in the King George, in the first week in May. You will find him as Scottish as ever: he will, however, I dare say, presume upon his travels, and venture to correct your pronunciation, and perhaps even our father's in the Sunday evening sermons."

## TO HIS SISTER.

“ Wandere, 5th March, 1795.

“ I FIND that all my arguments in favour of ignorance and old customs have been lost upon you, and that I might as well have attempted to put out the light of Mrs. Mary Wolstonecraft, as to turn the heart of such a stubborn reformer as you are now become. All nations are now, it seems, to be one family; and we are to have no more quarrelling, no more fighting, except intellectual combats; and every man of us is to cultivate philosophy and the arts, and to talk of nothing but urbanity, and humanity, and gentleness, and delicacy, and sympathy, and love—every desert spot is to be converted into a garden, and the whole face of the earth is to swarm with the sons and daughters of reason and liberty! What then? Suppose all these fine things realized, shall we have changed for the better? Let agriculture and manufactures be carried to their utmost possible extent, where does it all end, but in our being more effeminate in our dress and more Epicurean in our food than we are now? We must also admit that the increase of population has kept pace with the improvements of the arts; and that the whole face of the country will be covered with habitations, except what is required for the purposes of agriculture: but this cannot be a very extensive space; for, as the earth will then be forced to yield at least an hundred fold more than at present, I reckon an area of twenty feet square a very ample allowance for each person. This is making a very great concession; for you know that every inch of the surface of dry land might be covered with houses, and the inhabitants, by having terraced roofs, might on the top of them raise food enough for their sustenance, as was formerly done by the Babylonians in their hanging gardens; but as I wish, contrary to the practice of the learned, to be moderate in argument, I give you twenty feet square for your maintenance and recreation. What will be the consequence of this advanced state of society? We shall, like the Chinese, throw our new-born children into rivers, with as little remorse as if they were puppies. In towns where there is no river at hand, Edinburgh for instance, the cry of ‘Gardyloo’ will probably be followed by a babe, instead of the accompaniment which Queen Mary introduced from France. Ten stories will be more certain death to the young philosophers than a plunge into the river. We shall then hear of more ‘scapes by flood than by field,’ and, for want of romances and memoirs of revolutions, the adventures of these foundlings will form a principal part of our libraries. We shall not be able to walk out without being jostled on all sides by crowds of enlightened men and women. All the sports of the field, and all rural pleasures, will be at an end. There

will be no rambling across the meadows, for every man will fence his territorial possessions of twenty feet against all intruders. There will be no hunting or shooting, for all wild animals will have been destroyed; and there will be no fishing, because every living thing in the rivers will have been poisoned by manufactures. There will be no poetry, no silence, no solitude; and if by chance some genius should arise and invoke the Muse, he will sing more of being lulled to sleep by the clattering of fulling-mills and other machinery, than by the whispering of the zephyrs, or the sweet south, upon a bank of violets. The hard-handed peasant will then wear dog-skin gloves, silk stockings, and a solitaire, and be wrapped in silk from top to toe like a cocoon; and as the plough will then, by the power of machinery, go by itself, he will look at its motions, mounted on the horse which, in these barbarous times, would be employed in drawing it. And the rich man, dressed in the finest stuffs that art can produce, will sit in his marble palace gasping for fresh air; for amidst the steam of human bodies, and the smoke of engines and workshops, it will be impossible to get a mouthful, unless by going to sea. When the world, by the progress of knowledge, shall come to this pass (if the art of war, after being lost for many ages, is again discovered), it will be hailed as a noble invention, and the author of it will perhaps receive the honours of the Pantheon, for giving elbow-room to the half-stified inhabitants of the globe, by such ingenious machinery as fire-arms, instead of its being effected by pestilence and famine: it will no doubt be considered as a learned profession, and probably be classed as one of the branches of the medical art. Now, supposing that the economists have accomplished their great plan of filling the world with farmers and manufacturers, and made the whole face of the earth one great city, it does not appear that the more important end of increasing the happiness of mankind would be attained. But there is another kind of philosophers who propose doing this by other means. They do not mind what we eat or drink, or wear; their business is all with our minds—with our contemplations. They talk a great deal about the material and mental worlds, and of their both being subjected by man; and of the accumulating lights of a perpetual succession of speculative men, effecting in the one case what physical agents do in the other. I cannot conceive that that part of their studies which is directed to the division of the powers of the mind into different heads of memory, reflection, &c. can ever make us wiser or better. It is only giving us a new code of metaphysical jargon, in addition to those which we have had already from the Indians, Greeks, and Arabians, and which will also, in its turn, be supplanted by something equally visionary and unimportant. Their disquisitions on government are not likely ever to do much good—for its best rules will always be drawn from experience; and whatever is good

in their theories comes from the same source, though they often absurdly enough regard it as the offspring of their own genius. I never had much faith in the soundness of their political doctrines, and still less after what has passed in France. If they could ever discover and demonstrate mathematically the origin of ideas, or sentiments, or whatever they please to call them, they might still be very ignorant of the characters of men, and, of course, very unfit for the administration of public affairs. We have never yet had any proof that the knowledge of abstract sciences makes those who cultivate them either more able or more virtuous. I rather suspect that they have a contrary tendency. Were a convention assembled of all the most celebrated writers in metaphysics and politics, for the purpose of framing a constitution for a country that wanted one, I should not hope for any great benefit from their labours, nor be surprised to behold the tyranny of Robespierre and his associates equalled by them. The mild benevolent moralist, who had been accustomed to fortify himself against the assaults of domestic calamities by the maxims of philosophers, when brought into active scenes—when agitated and exasperated by the strife of parties, and when his latent ambition was awakened by the prospect of power, would find all his former aids of old saws of no avail, and might be hurried on to the commission of deeds as atrocious as ever were imagined by Marat himself. — ventures to foretell that we shall advance with accelerated rapidity from one degree of improvement to another, till at last we shall all be as good, and as wise, and as happy as angels. But could this prophecy be accomplished, it is not an event that ought to be wished for by Christians, because we should become attached to this vain world, and would have no motive for praying to go to a better; and pain and poverty, two apostles who have perhaps made as many converts as all the bishops that ever existed, would be turned out of doors. But religion out of the question—I am much afraid, that could the Doctor's schemes be brought to bear, they would not even contribute to our worldly bliss. The human race, as I told you before, is to be one great family. All malignant passions, and with them war, are to cease—all nations are to be alike enlightened. The gentlemen of Timbuctoo are to speak French, and the ladies to warble Italian; and the tranquil pleasures of mankind are never to be ruffled, unless by the death of their cattle, or the birth of their children. To such a state of dull uniform repose, give me, a thousand times in preference, the world as it now stands, with all its beautiful variety of knowledge and ignorance,—of languages—of manners—customs—religions and superstitions—of cultivated fields and wide-extended deserts—and of war and peace.”

## TO THE SAME.

“Cariambutti, seventeen miles north-east of Senkledroog;  
15th September, 1795.

“I SEE that you and my father stop all travellers from India. I sometimes hear of them from Glasgow before I know of their leaving Madras. I think I see — looking out of his carriage window, like John Bull from Ecclesdown Castle. ‘Look at me now, Nick; see where I am got to.’ He deserves his good fortune, for he is an excellent officer. Keith Macalaster is an old acquaintance; but I know nothing of —, except what I have from you, that he sleeps after supper in the middle of long stories. This may be occasioned either by the nature of the stories, or the punch being too weak or too strong. My father confirms your report, and observes with some surprise, that he fell asleep while he, Major Macleod, and Keith debated about Hyder and Tippoo till two in the morning. Had they been engaged in a real, instead of a mock fight, I should not have wondered at his sleeping at such an hour. He was Adjutant to one of the battalions which served with the Nizam’s army in Mysore; but as they always encamped at some distance from us, I never was in company with him, though I have frequently seen him: he is well spoken of, and, I believe, received a present of a thousand pagodas, by order of Lord Cornwallis, for a survey of the route of the detachment with which he served. As to the doublet which — exhibits among you, it is none of mine; I give up all claim to it: he certainly robbed my wardrobe of many valuable articles, but this was not among them. Your conjecture about Miss — having enslaved him is very right. In a letter which I received from him last year, he is very anxious to know how her brother is: had I not learned his deplorable situation from you, I should have thought this inquiry a little strange; for he never troubled himself about —’s health before. I am sorry to say that he has been long ill, and is still in a very bad way; but I shall give him the particulars in a few days, when I write to him. I suppose his excursions about the country in the jacket you so much admire, must be a task imposed by his fair enthraller, as a trial of his constancy.

“The lady whom you pretend to have discovered for me, does not, I hope, expect that I am, by night and day, to ride over the hard stones on a tall trotting horse; for should I by chance, when thinking of her instead of my Rosinante, fall off and break my neck, how doleful it would be!—I mean, on my part. We should have ‘Love’s Labour Lost;’ and the story would make such a charming new ballad, that

were I not a recreant knight, I ought to be impatient to see the adventure finished. But you have forgotten in your plan all the obstacles to the accomplishment of this great enterprise,—not of neck-breaking; for of that, as I have already said, I make nothing,—but of the celebration of our nuptials. I have since the morning reckoned above fifty: but there is one which is worth them all,—that the lady never was in the mind which you say; or if she was, that it is fifty to one but she would change it before I got home, were I even mounted upon an enchanted wooden steed. Now, what is to be done when I arrive, and find that she has given her hand to an unknown rival? If he were a knight, I might borrow ——'s doublet and horse, and challenge him to mortal combat; but as it is more likely that he has never been dubbed, there is nothing left for me but to choose the most romantic manner of dying. Hanging and drowning have both many advocates among lovers: for my own part, I should prefer hanging; it is more pastoral, and I think that dangling by the neck from a willow would have a fine Arcadian appearance; besides, the branch might break, or some charitable swain might pass that way, and cut me down before I had sighed my soul away, which are chances that I could not have at the bottom of a pond. But what makes this one of the most hapless love affairs that ever distressed a forlorn couple is, that, besides the lady's objections, I might have not a few of my own. I have read so many romances and novels, that I have got very high notions of beauty; nothing but such a peerless dame as Rosalind, or Angelica, or Clarinda, will make me kneel. If the lady is not as fair as Melisendra, 'whose eyes misled the morn,' I would regard her with as much disdain as the Glassman, in the Arabian Nights, did the Grand Vizier's daughter. The fair phantoms whom I have so often seen carried off by caitiffs, and rescued by knights, hold such sovereign empire in my imagination, that there is no room for your Lady Marys and Lady Bettys, nor even for your Marias and Elizas. I have seen no woman in the course of my errantry, that I did not think vulgar in comparison of those transcendent nymphs with whom I have beguiled so many delightful days 'in hall and bower.' But suppose that the course of true love should run smooth, and that we are both returning to our castle, mounted on white palfreys; here our troubles would begin, for when, after dismounting, Melisendra, instead of taking up a lute, and pouring upon my ear a strain like the sweet south, should fall to scolding the servants, the spell would vanish, and, instead of a magnificent palace near Trebizond, I would find myself in a small house in a dirty street in Glasgow. After having been so long used to a wandering life in a tent, I doubt very much if I could muster steadiness sufficient to confine myself to a house. If I could not, there

follows a cruel separation—the lady in town, and I in the country;—but as living under a tree or in a tent, in such a climate, is not always pleasant, I should perhaps remove as far as Persia or India, and, by increasing the distance, increase the pangs of absence.

“You see how many good reasons there are against your scheme of my taking horse instantly, and hastening to throw myself at the lady’s feet: as to the other, of proxy, I can only agree to it on certain conditions. If she is not, or even if I fancy that she is not, so charming as Clelia or Rosamond, I am to be at liberty to look for one that is. I am to eat and sleep whenever I please, without any questions being asked. No private orders are to be given to the barber or the tailor about the decorations of my person. I am not to be forced to sit up, and receive male or female visitors: neither the superintendence of the kettle nor tea-cups is to be considered as a part of my duty. I am not to be obliged to deliver my opinion on patterns for caps or petticoats for any lady. I am not to go out to tea or supper unless I choose. I am not to be ordered on any duties of danger, such as escorting young ladies home in a windy, or old ladies on a frosty night. I am to have liberty of conscience, and to attend church as often as I think proper. And, lastly, when I am tired of home, I may return to India *alone*. N. B. Should any doubt hereafter arise about the meaning of any of these clauses, my interpretation is to be received as infallible; and should I explain the same article different ways at different times, I am not to give any reason for so doing.—These are my terms, from none of which I can recede.

“I never wish so much to be at home, as when I hear of your excursions to Saltcoats, Milliken, and Edinburgh: for I like to stroll about the country. I am happy to hear that Saltcoats has done James so much good: he has no complaints now, I imagine, that a little time will not remove. In all my letters, I have said that he ought not to return here if there is the smallest danger of his health. I have often lamented that he was so contemplative, and looked so much forward, and with an eye so gloomy. Two of his books were Hume’s *Essays*, and Read’s *Theories*—books which he may now read with entertainment and without danger, but which could have done him no good when he first saw them some years before he came to this country. His sedentary, moping disposition ought rather to have been directed to bustle and action than cherished by dull studies. The cold, lifeless reasoning which is prematurely forced upon an unfortunate student at a college, is as different from the vigorous conception which is caught from mingling with general society, as an animated body from its shadow. It is distressing that we should persevere in the absurd practice of stifling the young ideas of boys of fourteen or fifteen with logic. A few pages of history

give more insight into the human mind, and in a more agreeable manner, than all the metaphysical volumes that ever were published. The men who have made the greatest figure in public life, and have been most celebrated for their knowledge of mankind, probably never consulted any of these sages from Aristotle downwards.

“I wish we had a statement of my father’s debts, that we might know what part of the principal we could discharge without incurring any great loss, by withdrawing our money from the advantage of high interest.”

TO THE SAME.

“October 4th, 1795.

“You begin, I imagine, by this time to suspect that by this long dissertation upon doctors, I am endeavouring to fight off replying to your outrageous attacks on military men; and I am not ashamed to confess that it is not far from the truth: for when I unthinkingly enough, last year, said something to you about war being almost as excellent an invention as sleep, it was only for want of something else to talk of, and I little dreamed that I should see you, in something less than seventeen years, decorating the horizon of controversy, and coming down upon me like another Mrs. Mary Wolstonecraft, with a host of first principles, and physical and moral causes, and defying *me* to mortal combat, in which *you* propose to gather laurels. Then you talk of olives, and myrtles, and oaks, at such a rate that I began to doubt if I was not reading a letter from the famous Kensington Gardener, who renovates old fruit trees; and after dragging me into this wilderness, you talk of things invisible and divine, emanating and reascending sparks, and internal warfare, and you conclude this discourse on politics, morals, astronomy, and forest-trees, by praying that we may all at last become planets. This is all much too sublime for my poor spark of intelligence, particularly as I have not got the metaphysical visual ray; I must, therefore, leave you, and return to earth again, and speak of things as we see them, and talk of men as we find them. I am still of opinion that war produces many good consequences: those philosophers who prophesy that the millennium is to follow universal civilization, must have shut their eyes on what is passing in the world, and trusted entirely to intellectual light, otherwise they would have seen that in proportion to the progress of science and the arts, war becomes more frequent and more general, and this I consider to be the true end of civilization. In former ages of barbarity and ignorance, two petty states might have fought till they were tired, without any of their neighbours minding them, and perhaps without those who were at a little distance



ever hearing any thing of the matter : but in these enlightened times of mail-coaches and packet-boats, no hostility can be committed in one corner of Europe, but it is immediately known in the other, and we all think it necessary to fall-to immediately. I should be glad to know in what uncivilized age a fray in Nootka Sound would have produced a bustle at Portsmouth. Barbarous nations, when at war, generally returned to their homes at the harvest season, and took the field again in the holidays, to fight by way of pastime, and they were not afraid to leave their towns with no other guard than their women, because no other nation was supposed to be concerned in their quarrel ; but now, by the happy modern discovery of the balance of power, all Europe is fraternized—every nation takes at least as much interest in the affairs of other nations as in its own, and no two can go to war without all the rest following their example. We are not like barbarians, contented with one or two campaigns ; the riches of commerce and the improvement of science enable us to amuse ourselves much longer, and we are now seldom contented with less than seven. Why do our men of genius speculate, and our manufacturers toil unceasingly, but that we may collect money enough to treat ourselves now and then to a seven years' jubilee of warfare ? The only instance in which civilized is less destructive than barbarous war is, in not eating our prisoners ; but this I do not yet despair of seeing accomplished, for whenever any philosopher, or politician, shall demonstrate that eating prisoners will improve the cotton manufacture, or augment the revenue, an Act of Parliament will soon be passed for dispatching them as fast as possible. War is to nations what municipal government is to particular cities, it is a grand police which teaches nations to respect each other, and humbles such as have become insolent by prosperity. If you are not satisfied with political arguments, I shall give you some of a higher nature. Do not all religious and orthodox books insist strongly on the manifold benefits resulting from the chastisements and visitations of stiff-necked and stubborn generations ? Now what better visitation can you wish for, than forty or fifty thousand men going into a strange land and living there at free quarters for two or three years ? Don't you think that the calamities of the American war have made us more virtuous than we were, and that more Britons have gone to heaven since these chastisements, than did in all the preceding part of the century ? and I, therefore, for my own sake, thank Providence that such a visitation happened in my life. It is in vain to look for the termination of war from the diffusion of light, as it is called. The Greeks and Romans in ancient times were, and the Germans, French, and English in modern times are, the most enlightened and warlike of nations ; and the case will be the same till the end of the world, or till human nature ceases to be what it is. As

long as nations have different governments, and manners, and languages, there will be war ; and if commerce should ever so far extend its influence as that trading nations will no longer fight for territory, they will never refuse to take up arms for cloth—and then the age of chivalry having given place to that of economists, prisoners will no more be released on parole: the privates and subs. will be employed in coal-heaving and other works serviceable to the state, and those of superior rank ransomed, and if they are dilatory in settling accounts, they will, perhaps, be tossed in blankets of a particular manufacture, to promote the circulation of cash. Those who rail against war have not taken a comprehensive view of the subject, nor considered that it mingles, in a greater or lesser degree, with the most refined of our pleasures. How insipid would poetry be without romances and heroic poems, and history without convulsions and revolutions! What would a library be with nothing but Shenstone and a few volumes of sermons? What would become of all those patriotic citizens who spend half their lives in coffee-houses talking of the British Lion, if he were to be laid asleep by an unfortunate millennium?

“ I am so far from wishing to abolish hereditary distinctions, that I think them useful when kept within proper bounds. I speak of them rather in a moral than a political view. Nobility of birth, if it does not always give elevation of sentiment, often prevents a man from descending to actions which he would hardly have started at had he been born in an inferior sphere ; the fear of disgracing his family keeps him above them ; but this is only a negative kind of merit. When, however, nobility is joined to an excellent natural disposition, cultivated by education, it gives the possessor a dignity of thinking and acting rarely found in the middling ranks of life ; of these there are many instances among the Spaniards. Alexander was in high spirits on the 8th of August, the date of his last letter.”

#### TO HIS MOTHER.

“ Bellari, 17th May, 1795.

“ IN the course of the last three months I have written to my father, Erskine, and Alexander. I should write to you all oftener, were I not so much out of the world that I hear very little of public affairs, and were my manner of life not so uniform that it is dull and uninteresting even to myself. I often wish that some of those dreamers who prate so much about the pleasures of retirement were in my place ; for to me life, without society, is a heavy task. I long for company, not merely for the sake of conversation, but also to amuse myself with being idle. For I would rather play fives or billiards, or make a party to go up a

hill or to swim, than read the finest composition of human genius, or pass a classical night with the whole of the Royal Society in full college. I however still like reading, and the company of those whom I suppose to be either men of taste or knowledge, as much as ever; but without recreations of a lighter kind, I should soon lose all relish for both. Were I by chance thrown into a situation where it would be necessary to relinquish either sport or study, I should without hesitation give up study. It is impossible to express the strong passion which I still retain, or which has rather continued to grow upon me, for fives, swimming, and every sport that I was fond of at school. I remember I left Cassimcottah, about eight years ago, on account of the danger of hill fevers: but a stronger reason was, that I could not live without playing fives. Were I to go home to-morrow, instead of going about like a good citizen, and visiting the various improvements in the manufactures of my native town, one of my first excursions would be to Woodside, to swim down Jackson's mill-stream; and as this would certainly be represented as an action very indecorous in a person of my years, and as savouring of an empty mind, I would excuse myself by saying that I had only followed the advice of Lord Bacon: for as I knew the deepening and widening of canals to be matters of the utmost importance to a commercial nation, I had resolved, in conformity to the principles of that philosopher, to admit nothing on hearsay, however high the authority, but to bring everything to the test of experiment; and that, with this patriotic view, I had risked my person in a dangerous torrent.

“Where I am now, I have no choice of study, or society, or amusement. I go from village to village, with my tent, settling the rents of the inhabitants; and this is so tedious and teasing a business, that it leaves room for nothing else,—for I have no hour in the day that I can call my own. At this moment, while I am writing, there are a dozen of people talking around me: it is now twelve o'clock, and they have been coming and going in parties ever since seven in the morning, when I began this letter. They have frequently interrupted me for an hour at a time. One man has a long story of a debt of thirty years' standing, contracted by his father; another tells me that his brother made away with his property when he was absent during the war; and a third tells me that he cannot afford to pay his usual rent, because his wife is dead, who used to do more work than his best bullock. I am obliged to listen to all these relations; and as every man has a knack at description, like Sancho, I think myself fortunate when I get through any one of them in half an hour. It is in vain that I sometimes recommend to them to begin at the end of the story. They persist in their own way of making me full master of all the particulars; and I must, after making my ob-

jections and hearing their replies, dictate answers in the same copious style to them all, so that I cannot be sure that this letter will be ready to go by the next ships. I am now in the middle of a deep valley, about eight miles from the Cavery, and twenty south of Pinagur, surrounded on every side by woody hills, not covered with forests, but with trees of stunted growth, brushwood, and such a thicket of thorns as render them almost everywhere inaccessible: and as they are, like most of the hills in this country, composed either of one vast mass of bare granite, or of large stones and fragments heaped together, it is often impossible to scramble up, even where there are no other obstacles in the way. There is not a tree on the plain, except here and there a tamarind in the inclosures behind a farmer's hut: but this scarcity is owing to neglect in not planting others in the room of those cut down, not to barrenness; for every inch where the plough could go is cultivated; and even many spots among the rocks are turned up by the hand. My tent is on the brink of a mountain stream, which winds through this dismal valley; for dismal it appears at present, because it is the beginning of the spring, and the whole plain is ploughed up, and looks like a waste of red sand without a green thing. At the extremity rise the woody hills which bound it, and beyond them the lofty chain of mountains between Cavcripooram and Seringapatam; but though only fifteen miles distant, the haze produced by the excessive heat is so great, that they are hardly visible; and yet in clear weather I have often seen them above eighty miles off. The great heats are almost over; for the land-winds, which moderate them greatly, are now begun. In a few days they will blow with great violence, and will continue at the same rate, almost without intermission, till October. The months of June, July, and August, with the exception of a few clear days, will be cooler than in Britain: for during this time the sky will be almost continually overcast, and the sun often invisible for many days. When I speak of heat, I don't mean the thermometer, for it will in general keep between 80 and 85; but the effect produced on the human body, which, from the constant high winds, frequently accompanied with drizzling rain, feels this degree of heat much less than you do one much lower at home. The middle of summer, on this account, however strange it may seem, is cooler than the middle of winter.

“Mullegoord, 17th.—I could get no farther with this letter yesterday. I came here this morning, about five miles to the north-west of the place I have just left. Yesterday was the hottest day we have had this year; but there is a great change since. It began to thunder at two o'clock this afternoon, and about four it looked so threatening, that I went out to enjoy the coming storm. I mounted an old high cavalier, the only remaining part of a mud fort, which once covered this village; the view was

wild and magnificent ; it was a vast assemblage of hills ; for from the spot where I stood not a valley was visible, except the small one which I had come through in the morning ; the dust of the fresh ploughed fields was everywhere flying up in whirlwinds ; and the dark clouds were descending from the distant mountains upon the low woody hills near me. I continued admiring this scene above an hour, when I was driven from my station by the rain, which poured down in a torrent, and was followed by a tempest of hail, the second I have seen in this country. The stones were perfectly smooth and round, and about the size of small pistol-balls. I swallowed a great number of them, to the memory of former days, while I was hastening to my tent to get dry clothes ; but my reception there was not so comfortable as it would have been at home : for the convenience of being near a well, it had been pitched in the dry bed of a swamp, which was now almost knee-deep. After two hours' work in cutting trenches to carry off the water, and in throwing baskets of sand on the floor of the tent to make it firm, I have at last got a spot to bear my table and chair ; and am at last, after having weathered the storm, engaged in giving you an account of it. I have this moment had a visit from an old man, the accountant of the village : he was drawn here by curiosity, for he could not conceive what use I meant to make of the baskets of sand he saw passing ; he told me there was an excellent clean hut, in the village, proof against all rain. I answered, that after having been almost washed away, there was no occasion to go any farther in search of cleanliness. He said there would be a great deal more rain in the course of the night, and that I should certainly be drowned if I did not take his advice. This remark gave me an opportunity of showing my knowledge in natural philosophy : I informed him, that even if the rain should again demolish my floor, I would get into my couch and set it at defiance ; for that in our elevated situation it could not possibly reach me till every soul in the Carnatic was drowned ; that I did not care how much water came down the hills, I should never be alarmed till I saw it coming up ; when that happened, I should begin to have some serious thoughts of drowning. He is gone home, fully convinced that I am drunk. He saw me drinking tea, which he supposed to be some strong spirits to counteract the cold.

“Sholapaddi, 22nd May.—I am now on the bank of the Cavery, about a mile below Caveripooram. The river is about four hundred yards broad here, and is beginning to fill. In a month more it will be even with its banks, which are about twenty feet high. You perhaps figure me to yourself in the middle of a rich country, walking on the side of a beautiful stream : but everything here is wild and savage ; the valley, which is about two miles broad between the river and the hills, does not produce a blade of grass. During the wet weather, by the force

of labour, it is covered with a poor kind of grain; but the rest of the year it is nothing but a heap of stones mixed with thorns; it is hardly possible to walk along the side of the river, as the ground is everywhere cut by prodigious deep ravines, full of bushes. I was above an hour yesterday in walking a mile, and half the time at least was spent in crossing them; because, after descending, I was often obliged to go a considerable way along the bottom before I could find a place to scramble up. In returning I attempted to come along the bed of the river; but this way was not pleasanter than the other way, wading through deep sand, or stumbling over blue rocks rising abruptly from it. The only agreeable part of my journey was in sitting down upon one of them, and looking at the different kinds of water-fowl catching fish. While I rested here, the burning heat of the sun was rendered still more oppressive by the reflection from the sand and water; and I do not know whether the patience of the fishing-birds in watching for their prey, or mine in looking at them, was greatest. I once thought of varying the scene, and going home by water: this might have been the shortest way, and would certainly have been the coolest; but I felt some kind of repugnance to swimming among alligators; for though here, as in many other parts of the country, they are not mischievous, and there is no instance of their ever having carried off any of the natives, who are perpetually bathing, I reflected that it would be no consolation to me to have it remarked by the old people of the village, that they never remembered to have seen any person taken down by them till this blessed day. I also recollected two or three instances of accidents having happened where these animals were said to be perfectly harmless; these arguments were quite sufficient to deter me from attempting the passage by water. I have not yet taken the trouble to ascertain whether my conduct on this occasion was the result of self-love, or of that wisdom which Dr. Zimmerman, one of the most absurd coxcombs I ever met with, says is produced by seclusion from the world. If solitude is the mother of wisdom, it is to be hoped that, in a few years more, I shall be as wise as Solomon or Robinson Crusoe. There is another thing in favour of this idea,—the simplicity of my fare, which, according to some philosophers, is a great friend to genius and digestion. I do not know if the case is altered by this diet being the effect of necessity, and not of choice. When my cook brings me a sheep, it is generally so lean that it is no easy matter to cut it. Fowls are still worse, unless fed with particular care,—a science for which I have no turn; and as to river-fish, very few of them are catable. If the fish and fowl were both boiled, it would puzzle any naturalist to tell the one from the other merely by the taste. Some sects of philosophers recommend nuts and apples, and other sorts of fruit; but nothing is to be found either in the woods or

gardens here, except a few limes, and a coarse kind of plantain, which is never eaten without the help of cookery. I have dined to-day on porridge made of half-ground flour instead of oatmeal; and I shall most likely dine to-morrow on plantain fritters. Some other philosophers think that gentle exercise, as a branch of temperance, has also a share in illuminating the understanding. I am very fond of riding in an evening shower after a hot-day; but I do not rest much upon this: my great dependence, for the expansion of my genius, is upon the porridge.

“ Chittore, 18th June.—I remained only a few days in the Caveripooram district after writing the last part of this letter: my tent was blown away one afternoon by a hurricane of dust, such as those that Mr. Bruce met with in the Desert. I thought at first, from the darkness, that it was rain; but when it came within a few miles, I soon guessed, from the red colour of the cloud, what it was,—for I had before seen one, though not half so violent, at Bangalore. It lasted about half an hour; and, as I was in the middle of it all the time bareheaded, I caught a cold, which, together with the King’s birth-day, carried me to Senkledroog. I stayed there a week, as the doctor told me, to recover my health; but it was, in reality, neither him nor health, but the Swallow packet, that detained me. I wished to be in society when she arrived, that I might have a debate upon the intelligence she was expected to bring out, both respecting European politics and the regulations of the Indian army; but hearing nothing of her, I took the field again, and, after several movements, I am now on a beautiful spot, twelve miles north of Senkledroog, and four from the Cavery. On all sides are groves of Palmyra trees, and the country is every where green with the rising grain; the only uncultivated ground is a small space in front of the village on which my tent stands. The weather is now pleasanter than in England; the wind is high, and the sky so cloudy, that the sun has scarcely been visible since the beginning of the month. I walked out this afternoon at three o’clock, which is usually as hot as any hour in the day, and did not return till near seven, when it began to grow dark. I made a circuit of about ten miles, without once thinking of heat. At this season of the year I take so much pleasure in these rambles, that I find it difficult to confine myself to my tent. They are not so solitary as I could wish; for I often fall in with story-tellers, who keep me company all the way. The farmers of this country are, I believe, the most talkative race on the face of the earth. A party of them met me this evening with a complaint against some unknown conjurer, who had set fire to their village twice in the course of the year. I told them I had a great antipathy to all conjurers, and would give them satisfaction on their producing him. They said they

had concerted a plan for discovering him, but that it could not be executed without my assistance. I was to take my station at a little distance from the village, with a spying-glass in my hand; all the inhabitants were to pass in review before me; when I could not fail, by means of the virtues of the glass, to discover the felon who had done so much mischief. I answered that it was an excellent thought, but that the trial must be deferred till I should get a new glass, as my old one was broken; and as we should then certainly catch the conjurer, I asked what punishment it would be proper to inflict upon him. They said, no other than drawing two of his teeth, with which he would lose all his magic powers. I replied, that this could not be done till he was taken; but that, in the mean time, there was another remedy, equally simple, at hand, to defend themselves from him in future: any person who had any suspicion of his having evil designs upon himself, had only to get two of his own teeth drawn, which would secure both himself and his property against all the art of the enemy. I said I had some years ago parted with two of my own teeth; and offered, if they would accompany me back, to get them all made magic-proof at the same cheap rate. They asked leave to go home and consult about my proposal, and promised to give me their answer in the morning: but I suspect that I shall hear no more of the matter. Among the natives of this country, the belief in all kinds of witchcraft, goblins, and elf-shooting, is universal among all ranks. They frequently take the conjurer by surprise, and draw his teeth themselves without applying to justice. The cattle of the farmers seldom die a natural death. If any accident happens in any of their families when they begin to plough a field; if a snake runs across the path, or if they see a land-crab, they abandon it, and say that it is in possession of the devil:—it lies waste for several years; and if then some bold fellow ventures to break it up, and loses neither his life nor his bullocks, it is supposed that the devil has, for the present, relinquished his claim. I once had a complaint from a man, of a conjurer's having killed his wife and mother, and about 20 cows and bullocks. I thought, at first, that some of the characters in the Arabian Nights had again started up; but on further inquiry, I found that he had taken 14 years to effect all this: and I thought it possible that, within this period, time alone, without any foreign aid, might have dispatched a couple of women and a few cattle."

TO HIS BROTHER JAMES, NOW IN SCOTLAND.

" Senkledroog, 25th January, 1796.

" I HAVE received your letters of June and September, 1794, and May, 1795. I cannot read your account of your ramble among our old



haunts without wishing myself along with you. I understand all the alterations you mention as well as if I saw them; but I have too much veneration for every thing about the place to relish any changes:—I neither like the stone wall, nor the making the entrance from the hollow part of the road where the burn runs, instead of letting it go through the avenue as formerly. I hope the mill-lade is still full of mud; that the short road through the garden still remains; that the raspberries opposite to the dam still thrive for the benefit of wandering boys; and that no flood has carried away the large stone in the deep water opposite to the bathing-house, from which we used to plunge. Often have I sat upon it, and encouraged you, in vain, to come in. Alexander and William were not afraid of the water, and soon learned to swim; but I could never prevail on you to come above the dam; you always amused yourself among the stones in the shallow water below, where it was hardly deep enough for the minnows to play. This spot, next to our own family, if any thing ever draws me home, will do it. I have no friendships nor employment that should induce me to return. I had no companions in the grammar-school with whom I associated after leaving it, except John Brown's sons and my brothers: and they are now dispersed in all parts of the world. By spending so much of my time in the house, I was more among Erskine's acquaintances than any of my own, and I would much rather see them than any of my school-fellows.

“ My attachment to India has been much weakened since you left it by the loss of many valuable friends. You already know of James Irving; but Dods, the oldest and dearest of them all, is now gone; he was my tent-mate in 80 at Conjeveram, and from that time till the day of his death my affection for him grew stronger and stronger; he was carried off, in the course of a week, by a hill fever, which he caught at Gingee, where he had gone with another officer for the sake of solitary excursions, of which he was so fond, and of visiting the stupendous rocks and ruins about that place. No year ever passed that he did not contrive to spend several weeks with me. He was going to see some friends at Trichinopoly, and from thence had promised to come through the Baramahl on his way to Arnee. I wrote to him, that I had a tent ready for him; but my letter came back under a cover, informing me of his death. You fancy to yourself Foulis and he and I meeting at Derampoory: such a meeting I once flattered myself with seeing; but it is all over now, and the world has nothing which can ever give me so much pleasure as it would have done; but I am afraid I shall soon have to lament the loss of another friend. Foulis is so ill that there is hardly any chance of his recovery; if he dies, I shall have seen the end of almost the only three men with whom I have ever been intimate.

Taylor is the only exception ; and his constitution is so much impaired, that he will be obliged to go to Europe. I am now too old to form new friendships ; and I foresee that I must go through life like a stranger among people, some of whom I esteem, but for none of whom I have any particular partiality. Daniel's marriage inclines me to believe that I am still a young man ; but when I see all my friends dropping off, I feel that I have survived all the pleasures of youth, and that I have only those of age to look to—the recollection of what is past. In all my letters, I have constantly approved of your plan of sacrificing every prospect to the recovery of health, and I hope you will persevere in this resolution ; but I am afraid that your studies will be a great obstacle to success in this point, because they confine you too much, and give you too little exercise. I have often been attacked at Kilsnagery about your indolence, and have always defended you on the plea of bad health ; and the state I saw you in would certainly have made any man listless, and incapable of exertion. I have often, for a simple headache, sat without moving or speaking for a whole day. Smith, who came out in the ship with you, tells me that you were very lazy, and that you shammed illness, and spent all your time reading books in the jolly-boat with a Scotchman called Marshall : according to Smith's ideas reading books is a very idle kind of employment ; and I am so far of his opinion, that I think it would have been better, had you in your earlier days spent less of time in school or college, and more with boys in the streets,—it might probably have saved you from the sickness, occasioned, I suppose, by too much confinement, which threw you into the hands of quacks. Daniel has settled fifty pounds a-year upon you. I shall remit you a like sum in a month or two, and, with the help of what Alexander can spare, I hope you will be able to manage till you get into some kind of business ; but you must keep up your spirits, and be cheerful, and full of exertion whenever health permits—there is no doing without these qualities. I have seen you, with all the dignity of a philosopher, speak contemptuously of the understandings, the pursuits, and engagements of your neighbours ; but nothing is more unphilosophical, and, what is of more consequence, more imprudent, than to show a slight to any person, however humble his capacity : there is hardly any man who ever forgives it : and true philosophy consists, not so much in despising the talents or wealth of other men, as in bearing our own fortune, whatever it may be, with an unaltered mind. I am preaching to you about an error that I often fall into myself, but never without repenting it."

## TO HIS FATHER.

[ *On the general state of the Country and the Army.* ]

“ Senkledroog, 18th April, 1796.

“ It is now near a twelvemonth since the date of my last letter from home; but I have heard of you later than this from Lieutenant Malcolm, the General’s secretary, who tells me that you were one of the last persons he saw at home, and that he had a long talk with you about Tippoo. Captain Read is still occupied in surveying and leasing this country; it will require another year to finish; so that we shall hold our civil employments till July, 1797. After that, it is likely enough that we may be sent to the right about; though it would certainly be wiser to let him remain for a year or two longer, to try whether or not the plan which he has adopted will stand the test of experiment. I have been here about six weeks. I go away in a few days, and shall hardly be twice in the company of Europeans before Christmas. You can therefore expect no news from me, for I hear nothing but vague reports; and any information that I could send you would neither be so correct nor so full as the public papers. There is no appearance, at present, of the country powers giving us any trouble. Tippoo is employed in reducing some refractory poligars, and is too weak to molest any of his neighbours. The Nizam is in the same situation; and the Mahrattas are disputing about the succession to the Peshwaship. All the Dutch posts in Ceylon are now in our possession. An expedition has been talked of against Batavia; but I think it is doubtful that it will be attempted; for it is not worth the number of men that must fall victims to its climate; and if Holland is ever again to recover her independence, of which we have some hopes from the last advices, it is not worth while to plunder and distress her without benefiting ourselves. In a political point of view, all our eastern conquests are not of half the value that the Mauritius would have been; for, as long as the French have it and Pondicherry, they will always be able to make an impression on the Carnatic, and, if supported by Tippoo, to distress us as much as we were in 1780.

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“ We are now looking out a little impatiently for the army arrangements. Some copies have arrived in the country of those which are said to have passed the Board of Control and the Court of Directors; but they follow too closely the plan of Lord Cornwallis to give general satisfaction. Eighteen thousand sepoy will never be found sufficient for the services of the coast; and eighteen hundred men is too great a number for a regiment. Corps of this strength might answer well

enough in an open country, where the troops are kept together in large cantonments; but they are very ill calculated for a country with an extensive frontier, covered with forts, like the Carnatic; because, in order to garrison them, almost every battalion must be broken into detachments, which will ruin their discipline. We have now thirty-six battalions of sepoys, which, with one hundred and sixty additional men to each, makes our present establishment between seven and eight thousand firelocks above the arrangements. If Ceylon is reduced, we shall probably discharge a part of the additional men; but we shall, I am convinced, after every possible reduction, be five thousand above it, and it would, in the end, prove more economical to have this extra number, or even eight thousand, than to limit ourselves to that proposed by Lord Cornwallis; for his establishment will oblige us, on the breaking out of a war, to confine our operations to the countries below the Ghauts till reinforcements arrive from Bengal, while the other would enable us to march at once to Seringapatam. The loss of a single campaign would be attended with more expense than would counter-balance all the savings that could arise from the difference of the two establishments in time of peace; and the stronger would have another advantage over the weaker, that it would secure us longer in the enjoyment of peace, because an enemy would be more cautious in attacking us when he saw us in a situation to receive him. Had Lord Cornwallis been left to combat Tippoo without any assistance from the Mahrattas, I suspect that he would have given a very different plan from that which he has now brought forward. The best article in the whole of it is, that of giving leave to retire on full pay after twenty-five years' service."

TO HIS FATHER.

"Wamlere, 10th May, 1796.

"THE average rent of cultivated land in this country is not more than three shillings an acre. Waste lands pay nothing. The inhabitants graze their cattle and cut wood upon them, without being subject to any demand: laying down fields in clover, and different kinds of grass, is unknown in this country, where all the pasture is spontaneous. The average rent of the whole body of farmers is not more than ten pagodas each. I am pretty sure that there is not a man among them who is worth 500*l.*, and that, exclusive of their cattle, nine-tenths of them have not five pounds. This extreme poverty is the principal cause of the lowness of the rents, and not any fault of the soil; for at least three-fourths of the lands in cultivation

are capable of producing cotton, sugar, and indigo; but though the rayets have little money, I imagine that they suffer less real distress than the peasantry of Europe. The inclemency of the weather is what they hardly ever feel: firewood costs them nothing, and dress very little. Their own labour, for two or three days, is the price of their house, which is built of mud and covered with straw or leaves, and, in a warm climate, such materials answer the purpose just as well as stone or marble. All of them are married, and their families, so far from being a burden, are a great support to them, because their labour produces more than the expense of their maintenance:—this is so generally understood, that nothing is more common than to grant a man a remission of rent on the death of his wife or his son. Learned men who write of India begin by talking of the sun, and then tell us that its vertical rays make the natives indolent; but, notwithstanding all this, the farmers are, at least, as industrious as those of Europe, and their women more so. They owe their poverty to their government, and neither to their idleness nor the sun. There is a great variety of castes among them; the degrees of industry are different in them all; and, in fixing rents, it is as necessary to attend to this circumstance as to the quality of the land. Brahmans may perform all the labours of agriculture, except that of holding the plough. On this account, and because their women do not work in the fields, they seldom pay more than half the usual rent. It is fixed in the Carnatic at three-quarters; but this, I suspect, is always by a partial valuation among the rayets. The women of some castes go through every labour the same as the men; those of others cannot hold the plough; and those of others, again, are prohibited from every kind of work in the fields; but it is fortunate that the caste of which both the men and the women are the most industrious is by far the most numerous of all. In this caste the women manage everything, and the men hardly ever venture to disobey their orders. It is they who buy, and sell, and lend, and borrow; and, though the man comes to the cutcherry to have his rent settled, he always receives his instructions before leaving home. If he gives up any point of them, however trifling, he is sure to incur her resentment. She orders him to stay at home next day, and she sallies forth herself in great indignation, denouncing the whole tribe of revenue servants. On her arrival at the cutcherry she goes on for near an hour with a very animated speech, which she had probably begun some hours before, at the time of her leaving her own house,—the substance of it is, that they are a set of rascals for imposing upon her poor simple husband. She usually concludes with a string of interrogations. ‘Do you think that I can plough land without bullocks?—that I can make gold? or that I can raise it by selling this cloth?’ She points, as she says this, to the

dirty rag with which she is half covered, which she had put on for the occasion, and which no man would choose to touch with the end of a stick. If she gets what she asks she goes away in a good humour; but if not, she delivers another philippic, not in a small female voice, but in that of a boatswain—for by long practice she is louder and hoarser than a man. As the cutcherry people only laugh at her, she carries her eloquence where she knows she can make it be attended to. She returns to her unfortunate husband, and probably does not confine herself entirely to logical arguments. She is perhaps too full of cares and anxieties to sleep that night; and if any person passes her house about daybreak, or a little before, he will certainly find her busy spinning cotton. If I have not seen, I have at least often heard, the women spinning early in the morning, when it was so dark that I could scarcely follow the road. It is the farmer's women who make most of the thread used in all the cotton manufactures of India."

The death of Mr. Foulis, to whom Captain Munro was greatly attached, occurred about this time, and drew from him the following beautiful letter—

TO HIS BROTHER.

"DEAR JAMES,

Wamlere, 23rd May, 1796.

"I AM NOW on my way to the Cavery, and I shall pass the King's birthday on the banks of it, among the hills, about four miles below the spot where you may remember that we went one day to swim. That place always brings my valuable friend Irving to my mind; but I have just lost a friend to whom I was still more strongly attached than to him. Foulis died at Major Brown's, near Madras, on the 17th. This event he had long earnestly wished for himself; for, with the exception of a few short intervals of ease, the last seven years of his life was a period of great pain and constant suffering, and often of agony. No man in the service was ever so generally lamented. Now that he and Dods are both gone, I feel myself indifferent, both with regard to this country and home; for the loss of them leaves a blank which I can never hope to fill up—it is impossible that I can ever be again with any other men as I have been with them. Life is now too far advanced to commence such friendships as subsisted between us; for, to make friendships cordial and unreserved, men must not only have something of the same tempers, inclinations, and ways of thinking, but they must have passed many of their earlier years together, in the same scenes of pleasure or distress. You must not judge of Foulis from what he was when you saw him—disease and unremitting torment had totally altered

both his looks and his mind ; even when you saw him somewhat better at home, none of the bad symptoms of his disorder had been removed, and he was himself convinced that there was not the smallest chance of his recovery. I don't know if ever you met with Dods, except one day that I carried you to his tattered tent at Seringapatam ; but even from the short acquaintance that you had with both of them, I make no doubt but that you found yourself more at your ease, and were received with a heartier welcome, than you often are by friends of longer standing at home.

“ I am very glad to hear that you have resolution enough to prefer your health to every other consideration. Were your constitution perfectly sound you would certainly do well to accept of Daniel's invitation ; but while you have any remains of the bowel complaint it would be great folly to make dangerous experiments on yourself, to gratify either your own vanity or that of your friends. I would rather see you in good health the poorest doctor in Scotland than the richest in Bengal, and suffering what you did at Kisanagerry.

“ The arrangements are arrived. I shall send my father a list of the army after they are carried into effect.”

TO THE SAME.

“ Curtore, fifteen miles east of Derampoory,  
24th September.

\* \* \* \* “ I wish I had been at ——'s marriage with the party of ——, which you thought so dull. You doctors are too nice about your company. Where do you think the world is to find men of wit, and learning, and genius, to place rank and file round every table ? I am perfectly satisfied with reading in a book that there are such men in the present age, without expecting that I am to have one on each side of me whenever I sit down to eat a beefsteak. Thank God ! I sometimes devoutly say, I am contented with my lot, and can make shift to swallow my dinner, and supper too, even though it should not be seasoned with the conversation of a Hedrick. I consider that man was not made for me to mend ; and I therefore endeavour to take my company with a good appetite, without fretting myself about their being fish or fowl. I cannot deny but that I have often, when in a bad humour or low spirits, shifted the blame from myself to my friends, and given them a hearty curse for not affording me more entertainment, which they were perhaps, at the very same moment, torturing inwardly, and likely enough, with as much justice ; for Providence has wisely ordained that taste should be in conversation, as it is in everything else,

various and capricious—it would occasion almost as much inconvenience in society if all of us were to debate eternally on the same topics, as if we were all to fall in love with the same woman. The drift of all these profound remarks is merely to show that, though —— and his party might not have settled the point whether Vortigern was a sprite of Shakspeare's or a bantering of Mr. Ireland's, or whether Mr. Burke or his answerers had the best of the argument, they might have discussed other subjects which might have required as much judgment, though of a different kind. I would not choose to give my days and nights to retailers of family anecdotes; but I like to sit down sometimes in the midst of a gossiping circle, and hear one tell how his grandmother could thread a needle, without spectacles, at fourscore, and another, how his grand-aunt by the father's side could read a small-printed Bible at ninety. These, in the pride of your philosophy, you may despise as trifling matters; but I should be very glad when I am reading my Bible at ninety, as God willing I shall, to see you threading your needle at eighty without spectacles.

“25th.—P. S. We are now obliged to arm to prevent Tippoo from attacking some of our Mahratta friends. This was to be expected from our absurdity in leaving him so strong at the end of the last war. I am afraid that our preparations may keep him quiet. Without another war, I may not be a captain these ten years. There are now about seventy above me. The only steps I have got this last year are by two men whom I would not have given for all they have left behind them—Dods and Foulis. Taylor, the last of my intimate friends, died at Amboyna in April. I esteemed him no less than the other two, for the many inestimable qualities that he possessed. There was something peculiarly manly, and, at the same time, amiable in his disposition; and this, joined to his having attached himself to me in 81, when he was a boy of fifteen, has made me feel his death, if possible, more than that of the other two.”

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## CHAPTER VII.

## Second War with Tippoo.

FROM the preceding date down to the renewal of hostilities with Tippoo, in 1798, Mr. Munro continued to lead, in the district of which he had been put in charge, a life of incessant labour and great public usefulness. It seemed, indeed, at one moment, as if his civil occupations were about to be interrupted; for the death of the Peshwah, in 1795, fell like an apple of discord into the Mahratta confederation, and rumours of wars, in which the whole of southern India would be involved, began to circulate. But the cloud, as far as English interests were concerned, passed away for a season; and matters returned, in Baramahl and elsewhere, to their usual routine. The following letter to his father, though it describes a state of things which has long ceased to exist, is by far too important to be omitted. It gives evidence of the sound practical judgment of the writer, and is full of promises which his after life did not disappoint.

TO HIS FATHER.

“Tirtamulla, thirty-five miles east of Derampoory,  
September 30, 1796.

“You will have seen by the papers that the Mahratta Peshwah died last year, and that after many intrigues about a successor, the eldest son of Rayobah was at last proclaimed. Scindiah and Purseram Rhaw, however, soon after confined him, and placed his younger brother in his room. Nanah Furnovese, who has so long ruled the empire, wishes to set aside both brothers, and to bring forward a child, a real or pretended adoption of the late Peshwah. It seems to be merely a struggle between him and Scindiah, who shall direct the government. He has formed a strong party, and I suppose it will depend on circumstances whether he will support this child or the deposed Peshwah; he is to be joined by the Nagpore family, and there is little doubt that Tippoo has engaged to espouse the same cause. It is said that the Nizam is also inclined to

support this party; but as his minister, who is a man of strong understanding, has lately been released by the Mahrattas, it is likely that, on his arrival at Hyderabad, he will detach him from this ill-judged connection. To save the Rhow and Scindiah from being crushed by this formidable confederacy, but more particularly to prevent the aggrandisement of Tippoo, we are now arming and endeavouring to form a camp by drawing together the fragments of battalions scattered between Ceylon and Amboyna. What is now going forward was to be expected. It was foreseen by every man who has reflected much on Indian politics, and is only the natural consequence of our leaving Tippoo so strong at the close of the late war. If he enters into the contest, it is certainly a good ground for our taking the field, but if he does not, I can see no reason, if we are not already bound by treaty, for our having any thing to do with it; for to us it is not of the smallest importance which of the Mahratta chiefs prevail. By applying European maxims to India, we have formed the chimerical project of maintaining the balance of power, by joining sometimes one party of Mahrattas and sometimes another, but chiefly by supporting Tippoo and the Nizam as a barrier between ourselves and their whole nation. We take it for granted, that if this fence were once removed, they would instantly break in upon us, overrun the whole country, and drive us into the sea. I am so far of a different opinion, that I am convinced that the annihilation of both these powers would rather strengthen than weaken the security of our possessions. Experience has shown, that augmentation of territory does not augment the force of the Mahrattas; it only serves to render the different chiefs more independent of the Poonah government, and to lessen the union of the confederacy. With more territory, they are not half so formidable as they were fifty years ago: but Tippoo is, what none of them are, complete master of his army and of his country. Every additional acre of land and rupee of revenue increases his force in the same manner as among European nations. He introduces modern tactics and all the improvements of musketry and artillery into his army. He is always ready for war, and can begin it, without consulting a superior government or a confederate chief, whenever he sees a conjuncture favourable to his designs. He was certainly in 1789 more than a match for the whole of the Mahratta states, and even now they would probably be cautious in attacking him, though he could not bring into the field above eight or ten thousand horse, and twenty-five or thirty thousand infantry. The Nizam has not followed the same plans, but an abler successor may. The present minister has evidently begun them by attempting, in several instances, to reduce the great Jageerdars, or feudal vassals. Mussulmans, from the spirit of conquest mixed with their religion, are much more disposed than Hindoos to spread among

their armies all the advantages of foreign discoveries. Whenever the Nizam adopts them, he will become the most powerful prince in India, for he has now in his dominions great numbers of excellent horse and brave men, who want nothing but discipline. He and Tippoo, with regular armies, would be far more dangerous neighbours than the Mahrattas. Their system would be conquest, that of the Mahrattas only plunder. Ours ought therefore to be to let the Mahrattas strip the Nizam of as much of his dominions as they please, and to join them on the first favourable occasion to reduce Tippoo entirely. When this was effected, it may be said, they would turn their whole force against us; but the interests of their leaders are so various, that we should never find much difficulty in creating a division among them; and, admitting the worst, that we did not succeed, their united force would be able to make no impression on us. I have seen enough of their warfare to know that they could do little in action, and that their mode of laying waste the country would be more destructive to themselves than to us, and would never effectually stop our operations. It would not hinder us from making ourselves masters of all the Malabar coast, nor from re-establishing the Rajahs of Oudipore and Jaipore, and many other princes who are impatient to recover their independence. They would soon get tired of the war, make peace with us, and resume their old disputes about the Peshwah and his minister. Their government, which was long conducted by a Peshwah or minister, in the name of the Rajah, has for more than twenty years been held by the ministers of his minister, and they are now going to decide by the sword, whether minister the first or minister the second shall usurp the sovereign power. From a government whose members are scarcely ever united—where there is a perpetual struggle for the supreme authority—which forms no French alliances—and whose armies are constituted in the same manner that they were last century, we have surely much less to apprehend than from such an enemy as Tippoo. By our scheme of politics, he is to save us from Mahratta invasions, but is not to extend his dominions; but as he is always contriving means to do it, we are, on every alarm, to be at the expense of taking the field, or going to war to keep him within the bounds which we have prescribed to him; but we are never to go so far as to overturn him entirely. The consequence of all these whimsical projects will be, that we shall at last make the native powers so warlike, that in order to enable us to oppose them, we shall be obliged to sink the whole of our revenue in augmenting our armies. Any one who compares our present military establishment, King's and Company's, with what it was twenty years ago, will see how fast we are advancing to this point. The Company may flatter themselves, that by their late arrangements they have set limits to their expenses on this head; but

they must go on increasing, while the cause which produces them exists—a prince who meets us with regular armies in the field.

“ We have for several years had a small detachment of two battalions with the Nizam. This is too trifling a force to give us any control over his measures; but it serves as a model for him to discipline his own army, and it compels us either to abandon him disgracefully in the hour of danger, as we did last year, or to follow him headlong into every war which he may rashly undertake. He is considered as more particularly our ally than either Tippoo or the Mahrattas; and it was, therefore, at the opening of his last unfortunate campaign, mentioned with exultation by our Resident, that there were in his camp above twenty battalions clothed and armed like English sepoys. I would rather have been told that there was not a firelock in his army. These very troops would have driven the Mahrattas from the field, had they not been deserted by the great lords, with their bodies of horse and irregular foot, from cowardice, or more probably from treachery; and to reduce some of these turbulent, seditious chiefs, is now the principal employment of our detachment. Thus we are wisely endeavouring to render him as absolute a sovereign, and of course, from his greater resources of men and money, a more formidable enemy than Tippoo.

“ We ought to wish for the total subversion of both, even though we got no part of their dominions; but as it is not absolutely necessary that we should remain idle spectators, we might secure a share for ourselves; and were we in this overthrow of Tippoo to get only his Malabar provinces, and Seringapatam and Bangalore, with the countries lying between them and our own boundaries, our power would be much more augmented by this part, than that of the Mahrattas by all the rest. What are called the natural barriers of rivers and mountains, seldom check an enterprising enemy. The best barriers are advanced posts, from which it is easy to attack him, and to penetrate into his country, and both Bangalore and Seringapatam are excellent situations for this purpose. The balance of power in this country ought also to be formed on much the same principles—by making ourselves so strong that none of our neighbours will venture to disturb us. When we have accomplished this, their internal wars and revolutions ought to give us no concern. It is not impossible but that the Mahratta chiefs may settle all their differences without coming to hostilities; but if they should not, it is not easy to foresee what effect our preparations may have on Tippoo. It will most likely depend on the extent to which they are carried—he is a good judge; and if he thinks they will enable us to attack his capital, he will probably remain quiet. If they stop short of this, he will take an active part in the contest. I don't know what our plan of operation is, or if any has yet been thought of. If we are to be joined by

the Nizam, we ought, I think, to follow the road of 92, by Bangalore and Savendroog: if we are to have only the Rhow and Scindia, or detachments from their armies, it would be best to proceed by Caveripooram, with the Cavery on our right. They could join us by crossing the river above Seringapatam, and the Bombay army, from the top of the Ghauts, would reach us in two or three marches. If none of our allies can join us, we must still take this route. The reduction of the place will then, by the want of cavalry to protect our convoys, be difficult, but by no means impracticable. If we take the field, the military collectors will, I suppose, be ordered to join their regiments. If we are permitted to remain in office, and we are to have only a campaign of negotiations, I shall continue where I am; but if it is to be a real war, I am afraid I shall not be able to resist the temptation of returning to the army, though such a step will place me for the rest of my life on simple military allowances."

TO HIS SISTER.

"Derampoory, 7th February, 1798.

"BOTH your sprigs of ivy have reached their destination; for they have several times visited the Cavery in my writing-table, and will yet, I hope, see the bank from whence they came. Were I a man of a devout turn of mind, they might give rise to many serious and comfortable reflections on the world to come: even as it is, they warn me that I am not what I was—that I am as withered as they—that I may return home, but that my youth and freshness will never return; and that I must, sooner or later, be mingled with the autumnal leaves of Vallombrosa, or some other valley of death. They often remind me of old women and their religious books, usually interspersed, for what reason I do not know, with dried leaves of roses and tulips in almost every page; and then I fancy myself again in the English chapel, turning over the prayer-book of Miss Yule (I think), the old lady who sat in the same pew with our mother, which, besides a collection of withered leaves, contained many excellent pictures of prophets and angels. I fancy myself again listening to the drowsy doctrines of Mr. ———, and wishing myself in the Green, or any where but with him, while he was soaring beyond this visible diurnal sphere. But when I read your verses, I forget the ivy-mantled towers and kirks, and all the dismal countenances of the crowds of quick and dead that are poured out of them on a Sunday evening, and am transported to my old haunts at Northside. I cannot, however, recollect the old tree which supported your ivy-sprig. There was one pretty tall tree near Jackson's dam, at the sluice, and another higher up, near the hut, made of fir branches, for undressing; but I do not remember that either of them was encircled in ivy. The trees that attracted most

of my attention were in the Glebe ; an old oak (I believe), under which I made a seat, and two fir-trees, with large projecting branches, on which I have often sat and read voyages to the East Indies, much more pleasantly than I have found them since.

“ I know not whether it is nature or early habits that give us an attachment to particular ways of life, but I never passed any time so pleasantly as catching eels and minnows, unless, perhaps, when I was too indolent to fish, and sat on a rock under Jackson’s dam, with my feet dangling in the stream, and my eyes fixed on the water gliding among the stones. Many an idle, vacant, ruminating hour have I spent in this position, from which I was usually at length moved by some fell design against a shoal of minnows, or against the long black insect which, in a sunny day, is continually sliding along the surface of the water. After so long an interval, I find my fondness for these amusements but little abated. I was never more happy to escape from school than I am now to escape from business to some sequestered spot, to spend a truant day, just as I have done five-and-twenty years ago. There is a place about twelve miles from this, close to a little river, about half the size of Kelvin, with its banks shaded with large trees, in the midst of which stands the house or bower of Captain Irton, who has little to do himself, and is always ready to stroll or swim. I often visit him in this solitary retreat, and spend the day rationally, as I think, between walking, swimming, and fishing in a basket boat : and if patience be a virtue, a basket-boat is an excellent school for it ; for I have sat in it three hours, with the sun burning almost as much from the water as from the heavens, without catching a single minnow.

“ I mean to go there the day after to-morrow, to enjoy two or three Northside days. The place where I am now is far from being so pleasant, because, besides being the station of a cutcherry, and a large noisy village, it is on the high road from Kishnagerry to Salem and Sarkasdroog ; by which means, though I have many visitors whom I am happy to see, I have sometimes others who are as tedious as any of your forenoon gossips. We have no inns in this country ; and as we have much less ceremony than you have at home, it is always expected that a traveller, whether he is known or not, shall stop at any officer’s house he finds on the road. When a tiresome fellow comes across me, it is not merely a forenoon’s visit of which you complain so heavily, but I have him the whole day and night to myself. I do not, however, stand so much upon form as you do with your invaders. I put him into a hut called a room, with a few pamphlets or magazines, and a bundle of Glasgow newspapers, and leave him to go to business, whether I have any or not, till dinner-time, at four in the afternoon ; and if I find that his conversation is too oppressive for my constitution to bear, I give him a dish of tea,

—for we have no suppers now in this country,—and leave him at seven to go to more business. There is nothing in the world so fatiguing as some of these tête-à-têtes—they have frequently given me a head-ache in a hot afternoon; and I would rather walk all the time in the sun, than sit listening to a dull fellow, who entertains you with uninteresting stories, or, what is worse, with uninteresting questions. I am perfectly of your way of thinking about visitors. I like to have them either all at once in a mass, or if they come in ones and twos to have them of my own choosing. When they volunteer, I always wish to see two or three of them together, for then you have some relief; but it is a serious business to be obliged to engage them singly. I wonder that we waste so much of our time in praying against battle and murder, which so seldom happen, instead of calling upon Heaven to deliver us from the calamity to which we are daily exposed, of troublesome visitors.”

We come now to a new stage in the current of Indian history. Tippoo has entered into an alliance with the French Republic, and England is anticipating the descent of a French army on her own shores. Mr. Munro writes on both subjects to his father as follows:—

“Trichangoor, 21st September, 1798.

“THE only letter I have received from home since May, 1797, was one dated in January last, from Erskine. I have been looking out for the Glasgow Couriers; but as the ships are all arrived I can have no chance of seeing them now. I don’t know whether my disappointment is to be ascribed to your not having found an opportunity of forwarding them, or to their having been intercepted by some person as fond of reading newspapers as myself. I feel the loss of them at this moment more than I should have done at any other, for I was anxious to see how my countrymen, the warlike citizens of Glasgow and the Gorbals, felt under the denunciation by the Directory of Great Britain. In reading the Parliamentary Debates, I have often been afraid that we should allow ourselves to be bullied into a peace, disgraceful for the present, and eventually more ruinous than any war; and that, like the Dutch, we should prefer buying a constitution from France, to paying for defending our own. I can hardly believe that the preparations for invasion have any other object than to make us precipitate ourselves into peace on any terms—unless they be intended for Ireland, on some hopes of co-operation. For my own part, I should not be sorry to hear of the landing of a French army in Britain, for I am convinced that the issue would show that such invasion is more formidable while impending, than when actually carried into execution; and I hope that it would infuse

into all classes of men more confidence in themselves, and a certain degree of military spirit, which every nation that is within the reach of France, and that wishes to preserve its independence, must possess, until the period arrives when, by the influence of the new philosophy, the whole world is to become one grand commonwealth of Quakers.

“The alarm we had some time ago about Tippoo seems to have blown over. He has, no doubt, entered into some conditional engagements with the French; but the sight of preparations on our part, and the uncertainty of receiving any assistance from France, have probably determined him to give up all thoughts of war, or at least not to venture on hostilities before he is sure of being supported. He is now in Seringapatam, busied, as he has been for some years past, in improving its fortifications, but is taking no measures for an offensive campaign. I have always thought that it was essentially necessary to our own security that no such power as his should exist; because however limited it may be, he is always ready, from the discipline of his army, and from his own disposition, to take advantage of any dissensions among the neighbouring states; and as he knows that we are the principal obstacle to his aggrandizement, he is always ready to suspend his more partial enmities, and to join in any combination either with the country powers or with France to extirpate us. I wished anxiously that we should have seized the present opportunity of reducing him, before we could be prevented by the return of peace with France; but if Government ever had any design of this kind, it has been delayed, and, I believe, very properly, in order to effect what requires more immediate operations,—the overthrow of the strong democratic party at Hyderabad. The Nizam has for many years had a few corps of sepoy, officered by Europeans of different nations, but the whole commanded by a Mons. Raymond. They were for a long time neither well paid nor well armed, nor were they dangerous either from their numbers or discipline; but, after the late war, Raymond was permitted to make new levies: he obtained a large tract of country in Jageer for their maintenance, and was enabled to pay them regularly, to clothe and arm them completely, and to bring them into a high state of order. He was soon at the head of 15,000 men, with a train of field artillery; he hoisted the tricoloured flag on all occasions; and, at last, became formidable to his master. Could any strong body of French troops have been landed in India, it is most likely he would have joined them and Tippoo against the English and the Nizam; but, whatever his projects might have been, he, fortunately for us, died in the midst of them, about two months ago. He has left no successor of equal abilities or influence; and as the different commandants have various interests, and show but little deference to their



present chief, the Nizam has, either of himself or by the interference of the Supreme Government, conceived the design of breaking them altogether, or, at least, of disbanding all the corps that are suspected of being under French influence. A strong detachment has been formed in Guntoor, to march, in case of necessity, to Hyderabad. The sooner they move the better, for no time ought to be lost in destroying this party, so hostile to our interests in the Deccan. Raymond owed the rapid increase of his power to the weak, timid policy of \* \* \* \* \*, who might have suppressed it in the beginning, if not by remonstrance, at least by menace; but he chose rather to sit and view its progress quietly, than to do any thing to risk, or what he thought was risking, hostilities.

“The unity, regularity, and stability of our governments in India, since they have been placed under Bengal, and our great military force, give us such a superiority over the ever-changing, tottering governments of the native princes, that we might, by watching times and opportunities, and making a prudent and vigorous use of our resources, extend our dominion without much danger or expense, and at no very distant period, over a great part of the Peninsula. Our first care ought to be directed to the total subversion of Tippoo. After becoming masters of Seringapatam and Bangalore, we should find no great difficulty afterwards in advancing to the Kistna, when favoured by wars or revolutions in the neighbouring states; and such occasions would seldom be wanting, for there is not a government among them that has consistency enough to deserve the name. There are few of the obstacles here that present themselves to conquest in Europe. We have no ancient constitution or laws to overturn, for there is no law in India but the will of the sovereign; and we have no people to subdue, nor national pride or animosity to contend with, for there are no distinct nations in India, like French and Spaniards, Germans and Italians. The people are but one people; for, whoever be their rulers, they are still all Hindoos: it is indifferent to them whether they are under Europeans, Mussulmans, or their own Rajahs. They take no interest in political revolutions; and they consider defeat and victory as no concern of their own, but merely as the good or bad fortune of their masters; and they only prefer one to another, in proportion as he respects their religious prejudices, or spares taxation. It is absurd to say that we must never extend our dominions, though we see a state falling to pieces, and every surrounding one seizing a portion of its territory. We ought to have some preconcerted general scheme to follow on such occasions; for, if we have not, it is probable that we shall either let most of them slip altogether, or by acting in too great a hurry, not derive so much advantage from them as we might otherwise have done.”

It is a matter of history that the hostile designs of Tippoo became fully known about this time to the Supreme Government at Calcutta. Lord Mornington, finding that negotiation and remonstrance were alike fruitless, began to arm; and in February, 1799, two formidable armies, one under General Harris from Madras, the other of which General Stuart was at the head, from Bombay, were marched upon Seringapatam. Captain Munro did not accompany either column. He was attached to an independent corps, which, under the command of Colonel Read, had it in charge to keep the main body of General Harris's force supplied; and the opportunity of witnessing the siege and capture of the enemy's capital was therefore lost. But his account of the campaign, not less than his sketch of the personal character and government of Tippoo, are well worth preserving even at the present day. They are contained in the following letter to his father:—

“Bekul, 6th August, 1799.

“—— You will think it extraordinary, that instead of writing you military details as usual, until Erskine was tired of them, I should have been silent during the late short but eventful war, which terminated the life and the empire of Tippoo Sultan, and gave us such complete revenge for all the murders and desolations committed by the House of Hyder. But bad health and a great deal of business, at least more than I could manage in the weak state I was in, rendered me not only incapable of writing, but even of observing with attention what was going on.

“I was attacked by one of those fevers which the faculty call anomalous, about the 22nd of January. It sometimes continued day and night, and always visited me many hours every day, for one-and-forty days. It began, when I was on a visit to Kishnagerry, with headaches and shivering now and then; I thought I might have drunk a glass or two of bad wine. I drank nothing but water, but I was still attacked as before; and I believe it was ten days before I discovered, by a regular cold and hot fit, that my visitor was an ague of some sort or other. He was immediately plied with bark; but he had got too firm a hold to be easily driven out. I had by this time settled that I was to go to the field as secretary to Colonel Read, who was appointed to the command of a detachment of the army. I returned to Derampoor about the 10th of February, to arrange matters for delivering over charge of the revenue to an assistant. My disorder continued to increase, and I set out for Kishnagerry again about the middle of the month. I had no conveyance but a horse, which I rode 12 miles to a village, where I had

pitched a tent. At night I found that his motion had brought new complaints upon me—pains over all my body, which for a month after never permitted me to sleep, or even to remain awake in bed more than four hours out of the twenty-four. They came upon me while I was asleep, and always awakened me regularly at one or two in the morning, according as I might have lain down at nine or ten o'clock. When once wakened, no turning could give me the smallest relief, but rather made me worse; the only remedy was to sit up in my chair till morning, which I did every night for five weeks. On my arrival next day at Kisnagerry, the fever was so violent and constant, that the doctors were obliged to stop the bark, and dose me with antimonials, &c., in order to obtain an intermission. This was effected, but at the expense of my hearing; for, from four or five in the morning, till eight or nine, was the only time I could hear. All the rest of the day I was as deaf as any old man on earth. I remained much in the same condition for near a fortnight. The few intervals in which I could attend to any thing, I was obliged to employ in accounts of revenue, and grain, cattle, and other supplies, for the equipment of the army. I never thought my life in any danger, but I had serious apprehensions of remaining for ever deaf, and also of losing my memory, which I found did not serve me as usual. The fever, however, began to abate about the end of the month; and as the army had gone on to Policode, I went up the Raicottah Pass, to meet it on the 4th of March. The change of air produced the effect which I expected; for on this day the fever left me, and never afterwards returned.

“The right wing of the army entered the enemy's country on the 6th of March, the left on the 7th, and the reserve, with Colonel Read's detachment, on the 8th. I could not bear the motion either of a palanquin or a horse, and was therefore obliged to walk. The day was extremely hot and close, while the dust, trampled by 50,000 men and as many horses and bullocks, rose like clouds of smoke: the dust cleared away for a few seconds, sometimes in one quarter and sometimes in another, giving us a glimpse of the Nizam's cavalry, and elephants glittering in the sun, and then closing again. In better health I should have enjoyed the scene, but I now beheld it with indifference; long sickness had so unhinged me, that I was almost dissolved in sweat. About noon we reached our ground; and while sitting under a tree, waiting the arrival of our tents, I pulled two stoppers of lint out of my ears, which the doctors had desired me never to remove until the sun got warm; and I was surprised to find that I heard as well as ever. The heat had probably loosened something which had obstructed my hearing. We marched again next day, and delivered our supplies to the army, which pursued its march on the 10th towards Seringapatam, leaving Colonel Read be-

hind, with instructions to bring on a large body of Brinjarries, then on their way from Hyderabad, and to join the army by the route of Caukanhilly. The Brinjarries not being expected before the beginning of April, Colonel Read resolved to employ the intermediate time in reducing the posts held by the Sultan's troops above the Ghauts, along the frontiers from Raicottah to Peddanadurgam. A hill-fort, called Soolagury, was the only place that made any resistance, and it was taken by assault. Some other posts of little strength were evacuated on our approach.

"A letter received on the 27th, dated Camp of Sultanpit, 14th April, from the General, informed Colonel Read that the plan of attack was changed, that the army was to cross the Cavery, and that he must therefore come on by the Caveryporam Pass. The original plan was to attack the north-east angle; but information of its having been greatly strengthened, the lateness of the season, and the difficulty of favouring the junction of the Bombay army without passing the Cavery, induced the General to cross it, and attack the west angle of Seringapatam. Colonel Read, on receiving his orders, descended from the Peddanadurgam Pass, and returned to Kisanagerry. The Brinjarries came in about the 10th; but as, from the failure of the monsoon, there was no water between Policode and the Cavery, a distance of forty miles, he could not venture to march from the Caverypatam river till after a heavy fall of rain on the 14th; he reached Caveryporam on the 22nd, which immediately capitulated. The Pass, which is thirty miles in length, winding between two lofty ranges of mountains, and through which no army had passed for half a century, required great labour to clear it. We got to Marathully at the head of it on the 27th, and found that General Floyd with all the cavalry, and three battalions of infantry, had reached Cowdhully, six miles in our front, the day before. We learned with surprise from him that the grain of the grand army would be out on the 4th of May. As there was not a blade of forage in the Pass, it was necessary to leave the Brinjarries behind till the road was made, and they could not possibly now be up before the 2nd. I wished much to have marched on the 3rd, as there were then enough above the Pass to have supplied the army three or four weeks, and to have pushed on so as to reach Seringapatam on the 6th or 7th, leaving all the rest of the Brinjarries behind, and also Colonel Brown's detachment, which had then entered the Pass: but General Floyd having been ordered to join Colonel Brown, thought it would be impossible to move on without him, especially as he was so near; he joined on the 5th; we halted to let him rest on the 6th. Early on the morning of this day we learned from two spies that Seringapatam had been taken on the 4th, at noon; but as they did not perfectly agree in their accounts, and as official notice had

been received from Lord Mornington, that the grain in store in camp would be all out on the 7th, and the army exposed to destruction if not speedily relieved, we marched and got to Seringapatam on the 11th, where we found every thing in the greatest abundance, for the bazaars were not only full, but the granaries contained near two lacs of bullock-loads of paddy. The public grain of the army would only have lasted till the 7th; but a quantity sufficient to last fifteen days longer was discovered in the possession of dealers, who had brought it on for sale. This being secured, and most of the followers sent away, there was enough to have served the fighting-men, had the place not fallen, nor General Floyd arrived when he did. You will, long before this can reach you, have seen in the public papers all the details of this interesting siege, and the death of Tippoo; I shall therefore go on with the history of my own recovery. I had, before my arrival at Seringapatam, got rid of the pains which always called me out of bed; but I had still, in a greater degree than ever, profuse cold sweats, which kept me so weak that I could hardly drag myself along with the detachments.

“ Colonel Read marched on the 17th, with orders to proceed by Bangalore to Nundidroog, and to summon all the forts between Seringapatam and Raicottah, in order to open the communication with the Carnatic: all of them were given up without any hesitation. We found Savendroog strengthened, Bangalore completely demolished, and Nundidroog almost impregnable. He had no written instructions to go farther, but he conceived that the General had verbally given him a discretionary power to act according to circumstances—he therefore marched towards Sera on the 28th of May, meaning to proceed by Chitteldroog to Biddanore. He signified his intentions in a letter written from Savendroog; and this afternoon, on reaching his encampment, he received an answer to it, ordering him back to Bangalore. He was irregular in acting on mere conversation; but ordering him back was, I am afraid, a greater mistake on the other hand. It was known that some of the remains of the Sultan’s army had assembled in the Biddanore province, under Dhondagee, a Mahratta, who had been circumcised by Hyder; had commanded a body of horse in his service; had afterwards been a freebooter, plundering both in the Mysore and Mahratta territories, and had lately been taken by Tippoo and put in irons, from which he had been released on the day of the assault, by an officer who did not know his character. It was necessary that a strong detachment should have moved towards him without delay, to prevent him from gathering strength by the accession of the stragglers of the late Sultan’s army, who were ready to join any leader for the sake of plunder. The consequence of this not having been done is, that he has now been for some time in possession of the whole Biddanore country, which he has

completely ransacked, and that a large force, if not the whole army, must march to drive him out as soon as the weather permits. I left Colonel Read at Nundidroog, and returned to Bangalore, to take charge of the revenue, till it should be determined to whom it was in future to belong. I got there on the 30th of May; the weather was very cold, and this was the first day on which my cold sweats stopped. I was obliged to set out again on the 8th of June, for Seringapatam, to put myself under the commissioners.

“During the whole of the campaign I was so oppressed with lassitude that I could not go through half of my public duty, and I therefore never thought of writing private letters. The most material transactions will appear in the newspapers; and I hope that a great deal of the correspondence of Hyder and Tippoo, with the different powers of India, and with Turkey, Persia, and France, will be hereafter published. The whole of the correspondence with the French, previous to the late war, is amongst the records, as also the offensive and defensive alliance against us. The great blow which Tippoo received at the conclusion of the former war, by the loss of half his country, appears to have confounded him, and to have worked so great a change on his character, that he was at times reported to be mad. He never had the talents of his father; but he had always, till that event, paid his army regularly, kept it in good order, given a great deal of attention to business, and managed his finances tolerably well: but from that time his whole soul seems to have been filled with nothing but schemes of vengeance; and so eager was he for the end, that he overlooked the means. A restless spirit of innovation, and a wish to have every thing to originate from himself, was the predominant feature of his character. He had, some years before the French revolution, new-named all the forts in his dominions, and the whole sixty years of the Indian cycle; and, though a bigoted Mussulman, he had altered the venerable names of the Arabic months, and substituted another era for that of the Hegira. He had abolished all old weights and measures and coins, and introduced new; and he had new-modelled his revenue and army, and issued various codes of regulations to his civil and military officers. After the reverse of his fortunes in 1792, the rage for novelty, instead of abating, increased; he issued more regulations, not only to the principal officers of state, but to those in the most subordinate situations – to the persons who had the charge of his gardens, of his buildings, of feeding his bullocks and his elephants, &c., none of which were ever attended to. Most of them contain an exordium by himself, setting forth the excellence of loyalty and the true faith, and endeavouring to inspire his subjects with a detestation of Caffers or infidels, that is to say, Europeans in general, but particularly Englishmen,

by lavishing curses and execrations upon them. Happening one day to pick up his instructions to the superintendent of his bullocks, the first line I read was, 'a Caffer—a dog—and a hog, are all three brothers in the same family.' He divided his government into seven principal boards or departments, one of which was the navy, without a single ship of war. He divided his country into thirty-seven provinces, under *Dewans* or *Assophs*, as he called them; and subdivided these again into one thousand and twenty-five inferior districts, having each a *Tishildar*, with an expensive establishment of revenue-servants. He knew no way of checking abuses but by augmenting the number of men in office, and sending two *Assophs* to almost every province, instead of one, to prey upon the inhabitants. The defalcation of the revenue, which had formerly been about twenty per cent., was now above fifty. His bigotry led him to make none but Mussulmans *Tishildars*; most of them could neither read nor write, and were often selected from the lowest ranks of the military, at the annual muster in his presence, merely from some fancy that he took to their looks. These men were frequently recalled in the course of a year or two, and placed at one of the principal boards. This so disgusted the old servants of his father, that many of them retired from public affairs, to lead a private life in their own houses. By these and such like promotions, the number of officers was augmented, while that of his fighting-men was diminished. He had about one hundred and fifty general officers to an army that did not exceed twenty-one thousand regular infantry and eight thousand horse, though he had above thirty thousand infantry and twelve thousand five hundred horse on his returns; while his father had not ten generals when he was in the Carnatic, with forty thousand horse, and above sixty thousand infantry of different kinds. His army fell every year more and more into arrears; and when *Seringapatam* was attacked, it had only received two issues of pay during the last fourteen months. Besides an expensive civil and military establishment, beyond the resources of his revenue, he was carrying on repairs in most of his forts, but particularly *Seringapatam* itself, on which he had laid out, since the former war, about twelve lacs of pagodas. He did not however hesitate, amidst all his difficulties, to enter into a treaty with France, by which he engaged to defray all the charges of a body of from twelve to twenty thousand French troops. One of the articles shows the extravagant imaginations with which he sometimes amused himself. He proposes that the French shall land at *Sedashagur*, to the southward of *Goa*; that it shall be taken from the Portuguese and given up to them; that *Bombay* shall next be taken and given to the French; that the whole *Malabar* coast shall then be reduced; after which they shall pursue their conquests up the *Coromandel* coast, take *Madrass* and *Masulipatam*, from whence he shall detach forty thousand horse and as many

infantry, under one of his generals, along with the French to subdue Bengal. Before entering into this treaty, he sent round queries in writing to the members of the seven principal departments, desiring their opinions upon the policy of the measure. His own sentiments were known, and they all therefore recommended its adoption except one man, who had been formerly a merchant, and belonged at that time, I believe, to the Board of Trade: he dissuaded him from having anything to do with the French; tells him that the plan cannot succeed; that the very act of his consulting them was imprudent; that the secret could not be kept by so many men; that the English would hear of it, and attack him before he could receive assistance: but he was too much bent upon war himself to be turned from it by the arguments of one man; besides, he was continually urged to it by Seid Saheb, who, being his father-in-law, could take more liberty than any other person with him. In private conferences, when no one was present but a confidential secretary, he used frequently to ask him, how long they were to sit down quietly under their disgrace and calamity, and to tell him that he had considered him dead as a prince from the day he surrendered half his country, and that he should always regard him in that light until he should conquer it again. After the campaign opened, he did very little to retard the progress of our armies. His design against the Bombay army was well concerted, but very badly conducted.

“It appeared from the papers found after his death, that he had obtained very accurate information of the paths leading through the woods to the rear of the advanced brigade which he meant to attack. It appears by General Stuart’s public letters, that the first intimation he had of his design was the sight of his tents; and that even then he did not believe it was him, but a detachment of no great consequence. Had Tippoo not been fool enough to have shown himself by pitching his tents at Periapatam; had he remained that day in the open air, and marched early next morning against Colonel Montresor’s brigade, he would, without doubt, have cut it off, and most probably the greatest part of the rest of the army would have shared the same fate. His repulse here seems to have discouraged him so much, that he gave very little interruption to the march of the grand army. As it approached, he fell back, and shut himself up in his capital, placing his dependence upon the siege being raised for want of provisions in camp, and upon his holding out till the Cavery should fill, and make the carrying on of any farther operations against it impracticable. He seldom went to his palace during the siege, but spent most of his time sitting behind a cavalier, or visiting the ramparts. He did not go towards the breach,—the state of it was concealed from him by his principal officers; but one of his servants, impatient at hearing the false reports brought to him, called out to him that there



was a breach, and that it would soon be practicable. This intelligence seemed to rouse him,—he resolved to see it with his own eyes; and therefore, on the following morning, which was that of the day previous to the assault, he went early to the spot; he viewed with amazement the condition in which it was; he shook his head, but said nothing; he returned to his old station behind the cavalier, where he remained sullen and buried in thought, as if conscious that his doom was now fixed, seldom making any inquiries about what was doing, and driving away with an angry answer whoever came to ask him for orders. Bigot as he was, his apprehensions rendered him superstitious enough to induce him to invite the aid of Hindoo prayers and ceremonies to avert the evil which threatened him, and to call for an Hindoo astrologer to draw a favourable omen from the stars. With a man of this description he spent the last morning of his life; he desired him to consult the heavens. The man answered that he had done so, and that they were unfavourable unless peace was made. He was ordered to look again, but returned the same answer. Tippoo gave him money, and desired him to pray for him, and then drank water out of a black stone as a charm against misfortune.

“ When the assault commenced, he repaired to the outer ramparts; but being driven from them, he fell as he was returning into the body of the place, in a passage under the rampart, called the Water-Gate, his horse falling at the same time; and his palankeen being thrown down, the road was choked up, and almost every soul in the gateway slain. Though he had got a wound in the leg, and two or three balls in the body, he was still alive, and continued in this state above an hour. One of his servants, Rajoo Khan, who lay wounded beside him, asked his leave once or twice, when parties of soldiers were passing, to discover him, but he always commanded him to be silent. At last a soldier who was passing in quest of plunder, and at whom it is said he attempted to cut, shot him through the head: the ball entered the right temple, and passed through the left jaw. It was for a long time thought that he had concealed himself in the palace; and while parties were searching it to no purpose, in order to put him to death for the murder of nine Europeans who had fallen into his hands on the 5th of April, the Killedar reported that he had been seen lying in the Water-Gate. As it was now dark, a party was sent with lights to search for him. After dragging out a great number of bodies, he was at last found half-naked: he was known by his long drawers, and by some marks about his person. He was drawn from amidst a heap of slain, among whom his legs were twisted; and carried to the palace, where he was laid on a palankeen, and exposed to view all next day, in order that no doubt might remain of his death: and in the evening

he was buried with military honours, in the cypress garden, by the side of his father. With him fell at once the whole fabric of his empire; for the very means he had taken to strengthen it, hastened its downfall. The families of all his principal officers had always been kept as hostages in Seringapatam, and being now in our hands, it gave us an advantage, in their opinion, which, as a civilized enemy, we could not have used. By employing troops from all countries, by raising his officers from the lowest ranks, and by paying the whole army himself, he made them dependent on himself alone; so that, after his death, no person having sufficient influence to keep them together, the greatest part of them either dispersed or surrendered. He was so suspicious and cruel, that none of his subjects, probably none of his own children, lamented his fall. Cruelty and deceit were the two great engines of his policy; not that kind of deceit which attempts to overreach by cunning, but downright lying. He perhaps never made a promise, nor entered into an engagement, without considering, in the same instant, how it was to be broken. The cruel punishments which he frequently inflicted, on the most groundless suspicions, put a stop to all private correspondence in his dominions; his nearest relations even did not venture to write to each other, but sent verbal messages respecting their health or affairs. He had murdered all his English prisoners not restored at the end of the last war; and it would have been death for any man to be known as one who could speak or read English. Intercepted correspondence gave him no insight as to our intended movements:—we found most of the intercepted letters of the late and former war lying unopened, so that we might have saved ourselves the trouble of using a cipher. He had an active mind, which never suffered him to be idle; but his time was badly distributed, and much of it wasted in matters of no real utility. With a most barbarous taste, he affected to be fond of literature; but he was too tyrannical and too parsimonious to be an encourager of it. His reign produced no works that are worth reading, except the journals kept by his orders by the ambassadors he sent to foreign courts; and even these, from what I have seen, contain very little interesting matter. A history of his own family was compiling under his own directions, but it has not yet been found. He wrote many hours every day, either a journal of orders issued by himself, and of reports received by spies, vakeels, or commanders of detachments; or memorandums respecting intended promotions, embassies, repairs of forts, marriages of his principal officers, concubines for himself, imprisonments and executions; besides this, much of his time was consumed in signing papers, for he not only signed all public acts, but likewise the innumerable letters and orders which were continually passing from the different officers

to all parts of the empire. When they were brought to him, he was frequently busy about something else, and could not attend to them; by which means, bundles of letters often accumulated for several months; and when he at last signed them, it was often too late, as the circumstances for which they had been intended were entirely changed. The account which he heard of the pomp and magnificence of foreign courts, made him ambitious, with very inadequate means, of imitating, or rather mimicking, in the etiquette and regulation of his principal departments, the state of the Sublime Porte. His civil and military government was therefore divided into seven principal departments, under each of which were many subordinate offices, dignified with sounding Persian and Turkish names: and the presidents, and most of the members of all of them, were Mussulmans, whom he had been obliged to get from Hyderabad and the Carnatic, as there were but few in Mysore, many of them low vagabonds, who were almost ashamed to hear their own magnificent titles; these fellows, however, went through all the grimace of statesmen, while all real business was conducted by Brahmans. As he had given himself out as the champion of the faith, who was to drive the English Caffers out of India, he thought it necessary to gather about him as many Mussulmans as possible, and to employ them in all situations, to the exclusion of abler men of other castes: his Assophs and Tishildars, or provincial and district collectors, were therefore all true believers; and when the Assophs were summoned to the presence, as they always were once a-year, to settle their accounts, they were under the protection of Meer Sadek, the Dewan, who, having the greatest share of all their defalcations, took care to secure them from discovery. The cutcherry Brahmans who were to examine the accounts, having likewise their respective shares of the plunder, were interested also in keeping it concealed; and the Sultan himself, as he had raised them to high stations, thought it necessary, for the honour of the faith, to treat them with respect:—he therefore never talked to them of accounts; he invited them to an entertainment,—made them sit beside him,—asked them if the mosques he had ordered to be built were finished,—if prayers were regularly said,—how many Mussulmans were in the district, and such like questions; and dismissed them in a few days to return to their stations, and renew their depredations. He dictated all orders himself, and even the very words of them; and was so particular in this, that he often made his moonshees write over a letter two or three times. In letters, and regulations, and writing of every kind, he spent a great deal too much of his time; but he took little pains to see them executed, and left all investigations of revenue matters entirely to Meer Sadek. His leisure hours were chiefly spent in looking at

jewels. He never bought any; but his father had collected a vast number in the different places that had fallen to his arms, and used frequently to make presents of them to officers who had distinguished themselves; but Tippoo was too fond of them to give them away. He had generally a casket lying on his table to amuse himself with, when he was tired of business. He had constantly a number of jewellers employed in making them up into various ornaments for himself and his women. He gave the models himself, and directed how they were to be made, and always delivered and received the jewels himself from the workmen. He had bewildered himself for many years past so much in trifling details, that he had abandoned the essentials for the forms of business, and permitted his affairs to run rapidly to ruin. The only objects that he pursued with invariable constancy, were the discipline of his army and the fortifying Seringapatam.

“ You will see in the papers how the partition-treaty has been made. I believe that it has not met with general approbation here. Had I had anything to do in it, I certainly would have had no Rajah of Mysore, in the person of a child dragged forth from oblivion, to be placed on a throne on which his ancestors, for three generations, had not sat during more than half a century. I would have divided the country equally with the Nizam, and endeavoured to prevail on him to increase his subsidy, and take a greater body of our troops; but, whether he consented or not, I would still have thought myself bound by treaty to give him his fair half of the country. I would have given the Mahrattas a few districts, provided they consented to fulfil their last treaty with him; but not otherwise. We have now made great strides in the South of India. Many think we have gone too far; but I am convinced that the course of events will still drive us on, and that we cannot stop till we get to the Kistna. I meant, when I began this letter, merely to have given you the history of my fever, in order to account for my apparent negligence in writing, and to let you know exactly how I was left. You might have had worse accounts of me from other quarters; but I have, as usual, run into a long gossiping story of Tippoo and his family. But he is now at rest; and this is the last time I shall trouble you with him.”

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## CHAPTER VIII.

## Munro in Canara.

It appears from certain memoranda which I find among Mr. Munro's papers, that he did not reach Seringapatam till the 10th of May, six days subsequently to the fall of the place. His business habits, however, were well known to those in power, and he was immediately attached as Secretary to the Commission which Lord Mornington had appointed for the settlement of Mysore. In that capacity he served till after the installation of the young Rajah in the month of July. But a harder, and in every point of view a far less acceptable, charge awaited him. Among other districts assigned to the English on the breaking up of Hyder's empire, was Canara, a wild and inhospitable region, which, stretching along the western coast from the 12th to the 15th degree of north latitude, contained an extent of about 7380 square miles of bleak and barren surface. In one of his letters, which I omit from the present edition, because it is full of technical details in which the general reader cannot be expected to take an interest, he describes it as producing "nothing but rice and cocoa-nuts." "Its dry lands," he says, "are totally unproductive, so that the little wheat or other grain that is raised is sown in the paddy fields where the water has been insufficient for rice. It produces hardly any pepper. The sandal-wood and pepper for exportation come all from Nuggar and Soondah. The soil is perhaps the poorest in India. The eternal rains have long ago washed away the rich parts, if ever it had any, and left nothing but sand and gravel. One crop under a tank, in Mysore or the Carnatic, yields more than three here. All the necessaries of life are extravagantly dear: rice is double the price it is above the Ghauts; cloth is twice or thrice as much, and ghee, tamarinds, &c. five or six times; so that it will be impossible to get cutcherry-servants here at the same rate as above the Ghauts. There are

no manufactures. The inhabitants are all either farmers, fishermen, or bazaarmen. The Company can therefore have no investment of cloths; and if they want pepper, I hope they will purchase it in the market, and not harass the people, and impede the cultivation of it, by absurd monopolies. The face of the country is rude and savage beyond description. You are a traveller, and have seen the Raicottah Pass; a few deep water-courses thrown into the narrow valleys about it would give you some faint idea of what are called the Plains of Canara."

This is not a very attractive portraiture of what may be called the *natural* features of a country, and the writer's account of the condition of human society is to the full as revolting. "Though I talk of being busy," he observes, "I don't pretend that I am doing much, but that I meet with a great deal of trouble in doing little." The whole of the political machine had, indeed, fallen into disorder. Poor and oppressed, the Rajahs or Chiefs had learned to deceive the agents of Government whenever they could, and to bribe them when deceit was impracticable; while the rayets, or labouring population—the true owners of the soil—"are a most unruly and turbulent race. This, however," he goes on to say, "without ascribing to them any naturally bad disposition, may be easily accounted for, when we know that they have twice lost the advantageous tenures by which they held their lands—once by Hyder's conquest, and now by that of the Company. Before they fell under the Mysore Government, their land-tax was probably as light as that of most countries in Europe. When Tippoo's finances became totally deranged about four years ago, when he did not receive 50 per cent. of his revenue, they joined the Sirkar servants in plundering, and recovered in some measure their lost rights, by being permitted to withhold 20 and 25 per cent. of their rents."

Such was the district to the political and financial charge of which Captain Munro was at this time appointed. He seems never to have anticipated the result; and there were many reasons, apart from the discouraging aspect of public affairs, which would have prompted him to decline the situation, had not his sense of duty been stronger than the suggestions of personal convenience. In the first place, a protracted residence in Baramahl had created its usual result in well-regulated minds—a strong interest

in the country and the people. In the next place, Colonel Read's approaching retirement from the service was known to him; and he had a right to expect that, when the event did occur, the vacant office of Chief Commissioner would be offered to himself. Thirdly—while his labours were increased, a change of regulation, which cut down the amount of pay heretofore allowed to military officers employed in the civil service, seemed to stand between him and the hope which had already begun to mature itself, of a return, ere long, to Europe and the bosom of his family. And last, though not least, he had before him the assurance of an almost total severance throughout an indefinite space of time from European society. No man, however devoted to the public service, could be expected to contemplate such prospects without pain; and Munro, though both zealous and self-denying, was yet open, as other men are, to disagreeable impressions. The following letters show how he felt on the occasion, and what steps he took to obtain, at last, an amelioration of a fate which he certainly regarded as the reverse of enviable.

## TO HIS SISTER.

“ Deria Doulet Garden, June 30th, 1799;  
a Palace built by Hyder, near Seringapatam.

“ I HAVE NOW turned my back upon the Baramahl and the Carnatic, and with a deeper sensation of regret than I felt on leaving home; for at that time the vain prospect of imaginary happiness in new and distant regions occupied all my thoughts; but I see nothing where I am now going to compensate for what I have lost—a country and friends that have been endeared to me by a residence of twenty years. I feel also a great reluctance to renew the labour which I have so long undergone in the Baramahl. It leaves few intervals for amusement, or for the studies I am fond of, and wears out both the body and the mind. Colonel Read has sent in his resignation; and I had anticipated the pleasure of sitting down in the Baramahl, and enjoying a few years of rest after so many of drudgery; for that country is now surveyed and settled, and requires very little attention to keep it in order. It is a romantic country, and every tree and mountain has some charm which attaches me to them. I began a few years ago to make a garden near Derampoory, sheltered on one side by a lofty range of mountains, and on the other by an aged grove of mangoes. I made a tank in it about a hundred feet square, lined with stone steps; and the spring is so plen-

tiful that, besides watering abundantly every herb and tree, there is always a depth of ten or twelve feet of clear water for bathing. I have numbers of young orange, mango, and other fruit-trees in a very thriving state. I had a great crop of grapes this year, and my pine-beds are now full of fruit. When I happened to be at Derampoory I always spent at least an hour every day at this spot; and to quit it now goes as much to my heart as forsaking my old friends. I must now make new ones, for there is not a man in Canara whom I ever saw in my life. Nothing would have induced me to go there had I not been pointed out for the business of settling that country. I had at one time declined having anything to do with it, and only two considerations brought me, after wavering some days, to accept of it: the one, a sense of public duty; and the other, the chance which I might have of being enabled to return a year or two sooner to Europe than I could have done by remaining in the Baramahl; but I can have no certainty of this, as my salary is not yet fixed.

“The village where I am now halted is seventeen miles west of Seringapatam, and was formerly the Jagheer of Tippoo’s execrable Dewan, Meer Sadek, who was cut in pieces by his own troops at the memorable storm of that capital. It was burned down by Cummer ul Din, when he followed General Floyd to Periapatam, to hinder his junction with the Bombay army in April last; and the inhabitants are now busy roofing their houses. The burning of a village is not so great a calamity in this country as might be imagined; for the houses are in general so mean that, among the lower ranks, the labour of a man and his family for a couple of days will repair the mischief; and even among the middling ranks eight or ten rupees will cover all the damage that their houses can suffer from fire. I am now sitting in a choultry more than half unroofed by fire. The few tiles that remain shelter me from the transient glimpses of the sun, but not from the light showers which the strong wind which blows night and day at this season of the year is driving over my head in quick succession from the skirts of the Malabar monsoon. I have been forced to put this letter in my table several times since I began writing, to save it from the rain. My tent is a mile or two behind, because, being wet, it is so heavy that the bullocks can hardly bring it on; and I thought the best way I could pass my time till it came up would be in giving you some account of my situation and prospects.”

Captain Munro reached Cundapore, the principal station in his collectorate, about a month after the date of the preceding letter. It was here announced to him that two assistants would be allowed, in the persons of Mr. Alexander Read, the nephew



of his friend Colonel Read, and a free merchant, of whose experience the Board thought highly. With Mr. Read's appointment Captain Munro was well pleased: he was young, active, and intelligent; but the free merchant, being considerably senior to Captain Munro himself, did not take his fancy. The following, addressed to Mr. Read, places these matters in rather a ludicrous point of view, especially that in which he sets the young man's mind at ease in regard to certain rumours which had reached him of the peculiar temper of his future chief.

"DEAR READ,

"July, 1799.

"I AM happy on my own account, but very sorry on yours, for your removal. You leave a pleasant situation and a delightful country, where peace and order are established, to come to an unpromising land, inhabited by a race more wild than any of your Mulliulies.\* As to the revenue, I expect to get none of last year's balances, for Tippoo's servants have had time enough to go off with the whole; nor do I expect one-half of the rent of the ensuing year, for the southern half of the country was completely ravaged by the Coorg people, who carried into bondage some thousands of the inhabitants; and also by the Nairs of Malabar, who slaughtered man, woman, and child. Tippoo's troops are still in possession of all the forts of any consequence; and Dhondagee's troops are now below the Ghauts ravaging the centre and northern districts to the sea; so that in fact nothing is our own but a few talooks near our military posts, and no amils can be sent anywhere else. Amidst all these troubles the rayets are driven from one place to another, the lands remain uncultivated, and the season is almost over for sowing paddy, from which almost the whole revenue of this country is derived. I would not advise you on any account to come here before October: there can be nothing for you to do at an earlier period; for there is not employment for myself, from the difficulties of getting together the rayets, &c."

"DEAR READ,

"October, 1799.

"I DO not remember writing anything to Government about assistants, except that they would send me no more grown-up men of fifty. I know you are considerably under that age, and I believe Mr. Rice to be equally young. You are, in short, every way to my liking; and as for your revenue abilities I never doubted them; but as in the unsettled state of Canara they can be of no immediate use to Government, I'll thank you to exert them, in the meanwhile, in bringing on a good cook with you."

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\* A race of hill people.

Colonel Wellesley, now the Duke of Wellington, was one of those who took a lively interest in Captain Munro's fortunes and services, as soon as a personal acquaintance made known the value of the man. To him the new collector writes:—

“ DEAR COLONEL,

“ Currishwall, August 17th, 1799.

“ WHEN I wrote to you last month, it was on the report that Government intended limiting us to the usual allowances of collectors. Had I known that it had actually been ordered, I should have said nothing of the matter. I am afraid we have very little chance of making any thing of our old claim for past services in the Baramahl. We never considered ourselves there as ordinary assistants, but rather as collectors under a superintendent; and having the entire management of our respective divisions, the charge of the settlements and collections, and also of the survey of them, we did not think that two per cent. among three of us was an allowance adequate to the situations of labour and responsibility in which we were placed. We, therefore, solicited an increase: the Revenue Board answered, that they would recommend us to the notice of Government whenever the Lease Settlement should be finished. This Settlement was done in 1796; but a change having been made in the original system by Colonel Read, various alterations followed, and he had made no final report to the Board when the late war began, so that they may fairly say it is time enough to speak in our favour when that report shall be laid before them. We certainly did not think that we were to expect nothing till the appearance of a report, which a variety of circumstances might, perhaps, prevent from ever being finished. But then there are two parties to this case. We put our own construction on the letter of the Board, and they put theirs; and it must be confessed, that there is nothing specific in the words of it. It is not like a bond, which a man may take in his hand, and boldly demand payment: I must, therefore, I believe, after having been twenty years in India, and toiled seven years in the Baramahl, relinquish all thoughts of any reward for the past, because the period at which the Revenue Board supposes we become entitled to consideration, does not commence till Colonel Read gives in his final report. I have no objections to forget all that is past, if I am only permitted to return in July at the end of the revenue-year, after having settled Canara, to my old division in the Baramahl. I wrote to Mr. Wellesley fully on this point, but as my letters may have been too late, I must now take the liberty of requesting your assistance in bringing it about. You know very well that I long hesitated about coming here; I felt a great reluctance to quit the part of India in which I resided so long, to go and form new acquaintances in a country where I was an utter stranger, and where,

being considered as an intruder, I was more likely to meet with secret opposition than with co-operation. But as I thought there was a chance that I should be placed on such allowances in Canara as would enable me, in two or three years, to pay a visit to Europe in order to recruit my Baramahl constitution, and as I thought, perhaps unjustly, that ——— was not equal to the settlement of a new country, I proposed myself again to the Commissioners, after having before declined the appointment. It appears now that I was too sanguine in my expectations of allowances, but I am not sorry for it, for I would not wish to remain in Canara longer than to make the first settlement of it, on any allowances whatever. I would not stay three years in such a country of eternal rains, where a man is boiled one half the year and roasted the other, were it given to me in Jagheer. After the first settlement is finished, and the revenues of the first year collected, all which will be done by the end of the *Fusly*, or revenue-year, on the 11th of July, the country may afterwards be easily managed by any body. It is therefore my earnest wish to be then permitted to return to my former station in the Baramahl; that is to say, to be re-appointed to my old division, with such portion of the conquered territories as would have been annexed to it, had I returned directly from Seringapatam. This is surely no great request; it is only putting me where I ought to have been, with this difference, that by my coming here, Canara, instead of being left in confusion by ——— in January, will be left settled in July. Government will have gained something—I shall have got nothing but the expense of the journey. I never had an idea of passing my days on the Malabar coast, where I am entirely cut off from the great scene of Indian war and politics; let me get back to the Baramahl, and now that Read is off, I shall be ready to follow you with Brinjarries next war, which I trust is not many years distant. The Mahrattas will not be quiet, and events, stronger than all our moderation, will drive us on the Kistna. I shall hope that you will again take the field in my favour, and get me out of this; but the resolution of Government to this effect should only be communicated to me, as making it public would probably impede my settlement here.

“I have it from Macleod himself, that he will be very happy to give me up half his present collection. He can easily make the settlement, for the present, of all the additional territory he has got; but it is too extensive for one man to manage hereafter in the correct way that is necessary, so that my return, so far from opposing his views, will be conferring a favour upon him.”

## COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

“DEAR MUNRO,

“Camp, September 1st, 1799.

“I HAVE received your letter of the 17th of August. I long ago took the field, in alliance with my brother Henry, in favour of the military collectors. I gave him a very particular memorandum upon the subject, which I know he showed to the Governor-General.

“He is gone to England; and I don't know what is the consequence. I have however written about it again this day. In my opinion, the Revenue Board are against you, which is the reason that Government are not so liberal towards you as you have a right to expect.

“I wish that you would write me something, particularly respecting your own situation in an unhealthy climate, having been promised a reward for your services in the Baramahl, which you have never received, &c., &c., which I can show to my brother. Such a paper is more likely to have a good effect than any thing I can say upon the subject.”

The following from Captain, afterwards Sir John Malcolm, relates to the same subject.

“MY DEAR MUNRO,

“September 19th, 1799.

“I RECEIVED yours of the 9th and 21st ultimo some days ago, and would have written sooner, but waited to learn the sentiments of your friends at Madras on the subject of your letters.

“You will learn from their answers to what you have written, that they are anxious for your being more reconciled to the regions of Canara. Perhaps, in forming this wish, they blend a good deal of public with some private feeling. It is your fault for recommending yourself to men who continue to cherish ridiculous ideas about the good of the state.

“You know how desirous I am that we should ascend the Ghauts in *our proper character* in your quarter; and I am convinced you will ere long feel the necessity of that step. This I have endeavoured to impress as much as possible on Kirkpatrick; and hence, at the same time, pointed out how conveniently you could *ascend* during the rains; but I have no doubt your deeds will speak more forcibly than any words can to this point.

“I could gain no information about what per centage you were to have. I certainly think you had good reason to hope, that an allowance equal to theirs would be recommended for at least a given number of years.

“I hope a farther acquaintance with *your charge* will reconcile you

more, and that that disgust which you have conceived for the fair *Canara*, after seeing her in a dragged, dabbled suit, may be removed when she appears, as she will soon, clothed in her summer dress, exhibiting her luring charms.

“ I have not the treaties, or would send them.

“ Thus far on my way to Persia. Direct to Bombay, where you shall hear from me.”

I add to this a letter from Colonel Wellesley, likewise referring to the state of Captain Munro's feelings.

“ Camp in the Province of Loo,  
October 8th, 1799.

“ DEAR MUNRO,

“ I HAVE received your letter, and as I had some hand in sending you to *Canara*, I am much concerned that your situation there is so uncomfortable to yourself. It is one of the extraordinary and unaccountable circumstances attending the commission at *Seringapatam*, that my brother and I should have imagined that you were desirous of being appointed collector of *Canara*; that we should have been seriously angry with *Kirkpatrick*, who, it appeared, had proposed an arrangement for you, of which you did not approve, and which had occasioned your refusal of the appointment for which you wished; and yet that, after all, we should have done you an injury, instead of a benefit, (as well as one to the service,) which we intended. I acknowledge, that knowing my own wishes in your favour, and being very sensible of my brother's, I cannot but attribute what has happened to yourself. One word from you would have stopped the arrangement; and there is every reason to believe that a provision would have been made for you elsewhere. It is perhaps not now too late. I have written to my brother upon the subject; and I hope that he will make an arrangement suitable to your wishes. Whether he does or not, I hope that you will believe that your cause has not failed for want of zeal on my part.

“ This country, into which I have come to visit my posts on the *Mahratta* frontiers, is worse than that which you curse daily. It is literally not worth fighting for. Hereafter, it will be necessary to communicate with it from *Canara*; and I have desired the *Amildar* to make a good road from *Soopah* towards your borders. I am told that *Sedashagur* is not more than 60 miles by the road from *Soopah* (my most western post): that in the war of 1780, a detachment of *Matthews's* army advanced upon *Soopah* by that road. I wish that you would desire one of your people to communicate with the *Amildar* of *Soondah* respecting this road, and that you would have a good one made from *Sedashagur* to meet it.

“The drubbing that we gave to the Mahrattas lately, has had the best effects; and although all the robbers are in motion to cut each other’s throats, they treated us with the utmost hospitality, and have sent back our people whom they had driven away.”

MAJOR MUNRO TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

“DEAR COLONEL,

“Woorpi, November 12th, 1799.

“It is now a long time since I received your friendly answer to my complaints against Canara; I did not mean to arraign any one but myself, or my evil destiny, which has given this country more hills, and jungles, and rivers than I like, and has made it much wetter and hotter than it ought to be. I am sensible enough that coming here was an act of my own, but it could not well be avoided; I had been named along with ——; I doubted much his ability to ascertain the revenue, but when he declared his intention of going home in January, there was no room left for doubting—I was certain that he must leave the country unsettled, and under such circumstances it would have been improper not to have volunteered the business; not to have done it, would have been testifying an indifference for the public service, and might have had the appearance of my not feeling sufficiently the honour that was done me in originally nominating me along with ——: I do not therefore at all regret coming here to make a settlement of the revenue. All that I wish is, that when it appears that this settlement is completed, I may be removed and appointed collector of half Macleod’s collectorate, either that which lies to the north or the south of the Cavery, for either of them is large enough for one man; you must help me to this by and by.

“By your description, Soondah makes a great accession to the jungles, from which I am doomed to extort revenue. The map is very satisfactory, and is entirely new to our geography; but I wish you would give me the latitude and longitude of Soondah or Soopah, or any one place, in order to connect it with a sketch of Canara, on which Captain Moncrief is now employed. I wish means could be fallen upon to keep him here until he finishes his map, and repairs the roads, not forgetting the one you propose to Sedashagur from Soopah. Three months would be sufficient for the whole. Macaulay wrote me long ago that the Soondah Rajah was in camp; I have not heard what you have done with him since; I hope you have taken care that he shall not disturb the country in future.”

While Captain Munro thus laboured to establish law and order in Canara, there appeared upon the borders of his district one

of those adventurers, of whom, though common enough in the history of India under its Mussulman rulers, British supremacy is intolerant. By lineage a Mahratta, and a native of an inconsiderable town in Mysore, Dhoondee, or Doondagee Waugh, performed his first military service as a private horseman in Tippoo's army, during Lord Cornwallis's invasion of the Sultan's dominions. In due time he deserted, and set up for himself, as a leader of banditti; in which capacity he committed much havoc, chiefly in the districts north of the Toombuddra. By and by he entered into treaty with Tippoo, for whom he undertook to recover the principality of Savanoor; but committing himself in a rash affair with one of the Poonah generals, he sustained a defeat, and was compelled to throw himself and his two hundred horse on the generosity of his old Mysore master, whose soldier he again professed to be.

Tippoo possessed no generosity; but he was a furious bigot. He plundered Dhoondee of the remains of his booty, cast him into prison, and forced him to submit to the rite by which infidel men are admitted into communion with the faithful. This done, the unhappy Mahratta lay in chains, anticipating from day to day the stroke of the executioner; till Seringapatam was invested, and finally taken by assault. Amid the confusion that followed, Dhoondee contrived to effect his escape. He soon collected about him a horde of the disbanded soldiery of Tippoo; and assuming the title of King of the World, he hoisted a standard of his own, and began a series of predatory conquests. Among other districts threatened by him, and entered by a brother bandit, calling himself the Rajah of Vettel, the Baramahl was one; and a good deal of trouble the movements of these freebooters occasioned to Captain Munro. But the attention of the Madras government being directed to the movement, Colonel Wellesley received directions to put it down; and a campaign of marches ensued, of which it may be truly said that it gave a foreshadowing, by no means obscure, of the brilliant career which the Duke of Wellington was destined a few years subsequently to run.

The part which Mr. (now Major) Munro took in these operations, though very important, was by no means brilliant. It was his duty to furnish the army in the field with provisions,

money, and stores of various descriptions; and in spite of the unsettled state of his province, and the predatory habits of many of its chief inhabitants, he so managed matters that in every instance supplies were abundant. There will be found in the late Colonel Gurwood's inimitable work, copies of many letters addressed to Major Munro by Colonel Wellesley during the progress of these operations; and in former editions of this Memoir I presented them *in extenso*: but the reader's immediate purpose will, I think, be sufficiently attained if I content myself with giving the substance of the correspondence. Besides replying to Munro's remarks on the condition and prospects of British India, in terms which show that the views of the writers coincided in all important points, Colonel Wellesley describes his own movements in pursuit of the freebooter, whom he more than once was prevented from surprising only by the occurrence of an accident: at last he overtook him; and the following gives an account of the affair which put an end to the war.

"MY DEAR MUNRO,

"Camp at Yepulpurry, September 11th, 1800.

"I HAVE the pleasure to inform you that I gained a complete victory yesterday in an action with Dhoondée's army, in which he was killed. His body was recognized, and was brought into camp on a gun attached to the 19th dragoons. After I had crossed the Malpurba, it appeared to me very clear, that if I pressed upon the King of the Two Worlds, with my whole force, on the northern side of the Dooab, his Majesty would either cross the Toombuddra, with the aid of the Patan chiefs, and would then enter Mysore, or he would return into Savanoor and play the devil with my peaceable communications. I therefore determined, at all events, to prevent his Majesty from putting those designs in execution, and I marched with my army to Kanagerry. I sent Stevenson towards Deodroog, and along the Kistna, to prevent him from sending his guns and baggage to his ally the Rajah of Solapoor, and I pushed forward the whole of the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry in one body, between Stevenson's corps and mine.

"I marched from Kanagerry on the 8th, left my infantry at Rowly, and proceeded on with the cavalry only, and I arrived here on the 9th—the infantry at Shinnoor, about fifteen miles in my rear.

"The King of the World broke up on the 9th from Malgerry, about twenty-five miles on this side of Kachoor, and proceeded towards the Kistna; but he saw Colonel Stevenson's camp, returned immediately,



and encamped on that evening about nine miles from hence, between this place and Bunnoo. I had early intelligence of his situation; but the night was so bad, and my horses so much fatigued, that I could not move. After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning, and met the King of the World with his army, about five thousand horse, at a village called Conagull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night,—had thought that I was at Shinnoor, and was marching to the westward with an intention of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position as soon as he perceived me, and the victorious army stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th dragoons, and the 1st and 2nd regiments of cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, &c. &c., which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock, and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the victorious army.

“Thus has ended this warfare; and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country. An honest Killedar of Shinnoor had written to the King of the World by a regular Tappal, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Rowly on the 8th, and at Shinnoor on the 9th. His Majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer me than he expected. The honest Killedar did all he could to detain me at Shinnoor; but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop, and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place. My own and the Mahratta cavalry afterwards prevented any communication between his Majesty and the Killedar.

“The brinjarrie must be filled, notwithstanding the conclusion of the war, as I imagine that I shall have to carry on one in Malabar.”

To this communication Major Munro replied as follows:—

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

“Barkoor, September 22nd, 1800.

“I AM so rejoiced to hear of the decisive and glorious manner in which you have terminated the career of the King of the World, that I can hardly sit still to write: I lose half the pleasure of it by being alone in a tent at a distance from all my countrymen. On such an occasion

one ought to be in a crowd, to see how every one looks and talks. I did not suspect, when I left you in the Tappore pass two years ago, that you were so soon after to be charging along the Kistna and Toombuddra, murdering and drowning Assophs and Nabobs, and killing the King of the World himself. You have given us a very proper afterpiece to the death of the Sultan. A campaign of two months finished his empire, and one of the same duration has put an end to the earthly grandeur, at least, of the Sovereign of the Two Worlds. Had you and your regicide army been out of the way, Dhoondée would undoubtedly have become an independent and powerful prince, and the founder of a new dynasty of cruel and treacherous sultans; but Heaven had otherwise ordained, and we must submit.

“Now what is the next object? There are two, I believe: one to secure the country which the Nizam is to give us, and the other to reduce the Pyche Rajah. If both can be done at once, so much the better, for we ought to push on everything whilst the native powers are weak, and the French out of India; but if we have not troops for both, I would be for beginning with the most important of the two, which is certainly the extension of our frontier both in the Nizam’s territory and in that of the Mahrattas, if the vagabonds could be prevailed upon by treaty to let us advance to the Malpurba. If Government are determined upon the Malabar war, I hope they will give you troops enough, for without a great force of infantry nothing can be done in such a country, where it is so easy for the enemy to annoy you from thickets, and to escape without any loss. They can easily take measures to harass with impunity a small detachment, which must march in one or two columns by certain paths; but a numerous army, which could act in many different columns, and which could leave posts wherever they were wanted, would disconcert all their plans, and would soon, I imagine, compel them to submit and disarm. It might facilitate your operations to have it clearly explained that it was the intention of Government rather to lighten than to increase the burdens of the inhabitants, and that the war would cease whenever the Rajah and all the fire-arms were given up.”

While Colonel Wellesley was thus disposing of the King of the World, it fell to Major Munro’s share to settle the claims of the Rajah of Vettel. He thus laconically describes his manner of doing so:—

“DEAR COCKBURN,

“I HAVE now got Vettel Hegada and his heir-apparent and principal agents hanged. His defeat and seizure were entirely owing to the

zeal of the inhabitants ; and I have no doubt that I should be able, with their assistance, to get the better of any other vagabond Rajah that should venture to rebel."

In spite of the many and complicated public affairs which in Canara he was called upon to administer, Major Munro kept up, as he had ever done since his first arrival in India, a regular correspondence with his friends and relatives at home. The following letters, and still more the extract from his journal, which he seems to have kept at intervals, with equal care and judgment, seem to me very valuable, as indices of the character and habits of the writer.

TO HIS MOTHER.

"Cundapore, August 25th, 1800.

"THE last letter I have received from you is dated fourteen months ago, in June, 1799. I am sorry you have quitted your country-house for so trifling a consideration as the expense, which could never occasion any inconvenience in me to discharge. There is indeed no way in which I could employ my money, that would yield me half so much pleasure as to hear that it had enabled you to enjoy the country air—to have your own dairy and garden, and to walk in the fields—a recreation of which you were so fond at Northside. Oliver Colt will make no difficulty in advancing my father any sum he may want for hiring a house in the country next summer. In ancient times, the day of flitting to the country was always to me the most joyful day in the year, and that of leaving it the most melancholy, though I used to get often wet in October, when returning home from school. I should think very little of such wettings now ; for they are but mist compared to the rains of Canara. I have seen only one fair day since the 26th of May, and very few others in which the fair intervals have exceeded three or four hours : for the last five days it has not stopped a moment, day or night. During these three months I have very seldom been able to venture to walk a mile from the house, without being caught in a shower. A man from Greenock would think of defending himself with his great-coat. Such a piece of dress would however be only an useless incumbrance ; for he might as well expect that it would keep him dry when swimming, as when exposed to the torrents which in this country descend from the skies. I would rather live upon ensign's pay in a sunny climate, than be sovereign of Canara. If I can contrive to get

away, I shall go, though it will probably cost me near half my income. The very months which are here so uncomfortable, are, beyond the Ghauts, the pleasantest in the whole year. The sky is generally overcast; and only just rain enough to prevent the ground from being parched up. After my saying so much about rain, you will naturally imagine that I am surrounded by swamps, and can scarcely stir a step without sinking to the neck in mud. It might have been so before the Flood; but at present, after it has been raining for a month, the surface of the earth, after one hour of fair weather, is as dry as if it had not rained at all. The action of the rains has long ago washed away every thing that is soluble in water, and left nothing but the skeleton of the earth, which every where presents a rugged surface, formed either of rock, or of a cake of gravel many feet thick, or of coarse sand; and all is so uneven, that the water runs off immediately; or if there be a few level spots, the soil is so porous, that it is absorbed almost instantaneously. The moment the rain ceases, no water is to be seen except on the rice-fields, which may compose about one-fiftieth part of the land. All the rest remains uncultivated, because it will produce nothing. The thin coat of grass with which it is covered, is burned up after a few weeks of dry weather, and leaves a naked mass of rock or gravel exposed to the sun; so that were it not for the rich verdure of the trees, which spring up where nothing else will grow, Canara would look more bleak than the most barren spot in Scotland. What are usually called the pleasures of the country, are unknown in Canara. We can see no flocks feeding, for it does not produce a single sheep; it can hardly be said to produce cows, for I don't believe that the milk of a hundred of the diminutive black race it possesses would make a pound of butter. And we cannot ramble among cultivated fields, for the whole country is waste, except the rice-lands, which are overflowed."

#### TO HIS SISTER.

"Cundapore, September 7th, 1800.

"A WIFE cannot be gifted with a more dangerous talent. Such women be never at rest when their husbands sleep well o' nights; they are never at ease, except when the poor man is ailing, that they may have the pleasure of recovering him again; it gratifies both their medical vanity and their love of power, by making him more dependent upon them; and it likewise gratifies all the finer feelings of romance. What a treasure, what a rich subject I shall be about ten years hence, when shivering at every breeze, for the laboratory of such a wife! when my

withered carcase would be made to undergo an endless succession of experiments for the benefit of the medical world! I should be forced, in order to escape her prescriptions, to conceal my complaints when I was really sick, and to go out and take medicine by stealth, as a man goes to the club to drink, when he is unhappily linked to a sober wife.

Were Heaven, for some wise purpose, to deliver me into the hands of a nostrum-skilled wife, it would in an instant dissipate all my dreams of retiring to spend my latter days in indolence and quiet. I would see with grief that I was doomed to enter upon a more active career than that in which I had been so long engaged; for I would consider her and myself as two hostile powers commencing a war in which both would be continually exerting all the resources of their genius: she to circumvent me, and throw me into the hospital, and I to escape captivity and elixirs. No modern war could be more inveterate, for it could terminate only with the death of one or other of the combatants. If, notwithstanding the strength of my conjugal affection, the natural principle of self-preservation should be still stronger, and make me lament to survive her, I imagine my eating heartily and sleeping soundly would very soon bring about her dissolution. But there is no necessity for my anticipating these heart-rending scenes, for I have suffered enough of late. I have been shut up for near four months by a continual pour of rain, and have only seen one fair day since the 26th of May; but, as it is getting more moderate, I mean to take the field to-morrow, and not to enter a house again for many months. I am now among a crowd of writers, who keep up a constant clack, and interrupt me every moment to hear and sign their letters; and I shall not be able to get a few idle hours to write to you, until I can get clear of them while travelling, as I did when I sent you a journal from Soondah."

TO THE SAME.

[*Extract from his Journal, which came to hand Oct. 4th, 1800.*]

"I HAVE often wished to write to you a journal in return for your Highland expedition; but there is no likelihood of my being able to accomplish it while I remain a civil military collector.

"I am now literally, what I never expected to be, so much engaged, that I have not leisure to write private letters. From day-break till eleven or twelve at night, I am never alone, except at meals, and these altogether do not take up an hour. I am pressed on one hand by the settlements of the revenue, and on the other by the investigation of murders, robberies, and all the evils which have

arisen from a long course of profligate and tyrannical government. Living in a tent, there is no escaping for a few hours from the crowd; there is no locking oneself up on pretence of more important business, as a man might do in a house, particularly if it was an upstairs one. I have no refuge but in going to bed, and that is generally so late, that the sleep I have is scarcely sufficient to refresh me. I am still, however, of Sancho's opinion, that if a governor is only well fed, he may govern any island, however large.

"I left Carwar yesterday morning, where the Company formerly had a factory, but abandoned it above fifty years ago, in consequence of some exactions of the Rajah of Soondah, who then possessed this country. I crossed an arm of the river, or rather a creek, about half a mile broad, in a canoe, and proceeded on foot, for the road was too bad for riding, over a low range of hills, and then over some rice-fields, mostly waste, from the cultivators having been driven away by frequent wars, till I came again to the edge of the river. It was almost one thousand yards wide; and as the tide was going out, it was extremely rapid; and as there was a scarcity of canoes, as well as of inhabitants, I was obliged to wait patiently under a tree for two hours, till one was brought. I was, in the mean time, beset with a crowd of husbandmen, as I always am on my journeys, crying out, 'We have no corn, no cattle, no money! How are we to pay our rents?' This is their constant cry, in whatever circumstances they may be; for, as the oppressive Governments of India are constantly endeavouring to extort as much as possible from them, their only defence is to plead poverty at all times, and it is but too often with just cause they do so. They think that, if they are silent, their rents will be raised; and I shall therefore be pursued with their grievances for some months, till they find, from experience, that I do not look upon their being quiet as any reason for augmenting their rents. The party that attacked me, though natives of this part of the country, are Mahrattas; they speak in as high a key as the inhabitants of the Ghauts, which, as a deaf man, I admire, but not their dialect, which is as uncouth as the most provincial Yorkshire. Our conversation about hard times was interrupted by the arrival of a canoe, which enabled me to cross the river, and get away from them. After a walk of about two miles farther, I got to my halting-place, at a small village called Ibalgah. Though I had only come six miles altogether, I had been above six hours on the road. As my tent was not up, I got into a small hot hovel of a pagoda to breakfast. I forget how many dishes of tea I drank; but I shall recollect this point to-morrow. When I was done, however, as my writing materials were not come up, as the place in which I was was very close and hot, and as I knew my tent and bullocks would not, on account of

the rivers, be up before dark, I resolved to make an excursion, and look about me till sun-set. There is hardly a spot in Canara where one can walk with any satisfaction, for the country is the most broken and rugged perhaps in the world. The few narrow plains that are in it are under water at one season of the year; and during the dry weather, the numberless banks which divide them make it very disagreeable and fatiguing to walk over them. There is hardly such a thing as a piece of gently rising ground in the whole country. All the high grounds start up at once in the shape of so many inverted tea-cups; and they are rocky, covered with wood, and difficult of ascent, and so crowded together, that they leave very little room for valleys between. I ascended one of them, and stood on a large stone at the summit, till dark. The view before me was the river winding through a valley from a mile to two miles wide, once highly cultivated, but now mostly waste; the great range of mountains which separate Soondah from the low country, about twelve miles in front, many branches running from it like the teeth of a great saw, to the beach, and many detached masses running in every direction, and almost all covered with wood. On returning home, I found my tent arrived, and it was as usual filled with a multitude of people, who did not leave me till near midnight. I continued my journey at daybreak this morning, over cultivated fields for the first mile, and all the rest of the way, about ten miles more, through a tall and thick forest, up a valley towards the foot of the Ghauts. The prospect would have been grand from an eminence; but as it was, I saw nothing, except the heavens above me, and a few yards on each side through the trees. I liked the road, because it was carrying me away for a time from a country I am tired of. My halting-place was on the edge of a small mountain-stream. There was not a clear spot enough for my tent, though a small one; but I was in no hurry about it, as there was plenty of shade under the bamboos and other trees to breakfast. Canara does not produce such a breakfast as you have every day in Scotland without trouble: mine was very bad tea, for I had been disappointed in a supply from Bombay; some bread, as heavy as any pebble of equal size in the stream beside me, made about a week ago by a native Christian of the Angedivas, perhaps a descendant of Vasco de Gama, and as black as the fellow himself. It was however to me, who had seen no bread for three months, less insipid than rice, and with the addition of a little butter, of at least seven different colours, a very capital entertainment. You, who have fortunately never been in this country, may wonder why butter is so rare. It is because the cows are so small and so dry, that the milk of fifty of them will hardly make butter for one man. They are all black, and not much larger than sheep; and as they give

so little milk, no man makes butter for sale. Every farmer puts what milk his cows yield into a pot or a bottle, and by shaking it for half an hour he gets as much butter as you may lift with the point of a knife; when, therefore, the serious task of raising a supply of butter for my breakfast comes under consideration, my servant, before he gets a sixpennyworth, is obliged to go round half a dozen of houses, and get a little at each. The whole together is not more than you eat every morning to your roll. When I had finished breakfast, and was sitting, as an Eastern poet would say, 'listening to the deep silence of the woods,' the little stream running past me put me in mind of Alander, and led me insensibly to Kelvin, and to the recollection of the companions with whom I had so often strayed along its banks, and thinking of you amongst the rest. I thought that none of them, now alive, would feel more interest than you in —.

"20th January.—I was interrupted yesterday by the arrival of my cutcherry people. I meant, I believe, to have said that, as no person would feel more interest than you in my solitary journey through Soondah, I determined, as soon as my writing-table should arrive, to begin, at least, an account of it to you, whether I should ever finish it or not. The wood was so thick that it was not till after some search that a spot could be found to pitch my tent upon: it was an open space of near a hundred yards square, which had in former times been cultivated, and had since been overgrown with high grass, which had a few hours before our arrival been set fire to by some travellers (who were breakfasting and washing themselves in the river), because they thought it might afford cover to tigers. It was still burning; but some of it, nearest the shade of the trees, being too wet with dew to catch fire, afforded a place for my tent. The people who accompanied me were so much alarmed about tigers, that as soon as it grew dark they kindled fires all round, and passed the night in shouting to one another. I never go to bed to lie awake, and was therefore in a few minutes deaf to their noise; but either it or the cold awoke me about two hours before day-break: having no cover but a thin quilt, I was obliged to put on my clothes before I went to bed again, as the only way to keep me warm. The thermometer was at 47°, which you would not think cold in Scotland; but at this degree I have felt it sharper than I ever did in the hardest frost at home. It is probably owing to our being exposed to a heat above 90° during the day, that we are so sensible in India to the chill in the morning. I continued my journey this morning on foot, for the road was so steep and narrow that it was in most places impossible to ride. The forest was as thick as yesterday—nothing visible but the sky above. The trees were tall and straight, usually fifty or sixty feet to the branches; no thorns, and scarcely any brushwood of



any kind. No flowers spring from the ground in the forests of India; the only flowers we meet with in them are large flowering shrubs, or the blossoms of trees. The ground is sometimes covered with long grass, but is more frequently bare and stony. Nothing grows under the shade of the bamboo, which is always a principal tree in the woods of this country. After travelling about two miles I got to the foot of the Ghaut, where I met some of my people, who had lost their way yesterday, and had nothing to eat. I am fond of climbing hills; but I ascended the Ghaut with much pleasure, because it was carrying me into a colder region, because I should be able to travel without being stopped, as in Canara, every four or five miles by deep rivers, and because I should again, at Hullehall, bless my eyes with the sight of an open country, which I have not seen since I left Seringapatam. On getting near the top of the Ghaut, the woods had been in many places felled, in order to cultivate the ground under them, and I by this means had an opportunity, from their open breaks, of seeing below me the country through which I had been travelling for two days. It was a grand and savage scene—mountain behind mountain, both mountains and valleys black with wood, and not an open spot, either cultivated or uncultivated, to be seen. I was now entering a country which had been long famous for the best pepper in India—an article which had been the grand object of most of the early voyages to the coast of Malabar; but there was not a single plant of it within many miles. On reaching the summit of the Ghaut, and looking towards the interior of the country, I saw no plains, and scarcely anything that could be called a valley; but a heap of hills stripped of their ancient forests, and covered with trees, from one to twenty years' growth, except a few intervals where some fields of grain had recently been cut. Neither in Canara nor Soondah does grain grow annually, except in such lands as can be floated with water. On all hills, therefore, and rising grounds, and even flats, where water is scarce, a crop of grain can only be obtained once in a great number of years—the time depends on the growth of the wood. When it is of a certain height it is cut down and set fire to; the field is then ploughed and sown. If the soil is good it yields another crop the following year, and it must then be left waste from eight to twenty years, till the wood is again fit for cutting. All the land within my view had undergone this operation; every field had a different shade, according to the age of the wood, and looked at first sight as if it was covered with grain of various kinds; but I knew to my sorrow that nineteen parts in twenty were wood. My halting-place was much pleasanter than yesterday: it was an open plain of about half a mile in length, surrounded with wood, but neither so high nor so thick as to hinder me from seeing the hills beyond it.

“ My baggage being all behind in the pass, I sat down under a tree, and entered into conversation with half-a-dozen of the inhabitants, the owners of the fields where we were then sitting. They consisted of the accountant of a neighbouring village, and five farmers, two of whom were Mahrattas; but the other three belonged to one of the castes of Indian husbandmen who never eat any kind of animal food, nor taste anything, not even water, in any house but their own: they wore beards as long as those of their goats, and they looked almost as simple and innocent. They pointed to a few straw-huts at the end of the field, and told me it was the spot where their village had formerly stood. It had been burned and plundered, they said, about four years before, by Yenjee Naigue, who had acted as a partisan in General Matthews's campaign, and had afterwards continued at the head of a band of freebooters till the fall of Tippoo, when he relinquished the trade of a robber. They had forsaken their abodes during all that time, and were now come to know on what terms they might cultivate their lands. I told them they should be moderate, on account of what they had suffered.

“ 21st January.—I asked them some questions about the produce of their fields. One of the bearded sages replied that they yielded very little; that it was sometimes difficult to get a return from them equal to the seed they had sown. Had I asked the question of any other Indian farmer, five hundred miles distant, he would just have given me the same answer. It is not that they are addicted to lying, for they are simple, harmless, honest, and have as much truth in them as any men in the world; but it is because an oppressive and inquisitorial Government, always prying into their affairs in order to lay new burdens upon them, forces them to deny what they have, as the only means of saving their property. An excellent book might be written by a man of leisure, showing the wonderful influence that forms of government have in moulding the dispositions of mankind. This habit of concealment and evasive answers grows up with them from their infancy. I have often asked boys of eight or ten years old, whom I have seen perched on a little scaffold in a field, throwing stones from a sling to frighten the birds, how many bushels they expected when the corn was cut. The answer was always—‘ There is nothing in our house now to eat. The birds will eat all this, and we shall be starved.’ The farmers are, however, as far as their knowledge goes, communicative enough where their own interest is not concerned. I therefore turned the discourse to the produce of a neighbouring district. One of the old gentlemen, observing that I had looked very attentive at his camly, was alarmed lest I should think he possessed numerous flocks of sheep; and he therefore told me, with some eagerness, that there was not a single sheep in Soondah, and that his camly was the produce of the wool of

Chitteldroog. I was looking at his camly with very different thoughts from those of raising his rents. I had not seen one since I left Mysore : it is the only dress of the most numerous and most industrious classes of husbandmen. They throw it carelessly over their head or shoulders to defend them from the sun ; they cover themselves with it when it rains, and they wrap themselves up in it when they go to sleep. The rich man is only distinguished from the poor man by having his of a finer quality. It was in this simple dress that I had for many years been accustomed to see the farmers and goatherds in the Baramahl, and when I saw it again on the present occasion it was like meeting an old friend : it prepossessed me in favour of the owner ; it brought to my remembrance the country I had left, and it filled me with melancholy, while I considered that I might never see either it or any of my former friends again. Our conference was broken up by the appearance of my writing-table. I had placed it under a deep shade, on the side of a clear stream, little larger than a burn, where, after breakfasting, I wrote you yesterday's journal. Such streams seem to abound in this country, for I am now writing on the bank of such another, but under a canopy of trees, like which Milton never saw anything in Vallombrosa : the aged banyan shooting his fantastic roots across the rivulets, and stretching his lofty branches on every side ; and the graceful bamboo rising between them, and waving in the wind. The fall of the leaf has begun for some time, and continues till the end of February. It was their falling on my head, and seeing the rivulet filled with them, that put me in mind of Vallombrosa.

“ It was so cold last night that I had very little sleep. I rose and put on all my clothes, and went to bed again ; but as I had no warm covering, it would not do, and I lay awake shivering most part of the night. At daybreak I found, to my astonishment, the thermometer at 34. I had never seen it in the Baramahl below 47. I continued my journey as usual, a little before sunrise, through a forest with a few openings, except where the wood had been cut down for the kind of cultivation I mentioned to you yesterday, or where there were a few rice-fields, but none of them half a mile in extent. Through the openings I had glimpses of the low hills on all sides of me, some of them covered with wood, some entirely naked, and some half covered with wood and half with grain. I met with several droves of bullocks and buffaloes, belonging to Dharwar, returning with salt from Goa. I saw a herd of bullocks feeding near the road, and I was glad to find they were the cattle of Soondah, for they resembled in size and colour those of Mysore. There is hardly a cow in Canara that is not black ; but above the Ghauts black is uncommon, four-fifths of them are white, and the rest of different colours. Men are fond of systems, and before I came here, I had

convinced myself that the diminutive size and the dark colour of the cattle of Canara were occasioned by scarcity of forage, and the deluge of rain which pours down upon them near six months in the year; but the rains are as heavy and constant here as in Canara—it cannot therefore be by them that they have been dyed black. I am not grazier enough to know what influence poor feeding may have on the colour of cattle; but, if I recollect right, the small breed from the highlands of Scotland are called black cattle.

“There is no want of forage in Soondah, for, wherever the wood has been cleared away, the grass is four or five feet high. On coming to the place where I was to pitch my tent, I found that the head-farmer of the village, by way of accommodating me, had prepared an apartment of about twenty yards square and eight feet high, made of long grass and bamboos: it had been the work of a dozen of men for two days. He was much mortified that I would not go into it. I preferred the shade of trees during the day, and my tent at night. His son attended with a present of a fowl and a little milk. It is the custom in India, and was formerly in Europe, for men placed in the management of provinces to live upon the inhabitants during their journeys through the country; the expense thus incurred, and frequently a great deal more, is commonly in this country deducted from the amount of the public rent. I told the farmer that, as I meant to make him pay his full rent, I could not take his fowl and milk without paying him for them; and that I would not enter his pundull, because he had not paid the labourers who made it; but that I should pay them, and order my cutcherry people into it. It cost me a good deal of time and trouble to persuade him that I was in earnest, and really intended that he should not feed any of the public servants who were following me.

“22nd January.—I am now again seated at the side of a rivulet darkened with lofty trees. I have come about ten miles; but as I understand that Soopah is only four miles farther, I mean to go on again the moment I see my tent come up: for I am not sure that it is on the right road, and were it to miss me, I might be obliged to spend the night under a tree, which is not pleasant in such cold weather, when there is no military enterprise in view by which I might comfort myself with the reflection of its being one of the hardships of war. I passed the greatest part of the night in endeavouring to keep myself warm, but with very little success; the covering I had was too scanty, and all my most skilful manœuvres to make it comfortable were therefore to no purpose. The thermometer at daybreak was at 36. It was 78 yesterday in the shade at three o'clock, which is the hottest time of the day: it will, I suppose, be about the same degree to-day. Such heat would be thought scorching at home, but here it is rather pleasant than otherwise.

I enjoy the sun when his beams find an opening among the branches and fall upon me, and were it not for the glare of the paper I would not wish them away. Nothing can be more delightful than this climate at this season of the year. The sun is as welcome as he ever is in your cold northern regions; and though from 70 to 80 is the usual heat of the day, there is something so light, so cheerful, and refreshing in the breezes, which are continually playing, that it always feels cool. They are more healthy and sprightly than the gales which sported round Macbeth's Castle, where the good King Duncan said 'the martins delighted to build.' My road-to-day was an avenue of twenty or thirty yards broad through the forest. The trees were taller and thicker than I had yet seen them. The bending branches of the bamboo frequently met and formed a kind of Gothic arch. I passed many small rice-fields, and five or six rivulets. The most extensive prospect I had the whole way was over a flat of rice-fields, about a quarter of a mile wide and a mile long, bounded at the farther end by a group of conical hills covered with wood, beyond which I could not see. It was in woods like these that the knights and ladies of romance loved to roam; but the birds that inhabit them are not the musical choristers who, at the approach of Aurora, or when a beautiful damsel opened her dazzling eyes and shed a blaze of light over the world, were ever ready with their songs. They do certainly preserve the ancient custom here of hailing the appearance of Aurora; but it is with chirping and chattering, and every sort of noise but music. I must however except some species of the dove and jungle-cock; for, though they cannot warble, the one has a plaintive, and the other a wild note, that is extremely pleasing. The lark is the only musical bird I have met with in India. But notwithstanding the want of music and damsels, I love to rise before the sun and prick my steed through these woods and wilds under a serene sky, from which I am sure no shower will descend for many months.

"31st January.—I have been for these eight days past at Soopah, a miserable mud-fort, garrisoned by a company of sepoys. The village belonging to it contains about a dozen of huts, situated at the junction of two deep sluggish rivers. The jungle is close to it on every side, and the bamboos and forest-trees with which, since the creation, the surrounding hills are covered, seem scarcely to have been disturbed. Every evening after sunset a thick vapour rose from the river and hid every object from view till two hours after sunrise. I was very glad this morning to leave such a dismal place. I had for my companion, every day at dinner, the officer who commanded. He was one of those insipid souls whose society makes solitude more tiresome. I was, to my great surprise, attacked one morning by a party of four officers from Goa, headed by Sir William Clarke. He was going as far as Hullehall to see

the country. I told him he ought to begin where he proposed ending, for that all on this side of it was such a jungle that he never would see a hundred yards before him, and that all beyond it was an open country. He had put himself under the direction of an engineer officer as his guide, and had fixed on a spot some miles farther on for their encampment, so that he could only stay about an hour with me. He gave me the first account of the Duke of York's landing in Holland; but the overland packet, he said, brought nothing from Egypt.

“The country through which I came to-day was a continuation of the same forest, through which I have now been riding about sixty miles. My ride to-day was about twelve miles; not a single hut, and only one cultivated field in all that distance. After the first four miles I got rid of the hilly, uneven country in which I had so long been; and the latter part of my journey was over a level country, still covered with wood, but the trees neither so tall, nor growing so close together, as those I had left behind. I could have walked, and even in many places rode, across the wood in different directions, which would have been impossible on any of the preceding days. I have halted under a large banyan tree, in the middle of a circular open space about five or six hundred yards in diameter. One half of it is occupied by a natural tank covered with water-lilies. The rest is a field which was cultivated last year. It was just in such a forest as this that the characters in ‘As You Like It’ used to ramble. What an idle life I have led since I came to India! In all that long course of years, which I look back to sometimes with joy, sometimes with grief, I have scarcely read five plays, and only one novel. I have dissipated my precious time in reading a little history, and a great deal of newspapers, and politics, and Persian. I am not sure that I have looked into Shakspeare since I left home: had I had a volume of him in my pocket, I might have read the ‘Midsummer Night’s Dream,’ while I was sitting two hours under the banyan tree, waiting for my writing-table and breakfast; but instead of this, I entered into high converse with a Mahratta boy who was tending a few cows. He told me that they gave each about a quart of milk a-day: this is a great deal in India. Twenty cows would hardly give so much in Canara. He told me also, that the cows, and the field where we sat, belonged to a Siddee. I asked him what he meant by a Siddee. He said a Hubshee. This is the name by which the Abyssinians are distinguished in India. He told me that his master lived in a village in the wood, near a mile distant, which consisted of about twenty houses, all inhabited by Hubshees. I was almost tempted to suspect that the boy was an evil sprite, and that the Hubshees were magicians, who had sent him out with a flock of cows, who might be necromancers for any thing that I knew, to waylay me, or decoy me to their den. But I soon recol-

lected that I had read of Africans being in considerable numbers in this part of India. They are, no doubt, the descendants of the African slaves formerly imported in great numbers by the kings of Bijapoor and the other Mohammedan princes of the Deccan, to be employed in their armies, who were sometimes so powerful as to be able to usurp the government.

“15th March.—This letter ought, by this time, to have been half way to Europe ; but I have had so much to do, and have had so many letters, public and private, on my hands for the last six weeks, that I never thought of you. I went in the evening, after talking with the cowherd, to see his master. He was a young boy, whose father had been hanged for robbery some years before. I saw his mother and several of his relations, male and female, not of such a shining black, but all of them with as much of the negro features, and as ugly as their ancestors were in Africa two centuries ago. I am now about seventy-five miles south of their village ; but by traversing the country in different directions, I have come above twice that distance. I am encamped on the bank of a little river, called the Wurdee, and am within about two miles of the borders of Nuggur, usually called by us Biddanore. I have now seen the whole of the Soondah ; and it is nothing but an unvaried continuation of the same forest, of which I have already said so much. Along the eastern frontier the country is plain, and appears, from ancient revenue accounts, to have been, about two centuries ago, well cultivated and inhabited ; but it is now a thick forest full of ruinous forts and villages mostly deserted. The western part of Soondah, towards the Ghauts, is an endless heap of woody hills without a single plain between them, that never have, nor probably ever will be cultivated, on account of their steepness. It is among them, in the deepest glens shaded by the highest hills and thickest woods, that the pepper gardens are formed. The plant is every where to be met with in its wild state, but its produce is inconsiderable. It is from the cultivated plant that the markets of India and Europe are supplied. The cultivators are, with very few exceptions, a particular caste of Bramans, who pass the greatest part of their solitary lives in their gardens, scarcely ever more than two or three families together ; their gardens are but specks in the midst of the pathless wilds with which they are surrounded. They are dark even in the sunniest days, and gloomy beyond description when they are wrapped in the storm of the monsoon.”

Interesting as these memorials of taste and character unquestionably are, the tale of Mr. Munro's life would at this stage of it be incomplete, were no notice taken of what may, without any

great abuse of terms, be called his personal and domestic habits while a sojourner in the wilderness.

Mr. Munro's bed was of the simplest and rudest kind—it consisted merely of a carpet and pillow laid upon a bamboo or rattan couch. He rose every morning a little before dawn, and walked about bare-headed in the open air till seven o'clock, conversing with the natives, who, on one pretext or another, always contrived to put themselves in his way. At seven he had breakfast, of which he partook with great relish; drinking a large quantity of tea, and eating lumps of sugar like a child. The meal ended, he gave instructions to his assistants, who retired immediately to the office, where the writers met them; while Major Munro proceeded, first to get rid of his public and private correspondence, and then to hold a sort of levee, in a large hall or apartment arranged for the purpose. The quantity of business which he managed to get through in these oral communications with the people of the country is incredible. Generally speaking, he decided their cases on the spot; and so clear seems to have been his apprehension of the right and the wrong, that both parties acquiesced in his decision without a murmur. But in graver and more complicated matters, he caused his native clerks to make notes of the evidence as it was delivered, and he studied these in what he called his leisure hours, without failing in a single instance to arrive at a proper understanding of the case.

Such was Mr. Munro's manner of filling up the time between half-past seven every morning, and half-past four in the afternoon. He then retired to dress for dinner; and as if grudging that the very few minutes should be wasted which a toilet such as his required, he caused his assistant to read aloud to him all the while, either the letters, whether public or private, which might have arrived with the preceding post, or a passage from *Hudibras*, or any other English work in which he was interested.

At five o'clock the dinner was served; and till eight he gave himself up to the pleasures of reading, or lively conversation; but punctually as the hands of his watch pointed to the latter hour, he resumed his habits of business. He returned to his cutcherry, or audience chamber, and seldom quitted it till midnight, when the last of the suitors to whom he could attend was desired to postpone his claims till the morrow.



Not at any period of his life does Sir Thomas Munro appear to have been over-fastidious in the matter of dress ; but during his sojourn in Canara, contempt of foppishness degenerated into something not far removed from eccentricity. His garments, in regard to shape, set all changes of fashion at defiance ; and having been first brought into use while Sir Eyre Coote commanded in the Carnatic, they became in the end not only shabby, but threadbare. His cue (for cues were worn in those days) was tied up just as often with a piece of red tape as with a black ribbon. His conversation, likewise, though always entertaining, and often instructive, assumed by degrees a rougher tone than was natural to it. In particular he ridiculed the idea that any other than an idle man could fall seriously in love, and deprecated matrimony as a hindrance to the right discharge of the duties of a public servant. Yet his deeds constantly belied his words, which seem to have been engendered by the mere sense of loneliness. For he was kind, not only to men, but to the inferior animals. An old white horse which had carried him at the siege of Cuddalore, he continued to ride as long as it retained strength to bear him about ; and then he turned it loose into a paddock, where he caused it to be fed with the utmost care and regularity. The goats, likewise, which supplied him with milk for breakfast and tea, were privileged to come about the house when they chose, and to seek shelter under the verandahs from the storm. When he quitted the country it was found that the old horse could not travel, and that the goats would prove a greater hindrance by the way than was convenient. He therefore gave directions for leaving them all behind, and literally pensioned them off, by assigning a sum of money for their maintenance. He was deeply grieved by discovering, a few days after the journey began, that his servants by mistake had brought the old white horse with them, and that he had dropped and died by the way-side.

Major Munro's passion for swimming, quoits, fives, and billiards, never left him. He indulged in all these exercises as often as opportunities offered ; and he added to them a taste for throwing stones, concerning which, Mr. Read, in a manuscript journal which now lies before me, relates the following anecdote : " Having got completely wet on one occasion, during a morning

ride, I wrote him a note, requesting that he would wait breakfast. He returned for answer—‘I will wait ten minutes, which, in my opinion, is enough for any man to put on his clothes.’ When I joined him, I perceived a stone in his hand, and inquired what he meant to do with it. ‘I am just waiting,’ answered he, ‘till all the Bramans go away, that I may have one good throw at that dog upon the wall;’\* and added, ‘whenever I *wanted to play myself*, in this or any other manner, in the Baramahl, I used to go either into Macleod’s or Graham’s division.’”

\* It is fair to add, that the dog of Canara is a wild animal, partaking of the nature of a beast of prey; and that it was respect for the prejudices of the Bramans which restrained Major Munro from offering any violence to the brute in their presence.

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## CHAPTER IX.

## Removal to the Ceded Districts.

A MANNER of life, such as the preceding letters describe, of unremitting toil and frequent exposures to weather, might have been expected, even in the course of fifteen months, to make serious inroads on the strongest European constitution; but it had not this effect in the case of Major Munro. His temperate habits secured him against some maladies which, in India not less than in England, are the results rather of personal imprudence than of climate; while the buoyancy of spirit which accompanies success in all honest endeavours was probably not without its use in guarding him from the attacks of others, for in all to which he put his hand, Major Munro was eminently successful. When he entered Canara, in July, 1799, he found it suffering from the combined effects of recent war and a long series of prior misgovernment. He had reduced it, before the same month in 1800, to a state of as good order as any of the more recently-acquired, and as some of the older provinces of the British empire. The bands of freebooters which used to sweep across the open country were put down; the ryots, assured of justice in the collection of the taxes, and guarded against oppression from those above them, resumed the habits of patient industry which had long been intermitted; villages sprang up, and cultivation extended itself slowly, to be sure, but steadily, in the wilderness. Still the entire severance from English society to which he was condemned became after a while intolerable, and he determined to seize the first favourable opportunity of applying for a change. It came in September, 1800, and he took advantage of it immediately.

The fall of Tippoo, though it delivered the British authorities from one source of alarm, served but to turn their anxieties into a new channel. The Mahrattas became forthwith objects of suspicion; and, in order to keep up what was then called the ba-

lance of power, a treaty of mutual support was entered into with the Nizam. Two battalions of infantry, with a regiment of horse, were added to the subsidized corps which his Highness had previously maintained at Hyderabad; and negotiations, opened with a view of providing funds for their maintenance, ended in the cession by the Nizam to the East India Company of all the territory which he had acquired by the treaties of Seringapatam in 1792, and of Mysore in 1799.

The territory in question, though extensive and naturally fertile, was at this time in a state of perfect anarchy. It was made up of the province called the Balaghaut, south of the Kistna and Toombuddra rivers, of the district or talook of Adoni, and two thirds of Panganoor, a portion of Gondeput, and several other parcels of land which it is unnecessary to name. It was inhabited by various races, chiefly Hindoo; accustomed from time immemorial to carry arms, and not unskilled in the use of them. Here, as in Canara, the officers of the state had done their best to tyrannize, and failed only through the successful resistance that was offered to them. But the people did not on that account enjoy quiet: on the contrary, each head of a petty district established for himself a supremacy over the cultivators, whom he induced to fortify their village, and to enter, under his guidance, into bloody feuds with the villages adjacent. The Nizam's government proved too feeble to put an end to these disputes, and to the habits of indiscriminate pillage that were created by them; and the consequence was, that while the province paid no revenue, or next to none, into the public treasury, there was neither security to property, nor safety to person, any where.

Tired rather of the seclusion than of the labour of his post in Canara, Major Munro was no sooner advertised of the arrangement which had been entered into with the Nizam than he applied to be removed into the Ceded Districts. I subjoin a correspondence which gives an account of the issues of this application; as well as two or three letters descriptive of the state of his feelings, and the manner in which he spent his time after he had established himself in his new province.

FROM MR. WEBBE, CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

“DEAR MUNRO,

“Fort St. George, September 27th, 1800.

“THE answer to your last letter you will find in the enclosed private note from Lord Clive to me; and as his Lordship has said so much, I (contrary to your maxim) do not think it necessary to say more.

“The time however is drawing near when we may expect the final ratification of the new treaty; and I send this by express to apprise you that you will probably be appointed Superintendent of the whole Ceded Districts, with four civil assistants, as collectors of such portions as you may appoint them. The assistants may be Mr. Cochrane, Clive's head assistant, who is master of Persian and Hindostanee; Mr. Thackeray, who has received the reward for the Gentoo language; Mr. Stodart, who has been a long time assistant to one of our Northern collectors; and some other *undubashed* person, if I can find him. These gentlemen will be put on a better footing than the assistants in the Baramahl, under Read; but your allowances must be curtailed, in consequence of your pertinacious resistance to the authority of a regular government, and in conformity to that noble contempt of wealth in which you affect to imitate the old snarler in the tub. Provide accordingly, my good man, for your early departure to the Upper Regions; and I hope that you will not require Mercury to conduct you thither. I stipulate, however, that you leave a sufficient number of good men and true, to enable Read to conduct the affairs of Canara after your departure.

“Remember, you will be required to move at a short notice; and don't let me find you casting any 'longing, lingering looks behind' at a bit of a back-yard, with two peppercorns and a betel-nut tree. I conclude that you will not get the resolutions of Government on your letter of 31st of May from the Revenue Board in less than a month. Know then by these presents, that you are authorized to grant the whole extent of the remission of land-rent recommended by yourself, provided you shall judge it to be necessary, after a considerable remission of duties and customs, and provided you shall be able to make it appear that you do not go snags with the innocent Gentoos. All the inland duties, except the halet, to be abolished, and the sea-customs regulated in the manner of the Madras customs, except on rice, which is to pay one Bah' pagoda per cerge. Set to work, Sir, and expedite, for expedition is the soul of business; and you boast, I see, of what you can do when you begin stoutly.”

## LORD CLIVE'S ENCLOSURE.

"DEAR WEBBE,

"I HAVE read Munro's letter with attention, and am quite satisfied that the wishes of so excellent a fellow and collector ought to be cheerfully complied with; and therefore consent to your informing him, he will, volens the Governor-General, be appointed with assistants to the collectorship of the Ceded Countries, as soon as the transaction is completed; and that his time of moving to his new station shall be his own."

"Pray tell him my desire of detaining him on the Malabar coast has arisen from my opinion and experience of his superior management and usefulness; but that his arguments have convinced me that his labours in the Cistombuddra and Kistna province will be more advantageous than his remaining in the steam of the Malabar coast, although I should have thought that favourable to a garden."

## MUNRO TO HIS BROTHER.

"Harpenhilly, November 22nd, 1800.

"I HAVE been removed from Canara, so that your letters, in order to find me, must in future be directed to Bangalore. Though I have nothing to say to that place, the post-office people there are acquainted with my movements, and will forward them accordingly. You will have heard that a treaty has been concluded with the Nizam, by which he cedes to us for ever all his possessions to the southward of the Toombuddra and Kistna, as a tunkhah for the expense of the subsidiary force employed with him. The bargain is a good one with respect to territory, as it improves our frontier; but with respect to revenue, I do not imagine that we shall be any great gainers. The countries will not yield anything like the sums entered in the schedule of 1792 by Tippoo, because he overrated all the more northern districts from the certainty of their falling to the Nizam's share; and Gurrumcondah and Multuvar, in the hope of his being able to prevail upon us to take them: but as we insisted on having the Baramahl, which was then undervalued, we now get all the losing districts, which will balance the advantages we gained by the Baramahl, Canara, and Coimbatore. We have now a great empire in the southern part of India; and if we can only keep the French out at the general peace, it will, after remaining as long undisturbed as Bengal has now been, yield us a very noble revenue, drawn with ease from willing subjects. But before such a desirable change can be effected we shall have to remove many powerful and turbulent poligars, and many petty

ones of modern origin, who have taken advantage of the troubles of the times in order to withhold their rents for a few years, and then to declare themselves independent. The reduction of these vagabonds, who are a kind of privileged highwaymen, will render us much more able to resist our external enemies; for, in all our late wars, we have been obliged to employ a great number of troops to secure internal tranquillity, instead of sending them to augment the army in the field."

## TO HIS FATHER.

"Kalwapilli, 3rd May, 1801.

"I AM now writing in my tent on the banks of the Pennar, about fourteen miles east of Calliandroog, which place I left this morning. I am on my way to Tarputty, where I hope I shall be able to halt for a few weeks. The country I am travelling through is more destitute of trees than any part of Scotland I ever saw: for from Pennacandah, by Gootty and Adoni, to the Kistna, we scarcely meet with one in twenty miles, and throughout that whole space there is nowhere a clump of fifty. This nakedness, however, is not, like yours in Scotland, the fault of the soil; for it is everywhere good, and capable of producing grain and trees in abundance. It is, I believe, to be attributed to the levelness of the country having always made it the scene of the operations of great armies of horse. The branches have been cut down to feed the elephants and camels, which always accompany such armies in great multitudes, and the trunks to boil the grain for the horses; and a long continuance of oppressive government has extinguished every idea of forming new plantations. While journeying over these dreary places, I have often wished for some of the friendly groves of the Baramahl, or the dark forests of Soondah, to shelter me from the burning heat of the sun. The average height of the thermometer in my tent, for the whole of the last month, was  $107^{\circ}$  at two p. m., and  $78^{\circ}$  at sunrise. At this instant, half-past one p. m., it is  $98^{\circ}$ , yet the air feels pleasant and cool; for there was a heavy shower four days ago, and the sky has been cloudy and the wind high ever since. It is now whistling through the canvas, and makes me almost fancy myself at sea, scudding before a strong tropical gale. My way of life naturally turns my attention to the weather; but the mercury has been more than usually in my head to-day, in consequence of reading in a newspaper some remarks upon the probable causes of the yellow fever in America. Among these are reckoned the prodigious heat of  $96^{\circ}$ , and the sudden changes from heat to cold, which are sometimes from 30 to 40 degrees in the course of a few days; but these causes produce no such effects here. I have not seen the mercury at noon under  $96^{\circ}$  for these three

months past; and as to sudden extremes, the thermometer, from the beginning of November till the end of January, usually stands at 50° at sunrise and 80° at noon. In Soondah the heat at noon is the same; but it is often under 40° in the mornings. I have seen it as low as 34. I am convinced, however, that the fever I had two years ago, though there was nothing yellow in it, arose from my exposing myself to the morning air; for I always rise about half an hour before the sun, and usually walk in front of my tent without hat or coat for an hour, which is the coldest in all the twenty-four. I was often so cold, on sitting down to breakfast, that I could scarcely hold any thing in my hand. That fever has now been long gone, and I am at present as well as ever I was in my life. My sight, if I do not flatter myself, as men who are growing old often do, is better than it was a dozen of years ago; for I can read by candlelight without any inconvenience, which I could not do without great pain for many years after I had an inflammation in my eyes at Amboor, in 1789; but whether the salutary change has been occasioned by fever, or by my breathing a moist atmosphere, like that of my native land, on the Malabar coast, where my clothes were hardly ever perfectly dry, or by my having unknowingly inhaled some of Dr. Beddoes' dephlogisticated nitrous gas, I have not yet fully ascertained. I have seldom, I believe, given you so much detail respecting myself; but you must lay this to the charge of those who killed Tippoo. Had he been spared, he would have occupied the chief place in all my pages to you. Erskine often complained of his constant appearance in all my letters. When I write to her next, I must introduce the Nizam in his room. I doubt however that he will live so long. He has, at any rate, lived long enough to transfer all his possessions south of the Toombuddra, and of the Kistna after its junction with the Toombuddra, to the Company, on condition of their defraying all charges attending the subsidiary force now with him.

“I have at last heard from Messrs. Harington, Burnaby, and Cockburn, on the subject of the remittance of a bill for 1000*l.* sterling, to clear your house in the Stockwell. In August I shall remit the remaining sum due upon the house, and also 200*l.* sterling, in order to augment my annual remittance to 400*l.* sterling. As my mother is so fond of the country, and as a garden would probably contribute to her health, she ought certainly to be under no concern about the trifling expense a country-house may occasion, in addition to one in town. I therefore hope that you will draw on Colt for whatever it may cost, and let me know the amount, that I may add it to the 400*l.*, which I mean should go entirely to your town expenses, and that you will likewise inform me what other debts you may have besides the mortgage on the house, that I may discharge them, and relieve you at once from the vexation and



anxiety to which you have so long been exposed. My next letter must be to my mother."

TO COLONEL READ.

"Hundi Anantpoor, 16th June, 1801.

"I HAVE often been thinking of writing to you, but I have led such a life these two last years, that I have been obliged to give up all private writing, and I should hardly have begun again just now, if your old Gamashah, Hunmunt Row, had not made his appearance the other day as an Umedwar, and told me that Narnapah, by the blessing of God, and your Dowlet, were in good health, which I thought you would still be glad to hear: he says that both of them were *heyran* and *perishan* with the climate of Madras, and that Narnapah got chapped lips and a sore mouth, and slavered about a pukka sear a day. The old gentleman is now with Mr. Stratton, investigating the state of the revenue in the Calastri and Venkutghury Pollams. Your friend Alexander Read, who is now collector of the northern division of Canara, has, I imagine, long ago described that country to you. To a revenue man it is by far the most interesting country in India, and had it not been for the confinement during the five months' monsoon, I never would have left it. All land is private property, except such estates as may have fallen to the Sirkar from the failure of heirs, or the expulsion of the owners by oppression, under the Mysore government. By means of a variety of Sunnuds, I traced back the existence of landed property above a thousand years, and it has probably been in the same state from the earliest ages; the inhabitants having so great an interest in the soil, naturally adopted the means of preserving their respective estates, by correct title-deeds and other writings. Besides the usual revenue accounts, all private transfers of land, and all public Sunnuds respecting it, were registered by the Curnums, who, as accountants, are much superior to our best Mutsiddies. In consequence of this practice, there is still a great mass of ancient and authentic records in Canara. I made a large collection of Sunnuds, with the view of endeavouring to discover when land first became private property; but I was obliged to leave them all behind, and abandon my design. Several of them were reported to be older than Shaliwahan, but I had not time to ascertain this fact: among the very few that were translated, the oldest was, I believe, in the eighth century; from which it appeared that there was then no Sirkar land; for the Sunnud, which was for the endowment of a pagoda, states that the government rent of such and such estates is granted to the Bramans, but the land itself is not granted, because it belonged to the landlord. All Enaumdars,

therefore, in Canara, are merely pensioners, who have an assignment on a particular estate; they have not even a right to residence upon the estates from which they draw their subsistence. Were they to attempt to establish themselves, the owner would eject them with very little ceremony. The antiquity of landed property, and the sharing it equally among all the male children, have thrown it into a vast number of hands. The average Sirkar rents of estates is perhaps twenty or twenty-five pagodas, but there are some which pay near a thousand. The average of the Sirkar rent is about one-fourth of the gross produce; but, on many estates, not more than one-sixth. Litigations are endless in a country where there are so many proprietors; and Punchayets are continually sitting to decide on the rights of the various claimants. Landed property being thus the subject of discussion among all classes of Rayets, every thing relating to it is as well understood as in England. The small landlords are probably as comfortable as in any country in Europe. The never-failing monsoon, and the plentiful harvests of rice, far beyond the consumption of the inhabitants, secure them from ever feeling the distress of scarcity. Rents are therefore easily collected—no complaints about inability—no absconding at the close of the year. Even after all the disturbances of a civil war, I had not a single application for remission, except from one or two villages near Jumalabad, which had been twice plundered by the garrison; and in this case they paid the money before making the demand, saying that unless it was returned they could not replace their stock of cattle, so as to carry on to the usual extent the cultivation of the ensuing year. I often felt a pleasure, which I never have experienced in any other part of India, in seeing myself, at the time of the Jumma-bundy, under the fly of a tent, among some large trees, surrounded by four or five hundred landlords, all as independent in their circumstances as your yeomen. I could not help observing on these occasions the difference that good feeding makes on men as well as on other animals. The landlords of Canara are, I am convinced, fatter in general than those of England. I was sometimes tempted to think, on looking at many who had large estates, and particularly at the Potails, that they had been appointed on account of their weight. Many of them were quite oppressed by the heat, when I felt no inconvenience from it; and they used to sit with nothing on but their blue Surat aprons, their bodies naked, and sweating like a corpulent Briton just hoisted from a Masulah boat on the beach at Madras; but their labourers were as miserable-looking peasants as any in the Carnatic. In Canara there is already established to our hands all that the Bengal system, supposing it to succeed according to our wishes, can produce in a couple of centuries—a wide diffusion of property, and a permanent certain revenue,

not only from the wealth of the inhabitants, but also farther secured by the saleableness of land. What a wide difference between that province and our late acquisitions here, where land is of even less value, and the rayets more unsettled than in the Baramahl! You will be surprised to hear of the revenue being so much below the schedule of Ninety-two. This has been occasioned by the ravages of the allied armies of horse and Brinjarries in Lord Cornwallis's war, by the oppression of the Nizam's Government, and by their having been overrated. The settlement this year is one million one hundred and two thousand pagodas, exclusive of village servants. It will probably be twelve and a half lacs next year, and may in four or five years get to fourteen and a half or fifteen lacs. The country is overrun with Poligars: I have between thirty and forty who send me Vakeels. They are not confined to one corner, but are in every district. I am trying, with the help of Dugald Campbell, general of division here, to get rid of as many as possible; but it will take some campaigns to clear them out. Were I to labour as much as ever you did for seven years, there would not be so much order and system as you had in the Baramahl the first year. This reflection makes me sometimes wish that I had never entered into the revenue line at all. All the drudgery you suffered was comfort to what I am obliged to undergo, for without it there would be no getting on. You had a small society in your family and occasional visitors, besides your gala-days, when all the society were assembled; and you had the cheering prospect of the country improving under you: but I have none of all this. I have not had one holiday since I entered Canara—going out after four o'clock to dine and escape a night cutcherry was the greatest indulgence I ever had there: I have still less here, and I see no chance of getting more. I am usually seated before eight in the morning, and never stir till sunset, often not till dark, besides a meeting to hear letters at night. This is not for one or two weeks, but for months together; and if it has not made me blind, as you said you were, it has done worse, it has given me the staggers, for I often reel when I get up as if I were drunk. As to company, I don't see an European in three months. I have got four deputies, but they are at Cumbum, Adwani, &c., their different divisions. Some of them will do, but others are good for nothing but to exercise my patience, which is nearly exhausted. I am very sorry I ever left the Baramahl, and should be very happy to be there again at this instant as your assistant, receiving a letter of twenty sheets of queries to answer. James George is the only old stander there; he has made some new erections, and completed his arrangements by taking a wife—Miss Johnson, daughter of a former counsellor, who is said to be accomplished. But Kisanagerry is no longer a military station, and will be as solitary almost as Pinagur.

Futty Khan, Irton, and Noble are the only old cannibals in this quarter; I have seen none of them since January. Futty, ever since his campaign against Dhoondee, has been a prodigious rider; he makes nothing of a few hundred miles, and is now trotting up from Madras. I know nothing of your other friends. Dugald Campbell, as I have told you, commands here; Stevenson, Malabar and Canara; Colonel Wellesley in Mysore; and, though last not least, your old staff Pop Munro, at Gurrumcondah, where, though only temporary, he plays the commandant in a very respectable manner. Simmons is collector of Seringapatam. I hope I shall hear from you after you have run your rig, and made your *début* at all celebrated places of business or amusement. Let me know how you like the change upon the whole, and what you think of the Coories and Loogwassis in your neighbourhood. If ever you visit Glasgow, I trust you will call on my father; he will be very happy to see you, and he will ask more questions perhaps than you will be able to answer. You will find no spot in Scotland so naked as the Ceded Districts, where there is hardly a tree to be seen from Penimcondah to Adwani. Gurrumcondah is something like the Baramahl, but has more topes and tanks. Cumbum has also a great deal of wet grain; but all the other districts have little else but dry grain. I suppose you have ere now encountered Arthur Young, and had some debates with him on Sagwulli\* and Tuckawi.† I dare say he never saw buffalo-horns growing; and he would probably, after all his rant about turnips, make but an indifferent collector. Give us your opinions on all the wonders you see."

TO COLONEL READ.

" Chitwagh, 28th September, 1802.

" It gave me great pleasure to see, under your own hand, the 30th July, 1801, that you were getting better, and that you enjoyed the English summer, which I hope is a prelude to your also enjoying the winter. Your account of the expense of housekeeping alarms me, for I have not the smallest chance of being master of 3000*l.* a-year, unless I were to stay in India until I could not see my way home, and then I should never be able to manage an excursion with you to Madras—how that place runs in my Indian head!—to France, I meant to have said. I would give a great deal to be there at this present moment with you, that we might see how Buonaparte makes his hundobust, and how he sumjayeshes his rayets. But before I can possibly get home you will have either returned to India or entered upon some plan of life at home, and then it will be as difficult to carry you to the Continent as it was formerly to carry you from Tripettore to Raicottah. If I do

\* Cultivation. † Advances made to enable the people to cultivate.

not find my bones too stiff I shall probably go home overland, and when I reach the confines of Europe I shall begin to look out sharp for you in every fashionable hotel; so, if you see me, I hope you will make yourself known, for it is very likely that, with your English costume and blooming cheeks, I shall not recognize you. My meagre, yellow, land-wind visage will readily tell who I am. You have now been between two and three years at home, and have, I imagine, by this time resolved upon your future operations. If you mean to return to India, I hardly know any situation, after that which you have held, that would be worth your acceptance, except the Government itself. After it the most eligible would be the command and collection of the provinces south of the Colleroon. If you stay at home, do you mean to turn country gentleman, and plant topes and dig nullahs? or do you intend to become an active citizen, and endeavour to get into the Direction? I wish you were there, that you might endeavour to support some of your old friends. G——, according to report, is likely to lose his collectorship. I have only had one letter from him on the subject, and it is in such general terms that it does not enable me to form any judgment of the question. The report is, that the Board thinks that he was precipitate in his settlement of the Carnatic; that it was much too low, and that he trusted too much to your old friend, Lachman Row. G—— says that he made it low on purpose, with the view of being the better able to raise it hereafter. I shall be extremely concerned if he is removed, not only from my regard for him as an old friend, but because I am afraid that his marriage, after his long revenue life, has left him but little before the world. I think it hard, too, that a man should be removed merely for an error in judgment—censure would, I think, have been sufficient. You will observe, too, that his error is on the right side of the question. G—— says that he is accused of not having extended the benefits of his low settlement to the cultivators; but, with the exception of Letcheram, and perhaps a few other instances, the head Potaills have been the renters, and their profits will in the end go chiefly to cultivation; but before this reaches you Cockburn will be at home, and you will get the whole story from him. You will no doubt too fall in with Corner and Cuppage, who have also got their topsails loose. Corner, I suppose, you will find in the upper gallery at Drury Lane, calling out for music, and Cuppage in a chop-house.”

Allusion has been made to the very unsettled state of society in the Ceded Districts when Major Munro took charge of them. He laboured assiduously to introduce a better order of things, and with the help of his old friend General Campbell succeeded to a great extent; but for several years robberies

continued to occur, and murder was by no means unfrequent. Nothing daunted by the reports which reached him, Major Munro persevered in the plan which he had found to answer in Canara, of performing his official tours without an escort. He held that it was good policy to avoid the appearance of distrust in the natives, and he brought up his assistants to act on the same principle. To himself neither outrage nor insult seems ever to have been offered; and his assistants, except on one occasion, were treated with equal respect. Mr. Thackeray's error was, however, unpremeditated, and the circumstance did not induce Munro to deviate from a settled principle of action. The following refers to the event in question, and meets some complaints which had been made against the writer at the Presidency.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

“Ponnimilah, 12th December, 1801.

“SINCE writing to you yesterday, I have received yours of the 3rd, giving me the alarm about Thackeray. I heard of it the 27th of last month, and instantly wrote to the General to send a party, and I have offered a reward of one thousand rupees for the Potal of Ternikull, by whose orders the murders were committed. Such outrages are frequent in the Ceded Districts, particularly in Gurrumcondah; but I do not write upon them, because it would only be troubling the Board to no purpose; and you would have heard nothing of the late affair, had Thackeray not happened to be upon the spot. Why did I suffer him, you say, to be without a guard? Because I think he is much safer without one. I traversed Canara in every direction unaccompanied by a single Sepoy or military Peon, at a time when it was in a much more distracted state than the Ceded Districts have ever been, without meeting, or even apprehending, any insult.

“I do the same here:—there is not a single man along with me, nor had I one last year when I met all the Gurrumcondah Poligars in congress, attended by their followers. I had deprived them of all their cowle, and they knew that I meant to reduce them to the level of Potails, yet they never showed me the smallest disrespect. The natives of India, not excepting Poligars, have, in general, a good deal of reverence for public authority. They suppose that collectors act only by orders from a superior power; and that, as they are not actuated by private motive, they ought not to become the objects of resentment. I therefore consider the subordinate collectors and myself as being perfectly safe without guards; and that by being without

them, we get much sooner acquainted with the people. A Naigue's or a Havildar's guard might be a protection in the Carnatic; but it would be none here in the midst of an armed nation. Nothing under a company could give security, and even its protection might not always be effectual, and would probably, in the present state of the country, tend rather to create than to prevent outrages. However this may be, such a guard for every collector cannot be spared from the military force now in the country. The murders in Adoni seem to have originated in private revenge. I directed Thackeray to add a certain sum to the last year's jumma, but to let the people know that it would not be finally settled till my arrival in the district. Under the Nizam's government, many heads of villages had gained considerably by the general desolation of the country, because they got credit for a great deal more than their actual loss by diminution of cultivation. It was necessary to raise the rent of these villages to a fair level with that of others in similar circumstances. The people who brought forward the information required for this purpose are those who have been murdered. They were all natives of Adoni, and one of them was a Gomashta in the cutcherry. The village of Ternikull, like most others in the country, is fortified. The Potal refused to agree to the increase proposed. The Serishtadar, knowing that there would be no difficulty in settling with the inhabitants, if he were removed for a few days, ordered him off to Adoni; but, instead of obeying, he shut the gates, manned the walls, and murdered, in the cutcherry, the three men who had given in statements of the produce. These unfortunate people, when they saw the pikemen approaching to dispatch them, clung for safety about the Serishtadar, which was the cause of his receiving some accidental wounds. Thackeray, who was encamped near the village, hastened to the gate, and on being refused admittance, attempted to get over the wall. The men above threatened, and called out to him to desist, saying that they had taken revenge of their enemies, but had no intention of opposing the Sirkar; and he at length, very properly, withdrew to his tent. This is the account given me by a Peon who attended him. Now, had he had the guard, about which you are so anxious, it would most likely have occasioned the murder of himself and of all his cutcherry; had it been in the inside, it would have been easily overpowered by one hundred and fifty Peons; and had it been at Thackeray's tent, it would have followed him to scale the wall, and brought on an affray, which would have ended in the destruction of them all. Nothing is more dangerous than a small guard in a turbulent country. The sepoys themselves are apt to be insolent, and to engage in disputes. Cutcherry people are, in general, too ready to employ them in overawing the inhabitants, and have very

seldom sufficient sense to judge how far it is safe to go ; and a collector will never meet with any injury, unless he attempts to employ force, which he will hardly think of when he has no sepoy. I am therefore against making use of guards of regulars. Thackeray has always had above a hundred military Peons in his division. I shall give him three hundred more ; and he can select an escort from them, who will be sufficient for his protection, if he does not try to scale forts. The conduct of the people of Ternikull, after the atrocious murders in the cutcherry, was certainly, with regard to him at least, extremely moderate, and affords a strong proof that he is personally in no danger. On the 22nd November, two days after the affair at Ternikull, three Potails and Curnums were murdered by another Potal of Adoni, for giving true statements to the Sirkar serlyants. By looking at the map, you will see that Thackeray's division, lying at nearly equal distances from Gootty and Ballari, is better covered by a military force than any other part of the Ceded Districts."

I add to this a letter of a somewhat earlier date, addressed to Mr. Thackeray himself.

"Cuddapah, 30th November, 1801.

"I WROTE to you yesterday in duplicate, and have since received your letter of the 24th. While I am at such a distance, and no certain communication by Tappaul, you should write directly to General Campbell whenever any disturbance happens, stating the particulars, the principal actors, and their force, as nearly as you can ascertain it. Notwithstanding the outrage at Ternikull, I have not the smallest doubt of our being able to reduce the country to complete subjection, with very little trouble. The Poligars and Bedars of Adoni are but contemptible in comparison of those of Gurrumcondah and Cuddapah, who are now, I think, in very good order. I should hope that no hostilities will be attempted again in the Pung Pollam ; but every means must be exerted, by promising rewards, &c., to apprehend as many of the rebels as possible. They must be traced to Canool, or wherever they fly to, and seized. When the detachment of troops approaches, furnish the commanding-officer with guides, and send him an intelligent Carkoon, who is acquainted with the country and the inhabitants ; and you ought also to go to the camp and give him whatever information you may have. Make your cutcherries resume their work as soon as possible, in the same manner as if nothing had happened ; for if they show apprehensions where no violence has been actually committed, it will weaken their authority. It will also excite suspicion and alarm among the inhabitants, and perhaps induce many to put themselves on their guard, or even to resist, where no opposition was intended.



“One hundred Asham Peons will march from thence this evening and join you, and one hundred more will march from Gomendah about the 3rd of December, which, with the hundred I wrote to you yesterday to raise, will make you strong enough to prevent any violence being again offered to your cutcherry.

“Shenewar Row seems to have been rather imprudent; but he failed on the right side in exerting his authority. Had there been thirty or forty Peons with him at the cutcherry, it could not have happened.”

The gentlemen attached to the Board of Revenue at Madras appear to have been a little sensitive on the score of their official importance. The following refers to this subject, and to some lack of etiquette into which the writer had inadvertently fallen.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

“Anantpoor, 18th April, 1802.

“I AM very much obliged to you for your friendly hints about official respect. Whatever appearances may have been, you may be certain that the military collectors never had an idea of any thing contrary to it. Holding their situations contrary to the ordinary rules of the service, and having been supported in them chiefly, if not altogether, by the Board of Revenue and the late Chief Secretary, they must have been mad, had they intentionally failed in becoming deference to them.

“I have always written in the same style both to the Governor and to the Board of Revenue, without ever suspecting that my disrespect had attracted their attention. I must confess, however, that the words at the close of a letter, ‘I have the honour, &c.,’ were omitted by design; but I omitted them for the same reason that I once used them—that I thought it was the fashion. I observed that they were falling into disuse in public correspondence in Europe, and I supposed that the same might have been the case in this country. Indeed, I was in some degree confirmed in this opinion last year by a government order directing all officers, when writing to the Adjutant-General, to drop the usual complimentary expressions, and simply sign their name at the bottom of the letter. This is perhaps approaching too closely to French modes; but I imagined it was the will of government, and could not believe that what they approved in the military they would censure in the civil department. Be this as it may, I find that I have been wrong; and I shall trust to your kindness to point out, hereafter, any expressions in my letters that may be deemed exceptionable.

“I have to-day dispatched to the Board a letter, with some long statements respecting Poligars, which have cost me more trouble than I was aware of when I began; for scarcely a day has passed since I

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entered the Ceded Countries, that some part of my time has not been occupied by them.

“One of my views, in drawing up the statement, was to show what the Poligars really are :— that is to say, the nature of their titles to their pollams, and the probable force they would be able to muster in the event of rebellion. From the want of this kind of information, great mistakes are often committed in military operations ; for officers going against Poligars know commonly very little about their resources, or whether they can bring five hundred or five thousand men into the field. They are therefore rash in some instances, but in many more most absurdly cautious.”

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## CHAPTER X.

The Ceded Districts—*continued.*

IT is the part of the historian of British India to relate how, in 1803, the long-expected breach with the principal Mahratta powers occurred; and how General Lake in Hindustan, and General Wellesley in the Deccan, took the chief command of the armies which were assembled to operate against them. With General Lake, whose field of operations lay wide of the province which had been committed to his charge, Colonel Munro had no correspondence; but the case was different with respect to General Wellesley. Anticipating a campaign rather of marches than of battles, the latter wrote to each of the collectors and managers of the provinces over or near to which it was probable that the tide of war might roll, and gave them directions to prepare for his use provisions, means of transport, and materials wherewith rivers might be passed, as well by artillery and cavalry as by infantry. Among others, he communicated with Colonel Munro, in whom he found, as he had done on many previous occasions, not only a willing but an able and most intelligent co-operator. But I do not conceive that it is necessary to reprint in this place letters, of which some are already included in the Duke of Wellington's Despatches, while others refer almost entirely to matters of detail. Enough is done when I state that Colonel Munro took advantage of this semi-official correspondence to communicate to General Wellesley his own ideas in regard both to the best method of conducting the war, and to the settlement of the districts which one after another fell into the hands of the conqueror. It is curious to observe the almost perfect coincidence of opinion which shows itself in the letters of these two distinguished men, and the candour with which he who was destined in after years to become the arbiter of Europe, adopts the suggestions of the Collector of an Indian province, as often as he is satisfied that they are judicious. For example, General

Wellesley has taken the town and fortress of Ahmednuggur by assault, and the territory dependent on them has become a portion of the British empire in the East. Munro is no sooner made aware of the event than he lays before the victor a plan for the settlement of the new province, and is answered by return of post in the following terms:—

“MY DEAR MUNRO,

“I HAVE received your letter of the 28th of August. I have arranged the conquest at Ahmednuggur exactly as you have suggested. I have appointed Captain Graham to be the Collector, and have given him a large body of peons, and of horse, to forward supplies and preserve tranquillity in our rear.”

This is very instructive; but it is not in my opinion more so than the terms in which the writer of the above subsequently vindicated his general plan of campaign, and explained the circumstances which led to the battle of Assye, and to the heavy loss of life at which that great victory was purchased. As these points are almost as much interwoven into the biography of Sir Thomas Munro as into that of the Duke of Wellington, I feel that I am not at liberty to omit the letters which notice them.

General Wellesley, after giving expression to the sentiments just transcribed, goes on, in a letter dated Camp, September 10, 1803, to say—

“SINCE I wrote to you last, I have given the enemy a turn. By a few rapid marches to the southward, I have shown them that they could not go alone to Hyderabad, and I have consequently forced them to return to the northward.

“I don't know whether they will come back again; but it is reported that they are going back to Burhampore; that the Silladars are much discontented, and swear that they will not serve unless supported by the infantry and guns.

“It cannot be expected, however, that I shall be able to march with celerity equal to that of an army of horse only; and some of these may enter your districts. But, on the other hand, it is probable that I may stop them.

“The Bengal army has commenced offensive operations, and will cross the Jumna. The troops in Guzerat took Baroach by storm on the 29th of August. Colonel Stevenson beat up a horse-camp on the night of

the 6th; and he tells me that he proposed to repeat the attack upon another last night; I have not yet heard whether he did so or not. No enemy has elsewhere come within forty miles of him."

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WELLESLEY.

" Anantpoor, 17th September, 1803.

" I WAS lately favoured with your letter of the 30th of August, and am happy to find that you approve of retaining the Wurdah bullocks in the service. I should be glad to see you execute your threat of 'striking a blow against those myriads of horse;' but I own that I do not see how it is possible to be done: there might have been some chance of such a thing in July, when the rivers were all full, but when they are fordable, the enemy must be very simple if they throw themselves into a situation where they can receive any serious blow from an army of infantry. I do not know what cavalry you have, exclusive of the Company's; but unless you have enough to hazard against that of the enemy at a distance from your infantry, it must be their own fault if they allow themselves to be brought to action, either by your watching or following their motions. If your cavalry is strong enough to attack theirs, it will of course be practicable to force them to fight, or at least to give them a blow. I know nothing of the general plan of operations, but I am convinced that they can only be completely successful by making them as offensive as possible, and only so far defensive as may be necessary to secure supplies. If subsistence could be procured in the enemy's country, it would perhaps be best to relinquish the defensive altogether; taking and garrisoning the strong places, occupying the small forts with Peons, and bundabusting the country, is a much more certain way of fighting, than destroying or dispersing an army of horse: they might enter the Nizam's or Company's territory, but plunder alone would not compensate for the want of regular pay, which they could scarcely receive if their own provinces were falling one after another. Scindiah is weakest in his Northern dominions, and the greatest impression could therefore be made on him from Bengal; the Rajahs of Jeypoor, Oudepoor, &c. would, no doubt, join any force that would march to support them. But I fear that unless you can obtain the direction of the movements of all the armies, those of Bengal will be too cautious; that they will be satisfied with the Dooab, which can make no more resistance than the Nizam's Dooab, and that they will not like to march into the heart of Scindiah's country, lest his cavalry should cross the Jumna and Ganges and cut the Bengal grain. If the Confederacy do not call for peace, the campaign will be interesting, and I should be glad to see

it; and if you could find out any employment for me with your army, without losing my hold of the Ceded Districts, I should be obliged to you."

FROM GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

"Camp, October 1st, 1803.

"I ENCLOSE a memorandum which I have received from Bistnapah Pundit, the commander of the Rajah of Mysore's horse serving with me, relative to a claim which he has upon the Rajah of Harponhelly. It appears that the Rajah gave him a village in enaum, which he has now taken from him. Mr. Cochrane knew that the grant had been made, and confirmed it; and I shall be obliged to you if you will inquire into the circumstances, and let Bistnapah keep his village if possible. I entirely agree in the opinions expressed in your letter, upon the subject of offensive and defensive war; however, I think that you are mistaken respecting the possibility of checking, by defensive measures, a predatory war carried on by horse only; indeed, I have done it already in this campaign. The fact is, that a predatory war is not to be carried on now as it was formerly. All the principal villages in the country are fortified (excepting in our happy country, in which our wise men have found out that fortifications are of no use); a few Peons keep the horse out; and it is consequently necessary that they should have a camp and a bazaar to resort to for subsistence, in which everything they get is very dear; besides, this necessity of seeking subsistence in the camp prevents them from extending their excursions so far as they ought, to do any material injury.

"The camp, on the resources of which an army of this kind must depend, must be rather heavy: besides, there are great bodies in it. They must have tents, elephants, and other sewary; and must have with them a sufficient body of troops to guard their persons. The number of cavalry retained in such a camp must consequently be very large.

"Large bodies move slowly, and it is not difficult to gain intelligence of their motions. A few rapid and well-contrived movements, made not directly upon them, but with a view to prevent the execution of any favourite design, or its mischievous consequences, soon bring them to their bearings; they stop, look about them, begin to feel restless, and are obliged to go off.

"In this manner I lately stopped the march of the enemy upon Hyderabad, which they certainly intended: they were obliged to return, and bring up and join their infantry; and you will have heard, that in a most furious action which I had with their whole army, with one divi-

sion only, on the 23rd of September, I completely defeated them, taking about one hundred pieces of cannon, all their ammunition, &c., &c., &c. They have fled in the greatest confusion to Burhampore. Take my word for it, that a body of light troops will not act, unless supported by a heavy body that will fight; and, what is more, they cannot act, because they cannot subsist in the greater part of India at the present day."

Not long after the receipt of the preceding letter, Mr. Munro heard of the great victory at Assye. He was prodigiously elated, as indeed was the case with every British subject in India, and immediately wrote to inquire into the particulars of the operation. I subjoin the more important part of the correspondence which followed.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WELLESLEY:

"Raydroog, 14th October, 1803.

"I HAVE seen several accounts of your late glorious victory over the combined armies of Scindiah and the Berarman, but none of them so full as to give me any thing like a correct idea of it; I can, however, see dimly through the smoke of the Mahratta guns (for yours, it is said, were silenced) that a gallanter action has not been fought for many years in any part of the world. When not only the disparity of numbers, but also of real military force, is considered, it is beyond all comparison a more brilliant and arduous exploit than that of Aboukir. The detaching of Stevenson was so dangerous a measure, that I am almost tempted to think that you did it with a view of sharing the glory with the smallest possible numbers. The object of his movement was probably to turn the enemy's flank, or to cut them off from the Ajunla Pass; but these ends would have been attained with as much certainty and more security by keeping him with you. As a reserve, he would have supported your attack, secured it against any disaster, and when it succeeded, he would have been at hand to have followed the enemy vigorously. A native army once routed, if followed by a good body of cavalry, never offers any effectual opposition. Had Stevenson been with you, it is likely that you would have destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's infantry; as to their cavalry, when cavalry are determined to run, it is not easy to do them much harm, unless you are strong enough to disperse your own in pursuit of them. Whether the detaching of Stevenson was right or wrong, the noble manner in which the battle was conducted makes up every thing. Its consequences will not be confined to the Deccan; they will facilitate our operations in Hindostan, by

discouraging the enemy and animating the Bengal army to rival your achievements. I had written thus far when I received your letter of the 1st of October, and along with it another account of your battle from Hyderabad. It has certainly, as you say, been a 'most furious battle;' your loss is reported to be about two thousand killed and wounded. I hope you will not have occasion to purchase any more victories at so high a price. I subscribe entirely to what you say about the movements of a Mahratta army; I have always been convinced that our own could bring it up. Their bazaar is, if any thing, more unwieldy than ours; and though their horse may dash on for a few marches, they must at last wait for it. Light troops are not fond of acting at a distance from the army, but the spirit of enterprise and the hope of plunder often increase that distance. The Mahrattas have long been on the decline, and have in a great measure lost their military spirit; the formation of regular infantry, by throwing all the severe part of service upon them, has deprived the horse of all their boldness and activity. It was the same in Tippoo's army: in proportion as he placed his dependence upon his infantry, the reputation of his cavalry, and with it their exertions, declined. But still Cummer ul Diu and Gazi Khan were more respectable officers than any of the Mahratta Sirdars; Meer Saheb, Cummer ul Diu's father, was the best of all their partisans. He was in the Carnatic with a body of horse, was perfect master of all the open country, and kept our army in a state of siege while Hyder was at Trichinopoly. It is true, he had a body of infantry, but it was not so much the presence of his infantry, as our having no cavalry, that enabled him to run over the country: we had about five hundred horse; had we had two thousand, he could not have done it. Had I not a very poor opinion of Scindiah, I would have suspected his movements upon Hyderabad to have been a feint; his cavalry alone could have done nothing against the force there, supported by General Campbell. I should be more afraid of an irregular body of five thousand, under a daring, enterprising leader, if they have any such, than of their main body. Five thousand might find subsistence without touching the fortified villages; the Nizam's cavalry would probably keep together, and not follow them, but General Campbell would be able to come up with some of them; and the fear of this, even without your hunting them, will probably always keep them at a distance. I hope measures are taking to reinforce your army; you want an addition of at least three or four thousand men to enable you to push your victories. If Perron has been defeated, the great object ought to be to open a communication with the Rajpoot chiefs: their own cavalry is able to meet Scindiah's, it is only his infantry and guns that alarm them, and these have already been pretty well settled. If you can find subsistence in the Berar



country, you will probably be able to force the Rajah to a separate peace, and there will then be no great difficulty in Polandizing Scindiah's dominions.

“ I go to Belari in a few days, when I shall inquire into the affair of Bistnapah Pundit's village. I am, however, afraid we shall be able to make nothing of the Poligar, as he can dispose of his own jaghire as he pleases. I cannot pretend to point out any employment for myself in your camp, but if you can find out any for me in which you think I might be useful, I shall be very happy to be called upon.”

FROM GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

“ Camp at Cherikain, November 1st, 1803.

“ As you are a judge of a military operation, and as I am desirous of having your opinion on my side, I am about to give you an account of the battle of Assye, in answer to your letter of the 19th October: in which I think I shall solve all the doubts which must naturally occur to any man who looks at that transaction without a sufficient knowledge of the facts. Before you will receive this, you will most probably have seen my public letter to the Governor-General regarding the action, a copy of which was sent to General Campbell. That letter will give you a general outline of the facts. Your principal objection to the action is, that I detached Colonel Stevenson. The fact is, I did not detach Colonel Stevenson. His was a separate corps, equally strong, if not stronger than mine. We were desirous to engage the enemy at the same time, and settled a plan accordingly for an attack on the morning of the 24th. We separated on the 22nd: he to march by the western, I by the eastern road, round the hills between Budnapore and Jalna; and I have to observe, that this separation was necessary—first, because both corps could not pass through the same defiles in one day; secondly, because it was to be apprehended, that if we left open one of the roads through those hills, the enemy might have passed to the southward while we were going to the northward, and then the action would have been delayed, or probably avoided altogether. Col. Stevenson and I were never more than twelve miles distant from each other; and when I moved forward to the action of the 23rd, we were not much more than eight miles. As usual, we depended for our intelligence of the enemy's position on the common hircarrahs of the country. Their horse were so numerous, that without an army their position could not be reconnoitred by an European officer; and even the hircarrahs in our own service, who were accustomed to examine and report on positions, cannot be employed here, as, being natives of the Carnatic, they are as well known as an European.

“The hircarrahs reported the enemy to be at Bokerdun. Their right was at Bokerdun, which was the principal place in their position, and gave the name to the district in which they were encamped; but their left, in which was their infantry, which I was to attack, was at Assye, which was six or eight miles from Bokerdun.

“I directed my march so as to be within twelve or fourteen miles of their army at Bokerdun, as I thought, on the 23rd. But when I arrived at the ground of encampment, I found that I was not more than five or six miles from it. I was then informed that the cavalry had marched, and the infantry were about to follow, but was still on the ground; at all events it was necessary to ascertain these points; and I could not venture to reconnoitre without my whole force. But I believed the report to be true, and I determined to attack the infantry if it remained still upon the ground. I apprised Colonel Stevenson of this determination, and desired him to move forward. Upon marching on, I found not only their infantry, but their cavalry, encamped in a most formidable position, which, by the by, it would have been impossible for me to attack, if, when the infantry changed their front, they had taken care to occupy the only passage there was across the Kaitna.

“When I found their whole army, and contemplated their position, of course I considered whether I should attack immediately, or should delay till the following morning. I determined upon the immediate attack, because I saw clearly that if I attempted to return to my camp at Naulniah, I should have been followed thither by the whole of the enemy's cavalry, and I might have suffered some loss: instead of attacking, I might have been attacked there in the morning; and, at all events, I should have found it very difficult to secure my baggage, as I did, in any place so near the enemy's camp, in which they should know it was: I therefore determined upon the attack immediately.

“It was certainly a most desperate one; but our guns were not silenced. Our bullocks, and the people who were employed to drive them, were shot, and they could not all be drawn on; but some were; and all continued to fire as long as the fire could be of any use.

“Desperate as the action was, our loss would not have exceeded one-half of its present amount, if it had not been for a mistake in the officer who led the picquets which were on the right of the first line.

“When the enemy changed their position, they threw their left to Assye, in which village they had some infantry; and it was surrounded by cannon. As soon as I saw that, I directed the officer commanding the picquets to keep out of shot from that village; instead of that, he led directly upon it; the 79th, which were on the right of the first line, followed the picquets, and the great loss we sustained was in these two bodies. Another evil which resulted from this mistake was the neces-

sity of introducing the cavalry into the cannonade and the action long before it was time, by which that corps lost many men, and its unity and efficiency, which I intended to bring forward in a close pursuit at the heel of the day. But it was necessary to bring forward the cavalry to save the remains of the 79th and the picquets, which would otherwise have been entirely destroyed. Another evil resulting from it was, that we had then no reserve left, and a parcel of straggling horse cut up our wounded; and straggling infantry, who had pretended to be dead, turned their guns upon our backs.

“After all, notwithstanding the attack upon Assye by our right and the cavalry, no impression was made upon the corps collected there till I made a movement upon it with some troops taken from our left, after the enemy’s right had been defeated; and it would have been as well to have left it alone entirely till that movement was made. However, I do not wish to cast any reflection upon the officer who led the picquets. I lament the consequences of his mistake; but I must acknowledge that it was not possible for a man to lead a body into a hotter fire than he did the picquets on that day against Assye.

“After the action there was no pursuit, because our cavalry was not then in a state to pursue. It was near dark when the action was over; and we passed the night on the field of battle.

“Colonel Stevenson marched with part of his corps as soon as he heard that I was about to move forward, and he also moved upon Bokerdun. He did not receive my letter till evening. He got entangled in a nullah in the night, and arrived at Bokerdun, about eight miles from me to the westward, at eight in the morning of the 24th.

“The enemy passed the night of the 23rd at about twelve miles from the field of battle, twelve from the Adjutee Ghaut, and eight from Bokerdun. As soon as they heard that Colonel Stevenson was advancing to the latter place, they set off, and never stopped till they had got down the Ghaut, where they arrived in the course of the night of the 24th. After his difficulties of the night of the 23rd, Colonel Stevenson was in no state to follow them, and did not do so till the 26th. The reason for which he was detained till that day was, that I might have the benefit of the assistance of his surgeons to dress my wounded soldiers, many of whom, after all, were not dressed for nearly a week, for want of the necessary number of medical men. I had also a long and difficult negotiation with the Nizam’s Sirdars, to induce them to admit my wounded into any of the Nizam’s forts; and I could not allow them to depart until I had settled that point. Besides, I knew that the enemy had passed the Ghaut, and that to pursue them a day sooner or a day later could make no difference. Since the battle, Stevenson has taken

Barhumpoor and Asseergur. I have defended the Nizam's territories. They first threatened them through the Caperbay Ghaut, and I moved to the southward, to the neighbourhood of Aurungabad. I then saw clearly that they intended to attempt the siege of Asseergur, and I moved up to the northward, and descended the Adjuntee Ghaut, and stopped Scindiah. Stevenson took Asseergur on the 21st. I heard the intelligence on the 24th, and that the Rajah of Berar had come to the south with an army. I ascended the Ghaut on the 25th, and have marched a hundred and twenty miles since in eight days, by which I have saved all our convoys and the Nizam's territories. I have been near the Rajah of Berar two days, in the course of which he has marched five times; and I suspect that he is now off to his own country, finding that he can do nothing in this. If that is the case, I shall soon begin an offensive operation there.

“But these exertions, I fear, cannot last; and yet, if they are relaxed, such is the total absence of all government and means of defence in this country, that it must fall. It makes me sick to have anything to do with them; and it is impossible to describe their state.”

TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

“Cowderabad, 28th November, 1803.

“I HAVE received your letter of the 1st instant, and have read with great pleasure and interest your clear and satisfactory account of the battle of Assye. You say you wish to have my opinion on your side; if it can be of any use to you, you have it on your side, not only in that battle, but in the conduct of the campaign. The merit of this last is exclusively your own; the success of every battle must always be shared, in some degree, by the most skilful General with his troops. I must own I have always been averse to the practice of carrying on war with too many scattered armies, and also of fighting battles by the combined attacks of separate divisions. When several armies invade a country on separate sides, unless each of them is separately a match for the enemy's whole army, there is always a danger of their being defeated one after another; because, having a shorter distance to march, he may draw his force together, and march upon a particular army before it can be supported. When a great army is encamped in separate divisions, it must, of course, be attacked in separate columns. But Indian armies are usually crowded together on a spot, and will, I imagine, be more easily routed by a single attack, than by two or three separate attacks by the same force. I see perfectly the necessity of your advancing by one route, and Colonel Stevenson by another, in

order to get clear of the defiles in one day ; I know also that you could not have reconnoitred the enemy's position without carrying on your whole army ; but I have still some doubts whether the immediate attack was, under all circumstances, the best measure you could have adopted. Your objections to delay are, that the enemy might have gone off and frustrated your design of bringing them to battle, or that you might have lost the advantage of attack, by their attacking you in the morning. The considerations which would have made me hesitate are, that you could hardly expect to defeat the enemy with less than half the loss you actually suffered ; that after breaking their infantry, your cavalry, even when entire, was not sufficiently strong to pursue any distance, without which you could not have done so much execution among them as to counterbalance your own loss ; and lastly, that there was a possibility of your being repulsed ; in which case, the great superiority of the enemy's cavalry, with some degree of spirit which they would have derived from success, might have rendered a retreat impracticable. Suppose that you had not advanced to the attack, but remained under arms, after reconnoitring at long-shot distance, I am convinced that the enemy would have decamped in the night, and as you could have instantly followed them, they would have been obliged to leave all or most of their guns behind. If they ventured to keep their position, which seems to me incredible, the result would still have been equally favourable : you might have attacked them in the course of the night ; their artillery would have been of little use in the dark ; it would have fallen into your hands, and their loss of men would very likely have been greater than yours. If they determined to attack you in the morning, as far as I can judge from the different reports that I have heard of the ground, I think it would have been the most desirable event that could have happened, for you would have had it in your power to attack them, either in the operation of passing the river, or after the whole had passed, but before they were completely formed. They must, however, have known that Stevenson was approaching, and that he might possibly join you in the morning, and this circumstance alone would, I have no doubt, have induced them to retreat in the night. Your mode of attack, though it might not have been the safest, was undoubtedly the most decided and heroic ; it will have the effect of striking greater terror into the hostile armies than could have been done by any victory gained with the assistance of Colonel Stevenson's division, and of raising the national military character, already high in India, still higher.

“ I hear that negotiations are going on at a great rate ; Scindiah may possibly be sincere, but it is more likely that one view, at least, in opening them, is to encourage his army, and to deter his tributaries

from insurrection. After fighting so hard, you are entitled to dictate your own terms of peace.

“ You seem to be out of humour with the country in which you are, from its not being defensible. The difficulty of defence must, I imagine, proceed either from want of posts, or from the scarcity of all kind of supplies; the latter is most likely the case, and it can only be remedied by your changing the scene of action. The Nizam ought to be able to defend his own country, and if you could contrive to make him exert himself a little, you would be at liberty to carry the war into the Berar Rajah's country, which, from the long enjoyment of peace, ought to be able to furnish provisions. He would probably make a separate peace, and you might then draw from his country supplies for carrying on the war with Scindiah.”

TO COLONEL READ.

“ Punganoor, 6th March, 1804.

“ I HAVE only heard from you once since you left India, in the few lines that you sent me from Portsmouth. I have, I believe, only written to you twice, owing partly to my being much occupied, and partly to my not being sure whether you were in England, or on your way back to this country. My secluded situation prevents me from hearing what is going on until long after it is known to every one else, so that I can never communicate any thing that you will not have heard both earlier and more correctly from some others of your friends. Many causes have concurred to keep me at a distance from society, and to force me to travel about my districts alone, where I have more business of different kinds than I can well manage. The subordinate collectors having been all removed, and a complete new set given to me last year, has been a great hindrance to my operations; for it has obliged me not only to continue to retain the greatest part of the country in my own hands, but to look after, for a time, the internal management of the other divisions. I am also a kind of commissary and agent to the army, for almost all their supplies are drawn from this province. I should have thought nothing of it, had it been only to equip them at first starting, but the demand is increasing. Ever since November, 1802, when the preparations for war began, I have never had less than 10,000, and sometimes above 30,000 bullocks in motion; and though peace has now been concluded, I am at this moment sending off 10,000 Wurdah bullocks with rice to General Wellesley's army beyond Aurungabad. I have not only always had the purchase of the supplies, but the payment of most of the bullocks. This bullock business, together with sheep, boats, pay of boatmen, and I do not

know what, and the endless disputes and correspondence about accounts, bills, &c., leave me very little time for revenue. For more than three years I have not had a single holiday, and have very rarely risen from business before sunset. I could not have believed, had I not made the experiment, that it was possible to undergo such a constant drudgery; but, after all, my time is in some respects very unprofitably employed. You did infinitely more in one month in investigating the condition of the inhabitants, and the principles of revenue, than I do in twelve. Two very bad seasons in this country, and all over the Deccan, have greatly augmented the usual difficulty of finding subsistence for the armies. In some parts of the Deccan there is a famine, and the scarcity here very nearly approaches to that calamity. The revenue of course has suffered greatly, and now stands at about fourteen lacs of pagodas, instead of sixteen, to which it would have risen this year, had the two last been but ordinary seasons. Now let us turn to other concerns, for you have already had enough of mine. You will be happy to learn that your two old deputies, Macleod and Graham, are both again Collectors. Macleod has probably given you himself his motives for quitting Malabar; his resignation occasioned great surprise at Madras, and gave, I believe, great offence to Lord Clive, who had selected him for the appointment. Lord Bentinck gave him, without any solicitation on his part, the collectorship of Arcot. Macleod thinks that Hurdis has befriended him in this affair. Graham accompanied General Wellesley's army in March last, as deputy-paymaster, and on the fall of Ahmednuggur was appointed by the General, Collector of that province, and as it has been ceded by Scindiah, he will probably remain there. I am not certain that it will not be exchanged for some other territory. I hope, however, notwithstanding its being insulated, that it will be retained as a point of junction for our detachments at Poonah and Hyderabad, and as an advanced station, from whence we may, if necessary, hereafter carry our arms beyond the Nerbuddah.

“I shall not enter into any details of the late war with the Mahrattas, for, not having been myself in the field, I could give you no information that you will not find in the newspapers. I never entertained any doubt that our success would be great, but I did not expect that it would have been so rapid, for I could not have believed that the enemy would have shown so little exertion as they did. Our constant succession of victories is chiefly to be attributed to the Bengal and Madras armies having had a much greater body of regular cavalry than in any former war, and to the conduct of Generals Lake and Wellesley in availing themselves of this circumstance to make the campaign entirely offensive, to give the enemy no respite, and to push all their advantages to the utmost. But other causes also contributed greatly to favour our opera-

tions. The Mahrattas in general were much weakened by their long dissensions, and Scindiah in particular had suffered heavy losses in his war with Holkar. The introduction of a great body of regular infantry, with a vast train of artillery, had made his armies unwieldy, and, in order to keep up the foot, the cavalry were neglected. They were deficient in number and quality, and, as they were considered only a secondary corps to the infantry, they had lost all their spirit of enterprise. They gave very little support to their infantry in the different battles that were fought, and they attempted nothing alone. They fell in during the campaign with several convoys, and, though the escorts were but inconsiderable, they did not cut off one of them. I have heard much said of the excellence of Scindiah's battalions, and of the danger to which our power in this country would have been exposed had he been permitted to go on much longer augmenting them. But my own opinion is the very reverse of this, for I think that he could have had no chance of success, except from his cavalry; and that, as he must have reduced them in proportion as he increased his infantry, every addition to that part of his army would only have tended to weaken his real force. Had he been satisfied with peons instead of battalions, and with a few long field-pieces instead of a cumbersome train of artillery, and had he applied the funds consumed by his infantry to the equipment of his cavalry, his army might not have been so able to meet us in battle, but it would have been much better calculated than it was to have carried on a protracted, harassing, and doubtful war. His infantry was regular enough, but it wanted steadiness, in which it must always be greatly inferior to ours, from the want of a national spirit among its officers, and of the support and animating example of European regiments. At the battle of Assye, the severest that took place in the course of the war, I do not recollect, among all our killed and wounded officers, one that suffered from a musket-ball or a bayonet—a convincing proof that the Mahratta infantry made very little serious opposition. Its discipline, its arms, and uniform clothing, I regard merely as the means of dressing it out for the sacrifice. Its numerous artillery prevents it from escaping by rapid marches; it is forced to fight, deserted by its cavalry, and slaughtered with very little loss on our side. Scindiah, by abandoning the old system of Mahratta warfare, and placing his chief dependence on disciplined infantry, facilitated the conquest of the states of Poligars and Rajahs, whose forts and jungles might have secured them against his horse; but he at the same time disabled himself from maintaining a contest with us, for he reduced the war to a war of battles and sieges, instead of one of marches and convoys. As long as his battalions are not under French influence, by being commanded by officers of that nation, it is more our interest that



he should keep them up than that he should disband them and raise horse.

“ The treaties lately dictated to the Berar Rajah and Scindiah by General Wellesley have given us a greater accession of territory than we ever gained by any former war. The revenues of Scindiah’s cessions are said to amount to one crore and sixty-seven lacs of rupees, and those of the Berarman’s to about seventy. I can state this only as report, for I have not seen the schedules. The cessions of Berar are Cuttack, and all the districts intermixed with the Nizam’s which formerly paid a part of their revenue to both powers. You will see Scindiah’s cessions in the treaty which I enclose ; they comprehend all the countries north of Jeypoor, Oudepore, and Gohud, together with all his claims upon these Rajahships, which will now, under our protection, form a barrier between him and the Bengal provinces. We have only to put our armies on a better footing to be completely masters of India, and to defy all European and native enemies. I wish you were twenty years younger, and back again here to bundobust some of our new acquisitions. I hear different accounts of your health ; some say that you are ill, others that you are well ; I hope, at any rate, that you are better than when you left India ; that you enjoy the climate of your native land, its society, and all the wonders of its commerce and manufactures. I have lately had a letter from your old friend Narnapah, telling me that you have sent him a magnificent present of silver atterdans, kullumdans, &c., and that he is praying Shuborore for the return of Huzzoret. I imagine that, if you have any design of coming out again, you will defer it till after you have seen the event of Buonaparte’s threatened invasion, for until that is decided the sceae in Europe is much more interesting than in India. I shall in a very few years be rich enough to pay you a visit, but I shall be so old that it will be hardly worth while to go home.”

FROM MAJOR MUNRO.

[*To a Friend on his Marriage.*]

“ Guddacull, 17th March, 1803.

“ I LONG ago heard that you were among the stricken deer, which fully accounted for your long silence. The only thing that surprises me is that you should so soon have begun to think of your old friends and of the common affairs of the world. You have certainly got the start of me in making your permanent settlement, though I would not have suspected it, from the outrageous manner in which you always talked of matrimony. I really believe that your arguments against it have contributed greatly to keep me single, by always putting me upon

my guard, whenever I spied the enemy blushing in a female form. My happiness, I am afraid, must still be deferred for a few years, and most likely to the period when I shall prefer the comforts of a nurse to the charms of a wife; when I shall be so sun-dried, and so cased in flannel armour, that no dart shot from any eye, black or blue, shall ever reach my heart. What a life have I led! I have wasted the best of my days without the joys of love, and without the endearments of domestic bliss. I can easily see from your letter that Mrs. — is a beautiful girl, and, from what you call the short work that you made, or rather that she made with you, that she is an enchanting woman; but all the fascinations of form and manner soon lose their power unless the man is held by superior attractions. If a woman has not a disposition somewhat similar to that of her husband—if she has not those endowments which can render her an amiable and intelligent companion—he will soon regard her with indifference. Mrs. — is so young, and fortunately so far from scenes of dissipation, that you may direct her mind to any pursuits you please; and you may give her a taste for reading, which, besides being a perpetual fund of innocent amusement to herself, will make her society more interesting to you and to your friends.

“Yours ever,

“THOMAS MUNRO.”

A letter to his father, written about this time, after going over much of the ground already touched upon in the correspondence with Colonel Read, concludes in the following terms:—

“The treaties with Scindiah and the Berar Rajah give us the greatest accession of territory ever acquired on any former occasion: not having seen the schedules, I do not exactly know the amount of the revenues, but I have heard that the cessions from Berar are estimated at sixty lacs, and from Scindiah at one crore and seventy lacs of rupees. We get the provinces of Delhi and Agra, and all Scindiah’s possessions to the northward of Jeypoor, Jondipoor, and Gohud, a part of Guzerat, Ahmednuggur in the Deccan, and Cuttack, which connects the northern Circars with Bengal. General Wellesley dictated the terms; but he probably received some assistance in the details from John Malcolm, who has since concluded a subsidiary treaty with Scindiah. The gradual conquest of India might have been considered as certain when Bangalore was taken; for when the Mysore power was broken, there was no other that could resist us. Tippoo himself was incapable of making any great exertions in the war in which he lost his life. Several of the principal powers have already received a subsidiary force, and there is little doubt that most of the others will follow their example

hereafter, either with the view of defending themselves against external enemies or rebellious competitors; for in Eastern governments the death of the reigning prince is usually followed by a disputed succession. Whenever they submit to receive a subsidiary force to be constantly stationed in their dominions, they have in fact lost their independence. They are influenced by the councils of the British Government in India—they become accustomed to its superiority—they sink into the rank of tributaries—and their territories, on the failure of heirs, or perhaps sooner, will form provinces of the British Empire. I did not think of writing so long a letter when I began; the thermometer is now 106 in my tent, and the ink will hardly flow from my pen, so that it is high time I should stop."

## TO HIS MOTHER.

"Anantpoor, 20th August, 1804.

"It gives me great pleasure to hear that your health is better than it has been for some years past; and that you are able to enjoy the pleasure of walking; and that you sometimes go as far as Edinburgh. If you are as fond of gardens as in former times, it must be a great comfort to you to have one so near the house. I would give a great deal to have here such a garden as that at Leven Lodge; but instead of the shady groves in which it is supposed that we Indians pass our lives, there is hardly a tree between this place and Poonah. I am endeavouring to convert about an acre of ground into a garden, but find it very difficult to get either seed or plants. All that I have in it are fourteen fig-trees, about ten or twelve inches high, which survived out of a great number of plants brought from a small garden at Cuddapah, above a hundred miles distant. I have also a few vines, for they are hardy and thrive everywhere. I prefer the fig and the vine to most other fruit-trees, because they bear in ten or fifteen months; most other fruit-trees, in this country, do not bear in less than eight or ten years. I have sown the seeds of the mango, the orange, and several others; but I do not mean to stay in this country to see them in blossom. I have no river at my garden's end, but a deep well, from which I draw water with the assistance of a wheel and four bullocks. It is only in the great rivers in India that running water is seen throughout the year; such streams as Kelvin, or even Clyde, and all others downwards, only flow after a fall of rain, and all the rest of the year present nothing to the eye but a bed of dry sand. In this part of India we have none of the verdant fields that are everywhere seen in Britain. The waste lands are always brown and naked, with hardly a blade of grass: the corn-fields, after the crop is cut, soon become perfectly bare, and nothing is to be seen

but an immense plain of red or black earth, until the grain rises again the following year. In our kitchen-gardens, carrots and onions are better than they are in Europe. My green peas just now are about four inches high, and I despair of ever seeing them reach to five; but this is owing, I believe, to my bad gardening, for many people have them as luxuriantly as in Scotland. My garden is altogether such a miserable place, that I am almost ashamed to go into it, and usually avoid it in my walks: it is however of no great consequence how it is, as I am always absent eight or nine months in the year, and would not have leisure to enjoy its beauties, were it the finest in the world. My father tells me that John has been *dux* of his class for some days: I would rather hear that he was a favourite among his companions, and their *dux* when out of school."

TO HIS SISTER,

"Anantpoor, 22nd July, 1805.

"You are now, I believe, for the first time, a letter or two in my debt: nothing from you has reached me of a later date than the 16th of May, 1804. This correspondence between India and Scotland, between persons who have not seen each other for near thirty years, and who may never meet again, is something like letters from the dead to the living. We are both so changed from what we were, that when I think of home, and take up one of your letters, I almost fancy myself listening to a being of another world. No moral or religious book, not even the Gospel itself, ever calls my attention so powerfully to the shortness of life, as does in some solitary hour the recollection of my friends, and of the long course of days and years that have passed away since I saw them. These ideas occur oftener in proportion as my stay in this country is prolonged; and as the period of my departure from it seems to approach, I look with pleasure to home; but I shall leave India with regret, for I am not satisfied with the subordinate line in which I have moved, and with my having been kept from holding any distinguished military command by the want of rank. I shall never, I fear, be able to sit down quietly to enjoy private life; and I shall most likely return to this country in quest of what I may never obtain.

"My resolution of going home has been strengthened by having this year discovered that my sight is not so good as it was. I find that when writing I must go to the door of my tent for the benefit of light when I wish to mend my pen. I endeavour to believe that this is entirely owing to my having lived so many years in tents under a burning sun. The sun has probably not shone in vain; but I suspect that Time has also had a share in whitening my hair and dimming my sight, His

hand appears now before my eyes only thin and shadowy, like that of one of Ossian's ghosts, but it will grow thick and dark in a few years, and I must therefore return to my native land, and see my friends before it is too late. Alexander will go home in December, if peace is made before that time with the Mahrattas.

"I hope you have been successful in your memorial about Captain Douglas's property. I should not have been sanguine myself, had you not mentioned the able counsel by whom you have been advised."

TO HIS BROTHER,

"Chitweyl, 29th March, 1805.

"I HAVE received your letter of the 25th February, and admire the gallantry and perseverance with which both the Europeans and the Bengal army have returned so often to the assault of Bhurtpore: even if the report of the Europeans being dispirited is well founded, it is not to be wondered at; for I do not believe that any troops in Europe would have preserved their spirit under so many discouraging repulses as they have sustained. Their despondency will soon vanish; a little rest or any trifling success will reanimate their courage. General Lake's official report of the affairs of the 20th and 21st of February makes the loss less than your account, and he says nothing of raising the siege. I should like much to be on the spot, to see how it is conducted; for one would think that there is either a want of skill or of artillery, for all the breaches are stated to have been narrow and steep, and it is therefore not at all surprising that the troops should have been repulsed. When a breach is bad, and the defenders numerous, if they make any resistance at all, it is almost impossible to carry it. The General describes the assault of the 21st as having lasted two hours. Troops who could support such a contest, would certainly have carried the place, had the breach been a good one. I am afraid that your artillery have not been sufficiently numerous to make a proper breach, and to destroy the defences. Was there no possibility of making a lodgment in the breach, though the place could not be carried? The attacks lasted long enough for a party to have made a lodgment, but there might have been some insurmountable obstacle to such a measure being carried into execution, arising from the nature of the defences and the situation of the breach. I wish you could send me a plan of the place and of the attacks, and a sketch of the country between Agra and the Mockundar Pass. I often consult your friend Hearsey's; but though it lays down Bhurt-pore, every thing to the west and south is blank. I hope that the General will persevere in the siege, and if he is deficient in military stores, convert it into a blockade until he gets a supply. I see nothing

gloomy in your situation, but on the contrary, every thing that ought to inspire hope and confidence. The repulses at Bhurtpore give me a higher opinion of the Bengal army than all their victories. We cannot expect that we are to carry on war without meeting any disaster, and that it should be quite a holiday work, in which every thing is to go on as we wish. I see nothing alarming in Meer Khan's irruption into the Dooab and Rohilkund. In our wars here, Hyder and Tippoo have always been in the heart of the Carnatic with a host of cavalry that nothing less than our whole army could face. An army of horse is only formidable when it can keep the enemy in check; when it cannot face his cavalry, nothing is more contemptible. This is the case with Holkar; his cavalry can neither oppose yours, nor venture to attack any considerable detachment of infantry. It appears from your letters, that his infantry is all at Bhurtpore. He can therefore hardly be said to have any army at all; for his infantry is converted into a garrison, and his cavalry into a party of marauders. I see nothing to be apprehended from such an enemy; only persevere in offensive operations, and he must be reduced. I think Scindiah will be too cautious to engage in a new war, but if he does, we shall prevent him from giving you any trouble."

TO HIS MOTHER.

"Raydroog, 23rd October, 1805.

"You will have no cause to accuse me of silence if the last ships reach England without accident; for I believe that I have written three letters to you within these three months. You will see by them that your alarms about my health are groundless, and that I am as well as ever I was at home. My only Indian complaint, as I mentioned in one of these letters, is a slight pain, which I sometimes feel in my back, occasioned by a fall in leaping over a ditch, about twelve or fourteen years ago. You will however think very little of it, when you know that it has never, for a single day, prevented me from riding or taking a morning's walk of about four miles, which I do every day at sunrise, if I do not ride. I feel it most after sitting long in one position. And I am convinced that my father's lumbago at Northside gave him more trouble in a week than mine has given me in twelve years. A much more serious complaint is the deafness which I brought from home, and which is older than my remembrance. The temporary fits which I used to have at home of extemporary deafness are much less frequent in this country; but I am more impatient under them, because a society of grown-up gentlemen are not so easily prevailed upon as my school-fellows were, to raise their voices for my convenience. I have now given you the history of all my ailments, and I imagine they are as few

as fall to the lot of most men of my age, even in Scotland. I have been induced by your letter of the 8th of March, the longest I ever received from you, to repeat all that I wrote in a late letter on the state of my health ; and I mean also to follow your advice of writing oftener, though I should send but a few lines at a time. With respect to going home, it is my intention to leave India next year ; but I have many doubts about adopting your plan of seeking a family of my own. I saw myself some obstacles to it ; but you have raised up many more by your alarming account of the manners of modern ladies. As you exclude youth, and beauty, and family from the qualifications of a wife, I suspect that you mean that I should lead to the altar the widow ———, or some ancient lady, who has composed a treatise on the education of young women. Had I passed all my life at home, I might perhaps, as my sisters say, have been the fittest person to choose a wife for myself. I might have been acquainted with her from her early years, known perfectly her temper and disposition, and been in little danger of being deceived on these points ; but after an absence of near thirty years, spent chiefly in a tent, I shall on my return know as little of the women of my own country as those of any other nation in Europe. And as I shall not have so many opportunities, as younger men, of mixing in female society, I should, if I trusted entirely to my own judgment in the choice of a wife, find most likely, when it was too late, that I had made a bad one. I am therefore inclined to think that it will be the wisest course to be guided by your opinion in this important matter. I am very sorry that you have been obliged to abandon Leven Lodge on account of its distance ; because you will, I am afraid, find the want of the garden. Your new house has the advantage of being nearer Mrs. Erskine ; but from its situation at the corner of two streets, it must be a very noisy place, and can have very little ground. You say that it has more than we had in Glasgow. 'This may well be, for we had none there.'

It will be gathered from various expressions that occur in his correspondence with the members of his family, that Colonel Munro had for some time back meditated at least a temporary return to the land of his birth. Though far from rich, he had managed, in spite of a well-ordered liberality, to accumulate enough, and more than enough, to support him in the position of a gentleman ; and, by length of service, he was entitled to retire on the full allowance of the military rank to which he had attained. It would appear, indeed, that his plans for resigning the collectorship of the Ceded Districts were in progress when an event befell, of which it is not too much to say that it passed like a shock of electricity through

every nerve of the English body politic in India. The calm which seemed to prevail, from one extremity of the Company's territories to another, was suddenly broken by the outbreak of a military revolt at Velore. Two battalions of sepoy, which were in cantonments there, rose upon their own officers and upon a European regiment quartered beside them; and, being favoured by darkness and by the panic which surprise under such circumstances invariably occasions, they succeeded in putting to death many of those whom they attacked, and in shutting up the residue within one of the barracks, where it was impossible that they could be able long to maintain themselves. By great good fortune Colonel Gillespie, one of the bravest soldiers whom the British army has ever produced, happened to be stationed at no great distance from the scene of the disturbance. He was no sooner informed by a fugitive of what had occurred than he put himself at the head of the 23rd regiment of light dragoons, and, galloping to Velore, made short work with the mutineers, whom the very fame of his presence appeared to subdue. The revolt was quelled almost as suddenly as it had broken out, and the ring-leaders, after having been tried and found guilty, were blown away from the mouths of cannon. But the anxiety of Government did not therefore cease: on the contrary, serious fears were entertained lest the spirit which had prematurely shown itself in one place might be fermenting in others; and all officers, particularly those in detached commands, were cautioned to be upon their guard. The following, marked *private* and *confidential*, reached Colonel Munro. It was in the handwriting of Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras:—

“ Fort St. George, August 2nd, 1806.

“ WE have every reason to believe, indeed undoubtedly to know, that the emissaries and adherents of the sons of Tippoo Sultan have been most active below the Ghauts, and it is said that the same intrigues have been carrying on above the Ghauts. Great reliance is said to have been placed upon the Gurrumconda Poligars by the princes. I recommend you to use the utmost vigilance and precaution; and you are hereby authorized, upon any symptom or appearance of insurrection, to take such measures as you may deem necessary. Let me advise you not to place too much dependence on any of the Native troops. It is impossible at this moment to say how far both Native infantry and cavalry may stand



by us in case of need. It has been ingeniously worked up into a question of religion. The minds of the soldiery have been inflamed to the highest state of discontent and disaffection, and upon this feeling has been built the re-establishment of the Mussulman government, under one of the sons of Tippoo Sultan. It is hardly credible that such progress could have been made in so short a time, and without the knowledge of any of us. But, believe me, the conspiracy has extended beyond all belief, and has reached the most remote parts of our army; and the intrigue has appeared to have been every where most successfully carried on. The capture of Velore, and other decided measures in contemplation, accompanied by extreme vigilance on all parts, will, I trust, still prevent a great explosion."

Colonel Munro's answer was as follows:—

" Anantpoor, 11th August, 1806.

" I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 2nd instant. On the first alarm of the conspiracy at Velore, I dispatched orders to watch the proceedings of the principal people of Gurrumconda, for I immediately suspected that the sons of Tippoo Sultan were concerned, and I concluded that if they had extended their intrigues beyond Velore, the most likely places for them to begin with were Chitteldroog, Nundidroog, Gurrumconda, and Seringapatam.

" Gurrumconda is perhaps the quarter in which they would find most adherents, not from anything that has recently happened, but from its cheapness having rendered it the residence of a great number of the disbanded troops of their father, and from the ancestors of Cummer ul Diu Khan having been hereditary Killedars of Gurrumconda under the Mogul empire, before their connexion with Hyder Ally, and acquired a certain degree of influence in the district which is hardly yet done away. The family of Cummer ul Diu is the only one of any consequence attached by the ties of relationship to that of Tippoo Sultan; and I do not think that it has sufficient weight to be at all dangerous without the limits of Gurrumconda.

" The Poligars, I am convinced, never will run any risk for the sake of Tippoo's family. Some of them would be well pleased to join in disturbances of any kind, not with the view of supporting a new government, but of rendering themselves more independent. The most restless among them, the Ghuttim-man, is fortunately in confinement; and I imagine that the others have had little or no correspondence with the Princes. Had it been carried to any length, I should most likely have heard of it from some of the Poligars themselves.

" The restoration of the Sultan never could alone have been the motive

for such a conspiracy. Such an event could have been desirable to none of the Hindoos who form the bulk of the Native troops, and to only a part of the Mussulmans. During the invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder, the Native troops, though ten or twelve months in arrear, though exposed to privations of every kind, though tempted by offers of reward, and though they saw that many who had gone over to him were raised to distinguished situations, never mutinied or showed any signs even of discontent. Occasional mutinies have occurred since that period, but they were always partial, and had no other object than the removal of some particular grievance. The extensive range of the late conspiracy can only be accounted for by the General Orders having been converted into an attack upon religious ceremonies; and though the regulations had undoubtedly no such object, it must be confessed that the prohibition of the marks of caste was well calculated to enable artful leaders to inflame the minds of the ignorant—for there is nothing so absurd but that they will believe it when made a question of religion. However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the sepoys Christians. The rapid progress of the conspiracy is not to be wondered at, for the circulation of the General Orders prepared the way by spreading discontent; and the rest was easily done by the means of the tuppal, and of sending confidential emissaries on leave of absence. The capture of Velore, and, still more, the rescinding of the offensive parts of the regulations, will, I have no doubt, prevent any further commotion—for the causes being removed, the discontent which has been excited will soon subside and be forgotten. The Native troops, sensible of their own guilt, will naturally for some time be full of suspicion and alarm; but it is hardly credible that they will again commit any acts of violence.”

Colonel Munro had previously written to his father on the subject, and I subjoin his letter:—

“Anantpoor, 4th September, 1806.

“My promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel, about which you appear so anxious, is an old affair. I am about half way up the list, next to John Dighton; and Davidson, who has given you so much trouble, is about a dozen lower down. — is, I suppose, gentleman-usher to all old Indians on their arrival in Edinburgh; for I find that he introduces all those who visit you. I imagine that those Indians, from their talking of nothing but India, must be very insipid company to the old resident natives of Scotland.

“I do not admire the plan of the ——’s, in setting George to read so early. Had he been the son of Scribblers, or Mr. Shandy, such an

experiment might have been expected; but I could not have believed that —— would have tried it. She may make her son puny and sickly by such early studies, without making him a bit wiser than other boys who begin three years later: he will get sore eyes and wear a wig, and be tormented by his playfellows.

“Alexander will have written to you of the peace with Holkar. The armies have returned into quarters, and there is at present no likelihood of any of the Native powers interrupting our tranquillity. A very serious mutiny took place in June among the sepoys at Velore, in which sixteen officers and about a hundred Europeans of the 69th regiment lost their lives. The fort was, during some hours, in the possession of the insurgents, but was very gallantly recovered by Colonel Gillespie, who happened very fortunately to be in the command of the cavalry at Arcot, and hastened to Velore on the first alarm with the 23rd light dragoons and 7th regiment Native cavalry. Some of his own letters, of which I enclose a copy, will give you a full account of the affair.

“A committee was appointed to investigate the causes of the insurrection. It has lately been dissolved; but I have not heard what report it has made. I have no doubt, however, that the discontent of the sepoys was originally occasioned by some ill-judged regulations about their dress; and that it broke out into open violence in consequence of being encouraged by the intrigues of Tipoo, son of Moiz ul Din, then a prisoner in the place. The offensive article of the regulations, which occasioned so much mischief, and which has since been rescinded, ran in the following words:—

“10th.—‘It is ordered by the regulations, that a native soldier shall not mark his face to denote his caste, or wear ear-rings when dressed in his uniform. And it is further directed, that at all parades, and upon all duties, every soldier of the battalion shall be clean shaved on the chin. It is directed also, that uniformity, as far as is practicable, be preserved in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair upon the upper lip.’

“This trifling regulation, and a turban, with something in its shape or decorations to which the sepoys are extremely averse, were thought to be so essential to the stability of our power in this country, that it was resolved to introduce them, at the hazard of throwing our Native army into rebellion. One battalion had already at Velore rejected the turban, and been marched to Madras, with handkerchiefs tied about their heads: but the projectors were not discouraged. They pushed on their grand design until they were suddenly stopped short by the dreadful massacre of the 10th of July. They were then filled with alarm: they imagined that there was nothing but disaffection and conspiracy in all quarters, and that there would be a general explosion throughout all our military stations. There was, fortunately, however, no ground for

such apprehensions; for almost every person but themselves was convinced that the sepoy, both from long habit and from interest, were attached to the service—that nothing but an attempt to force the disagreeable regulation upon them would tempt them to commit any outrage, and that whenever this design was abandoned, every danger of commotion would be at an end, and the sepoy would be as tractable and faithful as ever. Their discontent had nothing in it of treason or disaffection; it was of the same kind as that which would have been excited in any nation by a violent attack upon its prejudices.

“Peter the Great found the Russian beard a tough job. Beards and whiskers are not now such weighty matters in Europe as formerly; but even now an order to shave the heads of all the troops in Britain, leaving them only a lock on the crown like Hindoos, or to make all the Presbyterian soldiers wear the image of the Pope or St. Anthony instead of a cockade, would, I suspect, occasion some expressions, if not acts, of disloyalty. A stranger who reads the Madras regulation would naturally suppose that the sepoy's beards descend to their girdles, and that they are bearded like the pard; but this is so far from being the case, that they are now, and have been as long as I can remember, as smooth on the chin as Europeans, making a due allowance for the difference of the razors employed on the two subjects. And as to the hair upon the upper lip, its form is so much like that which sometimes appears upon the upper lip of our own dragoons and grenadiers, that none but the critical eye of a shaver could distinguish the difference. Had the grand projected shaving-match terminated without accident, it might have amused the spectators like a pantomime upon a large stage; but when it is considered how many brave men have lost their lives by it, one cannot help feeling for the national character.”

I add to this a letter addressed to his sister. It was one of the last which he wrote previously to his return home.

“Anantpoor, 5th August, 1807.

“A NUMBER of your letters have reached me within these few months, and I am not sure whether or not I have answered any of them: they are dated the 21st of June and 31st of December, 1806, and the 2nd of January and 6th of February, 1807. One of them contains four sheets and a half, which is perhaps the cause of my not having before ventured to confess that I had received it. The climate of Scotland has, by your account, improved very much in its effects on the growth of trees. I find some difficulty in believing this, because it is contrary to the course of nature; for men and women have always observed, that as they grow older, every thing else degenerates. The

seasons become more inclement, and corn, and animals, and trees more stunted in their growth. But your trees—your ivy—have escaped the influence of this general law, by their having been protected in their tender years by some firs. I remember two of those generous natives of our isle, as you call them, at Northside, and though they were at least fifty years old, they were scarcely twenty feet high: they certainly did not shoot up three or four feet in a season, in their youth; yet they were the two most respectable trees in that part of the country; and I doubt if your woods can show any thing like them. Trees in this country, with the advantage of artificial watering, hardly ever shoot more than six feet in a season, and in general not more than four or five; but much less if goats get among them. I have a great mind to bring home a flock of five hundred or a thousand, if I can get a passage for them, merely to show you what they can do in one day in your elephant woods. I think they would finish the leaves in the forenoon, and the bark in the afternoon. But it is in vain to talk of trees and goats to a politician; and I wish, therefore, that I could tell you who this Mr. Paul is, about whom you ask. Some say that he is a tailor, who brought out a long bill against some of Lord Wellesley's Staff, and was in consequence provided for; others say that he was an adventurer, who sold knickknacks to the Nabobs of Oude. All that I know for certain is, that he is a great patriot, and that if you are obliged to get patriots from India, it is high time that I were home.

“I am now preparing to quit this country: I have written for a passage, and mean to go to Madras next month; and if nothing unexpectedly occurs to detain me, I shall sail in October, and reach England, I hope, in March. I shall leave India with great regret, for I shall carry with me only a moderate competency, while by remaining four or five years longer I should double my fortune; this, however, is of little consequence, as I am not expensive. But what I am chiefly anxious about is, what I am to do when I go home. I have no rank in the army there, and could not be employed upon an expedition to the Continent, or any other quarter; and as I am a stranger to the generous natives of your isle, I should be excluded from every other line as well as military, and should have nothing to do but to lie down in a field like the farmer's boy, and look at the lark sailing through the clouds. I wish to see our father and mother, and shall therefore make the voyage; but I much fear that I shall soon get tired of an idle life, and be obliged to return to this country for employment.”

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## CHAPTER XI.

## Colonel Munro in Europe.

THE promise which Colonel Munro had given in the preceding letter to his sister, he made immediate preparations to fulfil. Having resigned his appointment as collector in the Ceded Provinces, and arranged his private affairs in a satisfactory manner, he proceeded to Madras—where, early in October, he took his passage in one of the ships of the season, and sailed for England. The voyage, considering that fleets were obliged in those days to seek the protection of a convoy, was a favourable one. On the 5th of April, 1808, he landed at Deal; whence, without longer pause than was absolutely necessary for refreshment, he travelled post to London. Eight and twenty years and upwards had run their course since he first entered that great city only to leave it again. They had wrought their accustomed changes in the outward aspect of things, and he marvelled as he beheld them. He looked within himself, and perceived there changes still more palpable. It was not so much the lapse of time as the variety of scenes through which he had passed, and the experience of human life thence arising, that appeared to have made an old man of him. Yet there lingered in his heart a yearning desire to revisit the scenes of his youth, as if it had been possible to repeople them with youth's companions, or even to look at them through the bright medium which youth interposes between the outward sense and the objects to which it is directed. He made no effort to restrain, far less to extinguish this feeling; though at each new mile of his northward journey it took a deeper and a deeper colouring. His mother, for whom he entertained the deepest affection, had died a year before he left India. Two of his brothers and many of his early friends were gone likewise, and his father had fallen into that melancholy state when the conversation even of those nearest and dearest to us no longer gives

pleasure. A letter to his sister, written in the autumn of this year, though it makes no allusion to these and other bereavements, seems to indicate that the gratification of a wish long cherished, and often to herself expressed, had brought much more of melancholy than of enjoyment with it.

“ Glasgow, 25th October, 1808.

“ YOUR letters to Alexander and me, without date as usual, have arrived just as punctually as if they had had that qualification. We shall not be in Edinburgh till the 2nd November, and instead of paying you a visit at Ammondell, I must, I believe, stay at home until I recover my hearing; for I am now deafer than ever I was in my life, owing to a cold which I caught, or rather which caught me, a day or two before I left Edinburgh. I have been little more than a dumb spectator of all the gaiety which you talk of, for I can hardly hear a word that is said. I never was so impatient under deafness as at present, when I meet every moment in my native city old acquaintances, asking fifty questions, which they are obliged to repeat four or five times before they can make me comprehend them. Some of them stare at me, and think, no doubt, that I am come home because I am deranged. I am so entirely incapable of taking any part in conversation, that I have no pleasure in company, and go into it merely to save appearances. A solitary walk is almost the only thing in which I have any enjoyment. I have been twice at Northside, and though it rained without ceasing' on both days, it did not prevent me from rambling up and down the river from Claysloup to the Aqueduct Bridge. I stood above an hour at Jackson's Dam, looking at the water rushing over, while the rain and withered leaves were descending thick about me, and while I recalled the days that are past. The wind whistling through the trees, and the water tumbling over the dam, had still the same sound as before; but the darkness of the day, and the little smart box perched upon the opposite bank, destroyed much of the illusion, and made me feel that former times were gone. I don't know how it is, but when I look back to early years, I always associate sunshine with them. When I think of Northwood-side, I always think of a fine day, with the sunbeams streaming down upon Kelvin and its woody banks. I do not enter completely into early scenes of life in gloomy, drizzling weather; and I mean to devote the first sunny day to another visit to Kelvin, which, whatever you may say, is worth ten such paltry streams as your Ammon.”

It appears from a previous communication to his sister, that Colonel Munro was not among the number of those who, after

spending their best years in India, amid the excitement of public business, expect to find at once enjoyment and repose in the retirement of a country life. His views of men and things were a great deal too sober for this; he understood, before hazarding the experiment, that an active mind, even if it be somewhat overworked, soon ceases to tolerate the burthen of absolute idleness; and that mere voluntary occupation, however improving in itself, fails to supply the void which has been occasioned by the cessation of urgent public matters. A few months' experience of the realities of his new position fully confirmed him in this persuasion. He spent a winter in Edinburgh, mixing in the society of the place, and attending the lectures of several of the professors, particularly those of Dr. Hope, professor of chemistry; and he looked about for a desirable estate in which to invest a portion of his capital, with the intention sooner or later of devoting his attention to agriculture. But one by one these different sources of interest lost their charm, and he betook himself to London. Here a wider field lay open to him, and he entered upon it with characteristic activity. Society—political, literary, and scientific—received him gladly. He met the advances which were made to him with cordiality, and in spite of his deafness gave as well as received both entertainment and edification. One of his favourite amusements was to be present in the courts of law, and to observe the manner in which advocates and judges conducted themselves. He was likewise a great frequenter of the Houses of Lords and Commons; and he studied in private, among other sciences, political economy, of which Mr. Ricardo was then looked upon as the Coryphæus. Still, by little and little, these pursuits palled upon him—he accordingly renewed his correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, then in the full career of his Peninsular triumphs, and expressed a strong desire to join him. Though not in a position to print any of the letters which passed between them, I am enabled, on his Grace's personal authority, to state that he desired, and even made an effort to find employment for Colonel Munro in the Commissariat Department, but that unavoidable circumstances prevented it. Disappointed here, Colonel Munro entered into communication with Sir John Hope, afterwards Lord Hopetoun, and accompanied that distinguished officer in the expedition to the Scheldt, in which Sir John Hope



acted as second in command. I much regret that, if he wrote any letters from Walcheren, they have either not been preserved or I have been unable to trace them. All, therefore, that I am permitted to say concerning this episode in his career is, that he served as an amateur at the siege of Flushing, and lived all the while as the guest of Sir John Hope. But other and perhaps more congenial employment was in preparation for him, on which, soon after his return from that ill-advised and worse-managed expedition, he entered.

As the period drew near which was to determine the relation in which the East India Company was henceforth to stand towards the British nation—whether its charter of exclusive trade to places east of the Cape was to expire altogether, or to be renewed in its integrity, or to suffer modification—a violent spirit of party began, as is usual among us in similar circumstances, to manifest itself in all circles which felt or fancied that there was a chance of their being affected, either directly or indirectly, by the decision of the legislature. The Court of Directors, and the Company in general, were, as a matter of course, steady advocates of an absolute renewal; the mercantile interest, particularly in the out-ports, demanded a total abolition; and his Majesty's ministers calculated, with all the nicety of which they were capable, on which side the probabilities of an increase to the public revenue were likely to be. It followed, as a necessary consequence, that a series of inquiries took place before the House of Commons, and that every man of note who was supposed to be conversant with the merits of the question at issue appeared at the bar to give his evidence. Among others Colonel Munro was examined; and the Fifth Report on Indian Affairs—one of the ablest documents ever laid upon the table of the House—shows that no opinion carried greater weight with it than his. It would be cruel to the general reader were I to carry him into the intricacies of a discussion which is now as much a legend of times gone by as the great agrarian dispute under the Roman consulate; but I think that he will not read without interest a paper which Colonel Munro drew up, because the whole pith of the matter seems to be included in it. It will be seen that Colonel Munro argues like a man on whose mind a knowledge of the true principles of commerce had already dawned. An uncompromising advocate of the

doctrine of free trade in the abstract, he still contends for the wisdom of rendering it free on both sides; and augurs little from the opening of the outports only, because at that time British manufactured goods could not compete, in quality and cheapness, with Indian manufactured goods in the Indian market. The wheel of fortune has gone round in this respect; and British calicoes and woollen pieces, to the great misfortune of the native weavers, now fulfil the prophecy which in certain contingencies Munro hazarded concerning them.

MEMORANDUM ON OPENING THE TRADE WITH INDIA TO THE OUTPORTS,  
1ST FEBRUARY, 1813.

“THE discussions between his Majesty’s ministers and the Directors of the East India Company, regarding the renewal of the Charter, have apparently broken off upon a point which neither party seem at first to have looked forward to, as coming within the range of concessions to be made to public opinion. The opening of the import trade from India directly to the outports of the United Kingdom is never once mentioned by Lord Melville in his letters of the 28th December, 1808, and 17th December, 1811. Though he insists on the admission of the ships as well as the goods of private merchants to the trade of India as a preliminary condition, yet this applies only to the exports from the outports and the imports to the Port of London; and in one of his last communications to the Directors, on the 4th of March, 1812, in answer to the sixth article of the hints submitted to him by that body, viz. ‘The whole of the Indian trade to be brought to the Port of London, and the goods sold at the Company’s sales,’—he observes, that the adoption of the regulation suggested in this proposition will probably tend to the security and advantage of the revenue.

“Lord Buckinghamshire’s letter of the 27th of April, 1812, contains the first notice of an intention to open the import trade to the outports; and in his letters of the 24th December, 1812, and 4th January, 1813, he states that this change in the original arrangement had been the result of personal conferences with persons interested in the trade of the outports, who had shown that the liberty of export without that of import would be nugatory.

“The sentiments of the Directors, on the opening of the trade, had long been known to his Majesty’s Government. It might have been expected, therefore, that ministers would at once have formed their own plan, and proceeded to carry it into effect; or if, before taking this step, they wished to receive every suggestion by which it might be im-

proved, it might have been expected that they would have begun with examining the petitions, and hearing the delegates from the outports; that they would then have heard the objections of the Directors to the claims of the outports—admitted them if just, rejected them if otherwise; and, finally, have adopted their own plan, either as it originally stood, or with such amendments as might have been judged expedient. But instead of following this course, ministers enter into a long negotiation with the Directors: they bring forward no complete system; they discuss insulated points, keeping others in reserve, as if the Directors had been the agents of a foreign power; they confer with the Delegates, and call upon the Directors to relinquish to the outports the right of importing direct from India, which they themselves, until a very late period of the discussions, had evidently no idea of conceding. Whether both parties knew previously, or not, that to the outports the right of exporting without that of importing direct would be nugatory, the appearance at least of such a knowledge ought to have been avoided.

“The Directors, however, by not objecting to Lord Melville’s declaration that ships should clear out from the outports, had virtually acceded to it, and ought therefore to have agreed also to the claim of importing direct, provided it could be shown that this measure would be productive of no serious injury to the Company or the public. Among the evils which they regarded as the inevitable consequence of it, were, the great additional facility of smuggling, the diminution of their sales and profits to such a degree as to incapacitate them from paying their dividends, and of necessity the complete breaking up of the system by which India is now governed. Ministers maintained that, as guardians of the public revenue, they were as much interested as the Directors in the prevention of smuggling, and that regulations adequate to this purpose could easily be framed. It was surely no very unreasonable request, on the part of the Directors, to be made acquainted with those regulations, on the success or failure of which the very existence of the Company would probably depend; but ministers refuse to give them this satisfaction, and require that they shall consent to run the risk of annihilation, on the assurance that a remedy will be found perfectly competent to save them. Ministers were bound to have shown clearly, not only that smuggling could be prevented, but that very important benefits would accrue to the public from the opening of the trade to the outports, before they pledged themselves to so great an innovation; for, without weighty and manifest advantages, what wise statesman would hazard such a change in a system which has been found so eminently useful in all the main points for which it was intended? It is well known that smuggling has been carried on to a great extent in the river Thames; that it is only within these few years that means have been

devised to restrain it at all, and that it is still too frequently practised with impunity. It would of course extend in proportion as the field for it was widened; and if it has not yet been subdued in the river Thames, in what time, it may be asked, can we rationally hope that, by any set of regulations, it will be effectually repressed in the numerous creeks along the coasts of Scotland and Ireland? Have such regulations been yet prepared? and have the Commissioners of Customs and of Excise expressed their confidence that they will be efficacious? If they have not, the experiment of a free trade with India should for the present be confined to the Port of London. For this restriction the Directors have, on their side, the high authority of some of our most eminent statesmen—Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the late Lord Melville. Against it the ministers have, in their favour, commercial theory and the arguments of the outports, promising great commercial advantages.

“No candid man, who considers fairly the correspondence that has passed on this subject, can resist the belief that government has throughout been guided solely by a view to the public good; and we may therefore infer, that besides the security of the revenue, the advantages which it contemplates are, the encouragement of our own manufactures by an increased export, and the benefit both of India and this country by an augmented importation of Indian produce.

“Now as to the exports, it is not likely that they will ever, unless very slowly, be much extended; opposed by moral and physical obstacles, by religion, by civil institutions, by climate, and by the skill and ingenuity of the people of India.

“Some increase there will undoubtedly be, but such as will arise principally from the increase of European establishments, and of the mixed race which springs up in their chief settlements.

“No nation will take from another what it can furnish cheaper and better itself. In India, almost every article which the inhabitants require is made cheaper and better than in Europe. Among these are all cotton and silk manufactures, leather, paper, domestic utensils of brass and iron, and implements of agriculture. Their coarse woollens, though bad, will always keep their ground, from their superior cheapness. Their finer camlets are warmer and more lasting than ours.

“Glass-ware is in little request, except with a very few principal natives, and, among them, is confined to mirrors and lamps; and it is only such natives as are much connected with Europeans, who purchase these articles. They keep them, not to gratify their own taste, but to display to their European friends when they receive their occasional visits; at all other times they are put out of the way as useless incumbrances. Their simple mode of living, dictated both by caste and climate, renders all our furniture and ornaments for the decoration of

the house and the table utterly unserviceable to the Hindoos ; living in low mud-houses, eating on the bare earth, they cannot require the various articles used among us. They have no tables ; their houses are not furnished, except those of the rich, which have a small carpet, or a few mats and pillows. The Hindoos eat alone, many from caste in the open air, others under sheds, and out of leaves of trees, in preference to plates. But this is the picture, perhaps, of the unfortunate native reduced to poverty by European oppression under the Company's monopoly ? No—it is equally that of the highest and richest Hindoo in every part of India. It is that of the minister of state. His dwelling is little better than a shed : the walls are naked, and the mud-floor, for the sake of coolness, is every morning sprinkled with a mixture of water and cow-dung. He has no furniture in it. He distributes food to whoever wants it ; but he gives no grand dinners to his friends. He throws aside his upper garment, and, with nothing but a cloth round his loins, he sits down half-naked, and eats his meal alone, upon the bare earth, and under the open sky.

“These simple habits are not peculiar to the Hindoos. The Moham-medan also, with a few exceptions among the higher classes, conforms to them.

“If we reason from the past to the future, we can have no well-founded expectation of any considerable extension of our exports. If it were as easy, as some suppose, to introduce the use of foreign articles, it would have been done long ago.

“From the most distant ages of antiquity there was a constant intercourse between India and the countries on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, without the introduction of foreign manufactures among the Hindoos ; and since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, there has been an extensive trade with the western nations of Europe, without any one of them having been more successful than the ancients in prevailing upon the Hindoos to change their customs so far as to use their commodities in preference to their own. Neither the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, nor the English, have in this respect effected any considerable change ; but this will be imputed to the restraints imposed by the monopolies of trading companies. Let us impute to this cause all that we can. Still we should expect that some progress would have been made in three centuries ; that if all the natives could not purchase foreign articles, the rich would, and that the demand would be greatest at the chief seats of European trade, and lessen gradually towards the interior. But the inhabitants on the coast are as little changed as in the interior. The very domestics of Europeans adopt none of their customs, and use none of their commodities.

“The monopoly-price, it will be said, has prevented their sale

among the natives ; but it is well known that European articles are often sold at prime cost. The monopoly might impede, but it would not completely hinder the sale. It ought to operate in India as in Europe. It does not prevent us in Europe from purchasing, it merely compels us to take fewer of the articles we want.

“The monopoly of spices by the Dutch, and of piece-goods by the English, has not prevented their sale in Europe. It has made them dearer, and made the consumers take less. Why should a monopoly of exports to India not follow the same course ? Why should not the principal native merchants purchase of the Company, and retail to the country dealers ? We must therefore look to some other cause than monopoly for the little progress that the demand for European commodities has made among the Hindoos. Besides the peculiar customs and institutions and climate of India, we must look to the superior skill of the Indian workmen. We cannot profitably export to them until our own fabrics excel theirs. When this is accomplished, no extraordinary skill will be required to extend the sale. The Indians will purchase, even though we should endeavour to prevent them, just as we in this country purchase the contraband stuffs of India.

“But though there are unquestionably many obstacles to any considerable increase of our exports to India, the prejudices of the natives have not so much share in them as is usually supposed. Their prejudices extend only to intoxicating liquors, and certain prohibited kinds of food. They do not reach to other things. Every article, as it comes from the hands of the workman, is pure. There is no prejudice against the cloth, though there may be some against the particular form of the garment. The grand obstacles to our exports are the inability of the Indians to purchase our commodities, and the cheapness and excellence of their own. It is obvious, therefore, that their demand for ours can only be enlarged either by a general improvement in the condition of the natives of India, or by a reduction in the price of European articles : coarse woollens are undoubtedly the article which would find the greatest sale, if they could be furnished at a moderate rate. Almost every native of India has a broad piece of coarse woollen, which he uses as a Highlander does his plaid. He sits on it, sleeps on it, and wraps it round him when he walks abroad in cold or rainy weather. Its texture, something like that of the camlet of our boat-cloaks, and its hairy surface, which throws off the rain, is better adapted for the purposes for which he wants it than the European manufacture ; and he would consequently, even if the prices of both were equal, still give it the preference. In seeking, therefore, to extend our exports, cheapness is not the only requisite, the tastes of the natives must also be studied. Some articles which we like plain, they like with the most gaudy colours, and *vice versâ*.

Though simple in their diet and habitations, they are as fond as any people in the world of expense in their dress, their servants, and whatever they consider as show or luxury; and, as far as their means go, they will purchase for these objects, from foreign countries, whatever their own does not produce. It is singular, however, that after our long intercourse with India, no new article of export has been discovered nor the quantity of any old one materially augmented; but with regard to the imports, the case is different. A new article, raw silk, has been introduced by the Company into Bengal, and imported largely into this country; and cotton and indigo, the old products of India, have only of late been brought in any great quantity to this country.

“Though the trade between Britain and India is not at all proportionate to the population and resources of the two countries, yet when we consider the skill and industry of their respective inhabitants, the nature of man constantly searching for new enjoyments, and the invariable effect of commerce in exciting and supplying new wants, we cannot refuse to admit that a change must at last be effected, however slow and imperceptible in its progress, when the mutual demand of the two countries for the products of each other will far exceed its present amount. Whether an increased export of European commodities is to arise from furnishing them cheaper, or of a fashion more suited to the Indian market, in either case the event is to be looked for rather from the exertions of private traders than of the Company’s servants; not that the Company’s servants are deficient in knowledge or industry, but that they are not stimulated by the same deep interest—that they are few in number—and that it is contrary to every rational principle of calculation to suppose that, in so small a body, the same amount of talent shall be found as among the immense multitude of men trained in commercial habits, from which the merchants of Britain may select their Indian agents.

“The danger of colonization from the resort of European adventurers to India is an objection entitled to very little weight. They could not by law become proprietors of land. They could not become manufacturers, as the superior skill and frugality of the natives would render all competition with them unavailing. They could find no profitable occupation but as mechanics for making articles for the use of European residents, or as traders or agents; but the number employed in these ways would necessarily be limited by the extent of the trade, without a corresponding increase of which it could not be materially augmented. The Europeans who might go out to India, in consequence of the opening of the trade, would be chiefly the agents of commercial and manufacturing houses in this country. But it is manifest that only so many as could be advantageously employed would be kept in India. If it appeared on

trial that more had been sent out, the excess would be recalled. If adventurers went to India to trade on their own account, their number also would necessarily be regulated by the extent of this trade, and those whom it could not employ would be obliged to return. Few Europeans would go to India only with the view of returning ultimately to their own country. Those who remained could not colonize. Confined to trade, excluded by law from the possession of land, and unable to find employment as manufacturers, they could never rise into a flourishing colony. They would be kept down by the great industrious Indian population, and they would probably dwindle into a race little better than the mixed caste descended from the Portuguese. But supposing even an extreme case, that all the Europeans who could find employment in trade in India should settle there, and abandon for ever their native country, and that their number should in time amount to fifty thousand, yet even this number, unlikely as it is ever to be seen, would, if left to itself, be lost among a native population of forty millions. Its own preservation would depend on the stability of the British Government; and even if it were disposed to act in opposition to its own interest, it would be unable to disturb the authority of Government for a moment. The only way in which European colonies could be productive of mischief to India, would be from the increased number of adventurers, who, in spite of every precaution, would escape to the interior to seek service among the native princes, and might, when they were fortunate enough to meet with an able one of a warlike character, instigate him to invade the territory of his neighbours. But we are now subject to the same inconvenience by the desertion of European soldiers and settlers. It would unquestionably be augmented, but not to any alarming degree, by colonization.

“The Americans were not checked in their enterprises by an exclusive Company. They had a free trade to India, and ought, according to the advocates of that system, to have undersold the Company, and filled all India with European goods. But the Americans have not done this, say the outports, only because they are not a manufacturing people; and because, as they carry on a profitable trade with Spanish America for bullion, they find it more convenient to export that article to India, in order to provide their cargoes there. But what is to hinder them, when they come to this country with the produce of their own, from sailing to India with a cargo of English manufactures? Nothing but the conviction that they could not be sold. Were it otherwise, no American, any more than a British merchant, would carry bullion where there was a market for goods, and content himself with a profit on one cargo where he might have it on two. The Americans are a sober, industrious, persevering race, with all the skill and enterprise of



our outport merchants, and all the attention to their interest of trade which forms so strong a contrast between the private trader and the agent of a joint-stock company; and with all these useful qualifications, every man who is not blinded by prejudices in favour of old establishments will readily believe that the Americans, had they not unhappily quarrelled with this country, would in time have circulated our manufactures to every corner of India. On viewing, however, the process by which they were to arrive at this end, we perceive with surprise, that almost from the beginning they had been going rather backward than forward. In the six years from 1802-3 to 1807-8, the proportion of goods to bullion in their exports was only about 15 per cent.; in the three years from 1808-9 to 1810-11, it was not more than 8 per cent.; and these goods were almost exclusively for the use of Europeans. The active American trader therefore has not been more successful than the agent of the Company in imparting to the natives a proper taste for British manufactures; and indeed there is but too much reason to fear that all the enterprise of the outport merchant will be equally fruitless, and that the natives will, in spite of reason and free trade, still persist in preferring their own fine stuffs to the dowlas of England.

“Persia and Arabia on the west, and the countries on the east of India, either have what they want within themselves, or they receive it cheaper from India than they can be supplied from Europe.

“On the whole, there is no ground to look for any considerable increase in the demand for our manufactures by the natives of India, unless by very slow steps, and at a very distant period; and it may be questioned whether the private traders would export so much as the Company are now bound to do.

“With respect to the imports from India, the quantity is expected to be increased, and the price diminished, by shorter voyages and other causes. Most of the articles now imported, India is capable of supplying to any extent; and every measure by which the demand can be enlarged and the supply facilitated of those commodities which do not interfere with our own manufacture, promotes the national prosperity.

“Piece-goods, the great Indian staple, have fallen in demand in consequence of the improvement of the cotton fabrics of this country, and are likely to fall still lower. As they cannot rise without interfering with our own manufactures, all that is necessary is to supply ourselves the demand which still remains, without the aid of foreigners. Cotton is grown in abundance in most parts of India; but while it sells at only half the price of that from America, it can be brought with advantage to England only when the trade with America is interrupted.

“The importation however might, it is supposed, be greatly increased by more attention to clearing the cotton in India, where labour is so

cheap—by cultivating, from among the various kinds which are indigenous to the soil, that which is best adapted to our manufactures, or by introducing the culture of foreign cotton, such as that of America or Bourbon. In the north of India the fields of cotton are artificially watered; in the south they are left to the rain and dews of heaven. In the north, therefore, the Bourbon and American cotton, both of which require much moisture, would be most likely to succeed.

“For encouraging the culture of the best kind of Indian cotton, and clearing and preparing it for the home-market, and for promoting the growth of foreign cotton in India, no person is so well qualified as the manufacturer of this country; for he who has sunk a large capital in extensive buildings and machinery, has a much deeper interest in securing a durable supply of good cotton than the merchant, who can with much less inconvenience divert his capital from one object to another.

“Bengal raw silk has been for some years imported to the amount of about 600,000*l.* per annum, and may be increased to any extent, if protected by duties against the French and Italian.

“Indigo is now imported equal at least to the demand of all Europe.

“Sugar, by a reduction of the existing duties, might be brought home to any extent, but would prove highly detrimental to the West India planters.

“Pepper and drugs have long been supplied equal to the demand, which cannot admit of any considerable increase, as the consumption of these articles must, from their very nature, be at all times extremely limited.

“These are the chief articles of Indian produce which find a sale in the European market. Of some the consumption can never be much increased, and of others it cannot be augmented without injury to our home manufactures and West India colonies. All of them, with the exception of sugar and cotton, require very little tonnage; and the expected increase of shipping must consequently prove delusive, until we can either undersell the American cotton, or consent to bring the Indian into competition with the West Indian sugar.

“The same outcry is still kept up against the Company's monopoly as if it still existed in all its former strictness, and were not in fact nearly done away. That monopoly, however, even in its most rigid state, has been the source of many great national advantages. It enabled the Company to expend annually 64,000*l.* in the purchase of Cornwall tin, which they exported without any profit, and often with a loss. It enabled them to expend 80,000*l.* for the encouragement of the indigo manufacture, and to support the traders in that article during their difficulties, by an advance of nearly a million sterling. It enabled them to persevere in the preparation of raw silk, though they lost on

their sales of that article, from 1776 to 1785, to the amount of 884,000*l.*; and it enabled them to acquire the extensive dominions now under the British Government in India. These territories never could have been acquired, had there not existed a Company possessing the exclusive trade—directing their undivided attention constantly to India, and employing their funds in extending their dominions. The whole of the merchants of Britain, trading separately, could neither have undertaken nor accomplished so magnificent an enterprise.

“The Company are willing that the trade should be thrown open to the Port of London; but this, it is asserted, will not afford a wide enough range for the skill and enterprise of British merchants. But are these qualities monopolized by the outports? Have not the London merchants their full share, and have they not capital sufficient to carry on all the Indian trade which the most visionary theorist can look for? If freedom of trade is claimed on the ground of right, and not of expediency, every port in the kingdom ought to enjoy it; for they have all the same right abstractedly. But, unfortunately, it is necessary to withhold the benefit from them, because the warehouse-system and customhouses are not yet sufficiently spread along our coasts; or, in other words, because a great increase of smuggling would unavoidably ensue. The East India Company are attacked from all quarters, as if they alone, in this kingdom, possessed exclusive privileges. But monopoly pervades all our institutions. All corporations are inimical to the natural rights of British subjects. The corn laws favour the landed interest, at the expense of the public. The laws against the export of wool, and many others, are of the same nature; and likewise those by which West India commodities are protected and enhanced in price. It would be better for the community that the West India planter should be permitted to export his produce direct to all countries, and that the duties on East India sugar, &c. should be lowered.

“When the petitioners against the Company complain that half the globe is shut against their skill and enterprise, and that they are debarred from passing the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, and rushing into the seas beyond them with their vessels deeply laden with British merchandise, they seem not to know that they may do so now—that all private traders may sail to the Western coast of America; to the Eastern coast of Africa, and to the Red Sea; and that India, China, and the intervening tract only are shut. Some advantage would undoubtedly accrue to the outports by the opening of the trade. But the question is, would this advantage compensate to the nation for the injury which the numerous establishments in the metropolis connected

with India would sustain, and the risk of loss on the Company's sales, and of their trade by smuggling ?

“The loss of the China trade would subvert the system by which India is governed : another equally good might possibly be found ; but no wise statesman would overthrow that which experience has shown to be well adapted to its object, in the vain hope of instantly discovering another.

“It yet remains doubtful whether or not the trade can be greatly increased ; and as it will not be denied that London has both capital and mercantile knowledge in abundance, to make the trial on the greatest scale, the danger to be apprehended from all sudden innovations ought to induce us to proceed with caution, and rest satisfied for the present with opening the trade to the Port of London. Let the experiment be made ; and if it should hereafter appear that London is unable to embrace the increasing trade, the privilege may then, on better grounds, and with less danger, be extended to other places.

“If Government cannot clearly establish that no material increase of smuggling, and no loss on the Company's sales, and consequent derangement of their affairs, would ensue from allowing the outports to import direct from India, they should consider that they are risking great certain benefits for a small contingent advantage.”

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## CHAPTER XII.

## Colonel Munro and the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter.

THE result of these discussions, as every body knows, was, that a new charter, greatly modified in its details from former charters, was granted to the East India Company; that the trade with China was still reserved, while that with India was thrown open to general competition; and that after a little grumbling, for which the event has proved that there were no real grounds, all parties sat down satisfied with the compromise.

Something more, however, than this commercial truce ensued. The tenor of much of the evidence delivered before the House, especially the opinions which Colonel Munro expressed unreservedly on the subject, created a suspicion that the permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis, with the judicial system arising out of it, had not worked so well either for the Government or the people of India as had been anticipated. The revenues of Bengal, it appeared, instead of increasing with an increased security to the province from foreign war, were falling off, and the lands getting out of cultivation. Meanwhile the courts of law were so choked up with causes of old standing, that human life appeared scarcely long enough to give a new suitor even the chances of a hearing. It is necessary to the right understanding of much that is to follow, that these matters should be placed in a distinct point of view, and a few words will happily suffice to accomplish that object.

The great leading feature of that system of internal administration which enjoys the credit of having been established by the Marquis Cornwallis, consists in the total separation of the two departments of justice and revenue, by depriving the collector of all authority as judge and magistrate, and vesting it in the hands of a distinct functionary. To this may be added the entire subversion of every native institution,—the transfer of the property in the soil to a distinct class of persons dignified with the appellation of

Zemindars, the overthrow of all hereditary jurisdictions, the abolition of all hereditary offices, and the removal as much as possible, out of the hands of the natives, of every species of power and influence.

According to the ancient customs of the country, as they appear to have been adopted by the Mogul conquerors, the officer to whom was committed the charge of administering the revenue in every district was, by whatever title recognised, invested throughout that district with extensive judicial authority. It was his business, in an especial manner, to hear and to determine all disputes arising out of the collection of the land-tax ; to defend the ryets, or cultivators, against the tyranny of his own officers, and to cause restitution to be made whenever he saw reason to believe that more than the established amount had been exacted from them. Both the titles of these functionaries, and the extent of their jurisdiction, varied a good deal in different parts of India ; but their power, whether it extended over a province, a portion of a province, or a single village, was everywhere in effect the same.

Again, in Indian villages there was a regularly constituted municipality, by which its affairs, both of revenue and police, were administered, and which exercised, to a considerable extent, magisterial and judicial authority, in all matters, private as well as public. At the head of this, in the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George, were the Potal and the Curnum : the former being to his own village at once a magistrate and a collector ; the latter, a sort of notary or public accountant. Under them were the Talliards, or village police, consisting of a body of hereditary watchmen, whose business it was to assist in getting in the revenue, to preserve the inhabitants from outrage, to guide travellers on their way, and who, in the event of robbery, were held answerable for the loss, in case they failed to produce the thief or the property stolen. But the most remarkable of all the native institutions was, perhaps, the Punchayet. This was an assemblage of a certain number of the inhabitants, before whom litigant parties pleaded their own cause, and who, like an English jury, heard both sides, and gave a decision according to the view which they took of the case. The Punchayet was of course recently composed, according to the matters referred to its deci-

sion. If a question relating to caste, for example, required solution, the Panchayet was not made up of the same description of persons as sat upon a question of doubtful right to property ; but in all cases the Panchayet, though a tribunal voluntarily constituted, that is to say, not formally recognised by the Mohammedan authorities, exercised a great and beneficial influence over the people. Thus all the affairs of the village, the collection of the revenue, the adjustment of disputes, the suppression and sometimes the punishment of crime, were conducted within itself, not perhaps in every instance with perfect justice or impartiality, but at least with promptitude and regularity.

Analogous to this in many particulars was the arrangement or organization of larger tracts of country, which embraced, according to circumstances, ten, twenty, forty, or a hundred villages. At the head of each of those was a Zemindar, Poligar, Teshildar, or Amildar, with his establishment of paykes or peons, who received the revenue from the potails, exercised an authority over them, and was to his district, in almost every respect, what the potail was to his village. With these, which were institutions of immemorial antiquity, the Mahomedan conquerors of the country had never seriously interfered : under them, as under the Hindu princes whom they had displaced, the administration of the revenue carried with it, necessarily and in all cases, the power of a magistrate, and the authority of a judge.

Arrangements such as these are, it must be confessed, diametrically opposed to all the prejudices arising out of an acquaintance with the state of Europe only. An Englishman in particular finds it difficult to believe that a system which intrusts to one and the same man the duty of collecting the revenue and deciding upon the propriety of that collection can be a good one, or that justice can be effectually administered by persons possessing no legal power of enforcing obedience to their decisions. We are so much accustomed to the checks and balances to the forms, technicalities, and peculiar arrangements of our own constitution, that we consider all others imperfect ; and the farther removed they may be from the institutions in which we take pride, the louder are we, for the most part, in condemning them. I am not exactly prepared to say, that over the minds of the framers of the judicial and revenue system of 1793 such

sentiments exercised undue influence; but it is certain that many of their acts can hardly be traced back to a different source.

By the regulations of 1793, all power was withdrawn from the hands of the natives. The village municipalities and zemindars' jurisdictions were abolished; and the provinces being parcelled out into zillahs or districts, a certain number of Europeans were nominated to take charge of each. These consisted for a while of no more than two functionaries; one of whom was enjoined to confine himself entirely to the collection of the revenue, while upon the other devolved the charge of hearing and determining all causes, of taking cognizance of all offences, and of regulating all matters of police, throughout a population of perhaps two hundred thousand souls. To aid him in the discharge of his momentous duties, he was furnished with a single European registrar, and a specified number of native assistants; and his police consisted of some twenty or thirty hired darogahs, posted at different stations, from one extremity of his zillah to another. But the powers of the zillah judge (such was his title) were, both in civil and criminal cases, exceedingly limited. He could give no sentence against which appeals were not allowed, and was absolutely precluded from dealing in a summary manner, except with trivial breaches of the peace; persons accused of any offence of a graver character must of necessity be committed to gaol till the arrival of the Circuit Court, before which, after the manner of the gaol deliveries at home, they were arraigned. In a word, the judicial system of 1793 swept away by one stroke every institution under which the natives of India had lived for ages, and introduced a mode of acting, as nearly analogous to that pursued in England as was at all compatible with the circumstances of the two countries.

The immediate consequence of all this was, that the collector ceased to be in the slightest degree useful beyond the mere routine of levying and getting in the taxes; he was not permitted to decide any dispute even between his own servants and the ryets. Now it is obvious that no human exertions could keep pace with the demands for justice made in this manner, among a people numerous, tenacious of their rights, and proverbially litigious. Had he been authorized to act according to the free and unfettered dictates of his own discretion, the zillah judge would



have found it impossible to try and decide all the causes, criminal as well as civil, which arose within his district; but as if it had been the design of those who framed the judicial system, that it should prove as little efficient as possible, the zillah judge was not left to act according to the dictates of his own discretion. A variety of forms were invented, without paying strict attention to which business could not be carried on; a legal language was introduced entirely unknown to the mass of the people; depositions were required, in all cases, to be taken down in writing; oaths were fabricated, repulsive to the religious prejudices of the community; and to crown all, a distinct class of vakeels or advocates was created, without the intervention of one or more of whom no suit could be tried, nor any cause determined. As a matter of course, the business of every court fell, under such circumstances, rapidly into arrear, till at last the evil became so glaring as to demand the application of some immediate remedy.

Perhaps the whole history of legislative proceedings furnishes no parallel to the method adopted for the purpose of obviating the disproportion which was found to exist between the demand for judicial decisions and the occasions for them. Instead of simplifying the process, or increasing the number of courts, the authorities of the day enacted a regulation, by which certain fees were to be paid down by all persons on the institution of suits, and additional sums exacted of them during the progress of these suits, by the imposition of taxes upon the proceedings. In like manner, measures were adopted, with a view of facilitating the collection of the revenue, not less novel in their nature, though almost more iniquitous in their results. By the original settlement of 1793 it was decreed that the property in the soil, concerning which Europeans had previously imagined that it belonged to the state, was to be vested in a distinct class of persons, called by the generic title of zemindars. These, who under the Moguls had been mere collectors and administrators of their respective districts, were treated by the new law much as the law of England treats squires and lords of manors, while the heads of villages became their tenants, and the ryets or cultivators sank into the social position of peasants. But this was a mere fiction, and bore upon the face of it unmistakable evidences of its character.

The revenue which the zemindar used to collect from the villages within his jurisdiction, the British government still exacted of him under the denomination of land-tax; and the surplusage, seldom more than ten, often as little as five per cent., with which his Mohammedan masters used to reward his services, Lord Cornwallis and his advisers honoured with the appellation of his hereditary rent-roll. Moreover in the benevolence of their hearts they fell upon a device out of which it was anticipated that the zemindar would derive uncommon advantages, but which, being worked up into law, soon brought him to ruin. Rents, or land-tax, which in ancient times used to vary in amount according to the accidents of weather or of war, were settled in 1793 once and for ever. The government was protected against loss by a process of which the injustice was not less flagrant than the absurdity. It was this:—The zemindar settled with the European collector at stated seasons. So long as he continued prompt and punctual in his payments, no questions were asked in regard to the profit or loss which might accrue to him from the residue. If he omitted to pay, either wholly or in part, the collector was required, on his own authority, to seize and put up to sale as much of the defaulter's supposed estate as might be sufficient to cover the deficiency. Meanwhile the zemindar or landowner, if he fancied himself wronged, either by an overcharge on the part of the collector, or by the omission of his assumed tenantry to pay their rents, had no such summary means of redress conceded to him. On the contrary, he must cite the wrong doer to the court of the zillah judge, and conduct a suit against him there by the process of which an account has just been given; and the consequence was, that long ere a decision could be obtained, the unfortunate zemindar got involved in inextricable difficulties, and ended in becoming a beggar.

The evil of this system was too flagrant to escape observation even in Bengal. One by one the landowners, whom the perpetual settlement had set up, disappeared; and then, and not till then, the Supreme Government granted to the new men who took their places, the same power of dealing summarily with heads of villages and ryets which the collector exercised against themselves. And the remedy proved worse than the disease. It was now the turn of the cultivators of the soil to

suffer. They were turned adrift for any cause or for none, and told to seek their remedy in courts which proclamations and orders in council ostentatiously represented as being open equally to the poor and to the rich.

In this state things remained during many years, vice and misery increasing with a rapidity which set all corrective measures at defiance. It was not that there ever existed the slightest disinclination to administer justice with strictness and assiduity. Whatever may have been the results of their efforts, no person can deny to the judicial servants in every part of India the praise of excellent intentions; but the system was one which could not fail to render abortive the most unremitting exertions of such as acted under it. It was to no purpose that partial changes were from time to time effected. The entire scheme, being founded on a belief that the natives were unworthy of trust; that they could not be allowed to participate in the labours of administration except in the most subordinate capacity; that all their institutions were as faulty in practice as they were wrong in theory, and that even Englishmen ought not to be placed in situations where interest and moral rectitude were in danger of clashing, proved utterly unmanageable, from the plain and obvious absence of adequate means to direct it aright. There is not space for illustrating the truth of these assertions in a work like the present; but he who desires the most ample information is referred to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, than which no abler document has ever been laid before the public.

The Bengal judicial and revenue system made its way slowly and by degrees into Madras; in some of the provinces subjected to which it can scarcely be said to have come into operation so late as 1808. This was not owing to any lack of zeal on the part of its inventors, nor yet to a conviction among the heads of departments at Fort St. George that the system was imperfect; but the Madras provinces came gradually into our possession, and they were for the most part, when first acquired, managed by men who saw much in the Bengal system to condemn. Canara and the Ceded Districts, for example, two of the most extensive in this part of India, were acquired in, comparatively speaking, modern times; and both from Canara and the Ceded Districts

the new judicial system was, at least for a while, carefully excluded. But no exertions on the part of the collectors could successfully oppose the wishes of the Government for the time being; and not long after Colonel Munro resigned his charge the new system was introduced into both. The same results followed here which had occurred elsewhere; justice ceased, in a great measure, to be administered, and the increase of crime was appalling.

It is a curious fact that, whilst this state of things existed, and the records sent home from time to time by the supreme authorities in India were filled with ample proofs of its existence, the formal reports from the heads of departments contained little else than assurances of the "growing prosperity of the country." It is not less extraordinary that for a long series of years the justice of these assurances was never questioned, and that the voluminous reports forwarded from the zillah judges and collectors, though teeming with important information, were cast aside as so much waste-paper. Happily for the interests of British India, however, a more just notion of what was due both to themselves and to their subjects, was at length excited among the home authorities. Doubts began to be entertained that matters might not be exactly in the flourishing condition represented. Inquiries were instituted into the contents of documents too long neglected; and the truth burst upon the minds of those engaged in them, with a force which was not to be resisted. Finally, the celebrated Fifth Report came out in 1813, which drew towards the affairs of India other eyes than those of its immediate rulers, and measures began to be devised for the correction of a system, the inefficiency of which could no longer be denied. Hence arose the appointment of a commission to inquire upon the spot into the real merits of the case; and Colonel Munro, in consideration of the high esteem in which his knowledge and judgment in Indian affairs was held, received instructions to proceed to Madras as president or head of it.

While this important measure was in progress, a Committee of Directors was formed at the India House, for the purpose of corresponding with the most eminent of the Company's servants then in England, and learning both their sentiments as to the operation of the judicial system, and their opinions touching cer-

tain proposed modifications of it. The answers sent in to the queries of that Committee have all been made public in the Second Volume of Selections, printed by order of the Court; but the peculiar circumstances under which they were drawn up deserve to be known. From the tone assumed in several dispatches recently transmitted to India, as well as from other causes, a notion got afloat that it was the intention of the Court not to reform, but to abolish the judicial system; and, as no rational being could well stand up for so sweeping a measure, it is little to be wondered at if the civil servants of the Company opposed it to a man. The notion, moreover, gained additional strength when the appointment of Colonel Munro as head commissioner became known; and there is no longer room to doubt that not a few of the sentiments published in the volume just referred to were delivered under an impression that extreme caution was necessary.

If men at home conceived an idea so erroneous, it is little surprising that it should have prevailed to a still greater extent abroad. Interest as well as honour was there brought into play; for the civilians could not but perceive, in the prospect of an overthrow of the system, an abolition of many of the lucrative offices which they held; and it is fair to state that a considerable proportion of them, though they saw that the machine worked badly, clung to the hope that in time it would right itself. It was in vain therefore that the Court of Directors, in one dispatch after another, assured them that a reform, not a repeal, of existing regulations was intended. They looked upon the Commission as devised to work the entire overthrow of that fabric which had once been designated "a monument of human wisdom;" and they were prepared to throw every impediment in the way of its proceedings.

With such a feeling abroad it is scarcely necessary to say that no man could have coveted, that few would have accepted, the appointment pressed upon Colonel Munro. Even he saw before him, from the first, only difficulties and crosses; and, as the powers of his Commission were to expire at the end of three years, he entertained but faint hopes of being permitted to effect one-twentieth part of the benefit which he felt himself capable of effecting. This he stated in a letter to a friend, previous to his departure

from England; and the result proved that, to a certain extent at least, he had not calculated erroneously.

The following letter to his sister will show with what sobered feelings he made ready to return to the scene of his early labours and privations, and moral triumphs.

TO HIS SISTER, THE HONOURABLE MRS. ERSKINE.

“ Portsmouth, 5th June, 1814.

“ I AM once more so far on my way to India. I went on board yesterday to look at our cabins. They are as well fitted up as can be expected, but the best cabin appears very small to any person who is not accustomed to a ship. Mine is large enough, but it is very low, not above five feet high, so that I cannot stand upright in it; and I must, after sitting some time, be cautious in rising or I should knock my head against the beams. I know from the experience of many a hard blow, that it will be some weeks before I learn that the roof of the cabin is lower than my head. The want of room is not what I dislike most in a sea voyage; the long confinement to the same set of people, and the unvaried prospect of sky and water for several months, are much more unpleasant.

“ We came here on the 3rd, and were to have sailed on the 4th; but an order from the Admiralty has directed us to wait till the 10th for some Brazil ships; but as it is possible that fresh orders may be received to-night, directing us to sail to-morrow, I write while there is an opportunity, for even if I stay here some days, I may not be able to get a moment to myself. You can have no idea of the confusion and bustle of an inn in a seaport town full of people going abroad; having nothing to do here, impatient to sail, and running about visiting, to fill up the time. I am already tired of this state of suspense, and wish we were fairly at sea. I was in this place thirty-five years ago, on my way to India, and much more impatient than now to reach my destination; for my head was then full of bright visions which have now passed away. I now, I am sorry to say, go out not to hopes, but to certainties; knowing exactly the situation in which I am to be employed, what I am to have, and when I may return. This to many people would be very comfortable; to me it is dull and uninteresting. I had more pleasure from my excursion of a few days to Paris, than I shall derive from a residence of two or three years in India. My inability to speak the French language with any kind of ease was a great inconvenience, and could I have remained in Europe, I would have gone to France, and lived entirely in French society until I was able to speak the language

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fluently. By going back to India for a short time I become unsettled; I am neither an Indian nor an European, and am prevented from forming any fixed plan of life. But it is idle to talk of life when the best part of it is past. I hope that you will be as good a correspondent as when I was in India before. Direct to 'Colonel Thomas Munro, Madras,' and never send letters by a private conveyance. When I return I hope I shall see more of Ammondel than I have done."

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## CHAPTER XIII.

## Colonel Munro a Commissioner.

THE desire of carrying on, without any breach in my narrative, the history of Colonel Munro's public life at this important stage, has led me to postpone the notice of two events—both of them interesting, and one of the deepest importance to the future happiness of more than he. I allude, in the latter case, to his marriage with Miss Jane Campbell, of Craigie, in Ayrshire, which occurred in the month of March, 1814; and in the former, to a short visit which, a few weeks subsequently, he paid to Paris, then in the occupation of the allied troops. Of the effect produced upon him by the strange scenes which the streets and public places of the French capital then presented, no written record has been preserved; but his correspondence with Mrs. (now Lady) Munro, of which the reader will find, as he proceeds, that I have inserted specimens, demonstrates that his young bride proved to be the realization of all that fancy had sketched for Mr. Munro in the liveliest and not, therefore, perhaps, the least imaginative period of his bachelor existence.

On the 12th of June, 1814, Colonel and Mrs. Munro embarked at Portsmouth; and on the 16th of September, after a pleasant passage of little more than three months, they landed at Madras. Their first fortnight in that place was spent in giving and receiving visits. Colonel Munro writes of it, to his sister, as of an employment more fertile in weariness than pleasure. But then Colonel Munro's mind was full of the great work which had been entrusted to him, and he grudged every hour so spent as to procrastinate the season of its commencement. Let me endeavour to render intelligible to the general reader the nature of the views which he entertained; for, without knowing something of these, it is impossible that either the motives on which he acted or the end which he desired to accomplish can be properly understood.



The rival principles of Indian revenue legislation, now recognised as the zemindarry and the rayetwarry systems, differ in these respects:—The zemindarry or Bengal system is such as has already been described, and aims at the substitution, immediate and entire, of English institutions for institutions of Hindoo growth in the administration of judicial or revenue affairs, and the preservation of order among the people. It assumes as the base of its operations certain points which are not admitted by the advocates of the rayetwarry system. These are, that officers entrusted with the collection of the revenue ought on no account to hear causes and give awards either in civil or criminal matters; that law proceedings of every sort shall be hedged round with many forms; that the right of appeal from a lower to a higher tribunal shall be admitted, particularly in revenue disputes; and that the management of the public revenue and the general administration of justice shall be kept, with unbending strictness, in the hands of Europeans. The Bengal system further assumes that there is a marked similarity between the social institutions of India and the customs of Europe in the Middle Ages; that in the zemindars of the Moguls may be found a class of persons holding a position analogous to that of our English barons under the first of the Plantagenets; and that all the people of inferior rank are mere tenants at will or by lease, of the portions of land which they respectively occupy. It follows, as an inevitable corollary from this proposition, that the Government, while seeking to correct abuses, should confirm the zemindars in their rights as landholders, while it deprives them of their feudal superiorities. Hence with these, the assumed proprietors of the soil, the collectors were directed exclusively to settle, under conditions which, as has elsewhere been shown, soon broke up estates into fragments, and scattered, first through one class and ultimately through all, the seeds of ruin.

The rayetwarry theory, of which Colonel Munro was one of the most powerful advocates, goes upon quite an opposite principle. It denies that either the State or the zemindar ever was or ever pretended to be, the exclusive proprietor of the soil of India. It affirms that from time immemorial there has been as much diversity of tenure in India as there is at this moment in England; but that, in the majority of cases, the property in the fields which

he cultivates, be they few or many, is vested in the rayet or individual cultivator. The zemindar it holds to have been a public functionary, entrusted with certain powers and armed with certain rights; and so operated upon by the usages of the country, that in most instances, though neither universally nor as a matter of course, these powers and rights became hereditary in his family. The special duty of the zemindar was to collect the revenue from the rayets, through the heads of villages, and to pay it into the public treasury. The better to qualify him for this, he had authority to act as judge in all cases connected with irregular payments, claims to property, and disputed successions, and in due time custom, rather than law, gave him the powers of a criminal magistrate in like manner. But in civil cases the zemindar was supposed to act only through the instrumentality of the village municipalities; while in towns and populous districts cauzees or magistrates, bearing commissions from the State, relieved him from all care in the administration of criminal justice.

Assuming this to be the base on which Indian society rested, it was the opinion of Colonel Munro, and of those who thought with him, that an attempt should be made, wherever the social condition of the people warranted, to take up and gradually improve existing usages, rather than to sweep them aside for the purpose of introducing new ones. Their theory was this:—It is better to govern a rude people by defective laws and customs which they understand, than to force upon them others, no matter how intrinsically superior, for the operation of which their ignorance and their prejudices disqualify them. Accordingly their plan pointed to the substitution, under the English Government, of a European functionary *quoad* the collection of the public revenue and the general superintendence of each district, for the zemindar of the Moguls. Not that they desired to rob the zemindars of their property, strictly so called. Wherever these gentlemen owned estates—and many of them did own estates of greater or less extent—the advocates of the rayetwarry system explained that it was just to leave them in quiet possession; but the right of treating with village municipalities and rayets respecting the amount to be paid by each, ought, in their view, to be assumed by the European collector; while the per-  
centage heretofore granted to the zemindar was absorbed in the

general amount, and a fund thereby created for supplying the salaries of the gentlemen employed in receiving and paying the land-tax into the treasury.

Proceeding on the same principle, the advocates of the rayetwarry settlement contended for the justice, as well as the policy, of keeping up, wherever they existed or could be revived, native institutions of every sort, as well in towns as in villages. They did not dispute the defective nature of many of these, or argue that under the most favourable circumstances unremitting care and vigilance in overlooking them would not be necessary: but what they contended for was, that as any attempt to govern a population of many millions through the instrumentality of a few thousand strangers, and by the agency of a foreign law, must ultimately fail, so it is worth while to endure trouble, and even to suffer inconvenience and wrong at the outset, provided we see a prospect of being able in the course of time to govern the population well, through the instrumentality of officers taken from among themselves, and by means of laws and customs brought up by little and little from the rude state in which we find them to one of comparative perfection. Let me not, however, misrepresent the views of these gentlemen. They had no desire to reintroduce the rayetwarry system into districts or localities where all traces of it were lost. From the old provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, it had been entirely swept away, and in the immediate vicinity of the other presidencies it was unknown, even by name; but in Canara, the Baramahl, the Ceded Districts, and every other place where English supremacy was either new or as yet unknown, the old institutions existed in greater or less purity, and these it was the object of Colonel Munro's commission to preserve, and eventually to improve. It is not for me to determine which of the rival parties had right on its side; but Colonel Munro's correspondence, from which I proceed to subjoin a few extracts, shows that public opinion in Madras was against him, and that whatever he did towards the establishment of his own plan of fiscal administration was done in the face of great obstacles and something like organized opposition.

## FROM COLONEL MUNRO TO MR. SULLIVAN.

“Madras, 20th January, 1815.

“THE last letter from your son John and myself would have apprised you that the business of the Commission is likely to encounter a good deal of delay in the beginning. Mr. Elliot received an impression, very soon after his arrival, that every thing was in the best possible state; that an approximation had been gradually making of late years to the system proposed in the judicial dispatch of the 29th of April, 1814; that much of it had, in fact, been anticipated; that more could hardly be done without danger; that great improvements had taken place since I left India; and that were I now to visit the districts, I would abandon all my former opinions, and acknowledge that the collector could not be entrusted with the magisterial and police duties without injury to the country. Though I knew that there was no foundation for these assertions, it appeared to me necessary to wade through all the police reports, and the proceedings of the Committee, in order that I might be enabled to assure Mr. Elliot, not as an opinion of my own, but as a fact drawn from these documents, that things remained just as they were seven years ago. After going through them, I found that the present Police Committee had not ventured to go so far as its predecessor in 1806. That Committee proposed to place the police under the collector; but this proposal having been rejected by the Bengal Government, as contrary to the Regulations, the present one has contented itself with recommending that the police shall remain under the zillah judge, but that the heads of villages shall be employed instead of darogahs. The President of this Committee persists strenuously in maintaining its doctrines. It was very natural that he should do so while the Bengal Government supported the infallibility of the Regulations; but when the Court of Directors had given up this point, I hoped that he might have relaxed too: I however see little chance of such a change.

“The President is undoubtedly a shrewd, intelligent man; but he has spent his life in the commercial department, excepting a few months that he was a circuit judge. He has therefore only that general knowledge of the inhabitants, of local institutions, and of revenue details, which any sensible man may derive from reading and conversation; he is totally without experience.”

## FROM COLONEL MUNRO TO MR. CUMMING.\*

“ March 1st, 1815.

“ I HAVE not written to you since my arrival, because there has been nothing done to write about. I have written fully to Mr. Sullivan, explaining the cause of the delay. I am not now, as when I was in the Ceded Districts, acting without interference, and authorized to pursue whatever measures I thought best for the settlement of the country; but am obliged, before I can take a single step, to wait for the concurrence of men who have always been averse to the proposed changes. The Government, with its secretaries, the Sudder Adawlut, and its register, and every member of the Board of Revenue, excepting Cochrane, are hostile to every thing in the shape of the rayetwar system.

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“ I think it necessary to caution you that, if it is expected that instructions are to be obeyed, the strongest and plainest words must be used: for instance, the expressions, ‘ It is our wish,’ ‘ It is our intention,’ ‘ We propose,’ do not, it is maintained here, convey orders, but merely recommendations. Unless the words, ‘ We direct,’ ‘ We order,’ are employed, the measures to which they relate will be regarded as optional.

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“ You will observe that during two successive years there was not one appeal decided in the Sudder Adawlut, and that the judges of the subordinate courts seldom complied with the order of deciding ten causes monthly. Mr. —, who was long a zillah judge, proposed that the zillah judges should be directed to transmit a report, monthly or quarterly, exhibiting in different columns the date in each suit, of the complaint, answer, and of such document being filed. This would have shown at one view the progress of every trial, and where the delay arose; but it was rejected, as instituting too severe a scrutiny into the conduct of the judges, and the accompanying paper substituted in its room.

“ I shall in a future letter explain the cause of the diminution of suits. You know very well that it does not proceed from the increased number of suits settled. But the great defect is that no protection is afforded to the rayets. Those who do not know them say that the

\* Mr. Cumming was at the head of the Revenue and Judicial department in the Board of Control. He possessed the full confidence of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board; and it was at his Lordship's express desire that he corresponded confidentially, on matters of public business, with Sir Thomas Munro.

courts are open ; but when it is considered that rayets, on an average, do not pay above seven or eight pagodas rent, and that this sum is from one-half to one-third of the gross produce of their farms, any person may at once see how incapable such men must be of going to courts of justice. But, even among those rayets who are more substantial, every person who has been much among them knows that not one in ten will ever complain of the extra collections and extortions of renters : they are deterred by many considerations—by the fear of not being able to bring proof, and by the dread of the renter's influence being exerted to injure them whenever an opportunity offers. In order to protect rayets, it is not enough to wait for their complaints, we must go round and seek for them. This was the practice of every vigilant collector ; he assembled the rayets of each village on his circuit, inquired what extra collections had been made, and caused them to be refunded. A renter who has four or five hundred rayets under him imposes an extra assessment of ten or twelve per cent., and collects it, without difficulty or opposition, in the course of a few days. Suppose they should complain afterwards, which is seldom the case, the process of the court would occupy many months, probably some years, and they would be obliged to abandon their suit, from not being able, from their poverty, to wait its issue. An English farmer or shopkeeper would not pay an unauthorized assessment of ten or twelve per cent. above his rent ; and people who make regulations in this country scarcely seem to know that rayets are not English farmers, and that in general they pay every exaction without resistance and almost without complaint. Even if there were any spirit of resistance to such demands, it would be effectually suppressed by the power of distraint. This power is directed by the judicial dispatch to be taken away, and many of the higher class of rayets will, in consequence, be encouraged to resist undue demands ; but the great body of the rayets will still submit to them quietly. It will require a long course of years, perhaps ages, before they acquire sufficient courage and independence to resist ; and until this change is effected our present courts cannot protect them. We must adapt our institutions to their character ; they can be protected only by giving to the collector authority to investigate extra collections, and to cause them to be refunded. I hope that Lord Buckinghamshire will take up this subject, and make the necessary orders be sent out. From an expression in a letter from Mr. Sullivan to his son, he seems to think that the Commission have authority to inquire into the revenue settlements. The dispatch certainly gives no authority of this kind. The Commission, however, has a kind of indirect control in revenue matters ; for, in examining how far the courts protect the rayets, the inquiry will lead to the knowledge of their being compelled to pay extra assessments.

Since my return to India I have had visits from several rayets from the Baramahl and Ceded Districts on this subject; and I have reason to believe that these demands are more general than before the establishment of the courts.

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“The inhabitants are yet unacquainted with the object of the Commission; but the universal opinion is, that it is appointed chiefly for the investigation of abuses in the revenue line. I do not undeceive them; for the belief has very good effects, as it deters the native head-servants from peculating to so great an amount as formerly; induces some of them to refund; and is at this moment, I believe, causing the cutcherry servants of Coimbatore to bring forward in the accounts of this year, lands which, though cultivated, have for some years been reported as waste. The rent of these lands, as stated by the people who bring forward the charges, is considerably above a lac of pagodas. As far as I can guess, from many communications with them, and making allowance for exaggeration, it may be about sixty thousand. The Board of Revenue, with the exception of Cochrane, believe that the whole statement is false. There is both falsehood and truth in it. Cochrane proposes that I should inquire into it in the course of my circuit; but this was objected to. The members of Government are also averse to my having anything to do with it; so that I am afraid I shall not be permitted to make an investigation. If I can find any means of doing it in part, as connected with defects in the judicial system, I shall endeavour to carry it, so far at least as to show that the revenue has been defrauded to a considerable extent, and that those triennial and decennial leases afford great facilities for such practices.”

FROM COLONEL MUNRO TO MR. CUMMING.

“ Madras, 14th March, 1815.

“No orders have yet been issued for carrying into effect the instructions contained in the judicial dispatch of the 29th April, 1814; and the Commission consequently still remains at Madras.

“Mr. Elliott tells me that the resolutions of Government on the subject are printing for circulation, and that they correspond nearly with my view of it, except in not transferring the office of magistrate to the collector; but this is the most essential part of the whole, for without it the collector will be merely the head darogah of police under the zillah judge, and the new system will be completely inefficient. No time should therefore be lost in sending out, by the first conveyance, a short letter, stating the heads of alterations in the present system which are imperative, and not optional, with the Government here, and ordering them, not recommending, to be carried into immediate execution.

“ I have fully explained, in my letter to Mr. Sullivan, my reason for wishing to have only one person joined with me in the Commission, and to have him also an acting member of the Sudder Adawlut. It was evident that, while both the members of the Sudder Adawlut objected to every change, every measure which the Commission might propose to Government, when sent to that court to be brought forward as a regulation, would be kept back under some plea or other; and that, while the Sudder Adawlut was dilatory and irregular in its own proceedings, no reform could be expected in those of the lower courts.

“ You will observe that in the two years 1812 and 1813 there was not a single appeal decided. I have looked at some of the appeal cases, and am sorry to say that much of the litigation is occasioned by the judges being in general very ignorant of the customs of the natives, and of the internal management of villages. This arises from very few of them having been rayetwar collectors. I shall mention two cases which I read the other day.

“ The first originated in the zillah court of Trichinopoly in 1808. It was a suit instituted by some Bramans to recover from the rayets of a village 1800 Rs., for their share of the crop, as Swami Bhogum, or proprietor's right. The rayets asserted that the contribution was not as proprietor's share, but voluntary to a pagoda. The curnum's accounts, which would probably have settled the matter, were refused by the judge in evidence, and the plaintiff cast. The Provincial Court reversed the sentence, and gave them a decree, not only for the money which they claimed, but for the land, which they did not claim. The Sudder Court ordered the whole proceedings of both courts to be annulled, leaving the parties to pay their respective costs, and begin *de novo* if they please.

“ The second is a suit brought by a relation in the fifth or sixth degree of the Poligar of Wariourpollam, to receive from the poligar an allowance, in land or money, on account of his hereditary share of the pollam. He carries his cause in the Zillah and Provincial Court, and the sentence of the Sudder is not yet given; but I see on the back of the paper, in ——'s handwriting, ‘ I think the decree of the Provincial Court is right.’ Now I am positive that they are all completely wrong.

“ This cause, which has been going on for six years, would have been settled by a collector in half an hour. Indeed the plaintiff would not have ventured to bring his case before a collector; for among the military zemindars, such as Wariourpollam, Calastry, Venkatgherry, &c., the nearest relatives, and far less the more distant, have no claim to the inheritance. The poligar usually gives to his brothers, &c. an allowance for their support, according to his own pleasure, not to any right. The



plaintiff, I have no doubt, has been instigated by some vakeel to make the demand; for, whatever happens, his fees are secure. The irregularity and negligence of some of the courts have been so glaring that the Sudder has been obliged to stimulate them by a circular letter. Stratton \* wished to have established a more effectual check, by making them send reports showing the date of the institution of each suit, and of every document filed; but, though he could not carry this, and will often be obliged to satisfy himself with a protest, his exertions will make all the courts more active.

“The Commission, too, though it has not yet begun to act, does yet some good by its presence; for it is generally believed among the natives that it is authorized to inquire into all abuses, both in the judicial and revenue line; and this opinion has some influence in checking them. I have had rayets with me from almost every part of the country with complaints; but I have no direct authority to inquire into revenue abuses. I can only take them up where they are connected with the judicial system.”

TO MR. CUMMING.

“9th April, 1815.

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“No regulations for village courts are to be framed until it is ascertained whether the potails are willing to act. Who before ever heard of statesmen asking public servants whether they are willing to do their duty? The question will surprise the potails much more than me, who know the men from whom it comes. No regulation for village police is to be drawn up till we know whether the potails are fit for the duty, and whether the tallaries are sufficiently numerous. The Native Governments never doubted the fitness of the potails, nor our own till now. Who is to decide the point of their competency, if it is not admitted to have been established by universal practice? With regard to the tallaries, they have been working at them for ten years without having learned much, and they may go on for ten longer to as little purpose; for how can it be otherwise, seeing that such inquiries were not made in many of the provinces before the permanent settlement, and, since that period, cannot be made with any effect, from their having rendered the curnums in a great degree independent of the revenue servants? In some districts, so far from knowing all the details of tallaries' allowances, I doubt if the collector knows the number of curnums, or even of villages, under him. To enable him to learn these matters, the curnums' regulation should be repealed, and the curnums should be

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\* This gentleman was especially selected by Colonel Munro to co-operate with him in the Commission. It was not without much demur that his wishes were acceded to.

placed entirely under the collectors. Even after this is done some years will be required to enable the collector to establish his authority, and to procure the information wanted. But, rather than adopt this simple, and indeed only way of accomplishing the object, they will go on calling upon the collector for more information, who can only send them a copy of what they have got some years ago; or they will avail themselves of the judicial power, and issue a decree of the courts to compel the curnum to produce his accounts, who may produce what he likes, for there is not a soul about the court who can tell whether they are true or false."

FROM COLONEL MUNRO TO MR. CUMMING.

"Madras, 20th June, 1815.

"I HAVE received your letter of the 4th October last, inclosing extract from Mr. Colebrooke's minute, &c. I have been busy ever since the 15th May in drawing up regulations for potails, punchayets, &c. I could do nothing sooner; because it was only then that the answer of Government was received, informing the Commission that the regulations were to be prepared on the principle that the police only, and not the magisterial office, was to be transferred to the collector. The regulations ordered to be prepared by the Commission are ready; Mr. Stratton is looking over, correcting, and copying them fair, and they will be sent next week; that is to say, they will be sent to the Sudder Adawlut, for all regulations must be transmitted through that channel. The Sudder Adawlut may keep them some months before they submit them, with their remarks, to Government.

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"The regulations are not exactly what I think they ought to be. I would have wished to have given greater authority both to potails and tishildars, as well as to commissioners. But it was necessary to limit the powers of these officers within narrow limits; for otherwise, the regulations would not pass here, and would certainly be thrown out by the Bengal Government. The great object is to get the system introduced in any way; when this is once effected, the necessary changes can easily be made hereafter. You already know that the Commission is composed only of Stratton and myself. It is quite enough; for the more members, the less is done. I wished on this account to have been sole commissioner; but I see now, that nothing could be done without a member of the Sudder Adawlut in the Commission; for, unless Stratton were in that court, there would not be a single man there, or in the Government, to support the proposed changes. He will be opposed by both the other members; but still their opposition will be much less

determined that it would have been, had he not been present to dissent from their opinions.

“ I wished, while the regulations are under consideration here and in Bengal, to have made a circuit through the country, in order to inquire into the state of the village police, the effects of the judicial system in protecting the inhabitants from oppression, and also how far it was calculated, along with the leasing and permanent settlement system, to secure the rayets from extra assessments, and the revenue from embezzlement. But I see little chance of being permitted to enter into these inquiries efficiently, or in such a manner as to render them useful. Were I now collector of the Ceded Districts, or of any other district, I should be able to bring forward more information in three months than I shall now in three years as commissioner. Look at the orders of Government in their consultation of 1st March, 1815, to the Commission, in which we are directed ‘ to conduct all such investigations through the local officers, to conform to the established system of internal administration;’ and compare these orders with those to Thackeray and Hodgson when they made their circuits by the command of Lord William Bentinck. How am I to learn anything, if I am limited to a consultation with the local officers? If they possess the information required, they may be called upon to furnish it, without my going to them. If they have it not, they will hardly assist me to acquire it, and to perform the duty which they have themselves neglected. The Commission ought certainly to have the same means of investigation that a collector has; and, for this purpose, the collector and magistrate ought to give notice to the heads of villages, curnums, and inhabitants, that they are to give information on any points on which it may be required from them by the Commission.”

FROM COLONEL MUNRO TO MR. CUMMING.

“ Madras, 1st September, 1815.

“ We have made no progress here since I wrote to you in June last. The resolutions of Government of the 1st of March, and my letters, will have informed you how little has been done; that no one thing has been finally done; that different points of the judicial despatch have been referred to the Sudder Adawlut, the Board of Revenue, and the Commission; that they are respectively to call upon the local officers for their opinions on certain points, and that they are then to frame the regulations.

“ These regulations, when framed, will be some months with the Sudder Adawlut, who will report upon them to Government, and Government will then send them to Bengal for the sanction of the Supreme

Government. Some months will elapse before their sanction is granted; they must then be translated, which will consume some months more; and by the time they can be circulated to all the districts, the Commission will have expired. The six regulations drawn up by the Commission have been with the *Sudder Adawlut* about two months, and it is quite uncertain how much longer they may remain with them. Only one will be circulated, without reference to Bengal; it is that which transfers the police, but not the office of magistrate, to the collector, and will not do any good. The Council will oppose the promulgation of the rest, without the authority of the Supreme Government. They will therefore be sent to Bengal; and as Lord Moira proposes that the two Governments should deliberate maturely on the whole subject of the judicial dispatch, and 'avail themselves of the advantages of a mutual interchange of sentiments and suggestions, in the course of the deliberations respecting so serious an object,' it may be some years before they are issued. Why should we amuse ourselves with interchanges of sentiments on things which have undergone a ten years' discussion, and which the Government at home has directed to be adopted? or of what use can it be to import sentiments from Bengal, on *punchayets* and *potails*, which most of the public servants under that presidency profess never to have heard of? I see no way of enabling the Commission to answer any of the objects of its institution, but by sending out orders without delay to the Government here to carry into immediate execution, without reference to, or waiting for, an answer from Bengal to any reference that may have been made, all those modifications on which the Government at home have already made up their mind.

"The proposed changes have many opponents; because there are only a few collectors who understand the nature of them, from not having seen *potails* and *punchayets* employed, before the introduction of the judicial code; they are opposed by many in the judicial line, who consider the present system, whatever it may be, as the best. They are opposed by some, from a sincere conviction that native agency is dangerous; and by some, because they have had no share in suggesting them; but the best-founded motive of opposition is one which has only lately appeared, namely, the probability that the natives will give so much preference to the settlement of causes by heads of villages and *punchayets*, as to leave so little business to the *zillah* courts, that many of them will be reduced. I do not believe that this would happen soon, because it will be a considerable time before the plan can be completely communicated to the natives; and the neglect or silent opposition it is likely to encounter will subside. But I am certain this result will follow, whenever it meets with proper support. In the outset, we shall have complaints from the judges of the ignorance of the *potails* and

punchayets, their partiality and corruption. This will often be true; but the evil will be greatly overbalanced by the good. I only wish to see the plan introduced in any state, however imperfect; its defects can be gradually corrected: and I am convinced that, under every disadvantage, it will work its own way."

## COLONEL MUNRO TO MR. GUMMING.

" Madras, 30th April, 1816.

"THE Commissioners' proposed regulations may now be considered as passed, as the Governor means to put their passing to the vote on the 3rd instant. They will be opposed in Council, upon the grounds which I long ago stated—the necessity of waiting for all the heads of information required by the resolutions of the 1st of March, 1815, together with a report from the Commission of the potails and tallaries, fit or unfit, willing or unwilling, to execute the duties expected of them; and of those referring the regulations to Bengal for sanction previous to their being promulgated here. The information which was sought seemed to be required merely for the purpose of wasting time. No man who knew anything of potails or tallaries ever thought of asking them whether or not they liked their duty. As to their allowances being in many cases inadequate, it might be made the subject of future inquiry, but was no ground for suspending the introduction of the proposed system. A police committee had been sitting in 1812 to 1814, and had called for all the statements of allowances that the collectors could furnish. A fresh call was not likely to produce anything beyond another copy of what had already been forwarded. That committee recommended that the police should be placed under the heads of villages. But it is now thought that these same heads of villages may not be willing or able to act, because they may, in addition to their police and revenue duties, have two or three ten-rupee causes to settle in the course of the year.

"There is nothing in the Court's letter respecting the allowances or inclinations of the potails or tallaries, or authorizing the keeping back the regulations until an inquiry shall have been made into these matters. The ascertainment of the allowances in question could only be accurately made by a survey, which would be the work of many years. When collectors of unsurveyed districts report that tallaries have only three or four rupees a-year, we cannot be sure whether they have three or four, or thirty or forty. The accounts are too vague to be depended upon. The answer to all this is, that whether the tallarie has four rupees or forty, he is at his post doing his duty; and it seems therefore quite unnecessary to make the introduction of the village police depend upon

the answers he may give to our questions about his liking his duty or his allowances. In many places the allowances are too small, because we have stopped a part of them; in others they also appear to be too small, where no change has been made, and the tallaries are said to be starving; but as they have been starving in the same way for a century, and still do the village duty, they have undoubtedly the means of living, either from land at a favourable rent, or some other source which has escaped the collectors; and if we wait until it is discovered by them, we shall be just where we now are ten years hence.

“ The Police Committee, though they proposed that the police should be placed under the heads of villages, never attempted to define what the head of a village was. Different opinions were entertained on this point among the people at the Presidency, but nothing was fixed. The Commission have defined what they thought must, under the various changes occasioned by our revenue system, be considered as the head of the village; but because this definition does not suit all opinions the whole system is violently opposed, upon the plea that the Commissioners’ head of the village is not the pottail of the Court of Directors. It was never maintained by the rayetwar collectors that the establishment of village servants was complete and uniform throughout the country, and that there were ancient hereditary pottails in every village. They described the general structure of the village municipality as it ought to be when complete, and as it still existed throughout the greater part of India; but they mentioned that in many places it had been violently broken down, and in others neglected and suffered to fall into decay, but that it might be gradually restored, and that enough still remained, almost everywhere, for carrying on every necessary duty. The Commission have said, wherever the ancient or modern pottail is in office, he is the head of the village, and that where there is no pottail in office, the person, however he may be designated, who comes nearest to the description of the pottail, by exercising the same powers, is the head of the village. The Sudder Adawlut and their friends say that this is a departure from the plan of the Court of Directors, who looked forward to a pottail, not to a renter or a renter’s agent, or a stipendiary corrupt agent, as the head of the village. To this we answer that we must take what we have; if we cannot get the best, we must take the next best; that our permanent and lease settlements have in some cases abolished the office of pottail, and included his enaums in the rental, and in others have resumed a part of his enaum, and set him aside to make way for a renter; that you cannot restore the pottails without violating your engagements, and throwing the village into confusion; because, if the pottails were suffered to exercise any authority over the servants of the village, they would form a party in opposition to the renter, and

prevent the collection of the rents, and the servants would be under two masters; that whether a man is called a renter or a stipendiary agent is nothing to the purpose; that if he is the collector of the revenue, has the charge of the village servants, and directs the affairs of the village, he is the head of the village, and is for the time the real potail; that this renter is in many cases the old potail, and that even the stipendiary agent will often be merely a new title for the old potail acting for a distant renter. All this has been fully stated in our report, and will, I hope, be understood at home. When we speak of a potail, we must attend to reality, and not to the name. If we were to insist on employing only the ancient potails, we should be obliged to look out for the obscure descendants of above a thousand of them dismissed under the Mysore Government, and remove an equal number of more modern potails, who have been acting from twenty to fifty years. The inconveniences, however, of renters, and the agents of renters acting as potails, will not be so great as might at first sight be expected. It will not apply to one-tenth of the territory under Madras, and even in that portion it will diminish every day, as many of the renters are constantly failing, and the villages reverting to the old potails. With regard to the great zemindaries of the northern circars and the western pollams, we can have very little internal control, whether the villages are under old or new heads; but even there I am satisfied that by far the greatest proportion of the villages is in the hands of old potails. I found it so in the great zemindaries of Chittoor and Harpenhilly, and I see no reason to believe that the case is different in other quarters. It is evident that no person can be the village moonsif who is not the head of the village. The head of the village is the person who commands the village servants, directs the cultivation, and collects the revenue—revenue and agriculture are his constant employment. Police is also one of his duties, but is only a casual one. Justice is still more casual; for it may sometimes happen that not a single suit will come before him in the whole year. The only practicable course seems therefore to be, to let the performance of this contingent duty belong to the potail *ex officio*, for it certainly could not be discharged by any other person, by whatever title he might be called, because he could have no authority over the village servants. The Sudder Adawlut conclude their long remarks upon our drafts, by proposing that a selection shall be made from the potails for the office of village moonsif, so as to give to each a circle of from ten to twenty miles. This is evidently a second edition of the Native-Commissioner Regulation. They propose that the selection shall be made from those potails who are pointed out as most fit, by the references of the people to their decisions. They do not seem to be aware that, upon their own doctrine, and that of most of the subordinate

judges, the discovery of the proper persons could never be made in this way ; for they maintain that the natives have so little confidence in each other that they cannot be prevailed upon to submit to arbitration ; and while they retain this distrust it is not easy to conceive how the voice of the people is to point out the persons whom they wish to have as arbitrators. The simplest and wisest, and indeed the only mode that can be safely adopted, is that of constituting the potal *ex-officio* village judge, as ordered from home. The appointment cannot be made by selection in the way proposed ; and even if it could by any other, it would be effected by bribery and intrigue among the servants of the zillah court, which the judge would be unable to prevent. It may be supposed that the same talent which enables the *ex-officio* potal to manage the revenue of his village will qualify him to decide two or three ten or five-rupee suits in the year, or to refer them to a punchayet. But suppose it does not, it is of no great consequence ; the parties can go to another potal. In the same way, when the potal is supposed to be partial or corrupt, the parties will go somewhere else. We shall have from the potails hundreds of decisions contrary to form ; many that are wrong in judgment, and many perhaps that are corrupt ; and much clamour will be raised about them : but still the evil will be trifling in proportion to the good, and will gradually be corrected by the people not applying to potails of bad character. The great advantages of the village regulations are that they do not touch the existing judicial system, but leave it to go on as before. Every inhabitant, therefore, who does not like the potal or punchayet has still the benefit of all the existing code, as it is optional with him either to resort to the village authorities or to the regular courts. Which of these are best suited to the wants of the inhabitants must be left to their own decision. The experience of a few years will show to which they give the preference.

“ Another argument which has been brought against the village regulations is, that they do not apply to those villages and districts which are managed by renters and agents, instead of regular potails ; and that to introduce them into such places is contrary to the intention of the Court of Directors. There is every where a head of a village who manages its affairs ; and it would certainly be absurd to say that the inhabitants are not to have justice at home, but must go to a distant court, merely because this head man does not correspond with the idea which some people have formed of a regular potal.

“ I do not know that any of the men who so stoutly oppose the present modifications have ever suggested any thing for the improvement of the revenue or judicial system, though they have adopted without hesitation whatever has come from Bengal. They are much alarmed lest a corrupt village judge should contaminate the purity of the judicial



system; and they tremble at the unknown consequences of his oppressions, armed as he is with the power of deciding on a cause of ten rupees, and of confining for twelve hours; yet they have sat quietly since 1802, and allowed the great body of the rayets to be put under contributions by every man who chose to do it. It is only now that the Coimbatore inquiries, in which they had certainly no share, have suggested that among so many regulations, it might be useful to have one to protect the rayets from extortion, and the revenue from depredation. These objections about heads of villages seem to me so whimsical, that I am persuaded they originate in their not having any very distinct notions on the subject. None of them have ever had much to say to heads of villages; and some of them, I imagine, first became acquainted with them through the medium of the Court's letters. Some of them are, I think, hostile to the village regulations on principle, and are convinced that they must do mischief, because they are contrary to what they have been accustomed to follow and applaud. But others, I am satisfied, would gladly see them introduced, if they could only be sure that they were in every point conformable to the intentions of the Court of Directors, and that the evils which they apprehend from them would not arise.

“You will observe, that the potail is not to act as referee, and that his decisions, as moonsif, are final and limited to ten rupees. Reasons on both these heads have been given in our report; but there are others which we did not think it advisable to notice. The reference of suits would have brought the potail too much in contact with the zillah judge; would have frightened him, and made him wish to give up the duty. An appeal to the zillah judge would have had the same effect, and would have been secretly encouraged by the servants and vakeels, &c. of the court, who are jealous of all new dealers in the same line; for they have discernment enough to see that the village system will injure the business of the court followers, and will eventually occasion a reduction of their establishments. The potail requires rather to be encouraged than to be alarmed by penalties; the forms and checks by which he is restrained are rather too numerous than too few. His jurisdiction reaches only to ten rupees, his decisions are set aside for partiality, and he is liable for corruption to fine and imprisonment. Under the Native Governments, he settled suits in his village; and if either party was dissatisfied, he carried his complaint to the amildar, who settled it, but no questions were put to the potail. When he had given his decision in his village, right or wrong, he was never afterwards troubled about the matter. We must therefore be cautious not to bring him too directly under the authority of men who have many prejudices against him, who have pronounced that he can do no good, and who will not be sorry to see their predictions verified.”

## CHAPTER XIV.

## Southern Mahratta War.

SUCH was the point at which the business of the Commission had arrived when public attention became diverted into a new channel, and Colonel Munro was withdrawn from the prosecution of his peaceful labours to take part in the military operations in which British India became again for a brief season involved.

In a remote part of Malwa, surrounded on every side by provinces belonging to the several heads of the Mahratta confederation, there assembled, from the wrecks of all the native armies which English conquest had broken up, a body of freebooters, to whom, under the title of Pindarries, the Mahratta chiefs gave countenance, on the condition that their own territories should be safe from plunder, and that they should receive a peshcush or toll upon all booty taken elsewhere. The chief scenes of the depredations of these marauders were the Company's provinces both in Hindostan and the Deccan; and the sufferings of the inhabitants over whom the tempest swept seem to have been dreadful. After repeated remonstrances with the powers which sheltered and encouraged the banditti, the British Government began at last to arm; and then, and not till then, it came to be understood that war with the Pindarries would involve a contest with the entire Mahratta nation.

The Marquis of Hastings, who then held office as Governor-General, did not shrink from the trial. It had long been manifest to him that sooner or later this strife of races must come; and now that the quarrel was forced upon him, he prepared to enter into it with the whole strength of the empire. Large armies were assembled on both sides of the Nerbudda, at the head of the Bengal (or north) branch of which the Governor-General placed himself; while the management of the army of the Deccan, which

included the corps both of Bombay and Madras, was entrusted to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, then Commander-in-Chief at the latter Presidency.

Colonel Munro had always been ambitious of military distinction. Though employed at this moment in the civil service, he still looked upon himself as a soldier; and he immediately applied to be appointed to the command of a brigade in the army of which he was a member. It was a source of extreme mortification to him that the application produced no satisfactory result; and he felt the disappointment the more that Colonels Doveton, Floyer, and Pritzler, all officers on the Madras establishment and his juniors, obtained the distinction which had been denied to him. Meanwhile, however, the Government pressed upon him an employment, which, though exceedingly important in a political point of view, he expressed a decided disinclination to accept. He was urged to undertake the settlement of districts south of the Werda which, by the treaty signed at Poonah in the beginning of 1817, the Peishwah had made over to the East India Company; and not without doing considerable violence to his private feelings he consented. It was well for his own reputation, not less than for the interests of the country, that he did so; for a charge committed to him for political purposes, soon settled down into a military expedition; and the poverty of the means with which he was suddenly called upon to carry on a war on his own account, afforded just such an opportunity of proving his fitness for command as his best friends could have desired for him.

The chief town of the district which Colonel Munro had been directed to occupy was Darwar. It stands, as a glance at the map will show, in the gorge of a bastion-shaped portion of territory, which, penetrating into the Peishwah's provinces, was begirt on three sides by a decidedly hostile population, and could communicate only by a circuitous route, through Soonda and Balaghaut, with Madras. Thither Colonel Munro proceeded at the head of General Pritzler's brigade, of which the temporary guidance was committed to him. He marched in force, because the designs of the Peishwah were still doubtful, and it was considered best that he should have at his disposal means to compel submission, should any opposition be offered; but none such

occurred. Darwar opened its gates on the 6th of August to a battalion which operated as the advance of the invading corps; and Munro establishing himself in the place, turned with his accustomed energy to the diplomatic business which had been entrusted to him.

The following letter to the Governor-General is worth perusal, not merely as recording the state of the writer's feelings at the moment, but as illustrative of the views entertained by no incompetent judge of the probable consequences of a continued extension of English power in India.

“ Darwar, 12th August, 1817.

“ WITH regard to what more immediately concerns myself, though I cannot but regret deeply to feel, for the first time, the army in advance shut against me, and that your Lordship's plans do not admit of my being employed with the forces in the Deccan, I am sensible that those plans ought not to give way to the views of individuals.

“ I have accepted the command offered to me by the Madras Government, of the troops destined for the occupation of the Peishwah's cessions in Darwar and Savanore. Had I been certain that it would have led to nothing else, I would have declined it; but I indulge the hope that, in the event of hostilities, and of any vacancy occurring among the brigadiers in the Deccan, it may possibly lead to my being employed in that quarter. When I consider, however, the weakness of the Native states, and the character of the chiefs under whose sway they now are, I see little chance of war, and none of a protracted resistance. They have not force to turn our armies, and lengthen out the contest by a predatory invasion of our territories. Their great distance from our frontier, and the magnitude of our disposable force, are almost insurmountable obstacles to the success of such an enterprise; whilst nothing but our following them too regularly, could save them from being almost entirely destroyed. They may run ahead for a few days, but, if followed perseveringly by numerous small detachments properly supported, they will have no time to rest or plunder; they will be exhausted and overtaken. I have seen Sir John Malcolm's able observations on this subject; and I should, if anything, rather rate their military power lower than he does. It is not that they want resources, or that they have not men and horses, but that there is no one amongst them possessed of those superior talents which are necessary to direct them to advantage.

“ There is so little system or subordination in Native governments, that much more energy is required under them than under the more

regular governments of Europe, to give full effect to their resources. Scindiah was never formidable, even in the height of his power. The great means which he possessed were lost in his feeble hands. The exertions of Holkar against Lord Lake were still weaker than those of Scindiah. The power of Scindiah's, as well as of Holkar's government, has so much declined since that period, that it is scarcely credible that either Scindiah or Meer Khan would venture to oppose by force any measure for the suppression of the Pindarries. But it is still possible that they might act otherwise; for there is sometimes a kind of infatuation about Indian chiefs who have lost a part of their dominions, which tempts them to risk the rest in a contest which they know to be hopeless.

“The situation of the British Government with regard to the Native powers is entirely changed within the last twenty years. It formerly brought very small armies into the field, with hardly any cavalry; and the issue of any war in which it engaged was extremely uncertain. It now brings armies into the field superior to those of the enemy, not only in infantry, but also in cavalry, both in quality and in number. The superiority is so great, that the event of any struggle in which it may be engaged is no longer doubtful. It has only to bring forward its armies, and dictate what terms it pleases, either without war, or after a short and fruitless resistance. It may, however, be doubted whether, after the settlement of the Pindarries, it ought to avail itself of its predominant power, in order to extend the system of subsidiary alliances, by stationing a force in Bhopaul or in any other foreign territory. While the military power of Mysore and of the Mahratta chiefs was yet in its vigour, subsidiary alliances were in some degree necessary for its safety, but that time is now past; and when, therefore, the evils which subsidiary force entails upon every country in which it is established are considered, it appears advisable that future security against the Pindarries should be sought by their reduction, and by compelling Scindiah, for his conduct in supporting them, to cede the districts restored to him in 1805-6, rather than by stationing a subsidiary force in Bhopaul. There are many weighty objections to the employment of a subsidiary force. It has a natural tendency to render the government of every country in which it exists, weak and oppressive; to extinguish all honourable spirit among the higher classes of society, and to degrade and impoverish the whole people. The usual remedy of a bad government in India is a quiet revolution in the palace, or a violent one by rebellion, or foreign conquests. But the presence of a British force cuts off every chance of remedy, by supporting the prince on the throne against every foreign and domestic enemy. It renders him indolent, by teaching him to trust to strangers for his security; and cruel and avaricious, by showing

him that he has nothing to fear from the hatred of his subjects. Wherever the subsidiary system is introduced, unless the reigning prince be a man of great abilities, the country will soon bear the marks of it in decaying villages and decreasing population. This has long been observed in the dominions of the Peishwah and the Nizam, and is now beginning to be seen in Mysore. The talents of Purneah, while he acted as Dewan, saved that country from the usual effects of the system; but the Rajah is likely to let them have their full operation. He is indolent and prodigal, and has already, besides the current revenue, dissipated about sixty lacs of pagodas of the treasures laid up by the late Dewan. He is mean, artful, revengeful, and cruel. He does not take away life, but he inflicts the most disgraceful and inhuman punishments on men of every rank, at a distance from his capital, where he thinks it will remain unknown to Europeans; and though young, he is already detested by his subjects.

“A subsidiary force would be a most useful establishment, if it could be directed solely to the support of our ascendancy, without nourishing all the vices of a bad government; but this seems to be almost impossible. The only way in which this object has ever, in any degree, been attained, is by the appointment of a Dewan. This measure is, no doubt, liable to numerous objections; but still it is the only one by which any amends can be made to the people of the country for the miseries brought upon them by the subsidiary force, in giving stability to a vicious government. The great difficulty is to prevent the prince from counteracting the Dewan, and the resident from meddling too much; but, when this is avoided, the Dewan may be made a most useful instrument of government.

“There is, however, another view under which the subsidiary system should be considered,—I mean that of its inevitable tendency to bring every Native state into which it is introduced, sooner or later, under the exclusive dominion of the British Government. It has already done this completely in the case of the Nabob of the Carnatic. It has made some progress in that of the Peishwah and the Nizam; and the whole of the territory of these princes will, unquestionably, suffer the same fate as the Carnatic. The observation of Moro Dekshat, in speaking of the late treaty to Major Ford, ‘that no Native power could, from its habits, conduct itself with such strict fidelity as we seemed to demand,’ is perfectly just. This very Peishwah will probably again commit a breach of the alliance. The Nizam will do the same; and the same consequences, a farther reduction of their power for our own safety, must again follow. Even if the prince himself were disposed to adhere rigidly to the alliance, there will always be some amongst his principal officers who will urge him to break it. As long as there remains in the

country any high-minded independence, which seeks to throw off the control of strangers, such counsellors will be found. I have a better opinion of the natives of India than to think that this spirit will ever be completely extinguished; and I can therefore have no doubt that the subsidiary system must everywhere run its full course, and destroy every government which it undertakes to protect.

“ In this progress of things, the evil of a weak and oppressive government, supported by a subsidiary alliance, will at least be removed. But even if all India could be brought under the British dominion, it is very questionable whether such a change, either as it regards the natives or ourselves, ought to be desired. One effect of such a conquest would be, that the Indian army, having no longer any warlike neighbours to combat, would gradually lose its military habits and discipline, and that the Native troops would have leisure to feel their own strength, and, for want of other employment, to turn it against their European masters. But even if we could be secured against every internal convulsion, and could retain the country quietly in subjection, I doubt much if the condition of the people would be better than under their Native princes. The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no Native power enjoy. Its laws and institutions also afford them a security from domestic oppression, unknown in those states; but these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable. The Natives of the British provinces may, without fear, pursue their different occupations, as traders, meerassidars, or husbandmen, and enjoy the fruits of their labour in tranquillity; but none of them can aspire to any thing beyond this mere animal state of thriving in peace—none of them can look forward to any share in the legislation or civil or military government of their country. It is from men who either hold, or are eligible to public office, that Natives take their character: where no such men exist, there can be no energy in any other class of the community. The effect of this state of things is observable in all the British provinces, whose inhabitants are certainly the most abject race in India. No elevation of character can be expected among men who, in the military line, cannot attain to any rank above that of subahdar, where they are as much below an ensign as an ensign is below the commander-in-chief, and who, in the civil line, can hope for nothing beyond some petty judicial or revenue office, in which they may, by corrupt means, make up for their slender salary.

“ The consequence, therefore, of the conquest of India by the British arms would be, in place of raising, to debase the whole people. There

is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the Natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the government of their country as in British India.

“ Among all the disorders of the Native states, the field is open for every man to raise himself; and hence among them there is a spirit of emulation, of restless enterprise and independence, far preferable to the servility of our Indian subjects. The existence of independent Native states is also useful in drawing off the turbulent and disaffected among our Native troops. Many of these men belonging to the Madras army formerly sought service in Mysore.

“ If the British Government is not favourable to the improvement of the Indian character, that of its control through a subsidiary force is still less so.

“ Its power is now so great, that it has nothing to fear from any combination; and it is perfectly able to take satisfaction for any insult, without any extension of the subsidiary system being necessary. It will generally be found much more convenient to carry on war where it has not been introduced. This was the case in both the wars with Tippoo Sultan. The conquest was complete, because our operations were not perplexed by any subsidiary alliance with him. The simple and direct mode of conquest from without, is more creditable both to our armies and to our national character than that of dismemberment from within by the aid of a subsidiary force. However just the motives may be from which such a force acts, yet the situation in which it is placed renders its acting at all too like the movements of the Prætorian bands. It acts, it is true, only by the orders of its own Government, and only for public objects; but still it is always ready in the neighbourhood of the capital, to dictate terms to, or to depose the prince whom it was stationed there to defend.

“ I cannot conclude this letter without apologizing both for its length and for the freedom with which I have expressed myself. But it appears to me that our Indian Empire has now reached that point whence it becomes a subject for the most serious consideration, whether it ought in future to be extended by means of subsidiary alliances.”

Up to the present moment the Peishwah, though suspected of harbouring hostile designs, had been treated as an ally. Mr. Elphinstone continued to reside at his court, and received from him, on all occasions, marks of courtesy and kindness. But the occupation of Darwar appeared to annoy him exceedingly; for he quitted Poonah without assigning any reason, and began to be importunate for the fulfilment of an old and well-nigh forgotten



engagement. Among other conditions to which the English had assented, there was one which bound them to reduce to obedience certain chiefs over whom the Peishwah claimed the rights of sovereignty; and his Highness seized the present not very auspicious moment for insisting upon the redemption of the pledge. Mr. Elphinstone hesitated. He did not conceive that it was exactly the time for putting additional power into the hands of a chief, concerning whose purpose of directing it against British influence rumours were abroad; and he therefore delayed to give directions on the subject till a communication from Sir John Malcolm reached him. That officer, travelling many miles by post in order to obtain a personal interview with the Peishwah, brought back such a favourable report of his Highness's friendly disposition that the scruples of the Resident gave way. The consequence was that, besides denuding himself of a division of troops which had hitherto occupied quarters in the immediate vicinity of Poonah, Mr. Elphinstone instructed Colonel Munro to enter upon the subjugation of the refractory princes, and to employ on that service the brigade which he had carried with him to Darwar. I insert two letters, one to Mr. George Brown, the other to Mr. Elphinstone, in which the writer gives an account of the occupation of Soondoor, and explains the circumstances under which he was led to perform a service, of the political morality of which he entertained strong doubts.

TO GEORGE BROWN, ESQ., LONDON.

“Camp at Guddak, 15th October, 1817.

“WHILE I pursue my present occupation, I see no chance of writing long letters. I have been constantly in tents since the beginning of last January, and during that time, between travelling in the sun and writing, I have almost destroyed my sight. I have come to camp to enjoy a little ease, and save my eyes; and I am now on my way with a military force to reduce the petty Mahratta chief of Soondoor, a descendant of Morari Rao, formerly an ally of the Company against Hyder Ally. He will probably surrender his little territory without resistance on receiving the assurance of some provision being made for him. Whether he does or not, I believe I must conform to the fashion, and write something about manœuvres, and demonstrating and surmounting invincible obstacles of nature and art. If you don't see something of this kind in the papers, you may conclude that my eyes are in a very

bad way. We have now in the field about three times the force that was employed under Lord Lake and General Wellesley against the Mahratta confederacy in 1803; and I know of no hostile force any where that is able to meet a single division of any of our armies. With regard to the Pindarries, they are a most contemptible enemy, whose numbers have been greatly exaggerated. No party of them has yet been seen strong enough to oppose a few hundred regulars. All their different parties do not probably exceed ten or twelve thousand, including all kinds of rabble. They never would have ventured to enter our territory, had they not discovered that we were restrained from following them into their own. This conduct of the Indian Government, which I suppose was owing to orders from home, produced the consequence which every body here foresaw. The Pindarries, when they saw that they had nothing to fear if they could only get safe back with their plunder to their own country, were encouraged to repeat their depredations in ours. They are under different chiefs, among whom there is little union, and but very slender resources. Even if they were ever so well united, they have only a few very small districts, chiefly in the dominions of Scindiah and Holkar. Some of their chiefs were formerly in the service of the Mysore and other Native governments, and are now, from the weakness of their governments, enabled to maintain some kind of independence; and as their possessions are inadequate to the maintenance of their followers, they make up the deficiency by levying contributions both on their Pagan and Christian neighbours. They can make no resistance, and will probably disperse on the advance of our armies, and seek employment under some of the Native states. Scindiah and Holkar's family will, I imagine, accede to any terms we may dictate. Enough of politics,—I am almost tired of them, and often wished, when I read your letter, describing your journey to the Continent, that I had been with you. Few have seen so much in so short a time; and at a time when Buonaparte's operations have rendered most countries on the Continent much more interesting than ever they were before."

TO THE HONOURABLE M. ELPHINSTONE.

"SIR,

"Camp near Tamberhilli, 1st November, 1817.

"My letters of the 27th and 31st October will have informed you of the quiet surrender of Soondoor by its chief Sheo Row. I wrote to him on the 18th October, apprising him of the object of my march, and offering him a jagheer of eight thousand rupees in any part of the Company's territory. I did not consider this sum as being an adequate compensation for the loss of his district, but as I was aware that many demands would be brought forward for relations and dependents, I thought it best to begin upon a low scale.

“ On the 22nd October I received his answer, which expressed in a general way, that it was his wish to conform to the desires of the British Government, and stated that he would send two Vakeels to treat with me. The Vakeels arrived in camp on the 24th October, bringing with them a paper containing a long list of Sheo Row's demands, among which were a jagheer of twelve thousand rupees for himself, smaller ones for his brother and sister, and provision for his principal servants. I promised that he should have a jagheer of nine thousand rupees ; that the Vakeels should each receive an allowance of fifteen star pagodas monthly, and that the other claims should be taken into consideration on my arrival at Soondoor. The Vakeels objected to the smallness of the jagheer ; they said that their master might submit, but that he would not consent to the arrangement. They were dispatched from camp on the 25th October with my answer, and were directed to inform Sheo Row, that if he intended to submit, I should expect him to meet the detachment on the outside of the pass which leads into his valley.

“ On the 27th October, the detachment, on approaching near the pass, was met by Sheo Row, attended by a few horsemen and peons. He conducted it through the defile and barrier which defends the entrance into the valley of Soondoor. On reaching the glacis of the fort, he drew up his party, and as he delivered the keys, he said, that he threw himself entirely on the protection of the British Government. He then asked leave to go away, and having obtained it, he called out to me, so as to be heard by all his followers, ‘Think of my situation—have some consideration for us all.’

“ He went through all the ceremony of surrendering his fort and abdicating the government of his little valley with a great deal of firmness and propriety ; but next day when he came to my tent with his brother and a number of his old servants and dependants, to solicit some provision for them, and to make some arrangements for the removal of his family to the Company's territory, he was so agitated and distressed that he was obliged to let his brother speak for him. It was finally settled that the two Vakeels should each have an allowance of fifteen pagodas, and that his jagheer, instead of nine thousand, should be ten thousand rupees, from which he should make such allowance as he chose to his relations and followers, and that the pensions and jagheers should be granted in whatever part of the Company's possessions they might be required.

“ Though I deemed it advisable to limit myself in promising a jagheer to ten thousand rupees, yet, when I consider what Sheo Row has lost ; that he was as much a sovereign in his own valley as any prince in India ; that it contained a regular fort, built by Hyder and Tippoo Sultan at a great expense ; that it was besides so strong by nature, that

no Mahratta power could have taken it from him ; and that he had ruled over it from his infancy, for the space of twenty-one years without interruption, I cannot think that even the twelve thousand rupees which he has demanded would be more than a very inadequate compensation for the sacrifice which he has been compelled to make.

“ From the information which I have been able to collect, both from the inhabitants of Soondoor and those of the neighbouring districts under the British government, concerning Sheo Row, his claims to Soondoor seem to be in some respects better founded than they are stated to be in your letter to Mr. Strachey of the 10th December, 1816. Soondoor formed a part of the principality of Mora Row, the Mahratta chief of Gooty, who was deprived of his dominions by Hyder Ally. His adopted son, Sheo Row Bapa, fell in battle, leaving a son, Seddajee, only two years old, under the guardianship of his uncle, Vencata Row. In 1790, Vencata Row and his nephew Suddajee, with a party of their own adherents, assisted by the inhabitants of Soondoor, expelled Tippoo Sultan's Killedar, and got possession of the place, which they were allowed to retain after the peace of 1792, as part of the ancient inheritance of their family. Seddajee died without issue in 1796, on which his uncle, Vencata Row, applied to Dowlet Row, the half-brother of Mora Row, for one of his sons to be adopted by the widow, which was refused. He then made the same request of Eshwunt Row, who also refused, but said that he might have one of the sons of his younger brother, Kundy Row. An application being made to Kundy Row, he consented, and gave his son, Sheo Row, the present chief. None of the descendants of Mora Row ventured to reside in Soondoor during the life of Tippoo, because, being completely surrounded by his dominions, they were afraid of being seized by treachery ; but on his death, in 1799, Vencata Row and Sheo Row went to Soondoor. The Peishwah about the same time issued a sunnud, granting Soondoor as a jagheer to Eshwunt Row. No use was made of this sunnud until some years after, when Eshwunt Row sent a copy of it with a letter to Vencata Row, saying that he wished that means might be taken to prevent discussions in their families. Vencata Row, therefore, sent for Narsing Row, the second son of Eshwunt, in 1804, and gave him an allowance of one hundred pagodas monthly ; but as Narsing Row attempted to form a party, he was dismissed in 1808.

“ It would appear as if Eshwunt Row had acknowledged the claim of Sheo Row, from his permitting his son to serve under him. Whatever may be the question of right, there can be none of possession : Sheo Row has held it during the long period of twenty-one years. He was in fact an independent prince, by the same right that so many other Mahratta chiefs have become so. He was independent before the treaty

of Bassein, and can hardly, therefore, be included among the refractory vassals whom the British Government are bound by that treaty to reduce, any more than many other greater vassals, who had before that time shaken off their allegiance to the Peishwah. It is true that the Peishwah has always regarded him as a rebellious vassal, and has never admitted his right to Soondoor.

“I trust, however, that on considering the long possession of Sheo Row, his claims as the descendant of Mora Row to a small corner of the dominions of his ancestors, and his patient and moderate conduct, the most Noble the Governor-General will be disposed to grant him a more liberal compensation for the loss of his little principality than that which I have thought myself at liberty to promise.

“I have the honour to be, &c., THOMAS MUNRO.”

The following to Mrs. Munro speaks for itself:—

“Dummul, 19th November, 1817.

“I LEFT camp yesterday morning, and the sudden transition from constant noise and bustle to silence and solitude appears almost like a dream. This is the only time since my last return to India that I have travelled alone by regular stages, except during my journey from Hurrihur to Darwar. I was glad that you were not in camp, because it would have been both fatiguing and uncomfortable to me as well as to yourself, and would have been a very inconvenient interruption to the free and constant access which every body in a camp should have to the commanding officer; but, now that I am alone, I am sorry that you are away. It is only when I am alone, however, that I wish for you. I should not like to have you at Darwar, because I might be called away suddenly, and be obliged to leave you alone among strangers, and the distance from Madras would be too great for you to undertake the journey alone. I wished much to have had you with me this morning in my walk. The weather is so cool, that I went out after breakfast, between ten and eleven, and strolled along the bank of a rocky nullah for an hour; often standing still for some minutes, looking at the water tumbling over the stones, and the green sod and bushes looking greener from a bright sun. There is nothing I enjoy so much as the sight and the sound of water gushing and murmuring among rocks and stones. I fancy I could look on the stream for ever—it never tires me. I never see a brawling rivulet in any part of the world, without thinking of the one I first saw in my earliest years, and wishing myself beside it again. There seems to be a kind of sympathy among them all. They have all the same sound, and in India and Scotland they resemble each other more than any other part of the landscape. I had written thus far about one

o'clock to-day, when I was interrupted by the killedar of this place wanting a pass to visit a pagoda in the Company's territory, with twenty horsemen; then came complaints from the head man of the village about camp-followers; then my own Bramin and Mahratta letters, which, with half an hour for dinner, occupied me till dark. As the same thing will happen to-morrow, and to-morrow, I am now finishing this letter by candlelight, with the help of a handkerchief tied over the shade. This, I believe, is the first time since we were at Shevagunga that I have had such an apparatus. When I was encamped about three weeks ago on the spot where I am now, every thing looked dismal: it had been raining constantly for many weeks, the ground was swampy, the tents were wet outside and inside, and man and beast were jaded. The ground is now dry and covered with grass, as if not a foot had ever trodden upon it; the change is so great, that it seems to me like a transition from war to peace, and as if a long time had passed since I was here. I shall feel the same thing at every halting-place on my way to Darwar, and I shall be harassed with complaints from every village about my own devastations among the grain-fields, when I was marching down this way.

"I have contrived to read the whole four volumes you sent me of the 'Tales of my Landlord.' The 'Black Dwarf,' is an absurd thing, with little interest, and some very disgusting characters. I like 'Old Mortality' much; but certainly not so well as 'Guy Mannering.' Cud-die has got a little of Sambo about him. His testifying mother is just such an auld wife as I have often seen in the West. Colonel Graham is drawn with great spirit; and I feel the more interested in him from knowing that he is the celebrated Lord Dundee. I admire Edith, but I should like her better if she were not so wonderfully wise—she talks too much like an Edinburgh Reviewer. Kind remembrance to Coch-rane and his lady."

Things were in this state when the rupture with the Peishwah so long threatened—yet, as the result showed, so little in reality anticipated—took place. His Highness joined the confederacy of his countrymen, and a considerable portion of the army assembled for other purposes was directed against him. And now, at length, the Brigadier's commission for which he had in vain applied at the commencement of the troubles was transmitted to Colonel Munro, who received instructions to take the command of a reserve corps, of which General Pritzler's brigade was to form a part. But it was easier to issue such orders than to obey them. Between General Munro and his

corps, lay the whole extent of the Peishwah's territories, with numerous armies, both of horse and foot ; to pass through which was not more impracticable for himself, than it was impossible for the reserve to march immediately to him. Munro, however, did not conceive that he was bound to sit still. He had at his disposal five companies of native infantry, a squadron of horse, and two pieces of light cannon. He determined to take the field with these, to rally round him the inhabitants of the district, and to carry on a war of his own against an entire host of chiefs, whose castles and strongholds studded both sides of the Kistna, and kept the country in subjection. Meanwhile General Pritzler was directed to march upon Poonah, where Mr. Elphinstone with the staff of the residency had fallen into imminent danger ; while all for which Munro applied, as particularly suited to his own case, were five heavy guns, with as many infantry as could be spared from Pritzler's more moveable column. Days and weeks elapsed ere any of the invited succour either in men or guns arrived, but Munro was not on that account idle ; and the success which attended his efforts, both in his campaign of sieges and in the open field, deserved all the praise which, as well from the Governor-General as from the home authorities, was heaped upon it.

If the reader will take the trouble to consult any good map of India, he will find a tract of country, extending from Darwar on the north to Sillona on the south, and from about the latitude of Belgaum on the west to that of Kolapoor on the east, through which run important branches of the Kistna and the Geatburda, with many lesser and tributary streams that fall into them. At the period to which my narrative refers, this district belonged to various jaggeerdars or chieftains, who were as much attached to the Peishwah as Mahrattas ever are to an acknowledged head, but who seem to have agreed on one point, namely, in harbouring sentiments of bitter hostility towards the English. The whole of this region Munro determined to reduce ; and he succeeded. He began by arming the people of Darwar and the villages dependent on it, and putting them under the orders of his revenue officers. With these and his handful of regular troops he marched first upon a place called Nawilgoond, which having been included in the surrender of Darwar, was at once invested

and placed in great jeopardy by the enemy. He raised the siege without any difficulty; and contrived to strengthen himself by bringing in from the ceded districts a small battering-train and six more companies of infantry, through the avenues thereby opened. He then felt himself adequate to wage an offensive war, and he entered upon it with equal vigour and address. Town after town, and castle after castle, fell before him. He fought more than one battle in the open field; particularly at Shoolapoor, where upwards of 11,000 good Asiatic troops sustained from him a terrible defeat; and in the course of an incredibly short space of time made himself master of the whole district. Nor was his a military occupation exclusively. He organized and reconciled to the working of the Company's government each particular district as it fell; and gathered in the revenues with as much regularity as if no change of masters had occurred. I need not pretend to describe in detail services the importance of which the general reader, unless he were familiar with the political condition of India at the time, would never be able to comprehend; but the following letters from public men whose opinions carry with them the weight of authority, will show what was thought both of Munro and of his achievements, while the latter were yet recent. Sir John Malcolm, writing to Mr. Secretary Adams, on the 17th of February, 1818, says:—

“ I SEND you a copy of a public letter from *Tom Munro Saheb*, written for the information of Sir Thomas Hislop. If this letter makes the same impression upon you that it did upon me, we shall all recede, as this extraordinary man comes forward. We use common vulgar means, and go on zealously and actively, and courageously enough; but how different is his part in the drama! Insulated in an enemy's country, with no military means whatever, (five disposable companies of sepoys were nothing,) he forms the plan of subduing the country, expelling the army by which it is occupied, and collecting the revenues that are due to the enemy, through the means of the inhabitants themselves, aided and supported by a few irregular infantry, whom he invites from the neighbouring provinces for that purpose. His plan, which is at once simple and great, is successful in a degree that a mind like his could alone have anticipated. The country comes into his hands by the most legitimate of all modes, the zealous and spirited efforts of the natives to place themselves under his rule, and to enjoy the benefits of a



Government which, when administered by a man like him, is one of the best in the world. Munro, they say, has been aided in this great work by his local reputation,—but *that* adds to his title to praise. His popularity in the quarter where he is placed is the result of long experience of his talents and virtues, and rests exactly upon that basis of which an able and good man may be proud.

“ I confess, after reading the inclosed, that I have a right to exult in the eagerness with which I pressed upon you the necessity of bringing forward this *master-workman*. You had only heard of him at a distance ; I had seen him near. Lord Hastings, however, showed on this, as on every other occasion, that he had only one desire—how best to provide for every possible exigency of the public service.”

In the same spirit are the following testimonials to his merits : the one addressed by Lord Hastings in a letter to himself ; the other spoken by Mr. Canning, when a vote of thanks to the army in India was passed in the House of Commons :—

“ In a public acknowledgment of your exploits,” says the former, “ I have striven to express my opinion of their tone and importance. With that attempt, however, I cannot be satisfied : it may be liable to be considered as one of those official recognitions where the phrases are not supposed to be exactly measured ; and when he who offers the compliment may be suspected of exaggeration in the terms, for the sake of proving his own liberality in the estimate of his command of language. Allow me, therefore, to indulge myself in a private declaration of my sentiments, that I may assert the formal tribute paid by me to your merits, to have been strictly what your conduct claimed ; assuring you of my sincere regret that your exertions should have contributed in any way to the injury of your health. Let me say that I do not speak on your own individual account only : I have a deep sense of the loss which the public interest sustains by your relinquishment of active employment. You too have the consciousness, would you avow it, of this latter feeling in your breast ; and you will internally grieve that you cannot continue to advance those great objects which you have so conspicuously promoted. It will be some consolation to you to know that you must convey with you the applause of all who have witnessed your energy and judgment ; while this letter will be my testimony to our honourable employers, that they cannot too highly rate the quality of your efforts in their service.”

Mr. Canning's meed of praise, doubly valuable as coming from one whose eloquence left an impression on the minds of

his auditors never to be effaced, ran thus. After eulogizing other armies and leaders as they deserved, the speaker went on to say :—

“ At the southern extremity of this long line of operations, and in a part of the campaign carried on in a district far from public gaze, and without the opportunities of early especial notice, was employed a man whose name I should indeed have been sorry to have passed over in silence. I allude to Colonel Thomas Munro, a gentleman of whose rare qualifications the late House of Commons had opportunities of judging at their bar, on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, and than whom Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, so fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier. This gentleman, whose occupations for some years must have been rather of a civil and administrative than a military nature, was called early in the war to exercise abilities which, though dormant, had not rusted from disuse. He went into the field with not more than five or six hundred men, of whom a very small proportion were Europeans, and marched into the Mahratta territories, to take possession of the country which had been ceded to us by the treaty of Poonah. The population which he subdued by arms, he managed with such address, equity, and wisdom, that he established an empire over their hearts and feelings. Nine forts\* were surrendered to him, or taken by assault, on his way; and at the end of a silent and scarcely observed progress, he emerged from a territory heretofore hostile to the British interest, with an accession instead of a diminution of force, leaving every thing secure and tranquil behind him. This result speaks more than could be told by any minute and extended commentary.”

“ He possessed,” says an officer who filled a responsible situation on his staff, “ the happiest talent at conciliating every one under his command, whether European or Native, by his open, manly, just, and honourable way of acting on all occasions; but he never sacrificed duty. He never allowed any one to assume an authority that belonged to him by right of his situation; and he was ever most scrupulous not to encroach on the rights and privileges of others, either directly or indirectly. I never met such a considerate man. He never would allow a rude or uncourteous letter to be addressed to any officer, let his rank be what it may, though he never allowed any thing improper to

\* Mr. Canning was mistaken as to the number of fortresses reduced. Even those subdued under the immediate eye of General Munro himself exceeded the number of nine; and if others captured under his auspices be counted, they will amount to more than thrice nine.

pass unnoticed, and used severity when necessary, but always reluctantly. He never allowed a letter or order to issue under his name, without its being first shown to and approved by him. When displeasure was expressed, and found afterwards not to be deserved, he always acknowledged his error as openly as he had expressed his disapprobation; but these errors seldom happened with him, for he had too much value for the feelings of all under him."

The war being now at an end, General Munro, whose health had suffered severely from fatigue, felt anxious to rejoin his family. With this view he applied for leave to resign all his commissions, civil as well as military; and though urged by the Governor-General to assist his friend Mr. Elphinstone in permanently settling the conquered districts, he resolutely refused. No sooner, therefore, was the reluctant consent of the Marquis of Hastings obtained, than he gave up his command, and travelling post to Bangalore, found Mrs. Munro there, and proceeded in her company to Madras. Here about two months were devoted to the arrangement of necessary affairs, public as well as private; and on the 24th of January, 1819, the party embarked for England, with a firm determination never again to revisit the Eastern hemisphere.

Subjoined are a few out of the many letters written by General Munro during this period.

TO MR. STRATTON.

"Camp near Belgaum, 24th March, 1818.

"I CAN be of no use to you while the war lasts. I shall never be able to command six hours' leisure, which you think enough; and even if I had this leisure, I should be thinking of more immediate concerns than laws and regulations. I have five-and-twenty amildars on my hands, with a list of about seven thousand peons, or, what is called in the newspapers, irregular infantry. I have also the command of regular troops, the political management of the southern jagheerdars, and much more than I can well attend to. I should be delighted to have a few weeks' leisure with you at Madras, to finish whatever is wanting; but you must expect nothing from me while I am on this side the Toombuddra. You can do what is wanting yourself better than any body else."

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“Camp, Badshapoor, 11th March, 1818.

“MR. — is wrong, if he thinks I am tired of the Commission (judicial). I am as much interested about every thing regarding it as when I embarked from England; but the long illness I had at Madras, and the overwhelming labour I have had for the last six months, have injured my constitution, and will soon render me unfit for any heavy business. It is therefore better that I should give up my employment, than that I should seek to retain it when I am no longer capable of discharging its duties as formerly.”

On the 16th May he wrote from Shalapoor—

“I AM half blind; the heat is excessive—108, and not under 100 in the day, for nearly a month. It has knocked up many officers and men, and has almost finished me.”

## TO HIS SISTER.

“Camp near Belgaum, 28th March, 1818.

“WHEN I think of the long time which has passed without my writing to you, it seems so strange that I can hardly believe it. There are many causes, however, which prevent me from writing either to you or to any one else as formerly. I cannot now write by candlelight; and it was after dark that all my private letters used to be written. If I persist in writing when I feel my eyes uneasy, they water and get blood-shot. But the great obstacle to my corresponding with you and my brother is, the endless public business-writing, which comes upon me whether I will or not. Fortune, during the greatest part of my Indian life, has made a drudge of me; every labour which demands patience and temper, and to which no fame is attached, seems to have fallen to my share, both in civil and military affairs. I have plodded for years among details of which I am sick, merely because I knew that it was necessary; and I now feel the effects of it in an impaired sight, and a kind of lassitude at times, as if I had been long without sleep. But though I have not written to you, I have, I believe, thought of you oftener than at any former period. The changes in my constitution make me naturally think oftener of home, where it would suffer less; and I certainly never think of home without remembering you, and wishing to ramble with you among the banks of Ammondel, or any other banks you like. When I am once again fairly upon your favourite bridge, nothing shall ever tempt me to return to India. I

hope, however, that you will not expect me to eat as much as any three of your guests, nor insist upon my being sick, when I devour only as much as two.

“I do not recollect whether I have written to Margaret since my return to India, but I fear that I have not. I hear of her frequently, as well as of all my friends at home, from Alexander, who is an excellent correspondent. I hope that Mr. Erskine is again well, and able to enjoy his country life and long walks as usual. He ought never to be sick; for were he but in health, he has so much enjoyment in everything, and he would never have an unhappy hour.

“We are still engaged in war with the Peishwah; but it is not likely to last longer than two or three months, and may probably be over sooner. I shall then turn my whole thoughts to giving up employment and getting leave to go home; and I hope that I shall be able to leave India by September.”

TO HIS BROTHER.

“Camp near Belgaum, 6th April, 1818.

“I **KEEP** a list of letters, or rather I try to keep one, for I forget to insert many that I write, which is probably one cause of my finding none in it to you later than the 16th October. The two last letters from you I sent to Mrs. Munro, and desired her to keep them till we could meet: I forget their dates, but neither of them is, I believe, later than May. The interference of the post-office at home with Indian correspondence makes the arrival of our letters much more uncertain, and often much slower than formerly. I hope, however, that a few months more will make it of very little consequence to me how long their voyage is. Had the Mahratta war not broken out, I should by this time have taken my leave, and probably been on my way home. As soon as the Peishwah is reduced, and I can get clear of his great feudatories, the southern Jagheerdars, whose affairs are to be arranged by Mr. Elphinstone and myself, I shall take my leave of Indian wars and politics. Mr. E. fancies that I shall stay to finish all these arrangements, and that I like the business as well as himself. The moment the war is over I shall make over to him all my share of political duties—nobody can conduct them better than he, and I am sick of them—I am tired of sitting for hours every day with the Vakeels of a set of high-titled Chiefs, who have long since been beaten into submission, and who follow the standard of Bajee Row, without any intention of fighting against us. Even if they were more chivalrous than they are, we have some security against their exercising that spirit, by having already got possession of most of their Jagheers, which will, however, be continued to them on their good behaviour. Were I a younger man, or had I

any wish to prolong my stay in India, I should muster patience, and go through the tedious work of negotiating with these Vakeels; but as the complete arrangement of the claims of the different chiefs would require at least a whole year of peace and leisure, I shall not stay to finish it."

TO THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

“ Camp, one coss south of Rayhaug,  
26th April, 1818.

“ I RETURNED to this country with great reluctance, and had the Mahratta war not taken place, I would have gone home in January last; but having engaged myself both in the civil and military affairs of the Mahratta provinces, I should gladly, had my health permitted, have continued to act until both had been finally settled. My sight, however, has lately suffered so much as to render me nearly unfit for business. I first began to feel a visible change in it while I was in Malabar, during the last hot season; but within the last three months the decay has been rapid and alarming. I felt with much concern during the siege of Belgaum, when I was day after day straining my sight to observe the effect of our artillery, that I could not pronounce positively, as I could have done some months ago, whether the breach was practicable or not. But I am not obliged to look at a breach every day. It is in civil affairs, which require writing every day, that the decline of sight becomes a most serious evil. There are many days when I cannot write at all, in consequence of a painful straining of my eyes. There is no day in which I can write without pain, or for more than a few minutes at a time. In writing a letter I must pause every five or six lines, and shut my eyes to relieve them from the glare. A man who wishes to enter into the details of civil and political arrangements among Jagheerdars and Zemindars, must examine, himself, every person who can give him information, take down in writing what each person says, and compare their different reports. This is the course I have always followed, but I cannot continue it now. I should not get through in a month what was formerly the work of a few days. I must not, therefore, disgrace myself by holding employments the duties of which the decay of my sight will prevent me from discharging with efficiency.

“ The Carnatic will be exposed to no inconvenience from my quitting the direction of its affairs. I shall leave in it a great body of revenue servants, some of them of the greatest experience, and a population attached to our Government by good treatment, as much as men can be in so short a period. The Jagheerdars will give no opposition that can affect the tranquillity of the country. They will enter into long discus-

sions, and debate upon every trifling point; but they will submit to what we require, if we only act openly and fairly.

\* \* \* \* \*

“You will not yourself have time to settle all these matters, and I would therefore recommend your securing a man of ability and temper to arrange them. The fittest person in the Madras civil service is undoubtedly Mr. Chaplin, the Collector of Ballari. He has been talking of going home, but the charge of the Carnatic as principal collector, with a liberal salary, might induce him to accept the situation. The salary ought, I think, to be a thousand pagodas a month, or twelve thousand pagodas per annum. The first settlement of a country is of the utmost importance, for on it depends not only its future revenue, but its tranquillity. Government cannot purchase too dearly the service of a man who can give a proper form at first to the affairs of a newly acquired province. I hope, therefore, that you will apply for Mr. Chaplin.”

TO SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

“Camp near Darwar, 10th June, 1818.

“I RECEIVED yours of the 19th of May some days ago, and yesterday your letter without date, but probably of the 30th of May. It long since occurred to me that an official document, as stated by your friend Adams, would be necessary, and I therefore addressed the Madras Government in April *in forma pauperis*, and they forwarded my letter to Bengal; but you and Adams seem to have managed the business without waiting for it. I need not say that I feel myself much obliged to you both, not only in a pecuniary view, but on the higher ground of my having the satisfaction of believing that my services are thought to entitle me to the allowances proposed to be granted. You were present at the India Board office when Lord B—— told me that I should have ten thousand pagodas per annum, and all my expenses paid; and you may remember that you proposed that as the allowance differed only a few hundred pagodas from that of a resident, it should be made the same. I never thought of taking a Muchulka from Lord B——, because I certainly never suspected that my expenses would, above two years ago, have been restricted to five hundred pagodas, a sum which hardly pays my servants and camp equipage; or that Mr. E—— would have taken me by the neck and pushed me out of the appointment the very day on which the three years recommended by the Directors expired, though they authorised the term to be prolonged if deemed advisable. I hope that Bajee Row has by this time shown himself the ‘man of taste’ you took him for, and gone to drink the Ganges’ river in preference to roaming about like a vagabond. This event will settle

the country, at least in all great points. Many petty disputes may remain to be adjusted, but none that can give us any serious trouble. I have been preaching this doctrine, with as much zeal as any new-light man, to Elphinstone for some time past, as I find that he considers the difficulties as much greater than they really are, and that my aid would be useful in clearing the ground; but this is already done. The jungles and the Babool-trees are down, and he has only now to shave or mow the weeds, which are plenty. I observe also that you have been making honourable mention of me to Adams, and have contrived to make him believe that I might be an useful instrument in settling the southern Mahratta states. The thing is very easy. All that is requisite is to do what he himself suggests, to keep them out of the hands of the Madras Government for some time. A provisional administration directed by Mr. Elphinstone, under the Supreme Government, should be established for two or three years, until the mass receive its form. For this task nobody is so well qualified as Elphinstone. He knows all the Jagheerdars and the people better than anybody else. He must have deputies and assistants selected by himself, who will act zealously with him; not fellows sent from a presidency, who had been all their lives in a state of lethargy; and a military force ready to move should be kept up in the conquered country. There will, I think, be no cause to employ this force; but the best way to obviate the necessity of doing so, is to show that you are prepared.

“With respect to myself, it is impossible that I can undertake the settlement in detail of any part of this country. I am as well with regard to general health as ever I was in my life; but my eyes have suffered so much, that I write with great difficulty at all times, and there are some days when I cannot write at all. Without sight nothing can be done in settling. It is a business that requires a man to write while he speaks, to have the pen constantly in his hand, to take notes of what is said by every person, to compare the information given by different men on the same subject, and to make an abstract from the whole. Since July last I have been obliged to change the number of my spectacles three times; and if you are a spectacle-man, you will understand what a rapid decay of vision this implies. I cannot now do in two days what a few years ago I did in one, and I can do nothing with ease to myself. I cannot write without a painful sensation in my eyes of straining. The only chance of saving my sight is to quit business entirely for some months, and turn my eyes upon larger objects only, in order to give them relief. At the rate I am now going, in a few months more I shall not be able to tell a Dockan from a Breckan. Before this happens I must go home and paddle in the burn. This is a much nicer way of passing the evening of life, than going about the



country here in my military boots and brigadier's enormous hat and feathers, frightening every cow and buffalo, shaking horribly its fearful nature, and making its tail stand on end. I shall willingly, now that all the great operations of war are over, resign this part of it to any one else. I am not like the Archbishop of Granada, for I feel that I am sadly fallen off in my homilies."

TO KIRKMAN FINLAY, ESQ., LORD PROVOST OF GLASGOW.

"Bangalore, 11th Sept. 1818.

"A GREAT deal of fine cotton is grown in the provinces which have fallen into our hands. I was too much engaged in war and politics to have time to enter into inquiries regarding its fitness for the European market. The inhabitants have been so much impoverished by their late weak and rapacious Government, that it will be a long time before they can be good customers to Glasgow or Manchester. In those districts which I traversed myself, I fear that I left them no richer than I found them; for wherever I went, I appointed myself collector, and levied as much revenue as could be got, both to pay my own irregular troops and to rescue it from the grasp of the enemy.

"I shall not trouble you with military operations, as you will get the details in the newspapers. It is fortunate for India that the Peishwah commenced hostilities, and forced us to overthrow his power; for the Mahratta Government, from its foundation, has been one of devastation. It never relinquished the predatory habits of its founder, and even when its empire was most extensive it was little better than a horde of imperial thieves. It was continually destroying all within its reach, and never repairing. The effect of such a system has been the diminution of the wealth and population of a great portion of the peninsula of India. The breaking down of the Mahratta Government, and the protection which the country will now receive, will gradually increase its resources, and I hope in time restore it to so much prosperity as to render it worthy the attention of our friends in Glasgow.

"Baillie Jarvie is a credit to our town, and I could almost swear that I have seen both him and his father, the deacon, afore him, in the Salt-market; and I trust that, if I am spared, and get back there again, I shall see some of his worthy descendants walking in his steps. Had the Baillie been here, we could have shown him many greater thieves, but none so respectable as Rob Roy. The difference between the Mahratta and the Highland Robs is, that the one does from choice what the other did from necessity; for a Mahratta would rather get ten pounds by plunder than a hundred by an honest calling, whether in the Salt-market or the Gallowgate.

"I am thinking, as the boys in Scotland say, I am thinking, Provost,

that I am wasting my time very idly in this country, and that it would be, or at least would look wiser, to be living quietly and doosly at home. Were I now there, instead of running about the country with camps here, I might at this moment be both pleasantly and profitably employed in gathering black boyds with you among the braes near the Largs. There is no enjoyment in this country equal to it, and I heartily wish that I were once more fairly among the bushes with you, even at the risk of being 'stickit by yon drove of wild knowte' that looked so sharply after us. Had they found us asleep in the dyke, they would have made us repent breaking the sabbath, although I thought there was no great harm in doing such a thing in your company."

The following address to Lord Hastings while General Munro was waiting in Madras for the vessel to sail in which he had taken his passage, is too important to be omitted. Its philosophy applies to all time and to every people:—

"Madras, 12th November, 1818.

"My temporary detention here, in consequence of the Castle-reagh's having been driven out of the roads by the hurricane of the 24th ultimo, has permitted me, before leaving this country, to have the honour of receiving and answering your Lordship's letter of the 22nd September.

"I believe that there is no stronger incentive to the zealous discharge of public duty than the hope of gaining the approbation of those whose characters we have been accustomed to respect, because they are respected by the public: it cannot therefore but be a source of the highest gratification to me to find that my endeavours to execute properly the share of the late campaign assigned to me have been deemed worthy of a private testimonial, as well as official record, by your Lordship. Had I not been conscious that I ought, on account of my health, to leave India for a time, I would not so soon have given up my situation in the Mahratta country, as I thereby sacrificed every future prospect of again earning praise where I most valued it.

"On my return to Madras, Mr. Elliot expressed his desire that I should remain in India till January, in order to finish what he thought was still incomplete in the business of the late Commission; and he mentioned at the same time that it was his intention to re-establish the Commission until my departure. I was sorry the proposal was made, because my not assenting to it might be construed into disrespect: but I declined it on the ground that, having relinquished a military command merely on account of the state of my eyes, it was impossible that I could accept of a civil situation which, from the very nature of its

duties, must prove much more injurious to them. Had they not suffered so much from long residence in this country, as to render an entire relief from business necessary for a time, I should, with pleasure, have resumed the pursuits of the labours of the Commission; for I was anxious to give what assistance I could in carrying into effect the orders of the Court of Directors, for employing the natives more extensively in the internal administration of the country. Their exclusion from offices of trust and emolument has become a part of our system of government, and has been productive of no good. Whenever, from this cause, the public business falls into arrear, it is said to be owing to the want of a sufficient number of Europeans; and more European agency is recommended as a cure for every evil. Such agency is too expensive; and, even if it was not, it ought rather to be abridged than enlarged, because it is, in many cases, much less efficient than that of the natives. For the discharge of all subordinate duties, but especially in the judicial line, the natives are infinitely better qualified than Europeans. I have never seen any European whom I thought competent, from his knowledge of the language and the people, to ascertain the value of the evidence given before him. The proceedings in our courts of judicature, which in our reports make a grave and respectable appearance, are, I know, frequently the subject of derision among the natives.

“ But it is said that the natives are too corrupt to be trusted. This is an old objection, and one which is generally applicable, in similar circumstances, to the natives of every country. Nobody has ever supposed that the subordinate officers of the Excise and Customs in England are remarkable for their purity. But we need not go home for examples. The Company's servants were notoriously known to make their fortunes in partnership with their native agents, until Lord Cornwallis thought it advisable to purchase their integrity by raising their allowances. Let this be done with regard to the natives, and the effect will be similar, though not perhaps in a similar degree; for we cannot expect to find in a nation fallen under a foreign dominion the same pride and high principle as among a free people; but I am persuaded that we shall meet with a greater share of integrity and talent than we are aware of. While we persist in withholding liberal salaries from the natives, we shall have the services of the worst part of them: by making the salaries adequate to the trust, we shall secure the services of the best. Natives should be employed in every situation where they are better calculated than the Europeans to discharge the duty required. In all original suits they are much fitter to investigate the merits than Europeans. The European judges should be confined almost entirely to the business of appeals. In criminal cases the fact should be found by a native jury,

who are much more competent than either the European judge or his officers to weigh the nature of the evidence.

“Our Government will always be respected from the influence of our military power; but it will never be popular while it offers no employment to the natives that can stimulate the ambition of the better class of them. Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none have stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under our dominion; and nothing can more certainly produce this effect than our avowing our want of confidence in them, and, on that account, excluding them as much as possible from every office of importance.

“It is with great reluctance that I have declined acting again in a Commission the main object of which was to give to the natives a greater share in the internal administration of the country; and the remarks which I have ventured to make have been drawn from me chiefly by my anxiety to satisfy your Lordship that my refusal to engage in a civil occupation has proceeded altogether from the same cause which compelled me to resign my military command.”

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## CHAPTER XV.

Munro Governor of Madras.

ON the 24th of January, 1819, General and Mrs. Munro set sail in the Warren Hastings from Madras Roads. The homeward voyage was, upon the whole, a pleasant one, for the ship touched both at Ceylon and St. Helena; and some delay taking place at the latter island, General Munro was enabled to gratify a wish which he had long entertained. He traversed the rock from end to end, visiting every spot to which the presence of Napoleon had given an interest; and left it more than ever impressed with mingled admiration and pity for that great, misguided, and ill-fated man. This, however, was not the only occurrence which rendered the voyage memorable. On the 30th of May, the ship being then in the latitude of the Azores, Mrs. Munro was delivered of a boy, who received the name, and has since, too soon, succeeded to the title of his father.

Towards the end of June, the Warren Hastings came to an anchor in the Downs, and General and Mrs. Munro, landing at Deal, proceeded without delay to London. Their sojourn here was not, however, protracted; indeed they appear to have made no pause beyond what was absolutely necessary for refreshment; but pushing directly for Scotland, Mrs. Munro took up her abode with her father, whilst the General amused himself for a brief space in travelling through the Highlands. But General Munro's merits were too justly appreciated to encourage any expectation that he would be permitted long to enjoy the calm of private life. He had scarcely reached the shores of Kent, ere intelligence was communicated that there was a design in agitation of again employing him in a high station in India; and he was recalled from the North, within a few weeks after his arrival, by a formal announcement of his promotion. The circumstances under which

this appointment took place, highly creditable to all concerned, were these:—

In the month of August, 1818, when intimation was received that Sir Evan Nepean desired to relinquish the government of Bombay, it occurred to Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, that an excellent opportunity was afforded at once to gratify the Court of Directors and to mark the sense which his Majesty's Government entertained of the brilliant services performed during the late war by the civil and military servants of the Company. With this view, he intimated his readiness to recommend to the high station about to be vacated some individual trained in the politics of India, taking care, however, to specify, as more particularly worthy of the distinction, Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Elphinstone, and Colonel Munro.

“The more general practice of the Court,” said he, in the letter explanatory of his views, “is to look for their Governors rather among persons of eminence in this country, than among the servants of the Company: and when I profess myself to be of opinion that this practice is generally wiser, it is, I am confident, unnecessary to assure you, that such opinion is founded upon considerations the very reverse of unfriendly to the Company's real interests: but the extraordinary zeal and ability which have been displayed by so many of the Company's servants, civil and military, in the course of the late brilliant and complicated war, and the peculiar situation in which the results of that war have placed the affairs of your Presidency at Bombay, appear to me to constitute a case in which a deviation from the general practice, in favour of your own service, might be at once becoming and expedient. It further appeared to me, that the compliment to your servants would be more distinguished if suggested by a previous declaration of the readiness of the King's Government to concur in such a choice, should the Court of Directors think proper to propose it. To have coupled such a declaration with the name of any *one* individual, would have been to expose the motives of it to misconception; to have named *none* would have been to retain, altogether undiminished, the power of objecting to any individual nomination. The gentlemen whose names I have mentioned, have been selected by me as conspicuous examples of desert in the various departments of your service, and on that scene of action which has been most immediately under our observation. I mean no disparagement to others,

whose eminent qualities may stand fairly in competition with theirs; and I may add, that there is but one of the three with whom I have the honour of a personal acquaintance.

“On whomever your preference shall fall, it will always be a great satisfaction to me to have had this opportunity of recording, not only my admiration of the talents and conduct of those gentlemen whose names I have specified, but the high and just estimation in which I hold the general merit and character of your service.”

On this occasion Mr. Elphinstone was selected, but in the following year it was found necessary to appoint a successor to the Honourable Hugh Elliot in the Government of Madras, and on Colonel Munro the choice of the Government fell.\* Almost at the same time, the rank of Major-General was conferred upon him; and he was invested, in reward of his distinguished military services, with the insignia of K.C.B. But though the latter honours were fully appreciated by the subject of this memoir, it is doubtful how far the former distinction was welcomed. Sir Thomas had no wish to return to India in any capacity. Not that he disliked either the climate or the country, quite the reverse; but he had already spent so large a portion of his life in honourable exile, that to his kindred and native land he was become, in some degree, an alien; and besides that stronger ties now bound him than had existence in earlier days, he still longed to mix in the society of other European nations, and to make himself acquainted with their manners. On these accounts, among others, there is reason to believe that had his private feelings only been consulted, he would have declined the proffered appointment, doubly gratifying as it was from the circumstance that it came totally unsolicited. But Sir Thomas Munro had never been accustomed to indulge personal inclinations when a public duty stood opposed to them; and finding that his acceptance of office was looked to with anxiety by men of all parties, he submitted with a good grace.

Nothing could exceed the cordiality of the approval with

\* Another gentleman had been thought of, and in some measure recommended by Lord Liverpool to the Court of Directors; but the moment Colonel Munro's name and qualifications were, by Mr. Campbell Marjoribanks, then Chairman, laid before Mr. Canning, the appointment was settled. We have heard that Mr. Canning's *ipsissima verba* were: “Nay, if you have such a card as that, it must be played.”

which the elevation of Sir Thomas Munro to his high office seems to have been greeted. The parting dinner given to him by the Court of Directors was attended by more than the number of distinguished guests usually present on such occasions, and all were eloquent in his praise.

“ We bewilder ourselves in this part of the world,” said Mr. Canning, “ with opinions respecting the sources from which power is derived. Some suppose it to arise with the people themselves, while others entertain a different view ; all, however, are agreed that it should be exercised *for* the people. If ever an appointment took place to which *this* might be ascribed as the distinguishing motive, it was *that* which we have now come together to celebrate ; and I have no doubt that the meritorious officer who has been appointed to the Government of Madras will, in the execution of his duty, ever keep in view those measures which will best conduce to the happiness of twelve millions of people.”

Lord William Bentinck, to whom the appointment had first been offered, but whom circumstances induced to decline it, no sooner heard of Sir Thomas's elevation, than he wrote to him in the following terms :—

“ Mr. Canning has communicated to me your appointment to the Government at Madras, and I have answered that this nomination did *him* great honour, and gives *me* infinite satisfaction ; and that whatever feeling of regret, upon public grounds, I may have felt on refusing to return to India, was now completely removed, by my conviction that a much better substitute had been found. All this is my real, true opinion ; and I will only add, that it gives me great pleasure that your great and noble services have at last toiled through to their just distinction.”

Mr. M'Culloch also, not perhaps the least qualified of all Sir Thomas's friends to judge, expressed himself strongly on the occasion :—

“ I shall take an early opportunity of calling upon you,” he says, “ to express my unfeigned joy in the prospect of an event which appears to me more calculated than any that has occurred for years to gladden the hearts of those who feel an interest in the welfare of the people of India, and in the reputation of the British Government in that part of the world.”



The pouring in of so many congratulatory addresses could not fail to make a deep impression upon Sir Thomas Munro, but Mr. Canning's praise appears to have gone to his heart :—

“ I am sorry,” he says, in a letter to his friend Mr. Cumming, “ that the change in the destination of the ship from Portsmouth to the Downs obliged me to leave town so suddenly, that I was prevented from thanking Mr. Canning for what he said of me at the London Tavern. I do not know that I shall derive so much enjoyment from the whole course of my government, as from what passed that evening. It is worth while to be a Governor, to be spoken of in such a manner, by such a man.”

Meanwhile, the necessary preparations for a long voyage and some years of absence in a distant land were not neglected. The child which had been born at sea was left to the care of Mr. Campbell, Lady Munro's father, and the new governor and his wife proceeded to the place of embarkation, as free from encumbrances as if they had just been married.

From Deal Sir Thomas wrote to his sister thus :—

“ 12th December, 1819.

“ WE are here ready to embark the moment the wind becomes a little more favourable. I wish it were so now, for the weather is fine and clear, and it is tiresome waiting at an inn when one is going to leave one's country. I had no wish to leave it again ; but as I must return to India, I am impatient to be there. My attachment to both countries is so nearly equal, that a very little turns the scale. I like the Indian climate and country much better than our own ; and had we all our friends there, I would hardly think of coming home ; but this country is the country of all our relations and of early life, and of all the associations connected with it. It is also the country of all the arts—of peace, and war, and of all the interesting struggles among statesmen for political power, and among radicals for the same object. It is near France and Italy, and all the countries of the Continent ; which I have earnestly wished to visit ever since I first read about them. The only objection I feel to going again to India is my age. I might now, perhaps, find employment in this country, and I have health enough to travel over Europe, and visit whatever is remarkable for having been the scene of great actions in ancient times ; but when I return from India, it will be too late to attempt to enter upon a new career in this country ; and my eyes will probably be too old, if I am not so, in other respects, to permit me to derive any pleasure from visiting the countries of the Continent. I may deceive myself, and fancy, like many

other old Indians, that I am still fit for what may be far beyond my power. There is no help for it now: I must make the experiment of the effects of another visit to India upon my constitution and mind.

“ I hope you will visit Craigie sometimes, and see that my son is not spoiled, but brought up hardily, as we were in Glasgow.”

In the beginning of May, 1820, Sir Thomas and Lady Munro arrived at Bombay, where they were hospitably received, and magnificently entertained by the Governor, Mr. Elphinstone. After spending about a fortnight there, they again took shipping, and on the 8th of June reached Madras. The new Governor was received with the accustomed honours, and bent himself at once to discharge the important duties which he had undertaken.

Of the leading principle of Sir Thomas Munro's public conduct, enough has been said already to place it distinctly before an ordinarily attentive observer. A just, but not a prejudiced, judge of the Indian character, he ever felt and taught that no point was to be gained of benefit either to the ruler or the subject, except by functionaries capable of speaking and understanding the languages of the country. He considered, too, that it was the indispensable duty of every European, holding a situation of trust, to make himself acquainted with the customs, habits, prejudices, and feelings of the people; and he invariably laid the blame of such petty disturbances as broke out, on the absence of due knowledge or becoming attention in the resident British authorities. His own career indeed had fully established the soundness of this theory, for to no man were more turbulent districts committed; yet he not only reduced them to order, in the ordinary sense of that term, but rendered the inhabitants at once willing subjects of the Company and personally attached to himself. His great object therefore was, to impress upon those in authority the policy and absolute necessity of studying both the language and feelings of the people; and he applied the same principle to all classes alike, to the military not less than to the civil servants of the Company.

With this statesman-like and philanthropic notion uppermost in his mind, one of his first public acts was to be present at an examination of the students in the College of Fort St. George,

to whom he addressed the following, among other characteristic observations :—

“The junior civil servants of the Company have a noble field before them. No men in the world have more powerful motives for studying with diligence, for there are none who have a prospect of a greater reward, and whose success depends so entirely upon themselves. The object of all your studies here is one of the most important that can be imagined. It is that you may become qualified to execute, with benefit to the state, the part which may hereafter fall to your lot in the administration of the affairs of the country :—language is but the means, the good government of the people is the great end ; and in promoting the attainment of this end, every civil servant has a share more or less considerable ; for there is no office, however subordinate, in which the conduct of the person holding it has not some influence on the comfort of the people and the reputation of the Government.

“The advantage of knowing the country languages is not merely that it will enable you to carry on the public business with greater facility, but that by rendering you more intimately acquainted with the people, it will dispose you to think more favourably of them, to relinquish some of those prejudices which we are all at first too apt to entertain against them, to take a deeper interest in their welfare, and thus to render yourselves more respected among them. The more you feel an anxious concern in their prosperity, the more likely you will be to discharge your duty towards them with zeal and efficiency, and the more likely they will be to return the benefit with gratitude and attachment.

“In every situation it is best to think well of the people placed under our authority. There is no danger that this feeling will be carried too far ; and even if it should, error on this side is safer than on the other. It is a strong argument in favour of the general good qualities of the natives, that those who have lived longest among them, have usually thought the most highly of them. I trust that you will all hereafter see the justice of this opinion, and the propriety of acting upon it ; for in almost every country, but more particularly in this, the good-will of the people is the strongest support of the Government.”

The fragment of a memorandum found among Sir Thomas's papers, which I subjoin, is very interesting.

#### MEMORANDUM.

“The importance of public officers being free from debt. No excuses for being encumbered with it. The causes of it—dissipation, thoughtlessness, or want of firmness.

“ 2. It is a great drawback on every man in office. Some men may do their duty with it; but never so well as without it.

“ 3. There are few qualities in a public servant more really valuable than order and economy in his private affairs. They make him independent, and enable him to devote, without disturbance, his whole time to his public duty.

“ 4. It is very essential, both to your own future advancement, as well as to the good of the service, that you should leave the College fully prepared by your knowledge of the native languages to enter upon its duties with advantage to the people, and that they should not have cause to lament that they are placed under the authority of men who, not being qualified to execute the duties of their situation, are incapable of protecting them.

“ 5. Many have left the College perfectly qualified for commencing their public career. Some have left it with a very imperfect knowledge of the languages, who have afterwards, by persevering study, completely retrieved their lost time. It is much safer, however, to leave the College already provided with the necessary qualifications for public business, than to trust to the chances of acquiring it in the provinces; for though some may acquire it in this manner, others will fail, and never become useful or distinguished members of the service.”

The following admirable Minute refers to the same subject :—

#### MINUTE.

“ 8th of August, 1820.

“ THE Court of Directors has, in its letter of the 1st of March, 1820, proposed certain rules for our guidance in the selection of persons to fill the offices of provincial and zillah judges, and of secretaries to Government and the Board of Revenue, and of members of that Board, and of register and members of the Sudder Adawlut. The Court has desired us to take this subject into our particular consideration, and to furnish it with our sentiments thereupon.

“ The reasons which render it desirable that the offices in question should, as far as may be practicable, be filled with men possessing a considerable share of revenue experience acquired in the provinces, are so fully explained in the Honourable Court's Letter to Bengal, of the 8th April, 1819, that it is not easy to add any thing to them; and it therefore appears to me that all that remains for us to do is, to endeavour, without delay, to carry into effect the intentions of the Honourable Court, to as great an extent as may be found possible in the present state of the service. It is obvious, however, that from the great want of regularly trained servants, we must proceed gradually, and that many

years must elapse before full operation can be given to the plan. Until within the last twenty or thirty years, we had little territory in our own hands, and, consequently, hardly any means of forming revenue servants. We have been more fortunate than could have been expected under such disadvantages; for most of the principal offices at the Presidency have generally been filled by a succession of able servants, and some of the most distinguished of them have been men who never were employed, or only for a very short time, any where else but at the seat of government; such men, however, would undoubtedly have been much fitter for their station if they had served some years in the revenue line in the provinces. We have now, in our widely extended territory, an ample field for the training of the junior servants in revenue affairs, and we ought to avail ourselves of it for that purpose. A knowledge of revenue business will be useful in whatever department they may be afterwards employed; but a knowledge of the natives is still more essential, and this knowledge is only to be acquired by an early and free intercourse with them, for which the revenue presents infinitely more facilities than any other line. It ought to be our aim to give to the younger servants the best opinion of the natives, in order that they may be the better qualified to govern them hereafter. We can never be qualified to govern men against whom we are prejudiced. If we entertain a prejudice at all, it ought rather to be in their favour than against them. We ought to know their character, but especially the favourable side of it; for if we know only the unfavourable, it will beget contempt and harshness on the one part, and discontent on the other. The custom of appointing young men, as soon as they leave college, to be registers to zillah courts, is calculated rather to produce than to obviate this evil. The most likely way of preventing it, and of fulfilling the desire of the Court of Directors to improve the efficiency of the Civil Service, would be, to make every civil servant begin his career in the revenue line. The slightest reflection will satisfy us, that it is much more probable that he will become an useful public servant by beginning in the revenue than in the judicial departments.

“ There are some men who overcome all difficulties, and become valuable public officers in whatever line they are placed, and whatever may have been that in which they were first employed: but in making rules, we must look to men such as they generally are.

“ When a young man is transferred from college to the office of a zillah register, he finds himself all at once invested with judicial functions. He learns forms before he learns things. He becomes full of the respect due to the court, but knows nothing of the people. He is placed too high above them to have any general intercourse with them. He has little opportunity of seeing them except in court. He sees only

the worst part of them, and under the worst shapes; he sees them as plaintiff and defendant, exasperated against each other, or as criminals; and the unfavourable opinion with which he too often, at first, enters among them, in place of being removed by experience, is every day strengthened and increased. He acquires, it is true, habits of cautious examination, and of precision and regularity; but they are limited to a particular object, and are frequently attended with dilatoriness, too little regard for the value of time, and an inaptitude for general affairs, which require a man to pass readily from one subject to another.

“In the revenue line he has an almost boundless field, from whence he may draw at pleasure his knowledge of the people. As he has it in his power, at some time or other, to show kindness to them all, in settling their differences, in occasional indulgence in their rents, in facilitating the performance of their ceremonies, and many other ways; and as he sees them without official form or restraint, they come to him freely, not only on the public, but often on their private concerns. His communications with them are not limited to one subject, but extend to every thing connected with the welfare of the country. He sees them engaged in the pursuits of trade and agriculture, and promoting by their labours the increase of its resources, the object to which his own are directed. He sees that among them there is, as in other nations, a mixture of good and bad; that though many are selfish, many likewise, especially among the agricultural class, are liberal and friendly to their poorer neighbours and tenants; and he gradually learns to take an interest in their welfare, which adheres to him in every future situation.

“If a young man be sent at once from college to the revenue line, the usual effect will be to render him attached to the natives; if to the judicial, to increase the dislike towards them with which he too often sets out. The main object, therefore, in beginning with the revenue, is not to teach him to collect the kists, which is a very secondary consideration, but to afford him an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of the inhabitants and their usages, which is indispensable to the due discharge of his duty in the judicial as well as in the revenue line.

“An acquaintance with the customs of the inhabitants, but particularly of the rayets, the various tenures under which they hold their lands, the agreements usual among them regarding cultivation, and between them and soucars respecting loans or advances for their rents, and the different modes of assignment, is essential to a judge; for questions concerning these points form the chief part of his business. A judge who is ignorant of them, must often be at a loss on the most simple points; but as a knowledge of them can hardly be attained excepting in the revenue line, it may be said that no man can be a good judge who has not served in it. If this kind of knowledge be indispensable in a zillah

judge, it is equally so in the judges of the higher courts, and the secretaries to government. It is on the right administration of the revenue that the prosperity of the country chiefly depends. If it be too heavy or very unequally distributed, the effects are felt in every department. Trade is depressed as well as agriculture. Numbers of the lower orders of the people are driven by their necessity to seek a subsistence in theft and robbery: the better sort become dissatisfied, and give no help in checking the disorder. The roads become unsafe, and the prisons crowded; and we impute to the depravity of the people the mischief which has probably been occasioned by injudicious taxation, or the hasty abolition or resumption of long-established rights and privileges. It is of importance that the higher officers of government should always be able to trace the good or bad state of the country to its true cause, and that with this view they should, in the early part of their service, be employed in the revenue line in the provinces, because it is only there that they can completely see and understand its internal structure and administration.

“As the business of a judge is much facilitated by his having been previously trained in the revenue line, so is that of a collector by his having served in the judicial; but not in the same degree, because he may become tolerably well acquainted with judicial proceedings in the practice of his own duties in the settlement of boundary and other disputes respecting the occupation of land. In framing, therefore, the few rules for giving effect to the instructions from the Court of Directors, which I now submit to the Board, I have not thought it necessary to require that a collector should previously have been employed in the judicial line. It might, at first sight, seem to be desirable that a collector should before have served as a register, and that the civil servants, in rising in the judicial and revenue lines indiscriminately, and in passing from one to the other, should proceed regularly through every gradation in each; but this would be extremely embarrassing and injurious to the service, and would, in fact, be discovered on trial to be nearly impracticable. The conveniency of the service does not always enable us to make interchanges when servants are ready to be transferred from one branch to the other; but we can always secure a few years of revenue instruction, by sending all servants to that line at first. We have then the advantage of the early and first impression; and two years are of more value than double the number would be at any after period. After serving two years as an assistant collector, he may either be transferred to the judicial or any other line, or remain in the revenue, and the matter might be determined either by his own option or the exigency of the service. In rising afterwards to the highest offices, it will not be necessary that he should pass regularly through every subordinate one,

or that he should serve longer in any of them than such a time as may enable him, with tolerable application, to acquire a practical knowledge of its duties. It may be thought that two years are too short a time for any person to learn much of revenue; but as he may remain in that line as much longer as he pleases, though he cannot be less than two years, there can be little doubt but that a large portion of the junior servants will remain in it; that many of those who leave it, on the expiration of the two years, will have imbibed a partiality for it, and seek to return to it, and that we shall thus always have a sufficient number of servants possessing such a knowledge of revenue as to qualify them to fill efficiently any office whatever.

“The rule of sending all young men directly from the college to the provinces, will in future prevent them from thinking of establishing themselves at the Presidency, and will prove beneficial both to them and the public; but as it might be attended with inconvenience to those who have been fixed here since 1816, were they to be removed, and more particularly as some of them owed their detention to their superior merits having fitted them to fill situations of greater emolument than they could have obtained in the provinces, I would therefore recommend that, in order to prevent their suffering by the operation of a new arrangement, they should be permitted to have the option of remaining at the Presidency, or going into the provinces.”\*

\* The following Maxims and Suggestions, collected from the various writings of Sir Thomas Munro, show how anxious he was to impress upon his own mind, and to instil into the minds of others, just and wise principles of action :—

“Keep your temper.”

“Be slow to take and never give offence in official correspondence or communications; and abstain even from the use of expressions which, though not generally calculated to give offence, may yet be taken offensively.”

“When a question is once decided, whatever difference of opinion may have existed upon it among those whose duty it was to consider it, discussion should at once give way to co-operation.”

“There is no use, but much unnecessary trouble, in disputing a question where the argument you favour is at all doubtful, and not clear.”

“Write down a thought when it occurs to you.”

“A public man should give up his situation when he finds that he is no longer capable of performing the duties of it efficiently.”

“Government ought to be extremely cautious in passing censure on appeals from its subordinate officers, because, as almost every appeal must be against the decision either of the Commander-in-chief or of Government, it would evidently tend to prevent the complaints of individuals for real or imaginary grievances from reaching the superior authority at home.”

“Do what is right; never mind clamour.”



No philosophy can be more sound than that which is enounced in the preceding paper. But while the writer deplored and condemned the practice of debt, as not more discreditable to the individual than hurtful to the public service, he was a con-

“Temper and perseverance in a right course must always ensure success.”

“Improvement in civil affairs must always proceed slowly; more particularly where much is to be undone that ought never to have been done.”

“Many measures of Government ought only to be adopted as you have servants properly qualified to carry them into effect; to attempt them without, is only to create confusion and useless expense.”

“A public man should have no motive but the good of his Government and his own reputation, which are inseparably connected.”

“What India wants most is as free an export of her produce to England, as is permitted from England to India. Admission to all our silks and coloured goods, &c., on moderate duties.”

“A Governor should always be a man who will maintain the system prescribed by the Court of Directors.”

“You do great injustice to a Governor if you give him counsellors adverse to the system he is enjoined to follow, as well as great injustice to the Company and their subjects.”

“In recommending new systems, people are too apt to think that mankind are mere pieces of machinery, on which it is perfectly harmless to make experiments every day.”

“Government loses all its dignity when a bankrupt is employed to rule over his creditors.”

“Nothing is more unphilosophical, and, what is of more consequence, more imprudent, than to show a slight to any person, however humble his capacity. There is hardly any one who ever forgives it. True philosophy consists not so much in despising the talents or wealth of other men, as in bearing our own fortune, whatever it may be, with an unaltered mind.”

“If you want discipline, you must support the respectability of commanders of corps; this, more than any thing, is wanting.”

“All armies, but more particularly mercenary armies, such as we have in India, require something like service to keep up their attention when, for any length of time, we have no war. The best thing is distant marches to and from a foreign territory.”

“When we are actually at war, it is not the business of a subordinate government to ask questions about the origin or justice of it; but to use every exertion to enable the superior government to get out of the war as well as possible.”

“Of our troops, one to five, or even ten, of the enemy is enough.”

“It is always dangerous, and often fatal, to have a force barely sufficient to maintain ourselves in a hostile country, more particularly in a country like Ava, the powers and resources of which we are so ignorant of. The best chance of peace, under such circumstances, is never to trust to appear-

sistent advocate of the policy which endeavours, by liberal payments, to place all servants of the state above temptation to meannesses or dishonesty. In like manner he was opposed to undue severity in visiting either the follies or the delinquencies of the servants of the Company with punishment. Heretofore the custom had been, when a European functionary, either on account of his pecuniary embarrassments, or from any other cause, was suspended, to deprive him at once of his pay, and leave him to make his way, as he best could, to England. Sir Thomas

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ances, but to consider war as likely to last, to make preparations accordingly, and to engage in it with our whole disposable force. Nothing is so expensive as war carried on with inadequate means. It entails all the expense, without the advantages of war."

"If we wait till we hear of the wants of an army, and then only prepare to meet them, the aid may come too late; such wants should be anticipated as far as possible."

"There is no time when it is more essentially necessary an army should be strong, than at the very moment when its commander is treating for peace."

"Troops will always make allowances for any hardships imposed on them by the exigency of the public service, if proper attention is paid to their comfort and feeling."

"An extensive country and scanty population are usually great obstacles to invasion, and more so to conquest."

"An enemy should always be made to fear the worst."

"No theoretical improvement should make us abandon what is supported by experience."

"Any alteration in the rates of exchange at which troops are paid, is a thing desirable at all times to be avoided. It should not even be brought into discussion, especially when the rate at which the coin is paid is already above its value, and when the object is to raise it still higher."

"Every thing is possible to a sound and persevering Government."

"All the writing in the world will not put people right who do not know, or cannot or will not learn, how to go about a thing."

"The way to make our administration efficient is to simplify it,—to employ our European and Native servants on those duties for which they are respectively best adapted. Employ all civil servants *at first* in the revenue line, not merely to teach them revenue business, but because they will see the natives under their best form, as industrious and intelligent husbandmen and manufacturers—will become acquainted with their habits, manners, and wants, and lose their prejudices against them; will become attached to and feel a desire to befriend and protect them; and this knowledge and feeling will adhere to them ever after, and be most useful to them and the natives during the rest of their lives."

Munro so far modified this decision, that he caused a regulation to be passed, by which individuals thus circumstanced, provided they should quit the country within a specified period of time, were supplied with the means of paying for their passage.

While he was thus attentive to the comforts and respectability of European servants, he did not for a moment forget what was due to the natives. He early directed his attention to the re-establishment of native schools wherever they had fallen into decay, and to the erection of new ones in places where none before existed; and he established a Committee of Public Instruction at Fort St. George, for the purpose of training up Hindoos and Mohamedans to offices under the government. For the support of this useful institution and the maintenance of native schoolmasters, he allotted an annual sum of fifty thousand rupees.

It was not, however, to the right education of the natives that his care was exclusively applied. He was anxious that they should be treated liberally when in public employment, and adequately provided for after old age should disqualify them from further exertion: and his exertions to bring about this desirable result were most meritorious.

Notice has elsewhere been taken of an arrangement in the settlement of 1793, which rendered it imperative on the collector to distrain wherever payments of the revenue fell into arrear, and to sell by auction the lands of the defaulter. Among other evil effects, the practice was found to produce this mischievous result—that it stimulated the native revenue officers to devise plans for the embarrassment of the land-owners, in order that they might themselves become purchasers whenever estates came into the market; for the possession of landed property in India gives to the owner a degree of influence which it ensures nowhere else: and the ill-paid and generally ill-conditioned native servants of the Company suffered no scruples, on the score of moral right and wrong, to stand between them and the accomplishment of their object. Sir Thomas Munro had for many years seen the evil of the system, and repeatedly, in his correspondence with the higher powers, argued against it. He now took the matter up, and caused a regulation to be passed by which revenue

officers were prohibited from holding or possessing land in the several districts within which the range of their duties lay.

But his anxiety to increase the happiness and add to the respectability of the natives was far from ending here. The British Government had established in India a variety of monopolies—all of them more or less hurtful to the interests of the people, though some perhaps, under the existing state of affairs, indispensable. To these Sir Thomas Munro was so far hostile, that he adopted every rational expedient, if not to diminish their number, at all events to hinder their growth: indeed, he looked upon an absolute freedom of cultivation to be the natural right of the rayet, and against every arrangement which had the smallest tendency to counteract it he set his face.

Again, there was no point which Sir Thomas Munro was more anxious to press upon the attention of the collectors and zillah magistrates than the impolicy of interfering, unless in very gross cases, with disputes of the natives originating in questions of caste. It happened that on the 29th of May, 1820, the usual squabble between the right and left hand castes occurred at Masulipatam. The collector, more zealous perhaps than prudent, interposed to quell the disturbance, employing for this purpose a party of sepoy; and the consequence was, that not only were several lives lost, but a good deal of angry feeling was excited. Sir Thomas Munro took advantage of the circumstance to record his opinion of all such proceedings, and to point out their extreme impropriety. He explained that such squabbles have occurred from time immemorial, and will occur again, without leading to any results dangerous to the Government; and that nothing can be more injudicious than for the civil magistrate to mix himself up in differences of a purely religious character. Above all he deprecated the practice of employing upon such service the native troops of the Company, by far the greater portion of whom partake in all the prejudices of the disputants; not only because of the hazard incurred of their refusing to act, but because to require them to act was a demand too severe upon their loyalty and sense of military discipline.

Intimately connected with these points were the views which he took of the two most important questions that present themselves in our Indian administration—namely, whether or not the

press in India ought to be free ; and next, how far it would be judicious to use the influence of Government in the furtherance of the work of conversion. His official minutes on these subjects are so important, that I give them almost entire.

MINUTE IN CONSULTATION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PRESS.

“ 12th April, 1822.

“ A GREAT deal has of late been said, both in England and in this country, regarding the liberty of the Indian press ; and although nothing has occurred to bring the question regularly before the Board, yet as I think it one on which, according to the decision which may be given, the preservation of our dominions in India may depend, and as it appears to me desirable that the Honourable the Court of Directors should be in possession of the sentiments of this Government at as early a period as possible, I deem it my duty to call the attention of the Board to the subject.

“ I cannot view the question of a free press in this country without feeling that the tenure by which we hold our power never has been, and never can be, the liberties of the people ; I therefore consider it essential to the tranquillity of the country, and the maintenance of our government, that all the present restrictions should be continued. Were the people all our countrymen, I would prefer the utmost freedom of the press ; but as they are, nothing could be more dangerous than such freedom. In place of spreading useful knowledge among the people, and tending to their better government, it would generate insubordination, insurrection, and anarchy.

“ Those who speak of the press being free in this country have looked at only one part of the subject—they have looked no further than to Englishmen, and to the press as a monopoly in their hands for the amusement or benefit of their countrymen ; they have not looked to its freedom among the natives, to be by them employed for whatever they also may consider to be for their own benefit and that of their countrymen.

“ A free press and the dominion of strangers are things quite incompatible, which cannot long exist together ; for what is the first duty of a free press ? it is to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, and to sacrifice to this one great object every measure and consideration ; and if we make the press really free to the natives as well as to Europeans, it must inevitably lead to this result. We might wish that the press might be used to convey moral and religious instruction to the natives, and that its effects should go no further ; they might be satisfied with this for a time, but would soon learn to apply it to political purposes—to compare their own situations and ours, and to overthrow our power.

“The advocates of a free press seek, they say, the improvement of our system of Indian government, and of the minds and conditions of the people; but these desirable ends are, I am convinced, quite unattainable by the means they propose. There are two important points which should always be kept in view, in our administration of affairs here. The first is, that our sovereignty should be prolonged to the remotest possible period. The second, that whenever we are obliged to resign it, we should leave the natives so far improved from their connexion with us, as to be capable of maintaining a free, or at least a regular government amongst themselves. If these objects can ever be accomplished, it can only be by a restricted press. A free one, so far from facilitating, would render their attainment utterly impracticable; for, by attempting to *precipitate* improvement, it would frustrate all the benefit which might have been derived from more cautious and temperate proceedings.

“In the present state of India, the good to be expected from a free press is trifling and uncertain, but the mischief is incalculable; and as to the proprietors of newspapers, as mischief is the more profitable article of the two, it will generally have the preference. There is no public in India to be guided and instructed by a free press; the whole of the European society is composed of civil and military officers, belonging to the King's and Honourable Company's services, with a small proportion of merchants and shopkeepers; there are but few among them who have not access to the newspapers and periodical publications of Europe, or who require the aid of political information from an Indian newspaper.

“The restraint on the press is very limited; it extends only to attacks on the character of government and its officers, and on the religion of the natives; on all other points it is free. The removal of these restrictions could be of advantage to none but the proprietors of newspapers; it is their business to sell their papers, and they must fill them with such articles as are most likely to answer this purpose. Nothing in a newspaper excites so much interest as strictures on the conduct of Government or its officers; but this is more peculiarly the case in India, where, from the smallness of the European society, almost all the individuals composing it are known to each other, and almost every European may be said to be a public officer. The newspaper which censures most freely public men and measures, and which is most personal in its attacks, will have the greatest sale.

“The laws, it may be supposed, would be able to correct any violent abuse of the liberty of the press; but this would not be the case. The petty jury are shopkeepers and mechanics, a class not holding in this country the same station as in England, a class by themselves, not

mixing with the merchants, or the civil and military servants, insignificant in number, and having no weight in the community. They will never, however differently the judge may think, find in a newspaper a libel against a public servant. Even if the jury could act without bias, the agitation arising from such trials in a small society would far outweigh any advantage they could produce. The editors of newspapers, therefore, if only restricted by the law of libel, might foully calumniate the character of public officers, and misrepresent the conduct of Government. They would be urged by the powerful incentive of self-interest to follow this course, and they would be the only part of the European population which would derive any advantage from a free press.

“Every military officer who was dissatisfied with his immediate superior, with the commander-in-chief, or with the decision of a court-martial, would traduce them in a newspaper. Every civil servant who thought his services neglected, or not sufficiently acknowledged by the head of the department in which he was employed, or by Government, would libel them. Every attempt to restrain them by recourse to a jury would end in defeat, ridicule, and disgrace, and all proper respect for the authority of Government would be gradually destroyed. The evil of the decline of authority would be sufficiently great, even if it went no farther than the European community; but it will not stop there—it will extend to the natives; and whenever this happens, the question will not be, whether or not a few proprietors of newspapers are to be enriched, and the European community to be amused by the liberty of the press, but whether our dominion in India is to stand or fall. We cannot have a monopoly of the freedom of the press; we cannot confine it to Europeans only; there is no device or contrivance by which this is to be done; and if it be made really free, it must in time produce nearly the same consequences here which it does everywhere else. It must spread among the people the principles of liberty, and stimulate them to expel the strangers who rule over them; and to establish a national government.

“Were we sure that the press would act only through the medium of the people, after the great body of them should have imbibed the spirit of freedom, the danger would be seen at a distance, and there would be ample time to guard against it; but from our peculiar situation in this country, this is not what would take place, for the danger would come upon us from our native army, not from the people. In countries not under a foreign government, the spirit of freedom usually grows up with the gradual progress of early education and knowledge among the body of the people. This is its natural origin; and were it to rise in this way in this country while under our rule, its course would be quiet and uniform, unattended by any sudden commotion, and the change in the

character and opinions of the people might be met by suitable changes in the form of government. But we cannot with any reason expect this silent and tranquil renovation; for, owing to the unnatural situation in which India will be placed under a foreign government with a free press and a native army, the spirit of independence will spring up in this army long before it is ever thought of among the people. The army will not wait for the slow operation of the instruction of the people, and the growth of liberty among them, but will hasten to execute their own measures for the overthrow of the Government, and the recovery of their national independence, which they will soon learn from the press it is their duty to accomplish.

“ The high opinion entertained of us by the natives, and the deference and respect for authority which have hitherto prevailed among ourselves, have been the main cause of our success in this country; but when these principles shall be shaken or swept away by a free press, encouraged by our juries to become a licentious one, the change will soon reach and pervade the whole native army. The native troops are the only body of natives who are always mixed with Europeans, and they will therefore be the first to learn the doctrines circulated among them by the newspapers; for, as these doctrines will become the frequent subjects of discussion among the European officers, it will not be long before they are known to the native officers and troops. Those men will probably not trouble themselves much about distinction, regarding the rights of the people, and form of government; but they will learn from what they hear to consider what immediately concerns themselves, and for which they require but little prompting. They will learn to compare their own low allowances and humble rank with those of their European officers,—to examine the ground on which the wide difference rests,—to estimate their own strength and resources, and to believe that it is their duty to shake off a foreign yoke, and to secure for themselves the honours and emoluments which their country yields. If the press be free, they must immediately learn all this and much more. Their assemblage in garrisons and cantonments will render it easy for them to consult together regarding their plans; they will have no great difficulty in finding leaders qualified to direct them; their patience, their habits of discipline, and their experience in war, will hold out the fairest prospect of success; they will be stimulated by the love of power and independence, and by ambition and avarice, to carry their designs into execution. The attempt, no doubt, would be dangerous; but when the contest was for so rich a stake, they would not be deterred from the danger. They might fail in their first attempts, but even their failure would not, as under a national government, confirm our power, but shake it to its very foundation. The military insubordination which is occa-



sioned by some partial or temporary cause may be removed, but that which arises from a change in the character of the troops, urging them to a systematic opposition, cannot be subdued; we should never again recover our present ascendancy; all confidence in them would be destroyed; they would persevere in their designs until they were finally successful; and after a sanguinary civil war, or rather passing through a series of insurrections and massacres, we should be compelled to abandon the country.

“ We might endeavour to secure ourselves by augmenting our European establishment. This might, at a great additional expense, avert the evil for a time, but no increase of Europeans could long protract the existence of our dominion. In such a contest we are not to expect any aid from the people: the native army would be joined by all that numerous and active class of men, formerly belonging to the revenue and police departments, who are now unemployed, and by many now in office, who look for higher situations; and by means of these men they would easily render themselves masters of the open country, and of its revenue: the great mass of the people would remain quiet. The merchants and shopkeepers, from having found facilities given to trade which they never before experienced, might wish us success, but they would do no more. The heads of villages who have at their disposal the most warlike part of the inhabitants, would be more likely to join their countrymen than to support our cause. They have, it is true, when under their native rulers, often shown a strong desire to be transferred to our dominion; but this feeling arose from temporary causes,—the immediate pressure of a weak and rapacious government, and the hope of bettering themselves by a change. But they have now tried our government, and found, that though they are protected in their persons and their property, they have lost many of the emoluments which they derived from a lax revenue system under their native chiefs, and have also lost much of their former authority and consideration among the inhabitants, by the establishment of our judicial courts and European magistrates and collectors. The hopes of recovering their former rank and influence would therefore render a great part of them well disposed to favour any plan for our overthrow. We delude ourselves if we believe that gratitude for the protection they have received, or attachment to our mild government, would induce any considerable body of the people to side with us in a struggle with the native army.

“ Such restrictions as those proposed will not hinder the progress of knowledge among the natives, but rather ensure it by leaving it to follow its natural course, and protecting it against military violence and anarchy. Its natural course is not the circulation of newspapers and pamphlets among the natives immediately connected with Europeans, but education

gradually spreading among the body of the people, and diffusing moral and religious instruction through every part of the community. The desire of independence and of governing themselves, which in every country follows the progress of knowledge, ought to spring up and become general among the people before it reaches the army; and there can be no doubt that it will become general in India, if we do not prevent it by ill-judged precipitation, in seeking to effect, in a few years, changes which must be the work of generations. By mild and equitable government; by promoting the dissemination of useful books among the natives, without attacking their religion; by protecting their own numerous schools; by encouraging, by honorary or pecuniary marks of distinction, those where the best system of education prevails; by occasional allowances from the public revenue to such as stand in need of this aid; and above all, by making it worth the while of the natives to cultivate their minds, by giving them a greater share in the civil administration of the country, and holding out the prospect of filling places of rank and emolument, as inducements to the attainment of knowledge, we shall, by degrees, banish superstition, and introduce among the natives of India all the enlightened opinions and doctrines which prevail in our own country.

“If we take a contrary course; if we, for the sole benefit of a few European editors of newspapers, permit a licentious press to undermine among the natives all respect for the European character and authority, we shall scatter the seeds of discontent among our native troops, and never be secure from insurrection. It is not necessary for this purpose that they should be more intelligent than they are at present, or should have acquired any knowledge of the rights of men or nations; all that is necessary is, that they should have lost all their present high respect for their officers and the European character; and whenever this happens, they will rise against us, not for the sake of asserting the liberty of their country, but of obtaining power and plunder.

“We are trying an experiment never yet tried in the world; maintaining a foreign dominion by means of a native army, and teaching that army, through a free press, that they ought to expel us, and deliver their country. As far as Europeans only, whether in or out of the service, are concerned, the freedom or restriction of the press could do little good or harm, and would hardly deserve any serious attention. It is only as regards the natives that the press can be viewed with apprehension; and it is only when it comes to agitate our native army that its terrible effects will be felt. Many people, both in this country and England, will probably go on admiring the efforts of the Indian press, and fondly anticipating the rapid extension of knowledge among the natives, while a tremendous revolution, originating in this very

press, is preparing, which will, by the premature and violent overthrow of our power, disappoint all those hopes, and throw India back into a state more hopeless of improvement than when we first found her."

MINUTE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CONVERSION OF NATIVES BY THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF THE EUROPEAN SERVANTS OF THE COMPANY.

"15th November, 1822.

"HAD I been at the Presidency when the correspondence between the collector and sub-collector of Bellary, regarding the conversion of the natives, was received, I should have lost no time in recording my sentiments upon it. I perused the papers when on my late circuit; and having again carefully examined them since my return, I am sorry to say that I think it will be advisable to employ Mr. — in some other way than his present situation.

"Mr. — transmitted a report, dated the 15th of June, upon the settlement of his district, to Mr. Campbell, the collector. Everything in this report is highly commendable, excepting those passages in which he speaks of the character of the natives, and of his having distributed books among them. He evinces strong prejudice against them, and deplores the ignorance of the rayets, and their uncouth speech, which he observes must for ever prevent direct communication between them and the European authorities. He speaks as if these defects were peculiar to India, and as if all the farmers and labourers of England were well educated and spoke a pure dialect. He says that the natives received readily the books which he had brought for distribution; from which he infers that they are not insensible to the advantages of knowledge. He observes, that a public schoolmaster is nowhere a corporate village officer, and that this must have arisen from priestcraft, being jealous of the propagation of knowledge among the people. I see no reason to impute the schoolmaster's not being a corporate officer to priestcraft. There is no restriction upon schools; they are left to the fancy of the people, and every village may have as many as it pleases.

"Mr. Campbell was directed to acquaint Mr. — that he was not to interfere with native schools, and to call upon him to state what were the books which he had distributed. Mr. Campbell, in forwarding Mr. —'s reply to this communication, observes, that he has not confined himself to the information required, but has indulged 'himself in a formal and most unprovoked attack upon the religion of the people;' and 'has placed upon record, within the reach of many of them, sentiments highly offensive to their tenderest prejudices.'

"Mr. — says, that the books distributed were Canarese versions

of parts of the New Testament, and of tracts in the same language on moral and religious subjects. They were distributed to the reddies (potails), curnums, merchants, and rayets with whom he had intercourse; a few were also distributed among the servants of his own and the district cutcherries; sometimes, he observes, they were sought with a degree of eagerness. 'They were never pressed on those who received them.' His own cutcherry certainly promoted rather than discouraged the distribution of them. He then proceeds to state with seriousness his former doubts on certain points of faith, his subsequent conversion, and his exposition of various texts. He ought to know that these are matters which do not belong to a cutcherry, and that they concern only himself, and ought not to enter into the official correspondence of revenue officers. He says, it did not appear to him that the circulation of books, in the mode which he adopted, militated, in the smallest degree, either against the letter or the spirit of the orders of the Government; that he employed no official influence, no coercive, no compulsory measures; that he usually explained, in a few words, the general nature of the contents of the books; that he left the acceptance of them to the people themselves, and that they were sometimes sought with eagerness. He requests to know 'how far the Government wish that public servants should contribute their endeavours to the diffusion of general, moral, and religious instruction among the natives.' He says, that 'in anything affecting his situation, he would not deliberately do what the collector disapproved; that he thought himself at liberty to use his discretion in distributing books; and that he has not yet seen anything to lead him to suppose, that so long as obnoxious interference with the religious opinions and practices of the natives is carefully avoided, the Government would wish to restrict him in its exercise;' and he concludes by earnestly desiring that his observations, together with the appendix containing the passages in Scripture to which they refer, may be recorded.

"It is sufficiently manifest from Mr. —'s own plain and candid statement, that his zeal disqualifies him from judging calmly either of the nature of his own interference or of its probable consequences. I agree entirely with the collector, 'that he cannot, while he holds his appointment, divest himself of strong official influence;' and that to obtrude his opinions on 'his public servants, or on the reddies, curnums, merchants, and rayets assembled around him on official business, was manifestly converting his official character into that of a missionary.'

"Mr. —, in fact, did all that a missionary could have done: he employed his own and the district cutcherries in the work; and he himself both distributed and explained. If he had been a missionary, what

more could he have done? He could not have done so much. He could not have assembled the inhabitants, or employed the cutcherries in distributing moral and religious tracts. No person could have done this but a civil servant, and in Harpenhilley and Bellary none could have done it but him; yet he cannot in this discover official interference. He did not, it is true, use any direct compulsion; that would most probably have caused an explosion, which would instantly have roused him from his delusion. But he did and will continue to use, unknown to himself, something very like compulsion,—open interference, official agency, the hope of favours, the fear of displeasure. The people, he says, ‘could have no difficulty in distinguishing between a matter of authority and of option.’ There can be no real freedom of choice, where official authority is interested deeply and exerted openly. A very few of the people might possibly have distinguished between authority and option; but the great body of them would have been more likely to believe that he acted by authority, and that what he was then doing was only preparatory to some general measure of conversion.

“Mr. — promises to be guided by the orders of Government in his conduct to the natives; but I fear that he is too much under the dominion of his own fancies to be controlled by any legitimate authority. He has already shown, by his declining compliance with the directions of his immediate superior, Mr. Campbell, how little he regards subordination when opposed to what he believes to be his higher duties. He appeals to Government; and, while he professes his readiness to conform to their decision, he desires that his opinions regarding the natives may stand or fall ‘according as they are supported or contradicted by the Word of God,’ as contained in certain passages of Scripture forming the appendix to his letter. This is an extraordinary kind of appeal. He employs his official authority for missionary purposes; and when he is told by his superior that he is wrong, he justifies his acts by quotations from Scripture, and by election, a doctrine which has occasioned so much controversy; and he leaves it to be inferred that Government must either adopt his views or act contrary to divine authority. A person who can, as a sub-collector and magistrate, bring forward such matters for discussion, and seriously desire that they may be placed on record and examined by Government, is not in a frame of mind to be restrained within the proper limits of his duty by any official rules.

“It was never intended to employ collectors and magistrates as teachers of morality and religion, and of course no rules have been framed for their guidance in such pursuits. Every man who has common sense knows that they are contrary to his duty, and that no safe rule can be laid down but by absolute prohibition. We cannot allow Mr. —, or any other public officer, to act as a missionary, merely

because he supposes that he abstains from 'obnoxious interference.' Every man has a different opinion regarding the obnoxious limits, and each would fix them differently, according to the standard of his own zeal.

"It is the declared intention both of the Legislature and of the Honourable the Court of Directors, that the people of India should be permitted to enjoy their ancient laws and institutions, and should be protected against the interference of public officers with their religion. This system is the wisest that could be adopted, whether with regard to the tranquillity of the country, the security of the revenue, or the improvement or conversion of the natives. Mr. —'s is the worst. It is dangerous to the peace of the country and the prosperity of the revenue, and is even, as a measure of conversion, calculated to defeat his own designs. If I were asked if there would be any danger from leaving him at Bellary, I could not positively affirm that there would—there might or might not; but if any mischief arose, it would be no excuse for us to say that it was so unlikely, that it could not have been expected; for we had ample warning, and ought to have provided against it.

"In every country, but especially in this, where the rulers are so few, and of a different race from the people, it is the most dangerous of all things to tamper with religious feelings; they may be apparently dormant, and when we are in unsuspecting security they may burst forth in the most tremendous manner, as at Vellore: they may be set in motion by the slightest casual incident, and do more mischief in one year than all the labours of missionary collectors would repair in a hundred. Should they produce only a partial disturbance, which is quickly put down, even in this case the evil would be lasting; distrust would be raised between the people and the Government, which would never entirely subside, and the district in which it happened would never be so safe as before. The agency of collectors and magistrates, as religious instructors, can effect no possible good. It may for a moment raise the hopes of a few sanguine men; but it will end in disturbance and failure, and, instead of forwarding, will greatly retard, every chance of ultimate success.

"But, besides these evils, it would also tend to produce an injurious effect on the administration of the revenue. Designing men of bad characters would soon surround the collector, and would, by encouraging his hopes, and appearing to enter warmly into his views, soon supplant the more able and less pliant servants of his cutcherry. They would gradually contrive to fill up every subordinate office with their adherents, whom they reported to be favourable to the cause of conversion; and the revenue, between the incapacity and dishonesty of such men, would be diminished both by mismanagement and embezzlement.

“ The employment by the collector of men as his confidential servants, merely on account of their supporting his plans of conversion, would create suspicion and discontent among the inhabitants ; and this spirit might easily be excited to acts of outrage, either by men who were alarmed for their religion, or by men who had no fears for it, but were actuated solely by the hope of forcing the revenue servants out of office, and succeeding them.

“ It is evident enough, from Mr. ——'s own statement of the eagerness with which the books were sought by the rayets and other inhabitants, how ready he is to believe what he wishes, and how well prepared to be deceived by designing natives. He considers the acceptance of the books by the natives, who probably took them merely to flatter him, or to avoid giving him offence, as signs of an impression made on their minds. He never seems to have asked himself why he should have been so much more successful than the regular missionaries : had he been a private individual, his eyes would have been opened.

“ If we authorize one sub-collector to act as a missionary, or in aid of conversion, we must authorize all. If we find it difficult to keep them within the line of their civil duties, how could we possibly, in those of a religious nature, restrain them by any rule ? How could we control them in distant provinces ? The remoteness of their situations, and their solitude among the natives, would naturally tend to increase their enthusiasm, and every one would have a different opinion, and act differently from another, according as his imagination was more or less heated.

“ The best way for a collector to instruct the natives is to set them an example in his own conduct ; to try to settle their disputes with each other, and to prevent their going to law ; to bear patiently all their complaints against himself and his servants, and bad seasons, and to afford them all the relief in his power ; and, if he can do nothing more, to give them at least good words.

“ Whatever change it may be desirable to produce upon the character of the natives may be effected by much safer and surer means than official interference with their religion. Regular missionaries are sent out by the Honourable the Court of Directors, and by different European Governments. These men visit every part of the country, and pursue their labours without the smallest hindrance ; and, as they have no power, they are well received everywhere. In order to dispose the natives to receive our instruction and to adopt our opinions, we must first gain their attachment and confidence, and this can only be accomplished by a pure administration of justice, by moderate assessment, respect for their customs, and general good government.

(Signed)

“ THOMAS MUNRO.”

While thus attentive to the details as well as to the principles of civil government, Sir Thomas Munro ceased not to watch over the native army; and to suggest, and, as far as the rules of the service would permit, to carry into execution plans for its permanent improvement. He was a decided advocate for keeping it, in regard to numbers, on a respectable footing; and had always on or near the frontier such an amount of force as might be effectively employed at a moment's notice, either in defensive or offensive operations. His rotation of reliefs had, moreover, these peculiar features to recommend it, that it did not allow regiments to abide too long in the same place, though it brought back all, at stated intervals, to the districts whence the majority of the sepoys had been drawn. On the other hand, he deprecated perseverance in a system which, quartering as much as possible a small body of European troops in the midst of superior numbers of natives, tends only to show to the latter that they are distrusted, without affording any protection against mutiny. The outbreak at Vellore had demonstrated that when the sepoys are determined to revolt, the presence of a handful of English soldiers will not deter them; and Sir Thomas Munro foretold that, should similar circumstances awaken hereafter a similar temper, the results would in all probability be the same.

Sir Thomas Munro was not an advocate for largely increasing the strength of European officers in the Indian army. He was of opinion that the presence of one such officer with each company or troop would suffice; because the internal economy of a sepoy corps cannot be attended to except by native officers; and he had himself been brought up in a school which, reposing much confidence in these persons, had never found them otherwise than trustworthy, and therefore held them in respect. But the point which he appears to have pressed with greatest earnestness was the arrangement of a machinery by which, whenever hostilities should break out, the means of provisioning the army in the field might be abundant. The long continuance of our early campaigns, and the petty results to which they often led, were, in his view, mainly attributable to the neglect of this most important consideration.

On these, and various subjects connected with them—such, for example, as the marriage of soldiers, and the treatment to be



awarded to their wives, I have found among Sir Thomas Munro's papers innumerable memoranda, all indicative of the best feeling, as well as the soundest judgment on his part. But it is unnecessary to insert them here. Rather let me give a few extracts from a long and able minute, which a four years' experience of the duties and the responsibilities of government enabled him to draw up.

“ 31st December, 1824.

“ WE are now masters of a very extensive empire, and we should endeavour to secure and improve it by a good internal administration. Our experience is too short to judge what rules are best calculated for this purpose. It is only within the last thirty years that we have here begun to acquire any practical knowledge; a longer period must probably elapse before we can ascertain what is best. Such a period is as nothing in the existence of a people; but we act as if this were as limited as the life of an individual.

“ We proceed, in a country of which we know little or nothing, as if we knew everything, and as if everything must be done now, and nothing could be done hereafter. We feel our ignorance of Indian revenue, and the difficulties arising from it; and instead of seeking to remedy it by acquiring more knowledge, we endeavour to get rid of the difficulty by precipitately making permanent settlements, which relieve us from the troublesome task of minute or accurate investigation, and which are better adapted to perpetuate our ignorance than to protect the people.

“ We must not be led away by fanciful theories founded on European models, which will inevitably end in disappointment. We must not too hastily declare any rights permanent, lest we give to one class what belongs to another. We must proceed patiently, and as our knowledge of the manners and customs of the people and the nature and resources of the country increases, frame gradually from the existing institutions such a system as may advance the prosperity of the country, and be satisfactory to the people. The knowledge most necessary for this end is that of the landed property and its assessment, for the land is not only the great source of the public revenue, but on its fair and moderate assessment depend the comfort and happiness of the people.

“ Opinions respecting the ancient state of landed property in India are various, in consequence of our ignorance of it. The knowledge of it is, however, only useful in so far as it may serve to throw light on its present state, and to aid us in finding the way for improving it. There is no reason to suppose that private landed property ever, at any one time, existed upon the same footing over the greater part of India.

From Pulicat to Ganjam, in the Ceded Districts, the Baramahl and Coimbatore, it seems to have been always, as now, little known, except as anam from the sovereign. Along the Malabar coast, and above the western Ghauts, from Soondah to Wynaud, it seems to have existed from a remote period as now almost universally, and in the Carnatic, Tanjore, and Madura. In all these provinces it is important to recollect, that when they first fell under the British dominion, the land, whether private property or Circar, was held in small portions by a great body of petty owners immediately of the princes, the Poligars of the south. The modern Zemindars of the northern Circars, whom the Company allowed to retain the districts which they had rented or managed under their native sovereign, and the old Hill Rajahs of that country, form no exception, as they were, in fact, petty princes, in whose districts the land was in the hands of small occupants, as in those of the Circar. Unless we know in what manner the land of a province is occupied, we can form no just opinion as to how its internal administration should be regulated. In the Carnatic and the southern provinces, where the meeras, or private landed property, as described by Mr. Ellis, prevails, the land, as in other provinces, is distributed in small properties of from five to ten acres to one or two thousand acres. It may be proper to inquire a little into the Meerassee system of the Carnatic, in order to ascertain whether it possesses any such inherent advantages as should render it desirable to uphold the common tenure, where it still exists; or whether the change of common into separate tenure, which has been going on from a period beyond our knowledge, is not rather an improvement which ought to be encouraged.

“The common tenure has existed in many nations, but usually in the rude and early stages of agriculture, and has always, I believe, been considered as hostile to improvement. I do not know that there is any cause to suppose that its effect has not been the same in India as in other countries, for the same substantial rayets are seldom found in villages where this tenure exists, as in those where the individual tenure prevails. The common tenure is well suited to a country whose Meerasadar rayets are poor, and whose Government look always to its present wants, and little to futurity; because as the village community is bound to make good all deficiencies of its members, and to cultivate and pay the rent of all the arable land for which there is water, Government by this means draws as much revenue from the country as is possible under its then actual condition.

“The system of paying in kind a share of the produce as the Government rent, is also well adapted to the same state of things, because Government is always sure of obtaining half of the produce, or whatever its share may be, from the rayet, whether the crop be scanty or abun-

dant, and because the rayet is also sure of not being called on for rent when the crop has entirely failed, and he is, perhaps, unable to pay. Such a system is better calculated to save the rayet from being oppressed by demands which he cannot pay, than to enable him to become wealthy. This protection to the rayet from the payment of revenue in a season of calamity, is the only advantage which appears to belong to the system; but it is an advantage which could be necessary only under a rigid system, and would not be wanted under a more liberal one of assessment.

“Most of the well-intended but visionary plans for the improvement of India by the creation of zemindars of whole districts or of single villages, appear to have originated in extreme ignorance of the state of the landed property of the country, and the rights of the persons by whom it was held. It has been supposed by some that the zemindars were the landlords or proprietors, and the rayets their under tenants or labourers; and by others that the sovereign was the sole landlord, and the rayets mere cultivating tenants. But the rayet is the real proprietor, for whatever land does not belong to the sovereign belongs to him. The demand for public revenue, according as it is high or low in different places, and at different times, affects his share: but whether it leaves him only the bare profit of his stock, or a small surplus beyond it as landlord's rent, he is still the true proprietor, and possesses all that is not claimed by the sovereign as revenue.

“The land in most of the provinces under the Madras government is occupied by a vast mass of small proprietors or rayets, holding properties of every size, from two or three to two or three thousand acres, and some few having whole villages.

“These properties are in general very small; but they are of that extent which necessarily results from the limited means of the owners, and the nature of the institutions of the country. The correctness of this description is not altered by the existence of great possessions in the hands of rajahs and old zemindars in some of our provinces, because these men are not private land-holders, but rather petty princes, and the rayets in their districts stand nearly in the same relation to them as to the sovereign in the Circar districts. The distribution of landed property differs in every country; it is different in Ireland from what it is in England, and in India from what it is in either of those countries. But we ought to take it as we find it, and not attempt, upon idle notions of improvement, to force a distribution of it into larger properties, when every local circumstance is adverse to its continuance in that state: the experiment has already been tried by the establishing of village zemindars or Mootahdars, and has already very generally failed.

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“ There is no analogy whatever between the landlord of England and his tenants, and the Mootahdar, or new village zemindar of this country, and his rayets. In England, the landlord is respected by the farmer as his superior : here the zemindar has no such respect, for the principal rayets of most villages regard him as not more than their equal, and often as their inferior. He is often the former potail or head rayet of the village, but he is frequently some petty shopkeeper or merchant, or some adventurer or public servant out of employ. Which ever of these he is, he has usually very little property : he has none for the improvement of the village, but, on the contrary, looks to the village as the means of improving his own circumstances. The rayets, by being placed under him, sink from the rank of tenants of the Government to that of tenants of an individual. They are transferred from a superior, who has no interest but in their protection and welfare, to one whose interest it is to enlarge his own property at the expense of theirs ; who seeks by every way, however unjustifiable, to get into his own hands all the best lands of the village, and whose situation affords him many facilities in depriving the ancient possessors of them. The rayets are jealous of a man from whose new power and influence they have so much to fear. They frequently combine, in order to keep down the cultivation, and force him, for their own security, to give up the village : and hence it has happened, that on one side the opposition of the rayets, and on the other the oppression of the new zemindar, have in many instances caused villages which were flourishing and moderately assessed, to revert to the Circar, from inability to pay their assessment. If we cannot make a permanent settlement with these village zemindars, neither is it possible to make one, or even a lease for a term of years, with the rayets, because their properties are in general so small that numbers of them fail, and must fail every year, from the most ordinary accidents.

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“ In all those provinces whose revenues are, by ancient usage, paid chiefly in money, surveys appear to have been made at different remote periods, in order to fix the assessment. In some districts they are only known by tradition ; in others, they still exist, in a mutilated shape, in the Curnum’s accounts ; but there is no certainty that these accounts belong to any particular survey, or that they are not made of fragments of several ; or, that the village accounts have not been so often altered by the Curnums, without any regular authority, as to contain no trace of any survey whatever. Though the village accounts were supposed to have a specific rate of assessment for every field according to the class to which it belonged, the collectors were not made to conform very rigidly to this rate, but were usually somewhat above or below it, ac-

according to the nature of the season and other circumstances. The farm or estate of a rayet was generally composed of three parts: the first and principal was his old farm, containing the lands which he always occupied; the second, but much smaller part, containing land of an inferior quality, was called his Kuttgootah, and was held at a low and fixed rent; and the third was his cowle land, taken from the waste of the village, which he cultivated one, two, or more years, and then threw up or kept, according to the terms of the cowle, or engagement.

“In all cases where the rent of a rayet was raised, it was done by imposing an additional assessment on his old farm. The kuttgootah and cowle lands were always exempted, both because to have imposed an additional assessment upon them would have been regarded as a breach of engagement, and would have discouraged the extension of cultivation. In some districts, the addition made in one year to the rate of assessment was taken off the next. In others it was continued, and fresh additions of five, ten, or fifteen per cent. being made at subsequent periods, and rendered permanent, the aggregate of these extra additions frequently came in time to equal or exceed the original assessment. But there is reason to suppose that these additions were in a great measure nominal, and that they did little more than counterbalance the fraudulent reductions made by the Curnums in the accounts of the original assessment. These extra rates were usually unwillingly paid at first, and instead therefore of imposing them, it was often thought more advisable to give the rayet a piece of waste land, the rent of which he was required to pay, whether he could cultivate it or not. The ruling power always endeavoured to encourage, or rather to force, the extension of cultivation, as a plea for drawing a larger revenue from the country. The result of such a system, pursued for ages, has been what was to be expected, namely, that the extent of land in cultivation and paying revenue is much too great for the agricultural stock of the country; that every rayet has more land than he can properly cultivate, and that he is only prevented from throwing off a part of it by the well-grounded fear, that the difference of rent would be thrown upon the part which he retained. This is the state of cultivation generally throughout the Deccan, and it was, and still is, in a great degree, that of most of the provinces which have fallen by conquest under the authority of the Madras government. The excess of land occupied by the rayets, beyond what they can adequately cultivate, varies in different provinces, and is estimated at from one-tenth to one-third, and may be reckoned on an average at one-fifth. It is obvious, however, that by more land being occupied than could be properly occupied, the rent must in time have adapted itself to this state of things, and become lower than it would otherwise have been, and that a fixed assessment

made on such rent would in general be favourable to the cultivators or rayets. It is also obvious, from what has been said, that if, after making such a fixed assessment, perfect freedom were given to the rayets to throw up whatever land they did not want, they would throw up about one-fifth of their land, and thereby diminish the revenue nearly in the same proportion. But this diminution would only be temporary, because, as the rayets, by concentrating their agricultural stock upon a similar extent of land, would obtain a greater produce from it, their means would gradually increase, and enable them to take and cultivate again the land which they had relinquished. Under annual settlements and fluctuating assessment, they are not very anxious about throwing up land, because they know that, by the custom of the country, we can raise the assessment upon the remaining land, according to its produce and improvement; but whenever the assessment has been fixed, they soon discover the advantage which it gives them, and endeavour to get rid of all their extra land. The liberty of doing so has already been partially granted, and must be fully granted to them; for though it will cause a temporary loss of revenue, it is a sacrifice which ought to be made, for the sake of securing the great public benefit of a permanent revenue, founded upon the general establishment of private landed property. It is the ever-varying assessment which has prevented, and as long as it continues will prevent, land from becoming a valuable property; for even where the assessment is lowest, the knowledge that it may at any time be raised hinders the land from acquiring such a value as to render it a saleable article. We cannot communicate to it the value which it ought to possess, or render it a private property capable of being easily sold or mortgaged, unless the public assessment upon every part of it be previously fixed. When it is fixed, all uncertainty is removed, and all land which is not absolutely over-assessed soon acquires a value, which is every day increased by improvements, made in consequence of the certainty of reaping all the profit arising from them.

“The state of the landed property of the country, held almost everywhere by the rayets directly of Government, clearly points out to us what our revenue system ought to be, and that it cannot, consistently with usage, be other than Rayetwar. This term has been often much misunderstood, and been supposed to mean some mode of settlement entirely new, which overthrows all former rights; but this is altogether a mistake; the term itself is the ancient and common one of the country, and is used merely from the want of an English one exactly corresponding with it. In revenue language, it means a settlement with the individual rayet who owns or occupies the land, and the receiving the public assessment from him without the intervention of any renter or zemindar.

Whether the assessment be a fixed rent in kind, or a fixed share of the crop in kind, or computed for money, or a fixed or varying money rent, it makes no difference; it is still Rayetwar. All these varieties of assessment prevail more or less in the provinces under this Government; but though they all come under the general denomination of Rayetwar, their effects on the prosperity of the country are very different; and it is therefore an important object that the kind of Rayetwar which is most conducive to improvement, namely, a fixed and moderate money assessment, should be everywhere gradually introduced. But before we endeavour to make such a change in any district, it is absolutely necessary that we should survey its lands, and ascertain as nearly as possible its average revenue for a long series of years. If we attempt, without this previous knowledge, to convert a fluctuating into a fixed rent, we shall certainly fail, even if our knowledge should be so complete as to enable us to distribute fairly upon the land a fair assessment exactly equal to its former average revenue. This will not be sufficient, for the rayets will not agree to the change without some abatement: the abatement must not be nominal and existing only in our accounts, but real and absolute, and amount probably to eight or ten per cent.; and we must satisfy them it is so, if we expect success. If the rayet is convinced that the reduction offered to him is real, it will not be difficult to get him to accede to a fixed assessment. The chief cause of the difficulty which is usually found in prevailing upon him to agree to such a change is, that he thinks there is either no actual abatement, or that it is so small as not to compensate for the loss and inconvenience to which he might be subjected in unfavourable years by a fixed assessment. In his dealing with any private individual, he would not hesitate to stipulate to pay annually a fixed sum in money rather than a varying amount in grain, if he thought it would be more profitable. He will follow the same course in his engagements with Government, whenever he is satisfied that he will be a gainer by it. To conduct a survey, however, and convert a fluctuating gain into a fixed money assessment, require a union of experience, industry, and temper, which is not always found. This must necessarily render the progress of the work slow, but it ought not to discourage us. Much has been already done, and what remains to be done will be more perfect, from the opportunity which the delay will afford of discovering and rectifying former errors.

“ It has been objected to the Rayetwar system, that it produces unequal assessment, and destroys ancient rights and privileges; but these opinions seem to originate in some misapprehension of its nature. In arguing against it, in favour of a Zemindarry system, it has been maintained that a detailed settlement must ever lead to inequality of taxation;

but there seems to be no reason why the detailed should, more than any other settlement, produce inequality. It is to good or bad cultivation, and other circumstances common to all settlements, that unequal taxation is owing; and it must take place with regard to the lands of the rayets, whether they are held immediately of Government or of a zemindar or renter. The use of a detailed settlement is not to prevent what can never be prevented, unequal assessment, but to prevent the assessment from being anywhere excessive; to furnish us with the best information respecting the resources of the country, and by giving us a complete register of all its lands, showing the extent and assessment of each field, to enable us to judge, whenever there is a failure in the revenue, whether it arises from the assessment or some other cause. As it is one main principle of Indian revenue, that all land when cultivated is liable to the public assessment, and when left uncultivated is exempt from it, it is manifest that, without the detailed settlement, the amount of the revenue for the year could not be correctly ascertained.

“When we have determined the principles on which the land revenue is to be fixed, the next question is, by what agency it is to be managed? There can be no doubt that it ought, as far as practicable, to be native. Juster views have of late years been taken of this subject, and the Court of Directors have authorized the employment of the natives on higher salaries and in more important offices. There is true economy in this course, for by it they will have better servants, and their affairs will be better conducted. It is strange to observe how many men of very respectable talents have seriously recommended the abolition of native and the substitution of European agency to the greatest possible extent. I am persuaded that every advance made in such a plan would not only render the character of the people worse and worse, but our Government more and more inefficient. The preservation of our dominion in this country requires that all the higher offices, civil and military, should be filled with Europeans; but all offices that can be left in the hands of natives without danger to our power might with advantage be left to them. We are arrogant enough to suppose that we can with our limited numbers do the work of a nation. Had we ten times more, we should only do it so much worse. We already occupy every office of importance. Were we to descend to those which are more humble, and now filled with natives, we should lower our character and not perform the duties so well. The natives possess, in as high a degree at least as Europeans, all those qualifications which are requisite for the discharge of the inferior duties in which they are employed. They are in general better accountants, more patient and laborious, more intimately acquainted with the state of the country and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and are altogether more efficient men in business.



“ Unless we suppose that they are inferior to us in natural talent, which there is no reason to believe, it is much more likely that they will be duly qualified for their employments than Europeans for theirs, because the field of selection is so much greater in the one than in the other. We have a whole nation from which to make our choice of natives, but in order to make choice of Europeans we have only the small body of the Company’s covenanted servants.

“ If it be admitted that the natives often act wrong, it is no reason for not employing them—we shall be oftener wrong ourselves. What we do wrong is not noticed, or but seldom and slightly—what they do wrong meets with no indulgence. We can dismiss them and take better men in their place—we must keep the European, because we have no other, or perhaps none better, and because he must be kept at an expense to the public, and be employed some way or other, whatever his capacity may be, unless he has been guilty of some gross offence. But it is said that all these advantages in favour of the employment of the natives are counterbalanced by their corruption, and that the only remedy is more Europeans, with European integrity. The remedy would certainly be a very expensive one, and would as certainly fail of success were we weak enough to try it. We have had instances of corruption among Europeans, notwithstanding their liberal allowances; but were the numbers of Europeans to be considerably augmented, and their allowances, as a necessary consequence, somewhat reduced, it would be contrary to all experience to believe that this corruption would not greatly increase, more particularly as Government could not possibly exercise any efficient control over the misconduct of so many European functionaries in different provinces, where there is no public to restrain it. If we are to have corruption, it is better that it should be among the natives than among ourselves, because the natives will throw the blame of the evil upon their countrymen—they will still retain their high opinion of our superior integrity; and our character, which is one of the strongest supports of our power, will be maintained. No nation ever existed in which corruption was not practised to a certain extent by the subordinate officers of government: we cannot expect that India is in this point to form an exception. But though we cannot eradicate corruption, we may so far restrain it as to prevent it from causing any serious injury to the public interest. We must for this purpose adopt the same means as are usually found most efficacious in other countries—we must treat the natives with courtesy, we must place confidence in them, we must render their official situations respectable, and raise them in some degree beyond temptation, by making their official allowances adequate to the support of their station in society.

“ With what grace can we talk of our paternal government, if we

exclude them from every important office, and say, as we did till very lately, that in a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants, no man but a European shall be intrusted with so much authority as to order the punishment of a single stroke of a rattan? Such an interdiction is to pass a sentence of degradation on a whole people, for which no benefit can ever compensate. There is no instance in the world of so humiliating a sentence having ever been passed upon any nation. The weak and mistaken humanity which is the motive of it can never be viewed by the natives as any just excuse for the disgrace inflicted on them, by being pronounced to be unworthy of trust in deciding on the petty offences of their countrymen. We profess to seek their improvement, but propose means the most adverse to success. The advocates of improvement do not seem to have perceived the great springs on which it depends: they propose to place no confidence in the natives, to give them no authority, and to exclude them from office as much as possible; but they are ardent in their zeal for enlightening them by the general diffusion of knowledge.

“No conceit more wild and absurd than this was ever engendered in the darkest ages; for what is in every age and every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge, but the prospect of fame, or wealth, or power? or what is even the use of great attainments, if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose—the service of the community, by employing those who possess them, according to their respective qualifications, in the various duties of the public administration of the country? How can we expect that the Hindoos will be eager in the pursuit of science, unless they have the same inducements as in other countries? If superior acquirements do not open the road to distinction, it is idle to suppose that the Hindoo would lose his time in seeking them; and even if he did so, his proficiency, under the doctrine of exclusion from office, would serve no other purpose than to show him more clearly the fallen state of himself and his countrymen. He would not study what he knew could be of no ultimate benefit to himself; he would learn only those things which were in demand, and which were likely to be useful to him, namely, writing and accounts. There might be some exceptions, but they would be few: some few natives living at the principal settlements, and passing much of their time among Europeans, might, either from a real love of literature, from vanity, or some other cause, study their books, and if they made some progress, it would be greatly exaggerated, and would be hailed as the dawn of the great day of light and science about to be spread all over India. But there always has been, and always will be, a few such men among the natives, without making any change in the body of the people. Our books alone will do little or nothing—dry simple litera-

ture will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect, it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. Without the prospect of such reward no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people.

“ This is true of every nation as well as of India ; it is true of our own. Let Britain be subjugated by a foreign power to-morrow ; let the people be excluded from all share in the government, from public honours, from every office of high trust or emolument, and let them in every situation be considered as unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge and all their literature, sacred and profane, would not save them from becoming, in another generation or two, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race.

“ Even if we could suppose that it were practicable, without the aid of a single native, to conduct the whole affairs of the country, both in the higher and in all the subordinate offices, by means of Europeans, it ought not to be done, because it would be both politically and morally wrong. The great number of public offices in which the natives are employed, is one of the strongest causes of their attachment to our government. In proportion as we exclude them from these, we lose our hold upon them ; and were the exclusion entire, we should have their hatred in place of their attachment ; their feeling would be communicated to the whole population, and to the Native troops, and would excite a spirit of discontent too powerful for us to subdue or resist. But were it possible that they could submit silently and without opposition, the case would be worse ; they would sink in character, they would lose with the hope of public office and distinction all laudable ambition, and would degenerate into an indolent and abject race, incapable of any higher pursuit than the mere gratification of their appetites. It would certainly be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether, than that the result of our system of government should be such a debasement of a whole people. This is, to be sure, supposing an extreme case, because nobody has ever proposed to exclude the natives from the numerous petty offices, but only from the more important offices now filled by them. But the principle is the same, the difference is only in degree ; for in proportion as we exclude them from the higher offices, and a share in the management of public affairs, we lessen their interest in the concerns of the community, and degrade their character.

“ It was from a conviction of the policy of extending native agency, that the establishment of the revenue board cutcherry was recommended in 1822. The right of the people to be taxed only by their own consent, has always, in every free country, been esteemed amongst the most important of all privileges ; it is that which had most exercised the minds of men, and which has oftenest been asserted by the defenders of

liberty. Even in countries in which there is no freedom, taxation is the most important function of government; because it is that which most universally affects the comfort and happiness of the people, and that which has oftenest excited them to resistance; and hence both its utility and its danger have, under the most despotic governments, taught the necessity of employing in its administration the ablest men of the country.

“The civil servants of the Company mix but little with the Native community; they have no common interest with it, and it is only such of them as have naturally a spirit of inquiry, or are forced by the duties of their situation to inquire, that know any thing about it, or can tell Government whether any particular law is popular or the reverse.

“Government itself knows nothing of the state of the country, except what it learns from its local officers. In other countries, Government and its officers are a part of the community, and are of course acquainted with the effect of every public measure, and the opinion of the country regarding it; but here Government is deprived of this advantage; it makes laws for a people who have no voice in the matter, and of whom it knows very little, and it is therefore evident that it cannot adapt its laws to the circumstances of the people, unless it receive accurate information upon this subject from active and intelligent local officers, whose duty it is to investigate carefully the condition and opinions of the inhabitants, and to report upon them. But these officers can acquire this information only through an establishment of experienced native servants, who have beyond all other men, from the very nature of their official duties, the best means of obtaining it.

“In comparing our internal administration with that of the native princes, it may be said that we have perhaps been more successful in our judicial than in our revenue institutions. In the criminal branch, the extent of our power has rendered the apprehension of criminals more sure, and in spite of the difficulties of conviction arising from the Mahomedan law, punishment is as certain, and justice much more so than before. I doubt if in civil judicature we have the same advantage yet, or even can have, until we leave to the natives the decision of almost all original suits. The natives can hardly be said to have had any regular system. What it was, has been well described by the late Commissioner of the Deccan; but their decisions by various local officers, by ropus, punchayets, and the prince, or the court established near him, though irregular, and often corrupt and arbitrary, dispensed as much real justice as our courts, and with less delay and expense; for the native judges, whatever their irregularities were, had the great advantage of understanding their own language and their own code much better than ours are ever likely to do.

“ Our judges will, however, improve every day from longer experience, and the expense to the suitors, both of time and money, be much reduced. Our judges, even now, are in general more efficient than our collectors.

“ In this country the judicial require, perhaps, less talent than the revenue duties; they are less complicated, and are not, like them, affected by adverse seasons, or by peace or war, but are governed by fixed rules, and require in general little more than temper and assiduity. The district Moonsiffs, or native judges, are a great improvement on our judicial institutions. They have relieved the Zillah courts from a great mass of small suits; they get through a great deal of work, and there is reason to infer that it is performed in a satisfactory manner, because the inhabitants crowd to their courts, because the proportion of appeals from their decisions is not large, and because it has not been found necessary to dismiss many for misconduct. They will every day become more respectable, when it is found that the corrupt and indolent are punished, and that the diligent and upright are allowed to hold their situations permanently. Their jurisdiction was extended in 1821 to matters amounting in value to five hundred rupees, and it might with great utility be extended much farther. It will in time absorb almost all original suits, with great advantage to the community, and leave to the Zillah judge hardly any thing but appeals.

“ There was nothing in which our judicial code on its first establishment departed more widely from the usage of the country than in the disuse of the punchayet. When this ancient institution was introduced into our code in 1816, there was so much objection to it, both at home and in this country, lest it should become an instrument of abuse, that it was placed under so many restrictions as to deprive it of much of its utility. It was unknown to some of the Company's servants as any thing more than a mode of private arbitration; it was known by others to have been employed by the natives in the decision of civil suits, and even of criminal cases, but it was imagined to have been so employed not because they liked it, but because they had nothing better; and it was opposed by some very intelligent men, on the ground of its form and proceedings being altogether so irregular as to be quite incompatible with the system of our courts. All doubts as to the popularity of punchayets among the natives must now have been removed by the reports of some of the ablest servants of the Company, which explain their nature, and show that they were in general use over extensive provinces. The defects of the punchayet are better known to the natives than to us; yet with all its defects they hold it in so much reverence, that they say—Where the punj sits, God is present. In many ordinary cases the punchayet is clear and prompt in its decision, but when complicated

accounts are to be examined, it is often extremely dilatory. It adjourns frequently; when it meets again, some of the members are often absent, and it sometimes happens that a substitute takes the place of an absent member. All this is, no doubt, extremely irregular; but the native government itself is despotic and irregular, and every thing under it must partake of its nature. These irregularities, however, are all susceptible of gradual correction; and, indeed, even now they are not found in practice to produce half the inconvenience that might be expected by men who have been accustomed to the exact forms of English courts of judicature. They ought not to prevent our employing the punchayet more than we have hitherto done, because its duties are of the most essential advantage to the community, and there is no other possible way by which they can be so well discharged. The natives have been so long habituated to the punchayet in all their concerns, that not only in the great towns, but even in the villages, a sufficient number of persons qualified to sit upon it can be found. We ought to avail ourselves of their aid, by extending the range within which the operations of the punchayet are now confined. Its cognizance of all suits within a certain amount, both in the Zillah and district Moonsiff's courts, should be abolished, and neither party should have the option of declining its jurisdiction. The same rule should hold in all cases tried by the Collector.

“The use of the punchayet in criminal trials has been recommended by several persons, and among others by a very intelligent judicial officer, who submitted a draft of a regulation for the purpose. I am persuaded that the measure would be very beneficial, and that, until it is adopted, facts will never be so well found as they might be. The employment of the punchayet, independently of the great help it affords us in carrying on the business of the country, gives weight and consideration among their countrymen to those who are so employed, brings us in our public duties into better acquaintance and closer union with them, and renders our Government more acceptable to the people.

“The frequency of crimes in most of the countries which have fallen by conquest under the British dominion within the last thirty years, as well as in many of those received from the Nabob of the Carnatic, does not arise so much from any thing in the nature of the people, as from the encouragement given to every kind of disorder by a long succession of wars, misgovernment, and anarchy. During those times the sovereign power was too weak to restrain the disorders of its tributaries and subordinate chiefs; gangs of robbers were protected by every little chief, and even where they were not protected, they found security, by the number of petty independent jurisdictions enabling them to escape from one to another. Much was done by the

Mysore Mussulman Government to eradicate these disorders ; but its duration was too short, and it was too much occupied in foreign war to have had leisure to remedy them effectually. The gangs which formerly lived by plunder are now much diminished by death and other causes ; but there are still, probably, several thousand men scattered over our territory, whose business from their earliest days has been robbery. These men, and perhaps their immediate descendants, must pass away, before robbery as a profession can be destroyed.

“ Our great error in this country, during a long course of years, has been too much precipitation in attempting to better the condition of the people, with hardly any knowledge of the means by which it was to be accomplished, and indeed without seeming to think that any other than good intentions were necessary. It is a dangerous system of government, in a country of which our knowledge is very imperfect, to be constantly urged by the desire of settling every thing permanently : to do every thing in a hurry, and in consequence wrong, and in our zeal for permanency, to put the remedy out of our reach. The ruling vice of our government is innovation ; and its innovation has been so little guided by a knowledge of the people, that though made after what was thought by us to be mature discussion, it must appear to them as little better than the result of mere caprice. We have, in our anxiety to make every thing as English as possible in a country which resembles England in nothing, attempted to create at once, throughout extensive provinces, a kind of landed property which had never existed in them ; and in the pursuit of this object, we have relinquished the rights which the sovereign always possessed in the soil, and we have, in many cases, deprived the real owners, the occupant rayets, of their proprietary rights, and bestowed them on zemindars, and other imaginary landlords. Changes like these can never effect a permanent settlement in any country ; they are rather calculated to unsettle whatever was before deemed permanent.

“ If we make a summary comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which have occurred to the natives from our government, the result, I fear, will hardly be so much in its favour as it ought to have been. They are more secure from the calamities both of foreign war and internal commotions ; their persons and property are more secure from violence ; they cannot be wantonly punished, or their property seized, by persons in power ; and their taxation is on the whole lighter. But on the other hand, they have no share in making laws for themselves, little in administering them, except in very subordinate offices ; they can rise to no high station, civil or military ; they are everywhere regarded as an inferior race, and often rather as vassals or servants than as the ancient owners and masters of the country.

“ It is not enough that we confer on the natives the benefits of just laws and of moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character; but under a foreign government there are so many causes which tend to depress it, that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking. It is an old observation, that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in one case, than in the other to have property at the disposal of a foreign government in which we have no share. The enslaved nation loses the privileges of a nation, as the slave does those of a freeman; it loses the privilege of taxing itself, of making its own laws, of having any share in their administration, or in the general government of the country. British India has none of these privileges; it has not even that of being ruled by a despot of its own; for to a nation which has lost its liberty, it is still a privilege to have its countryman and not a foreigner as its ruler. Nations always take a part with their Government, whether free or despotic, against foreigners. Against an invasion of foreigners the national character is always engaged, and in such a cause the people often contend as strenuously in the defence of a despotic as of a free government. It is not the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but subjugation to a foreign one, that destroys national character and extinguishes national spirit. When a people cease to have a national character [to maintain, they lose the mainspring of whatever is laudable both in public and in private life, and the private sinks with the public character.

“ Though under such obstacles the improvement of character must necessarily be slow and difficult, and can never be carried to that height which might be possible among an independent people, yet we ought not to be discouraged by any difficulty from endeavouring, by every means in our power, to raise it as far as may be practicable in the existing relative situation of this country to Britain.

“ One of the greatest disadvantages of our government in India is its tendency to lower or destroy the higher ranks of society, to bring them all too much to one level, and, by depriving them of their former weight and influence, to render them less useful instruments in the internal administration of the country. The native governments had a class of richer gentry, composed of Jagheerdars and Enamdars, and of all the higher civil and military officers. These, with the principal merchants and rayets, formed a large body, wealthy, or at least easy in their circumstances. The Jagheers and Enams of one prince were often resumed by another, and the civil and military officers were liable to frequent removal; but they were replaced by others, and as new Jagheers and Enams were granted to new claimants, these changes had the effect of continually throwing into the country a supply of men



whose wealth enabled them to encourage its cultivation and manufactories. These advantages have almost entirely ceased under our government. All the civil and military offices of any importance are now held by Europeans, whose savings go to their own country; and the Jagheers and Enams which are resumed, or which lapse to Government, are replaced only in a very small degree. We cannot raise the native civil and military officers to their former standard, and also maintain our European establishment; but we can grant Jagheers to meritorious native servants more frequently than has been our custom; and we can do what is much more important to the country—we can place the whole body of the rayets on a better footing with regard to assessment than ever they have been before, and we can do this without any permanent sacrifice of revenue, because their labour is productive, and will in time repay the remission of rent by increased cultivation.

“There is one great question to which we should look in all our arrangements—What is to be their final result on the character of the people? Is it to be raised, or is it to be lowered? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in character lower than at present; or are we to endeavour to raise their character, and to render them worthy of filling higher situations in the management of their country, and of devising plans for its improvement? It ought undoubtedly to be our aim to raise the minds of the natives, and to take care that whenever our connection with India might cease, it did not appear that the only fruit of our dominion there had been to leave the people more abject and less able to govern themselves than when we found them. Many different plans may be suggested for the improvement of their character, but none of them can be successful, unless it be first laid down as a main principle of our policy, that the improvement must be made. This principle once established, we must trust to time and perseverance for realizing the object of it. We have had too little experience, and are too little acquainted with the natives, to be able to determine without trial what means would be most likely to facilitate their improvement. Various measures might be suggested, which might all probably be more or less useful; but no one appears to me so well calculated to ensure success as that of endeavouring to give them a higher opinion of themselves, by placing more confidence in them, by employing them in important situations, and perhaps by rendering them eligible to almost every office under the government. It is not necessary to define at present the exact limit to which their eligibility should be carried, but there seems to be no reason why they should be excluded from any office for which they were qualified, without danger to the preservation of their own ascendancy.

“ Liberal treatment has always been found the most effectual way of elevating the character of every people, and we may be sure that it will produce a similar effect on that of the people of India. The change will, no doubt, be slow, but that is the very reason why no time should be lost in commencing the work. We should not be discouraged by difficulties; nor, because little progress may be made in our own time, abandon the enterprise as hopeless, and charge upon the obstinacy and bigotry of the natives the failure which has been occasioned solely by our own fickleness, in not pursuing steadily the only line of conduct on which any hope of success could be reasonably founded. We should make the same allowances for the Hindoos as for other nations, and consider how slow the progress of improvement has been among the nations of Europe, and through what a long course of barbarous ages they had to pass before they attained their present state. When we compare other countries with England, we usually speak of England as she now is; we scarcely ever think of going back beyond the Reformation; and we are apt to regard every foreign country as ignorant and uncivilized, whose state of improvement does not in some degree approximate to our own, even though it should be higher than our own was at no very distant period.

“ We should look upon India not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn. That the desirable change here contemplated may in some after-age be effected in India, there is no cause to despair. Such a change was at one time in Britain itself at least as hopeless as it is here. When we reflect how much the character of nations has always been influenced by that of governments, and that some, once the most cultivated, have sunk into barbarism, while others, formerly the rudest, have attained the highest point of civilization, we shall see no reason to doubt, that if we pursue steadily the proper measures, we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves.

“ Those who speak of the natives as men utterly unworthy of trust, who are not influenced by ambition or by the law of honourable distinction, and who have no other passion but that of gain, describe a race of men that nowhere exists, and which, if it did exist, would scarcely deserve to be protected. But if we are sincere in our wishes to protect and render them justice, we ought to believe that they deserve it. We

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cannot easily bring ourselves to take much interest in what we despise and regard as unworthy. The higher the opinion we have of the natives, the more likely we shall be to govern them well, because we shall then think them worthy of our attention ; I therefore consider it as a point of the utmost importance to our national character and the future good government of the country, that all our young servants who are destined to have a share in it should be early impressed with favourable sentiments of the natives."

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## CHAPTER XVI.

## Munro in Domestic Life.

THE personal and domestic habits of those who by any means have left their impress on society, become objects of a natural and not reprehensible curiosity to most men. Those of Sir Thomas Munro are easily described.

He rose early, generally at dawn, or a few minutes after, and was accustomed to spend the first two or three hours of the day in the open air. When at the capital, or his country-seat of Gindy, he rode on horseback four mornings in the week; the remaining three he gave up to the natives, by taking constantly the same walk, and entering freely into conversation with such as threw themselves in his way. On these occasions his only attendants were a couple of peons, or a few of his old revenue servants; and the people, aware of this, as well as of the extreme affability of the Governor, met him at a particular point in crowds. He listened to all with patience, receiving their petitions with his own hands, and promising to examine and reply to them; and in no single instance was he known to have neglected an engagement thus voluntarily contracted. After spending some time thus, he returned home, dressed, and devoted a brief space to reading and writing, after which he adjourned to breakfast, which was served punctually at the hour of eight.

As the interval between sunrise and the ringing of the breakfast-bell was given up to receiving the personal applications of the natives, so from the commencement of the meal till about an hour after its termination he held oral intercourse with Europeans. If anybody had business to transact with the Governor, or a personal application to make, he came to breakfast, where he was well received, and as patiently listened to. But, punctually as the settled moment came, there was an end to the levee. By adhering to this arrangement, Sir Thomas was en-

abled to withdraw to his own room usually about half-past nine, where till four o'clock he remained employed in public business, and was inaccessible, except under very particular circumstances, to all visitors.

Four was his hour of dinner, except twice a month, when large parties were invited to Government House at eight o'clock; yet even these were not permitted to interfere in any respect with the earlier arrangements of the day. At half-past five or six, according to the season of the year, he went out with Lady Munro for a drive, and returned at its termination to his own room or his business. At eight tea was served, when he joined his family, and from the conclusion of this repast till he retired for the night, which occurred about ten or half-past ten, he remained among them. But even this short season of relaxation was not frittered away. As soon as the drawing-room was cleared, one of his aides-de-camp, or a gentleman attached to his household, read aloud either the debates in Parliament, in which he took at all times a deep interest, or an article in one of the reviews, or one of Sir Walter Scott's novels, or some other late publication. The result was such a perfect discipline of mind and temper, that no room was left at the close of the day for self-reproach; and that his family and friends learned to prize his society the more, because of the wholesome influence which it exercised on their tastes.

Sir Thomas Munro travelled a good deal. It was a sort of maxim with him that men in power ought as much as possible to see all things with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears. He made frequent excursions therefore into the provinces, sometimes accompanied by Lady Munro, but more frequently alone. On such occasions the day's march invariably began in such time as that the party might reach their ground and breakfast at eight o'clock. All the European functionaries within reach came to partake of it, and received the same treatment as would have been dealt out to them at Fort St. George. He still dined at four; but instead of driving out, he admitted the natives to an audience as soon as the meal was ended; and so large were the crowds sometimes gathered about the tent-door, that he was forced to go out into the open air and converse with them. So long and so fatiguing were these conferences, that he seldom

retired from them till late at night, and never except in a state of much exhaustion.

It might reasonably be supposed that one whose hours were thus carefully meted out would be able to spare but little time to private correspondence; yet the quantity of letters which he wrote, not wholly upon business, in the interval between 1820 and 1824, is marvellous. I subjoin a few, rather as specimens of his style, than because they are required in evidence of his indefatigable industry.

TO THE HON. M. ELPHINSTONE.

“ Madras, 9th August, 1820.

“ I HAVE many excuses, but no good one, for not answering your letter of the 14th June. The best I have is the oldness and consequent decay of my eyes, which, in place of serving me all day and all night, as in former times, can do duty only for a few hours daily. Since I came here they have been chiefly occupied in reading masses of papers of useless altercation between different departments; they require all my patience, and a great deal more, for I have very little left. Nothing is so tiresome as to waste time in discussions about matters of no importance in themselves, but which derive some from the absurd heat of the combatants.

“ Macdonell, who has just been with me, tells me that you want to know what the private secretary here has to do, in order that you may set Captain Terry to work in the same way. If you really wish to keep him busy you should set all your public officers at variance with each other, and employ him to read their lucubrations to you. This is what Macdonell and I do, and the Company are, no doubt, much obliged to us for occupying ourselves in a way so much to their advantage. If it were not for this, I really do not know what I could make of a private secretary. I find that there has always been an office for this gentleman here, with an establishment sufficient to have kept the records of a province, but I do not know what was done in it. I imagine that, in early and better days, the private secretary's principal business was to lay every rich native under contribution for the benefit of his master; but as this class of natives has now become extinct at this place, my secretary will, I fear, have but little to do. I have therefore been thinking of desiring him to devote his attention to the discovery of a plan for restoring the prosperity of the country, and increasing the breed of rich men; and this will, I imagine, in the present circumstances of the country, save him from the evil consequences of idleness.

“ I think as you do of Macdonell, and shall be glad whenever I can find the means of acknowledging his service. Lady M. was much flattered by finding that your opinion of the merits of Ivanhoe agreed so much with her own ; but she still looks for your critique on Anatasius. I shall wait till October for your report coming back from England ; if it does not come within that time, I shall conclude that it has been seized by some admirer of Indian institutions, and request you to give me another copy. I wish you would in the meantime let me have a copy of your Minutes, &c. respecting the education of your civil servants.”

TO THE RIGHT HON. JOHN SULLIVAN.

“ Madras, 12th October, 1820.

“ I SHOULD expect more benefit from the circulation of short tracts by the natives, or of translations of short European tracts by natives, than from translations precipitately made of the Bible, or any great work, by the missionaries. I have no faith in the power of any missionary to acquire in four or five years such a knowledge of any Indian language as to enable him to make a respectable translation of the Bible. I fear that such translations are not calculated to inspire becoming reverence for the book. In place of translating the Bible into ten or twelve languages in a few years, I would rather see twenty years devoted to its translation into one. If we hope for success, we must proceed gradually, and adopt the means by which we may be likely to attain it. The dissemination of knowledge is, I think, the surest way ; and if we can prevail upon the native princes to give it the support you propose, it will be a good beginning. I shall communicate with the Resident of Tanjore on the subject ; and if the Rajah, who is now near Conjeveram on his way to Cassi, calls here, I will mention it to him. There is such a mass of mere routine reading here, that I have scarcely been able to give my attention to general questions since my return. I have lately been for many days engaged in reading the papers connected with the single case of — ; and unless we contrive some means of reducing the quantity of reading, the members of Government will have no time for giving due consideration to matters of general importance.

“ The points of improvement in our general system, which I wish to carry into effect soonest, are the regulations proposed in 1816 by the Board of Revenue, for the prevention and punishment of extra collections and embezzlements, and the drafts of regulations proposed by the Commissioners in 1817, upon pattahs, distrains, &c. in consequence of the orders of the Directors. I have always thought that rayets ought

never to have been imprisoned for arrears of revenue, and I wish to abolish the practice. I think that it may be done entirely without any risk of loss of revenue. But as the Board of Revenue and some of the collectors think it would be a dangerous experiment, I shall yield to their alarms, so far probably as to confine the exemption to rayets holding immediately of the sirkar, and even among them to permit imprisonment only in special cases of contumacy. I am satisfied however, from my own experience, that with regard to the rayets, the exemption might safely be made complete. The power of distraint is quite sufficient to protect the revenue: it harasses the rayet, without disgracing him; and if he can pay, will be more likely, than throwing him into gaol, to make him discharge his debt. The same privilege cannot safely be granted to zemindars and farmers of revenue, because it might tempt them to withhold and secrete large balances from their actual collections. There is another point which I have long established in my own mind, as one requiring correction—I mean the destruction of all the ancient landholders, by introducing among them the Hindoo law of division among all the brothers, instead of that of descent to the eldest. The written law among all private persons is division; but usage, or the common law, among the ancient Rajahs and Poligars, is undivided descent to the eldest son, who makes a suitable provision for the rest of the family. The consequence of introducing the rule of joint or equal inheritance among them is, that many of them have been ruined by lawsuits, and that every one of them must inevitably suffer the same fate.

“ Law adventurers get into every family, and excite some member of it to bring his claim into a court of justice. It is of little importance to the vakeels how the suit ends, as they get their fees. These suits are generally very expensive, and the ignorance of the zemindars in all matters of business makes them doubly expensive by the impositions of their own agents; and if the property is divided, as generally happens, among two, three, or more claimants, the whole are reduced to distress, and the Government is rendered unpopular. I am now endeavouring to bring forward a regulation to restore to all ancient zemindars the law of primogeniture, who formerly enjoyed it. The privilege will be confined to the families in which it prevailed until it was abolished by our leveling code. I meant, after disposing of some more pressing matters, to extend the operations of some of the regulations of 1816, by increasing the jurisdiction of the native commissioners or moonsifs. I have heard three hundred rupees proposed as the limit of the District Moonsifs' cognizance; but I imagine that it may, with advantage to the community, be extended to a thousand. The young writers have all been sent up the country, in order to learn a little revenue, and as much as



they can of the people ; but this is doing nothing, unless we raise the revenue to the level of the judicial line ; if we do not, every man who has friends or talents will run into the judicial."

TO THE RIGHT HON. G. CANNING.

" Madras, 30th June, 1821.

" You judge right in thinking that your resignation of the office of President of the Board of Control is an event in which I must take ' some little interest,' for no event could have happened in which I could have taken more. I lament it deeply, both on public and private grounds. I should, even if I had not seen your letter to your constituents, have concluded without hesitation, that your motives for resigning were just, but I should not the less have regretted the loss to the nation.

" I trust that we shall soon again see you filling some high office ; but I confess I would rather see you in your former one than any other, for my own situation becomes doubly valuable when it is held under a man whose name communicates some show of reputation to all his subordinates.

" I always dread changes at the head of the India Board, for I fear some downright Englishman may at last get there, who will insist on making Anglo-Saxons of the Hindoos. I believe there are men in England who think that this desirable change has been already effected in some degree ; and that it would long since have been completed, had it not been opposed by the Company's servants. I have no faith in the modern doctrine of the rapid improvement of the Hindoos, or of any other people. The character of the Hindoos is probably much the same as when Vasco de Gama first visited India, and it is not likely that it will be much better a century hence. The strength of our government will, no doubt, in that period, by preventing the wars so frequent in former times, increase the wealth and population of the country. We shall also, by the establishment of schools, extend among the Hindoos the knowledge of their own literature, and of the language and literature of England. . . But all this will not improve their character ; we shall make them more pliant and servile, more industrious, and perhaps more skilful in the arts,—and we shall have fewer banditti ; but we shall not raise their moral character. Our present system of government, by excluding all natives from power, and trust, and emolument, is much more efficacious in depressing, than all our laws and school-books can do in elevating their character. We are working against our own designs, and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve, and a powerful one to deteriorate. The improvement of the character of a people, and the keeping them, at the

same time, in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers, to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each other.

“ There can be no hope of any great zeal for improvement, when the highest acquirements can lead to nothing beyond some petty office, and can confer neither wealth nor honour. While the prospects of the natives are so bounded, every project for bettering their characters must fail; and no such projects can have the smallest chance of success, unless some of those objects are placed within their reach for the sake of which men are urged to exertion in other countries. This work of improvement, in whatever way it may be attempted, must be very slow, but it will be in proportion to the degree of confidence which we repose in them, and to the share which we give them in the administration of public affairs. All that we can give them, without endangering our own ascendancy, should be given. All real military power must be kept in our own hands; but they might, with advantage hereafter, be made eligible to every civil office under that of a member of the Government. The change should be gradual, because they are not yet fit to discharge properly the duties of a high civil employment, according to our rules and ideas; but the sphere of their employment should be extended in proportion as we find that they become capable of filling properly higher situations.

“ We shall never have much accurate knowledge of the resources of the country, or of the causes by which they are raised or depressed; we shall always assess it very unequally, and often too high, until we learn to treat the higher classes of natives as gentlemen, and to make them assist us accordingly in doing what is done by the House of Commons in England, in estimating and apportioning the amount of taxation. I am, with great regard and esteem,

“ MUNRO.”

TO SIR GRAHAM MOORE, K.C.B.

“ Madras, 5th November, 1821.

“ I AM glad that you sacrificed your seat at the Admiralty for the command in the Mediterranean, though I shall, perhaps, on returning home some years hence, and not finding my old friend in that comfortable corner-house of the Admiralty, which I liked so much to visit, lament the romantic notions which tempted him in an evil hour to leave it. I must console myself for the loss by going out now and then to Brook Farm, and getting an account from yourself of your voyages and travels in the most delightful regions, and once the abode of the most interesting people of the earth. No wish has ever with me been so strong and constant from my earliest years as that of visiting Italy and

Greece; and were I twenty years younger, I should certainly spend seven of them there. But this last boyish expedition to India has, I fear, been fatal to all my rational plans of travelling in Europe; for by the time I get home I shall, I fear, be too old or too doited to feel the recollections which ought to be excited by the sight of the Capitol or the Piræus. I wished myself along with you when you describe the portraits of De L'Isle, Adom, and Valette, in the hall of the Grand Masters at Malta. I feel more interest in Malta than Gibraltar; and I would rather see Rhodes than either, because it is more connected with the ancient Grecians, whom I admire above all nations, not even excepting the Romans. These nations had not the benefit of the art of printing, and from the effects which it has of late years produced in our own country, I am not sure that they were not as well without it. Perfect liberty of the press would be an excellent thing if we could have it without its licentiousness, but this is impossible; and I therefore suspect that it will one day become necessary to increase the restrictions upon it, for it is an instrument by means of which it is much easier among the lower orders of the people to do evil than good. A writer like Tom Paine can produce mischief almost immediately, which it may require years to remedy. I could hardly have believed that the press could have done what it did in the case of the Queen, or that such a clamour could ever have been raised about such a woman. It appears, however, to have now subsided, and I trust that the nation will feel the comfort of having in some degree recovered its senses, and endeavour to retain them. I send this letter by Sir John Malcolm, who goes home by Egypt, by which means it will reach you much sooner than by the usual channel. I am not sure whether or not you are acquainted with Sir John. His character stands very high in this country—so high that he has left none behind who can at all be compared with him. I regret his loss, both as a public servant and as an old and esteemed friend. Lady M. met with a very unfortunate accident in February last, by falling from a horse on her head; the concussion was so great that she was for some days insensible, and one of her eyes has not yet recovered its proper place. She joins me in kindest wishes to you and Lady Moore. Tell Lady M. that her brother is well at Darwar."

TO THE RIGHT HON. G. CANNING.

"Madras, 1st May, 1823.

"I would have written to you sooner, had I not been prevented by the expectation of seeing you in India. That hope is now at an end; and as I can have no claim to intrude upon your time in your new duties, I write merely for the purpose of taking leave of you as Chief

Director of Indian affairs. Your not coming to India has been a great disappointment to me; but I do not regret it. I rather, for the sake of the country, rejoice that you have remained at home. Every man who feels for its honour must be proud to see that there are public men who prefer fame, founded on the exertion of great and useful talents, to wealth and splendour.

“ Though no longer Indian Minister, you can still be of great service to India, by supporting measures calculated for its advantage, and by giving India the same freedom of trade as England. Our power in this country is now very great, and, I think, is in no danger of being shaken, if the local governments are enabled to keep the press and the missionaries within proper bounds, and if the legislature will, by limiting with more distinctness and precision the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, effectually prevent it from extending its cognizance, by fictions of law, to matters with which it ought to have no concern.

“ By not coming to India, you have escaped the irksome task of toiling daily through heaps of heavy, long-drawn papers. I never had a very high opinion of our records; but it was not until my last return that I knew that they contained such a mass of useless trash. Every man writes as much as he can, and quotes Montesquieu, and Hume, and Adam Smith, and speaks as if we were living in a country where people were free and governed themselves. Most of their papers might have been written by men who were never out of England, and their projects are nearly as applicable to that country as to India.

“ The Bombay Government have had the benefit of the experience of Bengal and Madras, and their arrangements will, in consequence, be better adapted to the state of this country than those of either of these Presidencies. Their settlements will, in general, be Rayetwar, which is no new system, but an old one of the Deccan, and of most other countries, and of England itself. In a rayetwar settlement of England, every landowner, whether his rent were 5*l.* or 50,000*l.* a-year, would be called a rayet, and the agreement would be made with him. But in a Zemindary settlement of England, we should consider the Lord-Lieutenants of counties and other public officers as Zemindars and landlords, and make our agreement with them, and leave them to settle with the actual proprietors, whom we should regard as mere tenants. These are matters in which I have long taken a deep interest; but for the last twelve months I have felt a much deeper one in the affairs of Greece. Europe is more indebted to that country than has ever yet been acknowledged. I have seen no book which gives to Greece all that is due to her. Even the constitution of our own country would, without her, probably not have been what it is, notwithstanding the boasted wisdom of our ancestors. We have always, I think, been more solicitous about the preserv-

ation of the Ottoman Empire than was necessary. If the Turks were driven out of Europe, there would be no cause to apprehend any danger from their territories being occupied by other powers, unless Constantinople fell into the hands of the Russians. England could lose nothing by other states becoming stronger and richer. It is for the advantage of a great and enlightened nation to have powerful rivals. By the emancipation of the Greeks we should, in one year, make more Christians than all our Eastern missionaries will convert in a hundred. If the Greeks, without foreign aid, could emancipate themselves, it would be better that they should do so, as the toils and exploits by which they accomplished it would give them a national character and a spirit to defend their liberty.

“I cannot conclude without thanking you for all your kindness to me while you held the office of Indian Minister.”

TO SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

“Madras, 15th October, 1820.

“I WRITE to you merely to say, that I have got your letters of the 8th of September about your plans, and of the 15th about more plans, and the Malwa Encyclopedia. I have weighed the ninth chapter in my hand; and I could not help thinking, when poising it as Sancho did when poising Mambrino's helmet, ‘What a prodigious head the Pagan must have, whose capacious skull could contain thirteen such ponderous chapters as this!’ I look at it with reverence when I open the drawer in which it lies deposited; but I must not open it till I can get a little spare time to consider the reconдите matter with which it is filled. Any remark that I can make must be very general, for Malwa is as little known to me as Tartary.”

TO THE SAME.

“Madras, 15th April, 1821.

“YOUR friend Captain Laurie will write to you about his proceedings. He has acted like a schoolboy, with fine feelings, where strong ones were wanted. I think the better of him for it, but am vexed at his weakness. I did not think that your Teviotdalers had been such simple swains as to be circumvented by a connicopilly. I am glad to hear that you are well again; and I trust you will have no more relapses. Macdonald sent me your introduction to your History of Malwa; and when I think of it, and of your chapters, or volumes rather, on revenue, police, &c., I wonder how you have found time for such works. I think that all this must end in your writing a general history and making all other histories unnecessary, by beginning, like the Persians, with Huzzut Adam, or at least with Mehta Noah. I have been

much pleased with your first chapter; it contains a great mass of information: much of it is new; and though much of it also is what was known before, it is not the less interesting on that account; but rather the contrary, as it shows us how general and uniform many of the Indian institutions and customs were in provinces very remote from each other. If you persist in your plan of going home at present, and if ever you venture to India again, I hope you will come and relieve me; for I should be delighted to see this Government in the hands of a man who has had more practical experience in India than any European who ever visited it. If I am permitted to choose my own time for retiring, and if you have any desire to return, I shall give you intimation, that you may take your measures."

TO LADY MUNRO.

"Nagangeri, 30th May, 1821.

THIS is the last day in which I am likely for some months to be in a cool climate; and if I do not write to you now, I do not know when I shall. We had a great deal of rain the night we left Bangalore, and we have had showers every day since. Our journey has so far been very pleasant; but it will be very different to-morrow, when we descend into the burning plains of the Carnatic. We are now encamped about two hundred yards above the spot where our tents were when we last passed this way, and very near the large banian-tree to which we first walked. It is a beautiful wild scene of mingled rocks and jungle, and aged trees and water. I wish we had something like it at home. It is pleasant to see the different groups of travellers with their cattle coming in one after another; some sitting and some sleeping under the shady trees and bushes so thickly scattered around. There is something delightful in viewing the repose and stillness which every one seems to enjoy. To me it has always the effect of something that is plaintive, by recalling times and beings which have long since passed away. I wish I could indulge in these dreams, and wander about in this romantic country, instead of returning to the dull and endless task of public business in which I have already been so long engaged. When we last landed in England, I never expected to have been again toiling under an Indian sun, or that I should ever have been obliged again to leave you among strangers. I thought that we might have often travelled together, or that if we sometimes parted from my being a greater wanderer than yourself, you would at least have remained among your friends and relations. But as these expectations cannot now be realized for some time, we must endeavour to make ourselves as contented as we can, while we continue in this country."

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TO HIS SISTER.

"Trippitore, 13th October, 1821.

"I do not write to you to answer letters, but rather to renew the memory of old times, when you and I were regular correspondents, and when I seldom made a journey without your hearing of it. I set out for Bangalore about a month ago, where Lady Munro had been ever since for the recovery of her health; and I am now on my way to Madras with her, where I shall arrive about the 25th of this month. The distance from Bangalore to Madras by the direct route is two hundred and eight miles; but I have come round by the Baramahl, which is about fifty miles farther, both for the purpose of seeing the inhabitants, and making some inquiries into the state of the country, and of revisiting scenes where, above thirty years ago, I spent seven very happy years. They were the first of my public life, and I almost wish it had ended there; for it has ever since, with the exception of the time I was at home, been a series of unceasing hard labour. The place where I now am, is one where Colonel Read lived between 1792 and 1799, where I often came to see him, with many old friends who are now dead or absent. I thought I had taken my leave of it for ever when I went with the army to Seringapatam; but I have since twice returned to it—once in 1815, and now; and I shall probably yet return to it again before I leave India. We get attached to all those places where we have at any former period lived pleasantly among our friends, and the attachment grows with the increasing distance of time; but, independently of this cause, the natural beauty of the place is enough to make any one partial to it. There is nothing to be compared to it in England, nor, what you will think higher praise, in Scotland. It stands in the midst of an extensive fertile valley, from ten to forty miles wide, and sixty or seventy long, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains of every shape, many of them nearly twice as high as the Grampians. The country here among the hills has none of the cold and stunted appearance which such countries have at home. The largest trees, the richest soil, and the most luxuriant vegetation, are usually found among naked masses of granite at the bottom of the hills. We are travelling with tents; our stages are usually from twelve to sixteen miles. You will think this but a short distance, but we find it long enough. It generally takes three or four hours, and the last half of the journey is usually in a burning sun: when this is to be repeated every day for some weeks, it becomes very fatiguing. In cloudy or cool weather it is delightful, and far preferable to any travelling at home; but at present, just before the change of the monsoon, the weather is clear and sultry. When therefore we reach our tents, though we get out of the burning

sun, we merely escape from a greater degree of heat to a lesser; for we have no refreshing coolness, as you will readily perceive when I tell you that the thermometer in my tent is generally ninety-two the greater part of the day."

TO LADY MUNRO.

"Tekli, 9th August, 1822.

"WE have now made four marches from Itchapoor, and have four more to Chicacole, where we must give our cattle rest for two days, if they get there without stopping, which is very doubtful, for the roads are very bad. In many places no road at all, except through deep paddy-fields, the country covered with water, and the nullahs all full, with steep muddy banks, which make it difficult either to get into or out of them. We have had only two fair days since we landed. The sun is always very hot during the day, and in the afternoon or at night the rain pours down upon us. I am in hopes, however, from so much having already fallen, that it will not continue at the same rate, and that we shall now have every second day fair. The country through which we pass is very beautiful. It has the largest topes of old mangoes I have ever seen; jungles of every kind, close and open; rice-fields and wood-covered mountains; but the great heat of the sun takes away much of the pleasure of travelling amidst such scenery."

\* \* \* \* \*

TO THE SAME.

"28th August, 1822. 1

"ON the 26th we encamped at Cassimcottah, where I was stationed thirty-five years ago when a subaltern, and when the hours passed much more pleasantly than they do now. It was a rainy day; but I walked alone in the evening to visit the spot on which our quarters were situated. Most of them had disappeared from the lapse of time; but part of them were still standing, surrounded by waving grain, as all the ground about them had been cultivated. There was to me something very solemn and melancholy in the scene. Most of my companions there are now dead; and how changed I am myself! I then thought that I was labouring to rise in my profession, and to retire to enjoy myself in my native land; but the older I grow, I get the more involved in business, and oppressed with labour."

TO THE SAME.

"Rajahmundry, 6th September, 1822.

"WE have been here since the 4th, without any prospect of getting away, as the Godaveri is not only full, but has overflowed its



banks, and made the road impassable for several miles on the opposite side. We might cross to the other side, and be put down in a village half under water, but we could not get away from it, and prefer remaining here in bungalows. An experiment is now making by sending over some tents, to ascertain whether, by placing them on coolies and rafts, and letting the camels and elephants travel without loads, they may not reach a rising ground about five miles beyond the river. If they succeed, we shall follow; but we cannot receive an answer until to-morrow evening, as the boat takes more than a whole day to make a single trip. Even if our advance is successful, it will require five or six days to carry us all over. I have just been interrupted by Captain Watson, who tells me that, by information just received, there is too much water to make any attempt, so we must just remain quiet for a few days.

“The bungalow which I now occupy stands on the top of an old bastion, close to the edge of the river. The scene is magnificent. We see the Godaveri coming along from the Polaveram hills about twenty miles distant, and passing under our walls in a deep and rapid stream, two miles broad. The mass of water is probably greater than that which flows in all the rivers in Britain together. Most of the party, as well as myself, spend two or three hours every day in looking at it. I never get tired of it; but I wish it were a little nearer to Madras, for it is one of those fine sights which will very much derange all my calculations of seeing you.

“I inclose Mrs. Erskine’s letter, because it mentions our boy.”

TO GEORGE BROWN, ESQ.

“Madras, 1st February, 1823.

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“I HOPE that the King liked his visit to Scotland. The people there seem to have exerted themselves to please him. They have given him all sorts of ancient sights except a tournament; but this was never much in fashion in Scotland in days of yore; probably because their horses were such poor beasts, that very few of them could have charged with a knight in full armour. He must however, I think, have seen more novelty and been more amused than any where in his other travels. It will do his Scottish lieges some good as well as himself: it will make them look back to their meeting with satisfaction, and will give them something to claver about for the rest of their lives.

“I don’t know what to think of your Irish distresses; but I suppose that they are very much exaggerated in the newspapers. It will,

however, most likely be of some use eventually, by teaching the people to be more quiet and industrious hereafter. Your agricultural distresses do not appear to me to be very serious: they seem to consist very much in the country gentlemen and farmers not liking to return to their modes of life before the French war. I should like to see a comparative statement of the rental of the land of any one of the distressed countries for 1790 and 1820."

TO THE SAME.

"Madras, 4th July, 1823.

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"THE general fall of interest will not affect me more than other people; and if we must all sink a little in our expenditure, I shall still keep my relative place. I hope with you, that there will be no war with Spain. It will probably depend on the opinion the French Government may have as to the intention of England engaging in the contest or not. If the French do enter into a war with Spain, I hope it will end in the expulsion of the Bourbons both from France and Spain. Nothing but the most absurd infatuation can make the French Government think of making war to reform the Spanish constitution. Their armies, if once set in motion, will be as likely to reform their own; and Russia and Austria may then take the opportunity of dividing the Turkish dominions. I trust that the independence of Greece will be secured. I am more anxious about that little country than about all the great powers.

"I read and write from six to eight hours every day in the year, without more inconvenience than I felt ten years ago. My general health for the last seven years has been as good as at any former time; and for the last three years I do not think that I have had a single headache. This is more than I can say for any similar period of my earlier days. Your plan of employing a person to read to me would not do, as I should never get through my business by it. My reading is all manuscript, official papers, chiefly relating to accounts, estimates, and plans, requiring attention; and I get through more with my own eyes in one hour, than with any other man's in six. I never employ any one to read for me, unless in some matters of common routine; and when I dictate, it is when the case is short and simple. In all important cases, I must write myself. I have enough to tire me every day, but it was the same twenty years ago. Almost the only time that I have any thing read, is in the evening after tea. I then get some one to read the leading article and the debates from a newspaper, or a new book, for about an hour. But as the newspaper takes up most of my spare time, I make very little progress in any other kind of literature."

TO THE SAME.

“Raycottah, 29th August, 1823.

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“**W**HETHER the Spanish constitution be good or bad, the French invasion is both unjust and impolitic; and I imagine there can be no doubt that nothing but our national debt could have prevented us from supporting Spain. Notwithstanding that debt, I should have been rather inclined to have supported her. I see that the Opposition are clamorous for war, and yet say that we cannot maintain our Peace Establishment. It is the old cry—Plenty of war and fighting, without any expense of British blood or treasure.

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“I have had more inquiries about my declining health since I wrote you last. As far as I can judge myself of my constitution, I shall return to England with as good health as when I left it. There will be one difference—I left England very grey, and I shall return very white. Kind remembrance to Mrs. Brown and family.”

TO LADY MUNRO.

“Cuddapah, 4th October, 182 .

“**W**E shall leave Cuddapah to-morrow; and I shall be glad when I turn my back upon it, for it is hotter than even it used to be. The thermometer is at 94, with a dry parching wind, curling up the paper, thickening the ink, and, I imagine, aiding time in impairing my sight. I was often at this place twenty years ago, but the heat made me always glad to get away. It is surrounded by lofty hills; but the country has no other beauty. It is flat and highly cultivated, but, unless when the harvest is on the ground, naked and without verdure, and this is one main cause of the heat. You know how much warmer a day becomes by having your tent pitched on sand or black ground; and if this difference is produced by a small spot, you may guess how much greater it must be in Cuddapah, where a great part of the surface of the country is either sand or black earth. I still like this country, notwithstanding its heat. It is full of industrious cultivators; and I like to recognise among them a great number of my old acquaintances, who, I hope, are as glad to see me as I to see them.”

## CHAPTER XVII.

## Burmese War.

SIR THOMAS MUNRO had by this time accomplished all the purposes for which he had consented to undertake the Government of Madras. The improvements suggested by himself, while at the head of the judicial commission, were in progress; and every year their beneficial consequences, as well on the general state of the country as on the condition of the people, became more manifest. It appeared therefore to him that the time was come when with a good grace he might retire from public life; and he accordingly applied, in September, 1823, to be relieved. But the letter containing this request was dispatched but a few months when circumstances occurred which induced him to regret that the step had been taken, and he wrote immediately to recall it. The circumstances to which I allude were, the occurrence of a severe dearth in Madras—the result of one of those failures in the periodical rains which always bring distress and sometimes famine in our eastern territories, and the breaking out of a war with the Burmese empire, which, though it had long threatened, appears to have taken the Supreme Government by surprise.

It was a fortunate thing for the public service that the Court of Directors were not prepared, on the receipt of the first of these communications, to act upon it. A fit successor to Sir Thomas Munro was hardly to be found on the inspiration of the moment; and while they deliberated, his second dispatch arrived to settle the difficulty for them. Meanwhile, without pausing to consider the possible results of his application of recall, the Governor of Madras threw himself without reserve into the turmoil of public business. To meet the more pressing evil, he adopted every expedient which forethought and energy could devise. Grain was imported from abroad, and conveyed to the

districts which had suffered most from drought ; and from magazines, judiciously established and carefully watched, supplies were issued, as the necessity of each day required. There was no possibility of averting altogether the horrors which in a thickly peopled country attend upon the failure of men's ordinary food ; but at least he had the satisfaction of knowing that these horrors were mitigated ; and that the numbers of persons who perished from want, and the diseases that are engendered by want, were smaller than in any former calamity of the same sort.

Meanwhile the Burmese quarrel took its course, and the Supreme Government resolved upon waging war against a nation with the resources of which nobody professed to be acquainted, though every body seemed to entertain an exalted opinion of them. In this view of the case Sir Thomas Munro seems never to have coincided. He was opposed, likewise, to a precipitation of hostilities till such a force could be brought together as should render success both sure and speedy ; but he did not on that account the less exert himself to obey the instructions which reached him from Bengal. The following letter to the Duke of Wellington, written soon after the hostilities had begun, will best illustrate his sentiments on this and other subjects :—

“ MY DEAR DUKE,

“ Madras, 18th September, 1824.

“ THE few young men who have brought me letters from your Grace, have, I fear, derived little benefit from my acquaintance. I have, however, done what I believe you would have done yourself. I have requested the officers under whom they were placed to look after them, and make them learn their duty. In September last, I sent an application to the Court of Directors to be relieved. I had been quite long enough in India ; and as every thing was quiet and settling into good order, I thought it a proper time for my leaving it. Had I then suspected that within a few months we were to have both war and famine, I should of course never have thought of resigning until our difficulties were at an end. But I regret that it is now too late. I was probably more surprised at hearing of the intended war than people at home will be ; for I never had the least suspicion that we were to go to war with the King of Ava, till a letter reached this Presidency, in February last, asking us what number of troops we could furnish for foreign service. I thought that the local officers of Chittagong and

Arracan might have carried on their petty aggressions on both frontiers for another year, and that they would probably have got tired and settled matters among themselves. Such fellows do not read Grotius or Vattel; and we must not expect them to be guided entirely by their piety. Now that we are actually at war, it is some satisfaction to have those great names on our side. Our case is a clear one of self-defence and violated territory; and I have little doubt but that fortune will on this occasion take the right side. Our force, under Sir A. Campbell, got to Rangoon in May, with the intention of embarking when the river should rise next month, and proceeding by water, before the S.W. monsoon, to Amrapoor, a distance of five hundred miles. This plan failed from a want of boats; but even if there had been boats, it would have been impracticable. I think that this force can advance only by land, when the river falls, and the country is dry, in November. It has, to be sure, no draught or carriage cattle; but we can send enough for a few light field-pieces, and it ought to be able to pick up more in the country. Its heavy baggage and stores must go in boats, which, with proper exertion, may be prepared in sufficient number. I am more afraid of sickness than of any thing else: the rains have been constant, and unusually severe, since the end of May. Fever is very general, but not often fatal; but many Europeans have been carried off by dysentery, and we are not sure that, by continuing two or three months longer in the same confined spot, the sickness may not increase so much as materially to cripple the army. The Europeans have no fresh meat: they are fed on salt beef and salt fish. There are plenty of cattle in the country, and there were numbers at Rangoon when the troops landed; but they were not permitted to be seized, lest it should offend the prejudices of the natives. This is carrying the matter farther than we do in India. We must not allow our feelings for the cows to starve ourselves.

“The Bengal Government do not seem to have yet determined on their plan of operations. They intended at one time to have entered Ava with their main force from Arracan, and with a small one from Cachar. They have learned that Arracan is too unhealthy, and talk of making their principal attack by Cachar and Munnipoor. They seem to think that Sir A. Campbell cannot advance towards the capital, as he has no bullocks nor elephants, and that it is quite impossible to supply him with them. We could not equip his force like an Indian army, but there would be no impossibility in sending him three or four thousand bullocks. The expense would be great—five or six lacs of rupees; but this is little to the whole expense of a campaign, and nothing when we consider that the success of the campaign may turn on their being sent or not.

“The military character of the enemy is far below that of any of the Indian native powers, and they are miserably armed: no matchlocks, a very few bad muskets, and their pikes and swords do not deserve the name. They are not nearly so well armed as the common villagers of the Deccan, who turn out to fight with each other about a village boundary. The war began on the eastern frontier of Bengal, by employing detachments of sepoy to attack stockades in the jungle, in which they met with frequent checks, and were harassed and dispirited. The defeat of six or eight of these companies, encamped under cover of the bank of a tank, by the Burmans, after three days’ regular approaches, gave the enemy at once a high military character, and his numbers were estimated at fifteen thousand men: it is probable that they never exceed four or five thousand. This body, after its victory, stockaded itself at Ramoo, in the Chittagong district, where it remained about two months; but retired lately, on finding that troops were collecting at Chittagong. The enemy’s numbers and resources have been greatly exaggerated. He has no means of offering any serious opposition; and I should be very sorry to see peace made until we have marched through every part of his country, and occupied the capital. We have sent from Madras to Rangoon three regiments of Europeans and nine battalions of Native infantry, and another battalion is on its passage. In addition to this force, Sir Archibald Campbell has two European regiments, and a marine battalion which he brought from Bengal. I cannot understand why this force should not be able to penetrate through a fertile country, when it is well supplied with salt provisions and grain. As the villages and population all lie near the Irawaddy, such a country cannot be driven, except very partially. Their cattle and grain could not be removed out of the reach of light detachments of two or three corps, making a sweep of thirty or fifty miles. I do not like to hear people talking of difficulties when an army can be fed, and when the enemy is too weak to oppose it. I think that, in such circumstances, it never can be impracticable to march through his country. It is, however, useless for me to talk any longer on a point on which all that I can say must be mere conjecture, as I have never been in Ava.

“I say nothing to you of anybody here, for I believe there is not one man in this country of whom you know anything.”

From the preceding letter we gather, that till officially questioned in regard to the amount of force which they could spare for foreign service, the Madras Government were not aware that hostilities with the Burmese empire were imminent. No hesitation or delay occurred, however, at the Council Board. A reply went back by return of post, to assure the Supreme Govern-

ment that the whole strength of the Presidency should be at their disposal ; and Sir Thomas Munro added to the dispatch a private communication, of which I subjoin a copy.

TO LORD AMHERST.

“ Madras, 25th February, 1824.

“ THE official letters from the Supreme Government, regarding the number of troops that could be furnished by this Presidency for the proposed expedition, were received on the 23rd, and answered on the same day. In our answer, the number of troops is stated that can be ready for ‘embarcation.’ There can be no difficulty about the troops, or even a greater number, if necessary ; but there will be serious and, I apprehend, insurmountable difficulty about the shipping required to transport them. The Bengal letter says nothing about shipping ; and it is therefore doubtful whether it is intended that we should provide it. But the general tenor of the letter, and the expression ‘ to be dispatched,’ led us to suppose that we are to find the shipping, because it is evident that, unless it be ready, and the stores on board early in April, the troops cannot be dispatched at the time. We shall therefore take measures for procuring tonnage ; but as we have none of our own, and can only get it by hiring such vessels as may touch here, it is very doubtful that we shall be able, within the short time prescribed, to secure one-half of the number requisite for the transport of four to five thousand men ; and we shall thus incur a very heavy expense without accomplishing the object intended, unless another letter from Bengal, instructing us not to prepare tonnage, should reach us in a few days, before we have gone too far.

“ But the mere tonnage, even if it were ready, is not sufficient. There ought to be a number of flat-bottomed boats, sufficient to land at once the whole or the greater part of the force. In all maritime expeditions, it is essential that we should have the means for embarking or disembarking rapidly—an object for which the common ships’ boats are totally unfit. The last expedition that sailed from Madras had an ample supply of flat-boats, which were built for the purpose. The preparation of such a number as would be necessary for four or five thousand troops would require some months. The distance between Calcutta and Madras making it nearly a month before an answer can be received to a letter, renders all sudden operations, in which the forces of both Presidencies are to co-operate, extremely liable to accidents, because there is no time for consultation or explanation ; and under such circumstances, no operations are so liable to failure as maritime expeditions. A service of this kind requires, more than any other, that every equipment



should be ample, because there can seldom be any medium between complete success and failure ; partial success is little better than an expensive failure.

“ The Supreme Government have, no doubt, some information which may render a sudden operation against the enemy advisable, provided it can be effected ; but the want of tonnage, if tonnage is expected to be found here, will certainly render it impracticable, unless some unlooked-for supply should arrive soon. I must own, with the little information which I can be supposed to possess, I should think it better to avoid all inferior expeditions, to wait until we are fully prepared for the main one, and to undertake it with such a force as should leave no doubt of success. This would give time for the two Governments to communicate freely, and for the subordinate one to understand exactly what it was to do, and to make its arrangements accordingly ; and it would be more likely, in the end, both to ensure success and to save expense. The occasional hostilities on the eastern frontier of Bengal might, perhaps, still be allowed to continue for some months without much serious inconvenience ; and even if the Burmans brought a greater force to that quarter, it might divert their attention from the main object of the attack.

“ Our troops in the Peninsula lie convenient for all such expeditions, and they are eager to be employed. I am no less anxious that they should go wherever there is service ; but I wish, at the same time, that they should go with every means to guard against failure. The drought and scarcity make the march of troops difficult ; but this is a difficulty we can get over ; but the want of shipping is one for which there is no remedy, unless longer time be allowed for our preparations.

“ I hope that your Lordship will pardon the freedom with which I have offered these remarks. We shall address the Supreme Government again in two or three days.”

LORD AMHERST TO SIR THOMAS MUNRO.

“ Calcutta, 10th March, 1824.

“ WHILE waiting for the communication which you promise us in two or three days, I take upon myself to acknowledge the letter of the 25th ult., which I had the honour to receive from you yesterday ; and I will even go so far as to hazard a few observations on matters on which I cannot but speak with considerable diffidence.

“ With reference to the difficulty which you state respecting tonnage, I send you a copy of a private note from Mr. Larkin, head of our Marine Board, to Mr. Swinton, our Secretary in the Secret and Political Department, by which it would appear, that quite as large a quantity of tonnage as we shall be likely to require, will be available at

Madras. I likewise enclose a copy of a memorandum addressed to me by Captain Canning, who, I believe, is better acquainted with Rangoon, and with the kingdom of Ava, than any officer in our service.

“ We contemplate an attack on Rangoon as soon as it can be made; and have no reason to doubt that four or five thousand men will be sufficient for its capture and occupation. Of these we may be able to furnish from hence nearly three thousand; namely, his Majesty’s 13th and 38th regiments, two hundred artillery, and a battalion of the 20th Native infantry. We should not require, therefore, from Madras, above two thousand Native troops, with European and Native artillery; and I should hope that these may be ready to sail from Madras by the 15th of April,—say the whole reaches the rendezvous by the 1st of May. During the first week in that month they may be in possession of Rangoon.

“ Captain Canning, whom we propose to send with the expedition as political agent, will be directed, on our occupying Rangoon, to tender from thence to the Burmese Government the terms on which we shall consent to make peace. Meanwhile, every possible inquiry will be instituted at Rangoon into the practicability of procuring a sufficient number of boats to transport an army of eight or nine thousand men to Ummerapooa. This point, upon which there are those who speak confidently, but on which it is natural to entertain considerable doubts, may be ascertained in a very few days after reaching Rangoon.

“ If the measure is found practicable, a vessel will be dispatched from Rangoon to Madras with the intelligence, by the middle of May. She will reach Madras before the middle of June, and by the end of that month the whole army may be assembled at Rangoon, ready to proceed to Ummerapooa, at the most favourable season of the year for ascending the river.

“ If it is found impracticable to procure a sufficient supply of boats for the purpose above mentioned, notice to that effect will be sent to Madras; and it may possibly be proposed to you, instead of sending an addition of four or five thousand men to Rangoon, to detach only a sufficient number to occupy the island of Cheduba, off the coast of Arracan, or for such other service as the commander of the troops at Rangoon may deem advisable.

“ I should hope that, although the main enterprise may be relinquished, the possession of Rangoon, Cheduba, and perhaps other ports or islands belonging to the Burmese, may induce them to accede to such terms of peace as we shall propose.

“ I acknowledge a difficulty which is not yet removed. I do not know how we shall transport to Rangoon a sufficient number of gunboats to protect the advance of our troops up the river to the capital.

I understand that the flat-bottom boats which you naturally point out as essential to a maritime expedition, will not be required to land the troops at Rangoon.

“ You have stated many reasons, which I acknowledge to be powerful ones, why the expedition should be deferred till further communication can be held between this place and Madras. I think they are overbalanced, not only by the consideration of the proper period for ascending the Irawaddy River, and the impossibility of moving from Rangoon to Ummerapoora by land, but also by the security which an early blow would afford to our eastern frontier, and by a reference to the unprepared state in which we may expect to find the enemy.

“ It is really with considerable hesitation that I have entered into this detail with you. Arrangements like these are far beyond the reach of my experience; and I may have overlooked objections which would readily present themselves to persons more conversant with these matters. But I have thought it desirable that you should be made acquainted with circumstances as they stand at present; and you may rely upon frequent communications from this Government, upon all matters connected with the measures in contemplation.”

The tone of Lord Amherst's letter, at once manly and modest, could not fail of securing the entire confidence of Sir Thomas Munro. He replied to it with the frankness of one who felt that his objects were in no danger of being misunderstood; and their correspondence became henceforth as unreserved as it was creditable to both parties.

The Burmese war is now a matter of history; and the part which Sir Thomas Munro took in it, being exclusively that of preparation and supply, will hardly admit of a detailed description. Enough, therefore, seems to be done, when I state that the tone of all his letters, whether to Lord Amherst or to correspondents elsewhere, is the same; that while he considers the enemy to be a contemptible one, he is urgent for directing against him the whole strength of the empire; and deprecates the conclusion of peace, except upon such terms as should render British India secure against all future molestation from the same quarter. He at the same time entirely disapproved of the policy that suggested a large increase to the army of either of the Presidencies; he considered that the panic which led to this proceeding in Bengal ought to have been treated from the first with ridicule, and paid no heed at all to the rumours of coming

revolt, which reached him from his own dependencies. Even the mutiny at Barrackpoore occasioned him no more serious annoyance than was naturally produced by hearing of the blunders of those in power; and with respect to threatened dangers nearer home, the following communication shows the light in which he regarded them:—

“ I HAVE received yours of the —, and read the awful denunciation sent to us by —. Bundageer Sahib is, I imagine, a man whom I have frequently seen in the neighbourhood of Vascottah, and who has often complained to me of the resumption of some enaum, partly by Tippoo and partly by Furnea; but in this respect he is in the same predicament with hundreds as good as himself. The native prince gives and takes away such enaums at pleasure, and we have no business to interfere.

“ Bundageer seems to have got up a new and very extensive holy alliance against us, comprehending all the most discordant powers in India; but I have been so long accustomed to them, that I think nothing of them. I have heard of one every five or six years since 1792, when a very alarming one was brought forward by some adherents of Tippoo, and circulated through the country by tappal. They usually arise from the political speculation of some holy Hindoo or Mussulman.

“ Bundageer knows too much to deserve any credit: had he been satisfied with telling us that the old Rana of Kittoor was a malcontent, many would have believed him, because nobody doubted that she was dissatisfied at having been robbed of her property. But he gives us a leaf out of an old almanac, in which it is said,—‘ In that year there will be in the Eastern quarter bloody wars, and great slaughter, and earthquakes,’ &c. ; and he, or some other almanac man, seems to have been foretelling eclipses in Bengal, ‘ perplexing monarchs with the fear of change;’ for they are raising men enough there for a crusade. The shortest and most effectual way to dissipate the present grand confederacy would be, to restore Bundageer’s enaum, or to give him a purse of money, as is usual in Persian tales. The General cannot give the enaum, but he may the purse; but pagodas will answer as well as dinars. The story of the confederacy, if not already sent, should be sent forthwith to —, in order that he may know that his disorder is not fever, as has been supposed, but magic, and that his medical attendant may adapt his remedy to his complaint. I hope in goodness, as the old ladies say, that these fellows will not bewitch —, for we could ill spare him in the present state of affairs. We shall not be able to say that we could have better spared a better man, for we have none better;

and I therefore sincerely hope that he, and all of us, may get safe through this ominous year.

“ Yours truly,

“ THOMAS MUNRO.”

On another occasion, at an earlier period of the war, a disturbance of rather a serious aspect broke out at Kittoor, in the southern Mahratta country. Sir Thomas Munro thus wrote of it:

“ Madras, 7th November, 1824.

“ I HAVE to-day received yours of the 30th ultimo. The attack on Kittoor has been a melancholy affair; but I do not imagine that the insurrection will extend beyond the district. Chintamene Row, though always discontented, has, I think, too much at stake to risk a contest with us. You will see, when the official papers reach you, that large reinforcements have been ordered to Darwar, which would have been sufficient for every purpose without calling upon you; but the more force on such occasions the better; it concludes the business sooner, and deters those who are wavering from stirring. There was great imprudence and presumption in the whole of the operation. — should have had no troops. He ought to have gone alone, if he went at all; nobody would have injured him. He should have explained his intentions. If they refused to accede to them, he should have parted from them peaceably, and written to the commanding officer, or to you, that a proper force might have been sent to enforce submission. In all such cases there ought either to be no force at all or an overwhelming one. A good tishildar would have been a much better agent at Kittoor than the collector: he would have caused no commotion; and if he failed, there would have been no loss of character, or exasperation, and a military force might then have been employed with better effect. I never knew an instance in which I should have thought it advisable that the collector should himself be present to direct the employment of force. When he is present his feelings get engaged, and the dispute becomes in some degree personal. When he remains at a distance, and leaves the military force to proceed in its own way, there is no hostility between him and the insurgents, and they give him credit for acting upon principle and by superior authority.

“ We are engaged in a foreign war, which has already drawn away no less than four European and twelve Native regiments, and we ought, during its continuance at least, to avoid every measure which may be at all likely to excite disturbance at home. We must, however, lose no time in putting down the present insurrection. If it does not spread, which I do not imagine it will, there is nothing formidable in it. There

have long been parties in Kittoor, and some of them averse to the zemindars. The widows are probably directed by some of the chiefs. A general amnesty, with very few exceptions, might be offered, and liberal provision for the widows and principal followers, &c. I should never have thought the treasure an object of any consequence, and would much rather have let it go to the widow than have endangered the tranquillity of the country for the sake of it. This little disturbance will not only cause great expense, but embarrass almost every military arrangement from Trichinopoly to Nagpoor.

“Yours truly,

“THOMAS MUNRO.”

Subjoined are a few out of many letters in my possession, all of them written during the progress of the Burmese war. I give such as relate to public affairs, rather as illustrative of the opinions of the writer, than as carrying on a connected narrative of events. The rest speak for themselves.

TO LORD AMHERST.

“Madras, 23rd August, 1824.

“I HAVE been delaying my reply to your Lordship's letter of the 3rd instant, until I should have seen Sir A. Campbell's secret dispatch, and the instructions sent to him in consequence. In my last letter, however, I have, in fact, already given my opinion on the main point; namely, that the plan of advancing by the Irawaddy was preferable to that of either marching south, or re-embarking and landing in Arracan. I can see no object in his going to Martaban, because it would not facilitate his advance to the capital, as, according to his own account, even if the Siamese and Peguers were to take a part in the war, he would still require draught and carriage equipments from Bengal. I suspect, too, that operations by sea against the enemy's maritime possessions would, at this season of the year, be liable to great delays, and even to danger. If a field equipment be indispensable, it would still, I think, be advisable to advance by the Irawaddy, for the equipment could not possibly be to such an extent as to move all the stores without water-carriage. The Siamese should be left to make war in their own way; and the Peguers, if they rise at all, will be more likely to do so by Sir A. Campbell's moving up the river, and drawing the enemy out of their country. With regard to the plan of re-embarking the Rangoon force and landing it at Arracan, nothing could justify such a measure but the certainty of being furnished there with an equipment of draught and carriage cattle. If they could not obtain it, they would be still more

helpless than where they are now, and we should have lost reputation, and given confidence to the enemy by abandoning the original plan of operations.

“Sir A. Campbell says that the prospect of advancing by the Irawaddy is at an end in consequence of the square-rigged vessels having been found not to answer, the want of country boats, the want of provisions, and sickness. The square-rigged vessels are surely not absolutely useless, and the other wants may be supplied. If it be found impracticable to ascend the river when it is full, the difficulty will probably be removed when it falls, and the stream loses its rapidity, and the country becomes dry enough to admit of troops marching near the banks. Should this be the case, the advance to Prome would be of the greatest advantage: it would give Sir A. Campbell the command of a rich tract of country, and of an important part of the navigation of the river; and it would, perhaps, by bringing him so much nearer to the Bengal army, enable him to open a communication, or to co-operate with it.

“There is one serious want, however, which, though not stated by Sir A. Campbell as one of the obstacles to his advance, is yet one under which Europeans cannot long keep the field—I mean the want of fresh provisions. I have, however, no doubt that, whenever he can move, he will be able to supply himself.

“The country along the river is populous and cultivated, and must be full of cattle for agriculture and other purposes. They can easily be driven away from a spot like Rangoon, but they cannot be driven away from a whole country: they cannot get out of the reach of an army that is marching. When the ground is dry, a detachment of two or three thousand men, without guns, can easily march directly inland from the river fifteen or twenty miles, and make a sweep of the villages and drive in what cattle it may find, always paying for them when their owners can be found.

“Sir Eyre Coote, for months together, during Hyder’s invasion of the Carnatic, never got fresh beef in any other way. He sent out four or five battalions to some place distant twenty or thirty miles, where it was supposed cattle were grazing in the jungles, and they returned in two or three days with a supply, though always followed and harassed by a body of horse. Operations of this kind however, as well as every other, would be greatly facilitated by a small equipment of draught and carriage cattle. It might sometimes be found necessary to traverse the country to the distance of fifty or sixty miles in search of cattle, and to employ six or eight days on this service: the Native troops would carry their own rice. Europeans are not usually employed on such occasions; but if the enemy were in force on the route, it might be necessary to have a few Europeans, and also a few light guns. I think therefore

that means should be adopted for supplying Sir A. Campbell, as soon as practicable, with from one to two thousand draught and carriage cattle, and more, if it can be done. It is evident, if even he had the complete command of the river and all its boats, that his force must still be inefficient unless it can carry on operations at a distance from the river, and march in every direction. If it cannot do this, it cannot answer the purposes of an army.

“I think that a small equipment of cattle would enable Sir A. Campbell to increase it, partly by capture and partly by purchase. The expense of the equipment would be great, but it must be submitted to for the sake of avoiding a much heavier charge. If Sir A. Campbell cannot move without it, we incur the whole expense of the expedition to no purpose; and even if he can move without it, but if by having it he could shorten the duration of the war three or four months, all the extra expense of that period would be saved.

“I have not yet ascertained the expense of sending draught cattle from hence, because I have not had any report regarding tonnage; but if one, two, or even four thousand could be sent from Bengal and Madras, at one hundred rupees a-head, four or five lacs employed in this way would eventually prove a very great saving in the expenditure of the war; for all other expense is idle waste, while that part is withheld which puts our army in motion. From the scarcity and dearth arising from the drought, the expense of feeding each bullock, including the pay of the driver during the passage from Madras to Rangoon, will be twenty-two rupees: the tonnage may raise it to a hundred rupees. I shall know the whole probable charge in a few days, as I mean to take up a vessel immediately to send two hundred bullocks to Rangoon. It would be advisable to proceed in equipping Sir A. Campbell as if we expected the war to last more than one campaign, and that he was to extend his operations to a distance from the river to every part of the country. The Commissioners infer, from no overture having been received from Omrapoora, and from the inhabitants not having returned to Rangoon, that the Government is determined to prosecute the war to the last extremity, and that the people are hostile. We cannot expect the Government to offer us any terms, until it sees that we have the power of advancing into the country. The people, whether hostile or friendly, could hardly have acted in any other way than they have done.

“They could not return to their habitations until our advance should give them the pretence that we were masters of the country.

“As to their being deterred from remaining in their villages by the apprehension of their families being punished, it deserves very little credit.



“The families of the principal officers may be kept as pledges of their fidelity; but those of the great body of the people must be at liberty; and if our force advances, I have no doubt but the greater part of them will return to their villages; and that, though they may give us no open aid, they will privately sell, or connive at our carrying off by force, whatever we have paid for. The only difficulty in this war seems to be that of moving and subsisting. The enemy is the most contemptible we have ever encountered.” \* \* \* \*

TO LORD AMHERST.

“Madras, 2nd February, 1825.

“It is of great importance that no time should be lost in ascending the river to the point where the branches first separate from the main stream, in order to prevent the enemy from carrying off the grain and cattle of the Delta, and secure them for ourselves. I am more solicitous about cattle than grain, because grain can be easily sent from India, if necessary; but the transport of cattle is slow and expensive. If there are officers with the force who understand the business of purchasing cattle in an enemy’s country, I am persuaded that enough may be found in the Delta, and the districts occupied by our troops, to supply what is absolutely necessary both for draught and carriage.

“But should there be any doubt on this head, the supply ought not to be left to chance, but should be sent from India. The Commissary-General has now ready above six hundred carriage bullocks, and any number may be procured for which tonnage can be got; but as more than double the tonnage we now have is wanted for troops, we must defer sending the bullocks until we get spare tonnage from Bengal, or are authorized to take what may touch here by chance. Sir Archibald Campbell has never distinctly stated what number of carriage bullocks would enable him to act efficiently: it does not appear to me that less than four, five, or perhaps six thousand would answer the purpose. Whatever the number may be, it should not only be completed if practicable, but provision should be ready for filling up all casualties. If his cattle were equal to the carriage at once, without the aid of boats, of a month’s supply of his army, I should think it sufficient; but he ought to have elephants to carry some tents for his Europeans. He wants bullocks much more than soldiers. Against such an enemy as the Burmans, I should reckon fifteen hundred European firelocks an ample allowance for the force in camp: a larger body would be only an incumbrance, difficult to move, and difficult to feed, and harassing to the Native troops, who must furnish guards and detachments to supply their wants, and save them from fatigue.

“I am glad to learn that no offers of peace will be allowed to inter-

fare with the military operations, which, I trust, will be continued until our armies are in a situation to dictate the terms:—we cannot trust even to the signature. It will be necessary for the troops to retain commanding positions until every article is completely fulfilled; and when they are recalled, to move by such routes as may give us a perfect knowledge of the country.

“As it is advisable not only to keep the original Native part of the expedition complete, but to augment it in order to enable Sir Archibald Campbell to spare troops to occupy posts in the country as he advances, we have, anticipating your Lordship’s approval, ordered two Native regiments to embark for Rangoon as soon as may be practicable, one from Madras, the other from Masulipatam: the number of each, including followers, will be about twelve hundred. We have also ordered two hundred pioneers to embark from Masulipatam. Exclusive of these corps, we shall, in the course of three months, have ready for embarkation above two thousand volunteers and recruits, so that we shall want tonnage for nearly five thousand men. What we have is not adequate to one half of this number. The main body of the sepoy regiment at the Presidency, about six hundred and fifty firelocks, will probably embark on the 12th instant; but the regiment from Masulipatam cannot embark until transports are sent there from Bengal. An official statement of the probable number of men to be ready for embarkation in the next three months is now preparing, and will be sent to Calcutta by the 5th instant, with the view of enabling your Lordship to give necessary orders regarding the tonnage for them.”

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TO MR. SULLIVAN.

“Madras, 11th July, 1825.

“THE original plan of the invasion of Ava was romantic and visionary, and was, I believe, suggested by Captain Canning. It was, that Sir A. Campbell, after occupying Rangoon and collecting a sufficient number of boats, should, with the help of the south-west wind, proceed against the stream to Ummerapoora at once. This, even if it had been practicable, was too hazardous, as it would have exposed the whole force to destruction, from the intercepting of its supplies. Had there been boats enough, this scheme might have been partially executed with great advantage, by going up the river as high as Sarawa. This would have given us the command of the delta, and of the navigation of all the branches of the Irawaddy, and would have saved the troops from much of the privations which they have suffered from being shut up at Rangoon. But even if there had been a sufficient number of boats, Sir A. Campbell would have been justified, by our ignorance of

the country and of the enemy, in not making the attempt until he should have received more troops, to leave detachments at different places on the river, to keep open his communication with Rangoon.

“When Captain Canning’s plan of sailing up to the capital was abandoned, two others were thought of, but both were impracticable: one was to proceed in the dry season by land from Pegue; the other was to re-embark the troops, land somewhere on the coast of Arracan, and march from thence through the hills to the Irawaddy. This Government, from its subordinate situation, has of course nothing to say in the plans of foreign war; but I took advantage of a private correspondence with which I have been honoured by Lord Amherst, to state privately my opinion strongly against both plans. I said that re-embarkation would be attended with the most disgraceful and disastrous consequences; that the measure would be supposed to have proceeded from fear; that it would encourage the enemy, and would deter the people of the country, wherever we might again land, from coming near us, or bringing us provisions for sale; that we knew nothing of the coast of Arracan or the interior; that if the troops landed there, they would be in greater distress than at Rangoon, because they would find less rice, and be as much exposed to the weather; that they could not possibly penetrate into the country without carriage cattle, of which they had none; and that they would be at last compelled to re-embark again without effecting any thing. I said that the nature of the country, and the difficulty of sending draught and carriage cattle by sea, pointed out clearly that our main line of operations could only be by the course of the Irawaddy, partly by land and partly by water, and that this would give us the double advantage of passing through the richest part of the enemy’s country, and of cutting off his communication with it whenever we got above the point where the branches separate from the main stream of the Irawaddy. I calculated that if Sir A. Campbell adopted this plan, he would reach Prome before the rains; and that when they were over, he would be able to continue his march to Ummerapooa. When I reckoned on his getting no farther than Prome this season, I had not so low an opinion of the Burman troops as I now have. I was induced to form a very low estimate of their military character, from their cautious and irresolute operations against the detachment at Ramoo, in May, 1824; and from all their subsequent conduct they appear to be very inferior in military spirit to any of the nations of India. There were no letters from Prome later than the 6th of June: the monsoon had set in, and every thing in the neighbourhood was quiet. The heads of districts had submitted, and were sending in supplies. It was expected that offers of peace would be sent from Ava as soon as the occupation of Prome should be known. It is difficult to say what such a government

will do; it may submit to our terms or reject them; but we ought to be prepared to ensure them by advancing to Ummerapoor, and, if necessary, dismembering the empire, and restoring the Pegue nation. If we encouraged them, a leader would probably be found, and we might, without committing ourselves to protect him hereafter, make him strong enough, before we left the country, to maintain himself against the broken power of Ava.

“ We have sent on foreign service beyond sea, from Madras, five regiments of European infantry, fourteen regiments of Native infantry, two companies of European artillery, a battalion of pioneers, and above one thousand dooly bearers, and we have relieved the Bengal subsidiary force at Nagpoor. The rest of our troops are thinly scattered over a great extent of country, and will have very severe duty until those on foreign service return. We are obliged to be more careful than in ordinary times; but I see no reason to apprehend any serious commotion, or any thing beyond the occasional disturbances of poligars, which we are seldom for any long time ever entirely free from in this country. I confess I cannot understand what the Bengal Government want to do with so many additional troops, or with any addition at all. Mr. Adam left them quite enough, and more than enough, to carry on the Burman war and to protect their own territory. They have not sent a single Native regiment beyond sea, except a marine battalion: they have in Arracan and their eastern frontier twelve or thirteen Native regiments more than formerly; but they have got nine of them by troops at Nagpoor and Mhow having been relieved from Madras and Bombay, while these troops, which have moved to the eastward, still cover the country from which they were drawn. We had once five battalions in the Baramahl; we have one there now;—the whole have been advanced to the Ceded Districts. The military authorities in Bengal seem to think that when troops are drawn together in large bodies in time of war, new levies must always be made to occupy the stations from which troops have been taken to join the large body. If we follow such a principle, there can be no limit to the increase of our armies. I found much inconvenience from its adoption in Bengal, because the increase of the Bengal army is narrowly observed by the armies of the other Presidencies, and raises expectations which cannot be satisfied.”

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“ Madras, 16th April, 1826.

“ I DID not think of troubling you with another letter; but as we have at last made peace with the Burmans, I think I may as well give you a few lines, by way of finishing the war. I mentioned in my

last what kind of troops the Burman armies were composed of, so that it is not necessary to say any thing more of them, except that they did not improve in the progress of the war. We are well out of this war. There have been so many projects since it commenced, that I scarcely expected ever to see any one plan pursued consistently. There has been no want of energy or decision at any time in attacking the enemy; but there has certainly been a great want of many of the arrangements and combinations by which the movements of an army are facilitated, and its success rendered more certain. There were, no doubt, great difficulties; every thing was new; the country was difficult, and the climate was destructive; but still, more enterprise in exploring the routes and passes on some occasions, and more foresight in others in ascertaining in time the means of conveyance and subsistence, and what was practicable and what was not, would have saved much time. We are chiefly indebted for peace to Lord Amherst's judgment and firmness in persevering in offensive operations, in spite of all arguments in favour of a defensive war, founded upon idle alarms about the power of the Burmans, and the danger of advancing to so great a distance as the capital. Had he given way, and directed Sir A. Campbell to amuse himself with a defensive system about Prome or Meaday, we should have had no peace for another campaign or two. Every object that could have been expected from the war has been attained. We took what we wanted, and the enemy would have given up whatever we desired, had it been twice as much. They have been so dispirited, and our position in Arracan and Martaban gives us such ready access to the Irawaddy, that I hardly think they will venture to go to war with us again. The Tennasserim coast cannot at present pay the expense of defending it: it may possibly do so in a few years, as its resources will, no doubt, improve in our hands, and there may be commercial advantages that may make up for its deficiency of territorial revenue. I should have liked better to have taken nothing for ourselves in that quarter, but to have made Pegue independent, with Tennasserim attached to it. Within two months after our landing at Rangoon, when it was ascertained that the Court of Ava would not treat, I would have set to work to emancipate Pegue; and had we done so, it would have been in a condition to protect itself; but to make this still more sure, I would have left a corps of about six thousand men in the country until their government and military force were properly organized; five or six years would have been fully sufficient for these objects, and we could then have gradually withdrawn the whole of our force. We should by this plan have had only a temporary establishment in Pegue, the expense of which would have been chiefly, if not wholly, paid by that country; whereas the expense of Tennasserim will, with fortifications, be as

great as that of Pegue, and will be permanent, and will not give us the advantage of having a friendly native power to counterbalance Ava. Pegue is so fertile, and has so many natural advantages, that it would in a few years have been a more powerful state than Ava. One principal reason in favour of separating Pegue was, the great difficulty and slowness with which all our operations must have proceeded, had the country been hostile, and if the Burman commanders knew how to avail themselves properly of this spirit, and the risk of total failure from our inability to protect our supplies upon our long line of communication. The Bengal Government were however always averse to the separation of Pegue: they thought that the Burmans and Peguers were completely amalgamated into one people; that the Peguers had no wish for independence; that if they had, there was no prince remaining of their dynasty, nor even any chief of commanding influence, to assume the government; that it would retard the attainment of peace; that the project was, in fact, impracticable; and that if even practicable, the execution of it was not desirable, as it would involve us for ever in Indo-Chinese politics, by the necessity of protecting Pegue. Even if we had been obliged to keep troops for an unlimited time in Pegue, it would have saved the necessity of keeping an additional force on the eastern unhealthy frontier of Bengal, as the Burmans would never have disturbed Bengal while we were in Pegue. The Bengal Government were, no doubt, right in being cautious. They acted upon the best, though imperfect, information they possessed.

“Those who have the responsibility cannot be expected to be so adventurous as we who have none. But I believe that there is no man who is not now convinced, that the Taliens (Peguers) deserted the Burman Government, sought independence, and in the hope of obtaining it, though without any pledge on our part, aided in supplying all our wants with a zeal which could not have been surpassed by our subjects.

“We sent to Rangoon about three thousand five hundred draught and carriage bullocks; and could have sent five times as many, had there been tonnage.”

TO KIRKMAN FINLAY, ESQ.

“Madras, 15th August, 1825.”

“I do not know that I have ever yet acknowledged the receipt of your letter about Dr. Anderson. I have never seen him, but I understand that he is a very good public servant; which, being our townsman, I consider as a matter of course. I hope that you are a friend to free trade for public servants, as well as for other articles; and that you do not think that men ought to have a monopoly of offices because they

come from a particular town ; or that we should call them China, when we know that they come from the Delft-house. I find, however, that there is no shaking off early prejudice, and becoming quite impartial, as a friend to free trade ought to be ; I find that, notwithstanding my long exposure to other climates, I am still Glasgow ware ; for, if I had not been so, I should not, when I saw your opinion quoted by Mr. Huskisson in support of his measures, have felt as much gratification as if I had had some share in the matter myself.

“ I remember, when I was in Somerville and Gordon’s house, about the time of the appearance of ‘The Wealth of Nations,’ that the Glasgow merchants were as proud of the work as if they had written it themselves ; and that some of them said it was no wonder that Adam Smith had written such a book, as he had had the advantage of their society, in which the same doctrines were circulated with the punch every day. It is surprising to think that we should only just now be beginning to act upon them ; the delay is certainly not very creditable to our policy. Our best apology is, perhaps, the American and the French revolutionary wars, during the long course of which the nation was so harassed that there was no time for changing the old system. The nation was just beginning to recover from the American war, when the Revolution in France began ; and had that event not taken place, I have no doubt that Mr. Pitt would have done what we are now doing. I am not sure that you are not indebted to your old friend the East India Company for the measure not having been longer delayed. The attack upon their monopoly by the delegates in 1812-13 excited discussions, not only upon their privileges, but upon all privileges and restrictions, and the true principles of trade, which probably prepared the minds of men for acceding to the new system sooner than they would otherwise have done. Even now there seems to be too much solicitude about protecting duties : they may, for a limited time, be expedient, where capital cannot be easily withdrawn ; but in all other cases why not abolish them at once ? There is another point on which anxiety is shown, where I think there ought to be none—I mean that of other nations granting similar remissions on our trade. Why should we trouble ourselves about this ? We ought surely not to be restrained from doing ourselves good, by taking their goods as cheap as we can get them, merely because they won’t follow our example ? If they will not make our goods cheaper, and take more of them, they will at least take what they did before ; so that we suffer no loss on this, while we gain on the other side. I think it is better that we should have no engagements with foreign nations about reciprocal duties, and that it will be more convenient to leave them to their own discretion in fixing the rate, whether high or low.

“India is the country that has been worst used in the new arrangement. All her products ought undoubtedly to be imported freely into England upon paying the same duties, and no more, which English products pay in India. When I see what is done in Parliament against India, I think that I am reading about Edward III. and the Flemings.

“I hope we shall talk over all this some day in a ramble in the country, where the cows are still uncivilized enough to cock up their tails and chase strangers.

“Yours sincerely,

“THOMAS MUNRO.”

TO SIR GRAHAM MOORE.

“Nagganjiri, 18th October, 1826.

“My reason for not writing sooner is the same as yours; I expected to have seen you before this time. It is nearly twenty years since I thought that I had taken a final leave of this country; but I am now, after a tour of nearly a thousand miles, sitting in my tent, at the head of one of the passes leading down from Mysore to the Carnatic, at the distance of about a hundred and thirty miles from Madras. I am anxious to leave India, yet I shall leave it with a heavy heart. I have spent so much of my life in it, I am so well acquainted with the people, its climate is so fine, and its mountain scenery so wild and beautiful, that I almost regret that it is not my own country; but it is not my home, and it is time that I should go there, whether it is to be in Scotland or in England. If I am not too old when I get home, which I suspect I am already, I must take a journey to Italy or Greece, that I may have time to settle where my home is to be. Nothing is more difficult to a man who has been long absent from his own country, than to determine in what part of it he ought to fix his abode. But I must get there first, and I shall be very happy to see Sir John Malcolm come out to relieve me—no man is better qualified, and none would be more popular.

“Your opinion of the Greeks is, I fear, too just. They have, however, after making large allowance for their exaggerations, and when we consider their means and their unfortunate dissensions, made a struggle not altogether unworthy of their ancestors. I should be delighted to see them an independent power; it would be a noble acquisition to Europe; their character would improve with their independence. My wife is now at home, and I hope she has been so fortunate as to meet you and Lady Moore, and renew her short acquaintance with you both. When I reach England I shall not be long in finding my way to Brook Farm, to examine your improvements, and talk over *Auld lang syne*. You have never told me how young John Moore is; I hope he is well, and like his father. I am happy to hear that Lady Moore was much better, and I trust she is now as well as ever.”



Though the Burmese war, like every other in which British India becomes involved, created much dissatisfaction in Leadenhall Street, and proved very little popular anywhere else, there was but one opinion regarding the value of the assistance rendered by the Madras Government in bringing it to a successful termination. The Minister, in order to mark his sense of Sir Thomas Munro's merits, recommended that the dignity of Baronet should be conferred upon him, which took place accordingly in June, 1825. The Court of Directors, meditating the recall of Lord Amherst, had it seriously in contemplation to apply for the appointment of Sir Thomas Munro as Governor-General in his room; and on more than one occasion he was sounded upon the matter. His manner of receiving the proposal cannot be better explained than in his own words:—

FROM SIR THOMAS MUNRO TO ———.

“18th July, 1825.

“As to my going to the City of Palaces, it is now too late; but had I gone, I should have had no fear of envy and jealousy—nobody could have thwarted me; I should have taken care of that. I think, however, that the present Governor-General is as good as any other that you are likely to send, and that great injustice is done to him in the idle clamour which has been raised against him. His situation was a very arduous one. He was new to India. The Burmans were an enemy entirely unknown to us: we were ignorant of their military force—of their mode of warfare—of their resources, and of the face of their country. Lord Amherst, in his first ideas of the plan of operations, was probably guided by Captain Canning and the men who were best acquainted with Ava. When he found that the project of sailing at once up the Irawaddy to Prome or Ummerapooora could not be effected, and that other measures must be adopted, he no doubt, in his new plans of military operations, consulted the best military authorities in Bengal, and followed their opinions. I do not see that any other Governor-General, in similar circumstances, could have done more; and ever since he has been fairly embarked in the war, he has taken the best means of bringing it to a successful close, by never relaxing in his exertions to keep the forces in Ava efficient. Some of the military arrangements are not exactly what I approve of; but what of that? No two men ever agree on such points. There is, I think, one error by which the Bengal plans are all too much influenced; namely, a most exaggerated estimate both of the numbers and prowess of the Burmans, and indeed

of all other enemies. This has led to the discouragement of enterprise, to slow and cumbersome operations, to much expense and loss of time, by employing several corps where one would have been enough ; and lastly, to what appears to me a great and useless increase of the Bengal army."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

" May 17th, 1826.

"THE question regarding the Bengal Government will have been settled one way or other by this time, so that it is hardly worth while to say anything about it now. I think that the policy of a sudden recall, even when things do not go on as you wish, is very questionable, because it tends to shake the authority and the respect which Government ought to maintain. Lord Amherst has now taken Bhurtpore, and dictated peace to the King of Ava ; and has conducted these measures just as well, if not better than most of the Governors-General you could have sent out. The Court are too unreasonable when they expect to find every day for the Supreme Government such men as appear only once or twice in an age. You cannot have a Lord Cornwallis, or Wellesley, or Hastings every day, and must take such men as are to be found.

" With respect to the plan of sending me to Bengal, I should have been delighted with it ten or fifteen years ago, or even when Lord Hastings resigned ; but it is now too late. You forget that it is above forty-six years since I arrived in India, and that I have always been in laborious situations. I ought, according to all ordinary rules, to have been dead seven years ago ; and nothing but a very strong constitution and great temperance have saved me. My constitution may be expected to break every day ; for I fancy that I already see some symptoms. My hand shakes in writing, especially in a warm land-wind day like the present, which it did not do till lately ; and I lost from a cold, last year, more than one-half of my bad hearing. I am like an over-worked horse, and require a little rest. Ever since I came to this Government, almost every paper of any importance has been written by myself ; and during the whole course of the Burman war, though little of my writing appears, I have been incessantly engaged in discussions, and inquiries, and correspondence, all connected with the objects of the war, though, from not being official, they cannot appear on record. Indeed, as we had not the direction of the war, we had no right to give opinions regarding it ; and it was only by laying hold of the opportunities furnished for remark, by sending away so great a part of our army, that I was enabled now and then to say something about the war.

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“Were I to go to Bengal, I could hardly hold out two years, certainly not more; and this period is too short to do any good. Among new people, and new modes of conducting business of every kind, it requires the whole time merely to look about and consider what inquiries I should enter upon, to make myself acquainted with the real state of affairs. When this was done, I should next consider what parts of the system might be improved by change, and what ought to be left untouched. All this could not be done in less than four or five years; and my remaining so long is entirely out of the question. I never wish to remain in office when I feel that I cannot do justice to it; and I know that I could once have done as much in three or four days as I can now do in a week.”

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

## Last Scene of all.

MEANWHILE the birth of a second son, followed not long afterwards by the indisposition both of mother and child, re-awakened in Sir Thomas Munro the desire, which during the pressure of public business had slumbered, to return home. No sooner, therefore, was the war brought to an end, than he renewed his application to be relieved; and the better to provide against even a remote risk of miscarriage, six duplicate copies of the letter containing this request were dispatched to England in different ships. One of these, which left Madras on the 28th of May, 1826, was laid before the Court of Directors on the 6th of September in the same year; and the Court, it appears, had already made choice of a gentleman to succeed Sir Thomas Munro, whenever he should repeat his desire to be relieved. But either because the terms of his application did not seem to be pressing, or that considerations of some other kind operated to produce delay, the gentleman in question, the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, received his formal appointment only on the 6th of April, 1827. Finally Mr. Lushington, having private affairs to arrange, did not sail from England till July of the same year; so that the plan which Munro had formed of quitting India before the monsoons should set in, was rendered impracticable.

I state these facts with no design whatever of casting blame upon any one. The Court could not possibly intend to disappoint a servant to whom it had given repeated proofs that he was held in the highest honour; and Mr. Lushington of course had good reasons of his own for not precipitating his departure. But when the fatal consequences of the delay are considered, it may well be permitted to those who entertain due respect for the memory of Sir Thomas Munro, to feel and to express

regret that it should have occurred. No doubt life and death are in the hands of God; and the passage of a few years renders it a matter of comparatively little moment whether those with whom we were loath to part may have gone from us prematurely, or after living out the full measure of their days. Still in the present instance we are constrained, humanly speaking, to attribute the premature demise of a good and great man to circumstances which might have been ordered otherwise.

In the month of March, just as the Burmese war had reached its crisis, Sir Thomas Munro's younger son, Campbell, became so alarmingly ill, that his immediate removal to Europe was ordered. Lady Munro, whose health had likewise suffered from the climate, was advised to seek the same remedy; and because she, not less than her husband, anticipated a speedy termination to the official labours of the latter, she assented, though not without reluctance, to the arrangement. It was a great trial to Sir Thomas Munro to be deprived of the society of wife and child at the moment when he seemed to be most at leisure to enjoy it; and the following extracts from his letters show that he felt it acutely:—

TO LADY MUNRO.

“Guindy, 2nd April, 1826.

“WE came here last night, for the first time since you went away. We had nobody in the evening but Captain Watson, which I was glad of. He has got the floors covered with new mats, which smell like hay; but they are of no use when those for whom they were intended are gone. The cause which occasioned the desertion of this house gives every thing about it a melancholy appearance. I dislike to enter Kamen's room. I never pass it without thinking of that sad night when I saw him lying in Rosa's lap, with leeches on his head, the tears streaming down his face, crying with fear and pain, and his life uncertain. His image, in that situation, is always present to me whenever I think of this house. I walked out this morning at daylight. I followed Captain Watson's new road, which is now made hard with gravel, as far as the place where it divides; but on reaching this point, instead of turning to the left, as we used to do, I continued along the main branch to the little tank, and there halted a few minutes to admire the view of the distant hills. I then turned towards the garden, where I always found you, and Kamen trotting before you, except when he stayed be-

hind to examine some ant-hole. How delightful it was to see him walking, or running, or stopping, to endeavour to explain something with his hands to help his language! How easy, and artless, and beautiful, are all the motions of a child! Every thing that he does is graceful. All his little ways are endearing, and they are the arms which Nature has given him for his protection, because they make everybody feel an attachment for him.—I have lost his society just at a time when it was most interesting. It was his tottering walk, his helplessness and unconsciousness, that I liked. By the time I see him again he will have lost all those qualities,—he will know how to behave himself,—he will have acquired some knowledge of the world, and will not be half so engaging as he now is. I almost wish that he would never change.”

TO THE SAME.

“Madras, 10th April, 1826.

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“At nine to-day I had Sir Ralph Palmer, and half an hour after a missionary from Ceylon. The cause of Sir Ralph’s visit was a very melancholy one, which I am sure you will be greatly distressed to hear. It was to consult about a monument to the memory of our late excellent Bishop, who died at Trichinopoly on the 3rd of this month. He had been early in the morning at a Native congregation; he returned home about seven, and immediately went into a cold bath, about seven feet deep, at Mr. Bird’s house, into which he had gone the two preceding mornings. His servant, after waiting half an hour, became alarmed at his not coming out, opened the door, and saw him lying at the bottom. Medical aid came immediately, but too late, as every means tried to restore animation failed. The medical opinion is, that on entering the bath he was seized with a fit, fell forward, and was suffocated. I never knew the death of any man produce such a universal feeling of regret. There was something so mild, so amiable, and so intelligent about him, that it was impossible not to love him.”

TO THE SAME.

“Madras, 29th April, 1826.

“I TOLD you in my last that I had sent home my resignation by the Neptune, and four copies of it by different ships earlier this month. I hope that some one of them may reach England soon enough to enable my successor to arrive in February or March; but I fear it will be September. If I could get away in March, and make a good passage, our separation would not be more than about sixteen months; but if I am detained till September, it will be nearly two years. The shortest of

these periods is a great deal too long. I have not seen Tom since he was five months old. I can never see him as a child, and I part with Kamen just at the time he is most interesting."

" Madras, 16th May, 1826.

" ON this day last year we were all together at Chittoor on our way to Bangalore, looking forward to a pleasant journey through Mysore. We little suspected that you and Kamen would now be going round the Cape, and that I should be here. Had it not been for his unfortunate illness, we might have been all now in Mysore; we might have returned in October by Ryacottah, after spending some days again on the banks of the Kisanagery river, and gone home in the same ship next year. This is the plan on which I had set my heart. After making the voyage between India and Europe together three times, it is very hard upon you to have been obliged to go home alone. The separation is distressing, but there is no help for it; it is one of the evils attending service in India. I hope I shall not be here another hot season; for, as Lord Amherst has taken Bhurtpoor, and humbled Golden Foot, I do not see what use either you or I can be of any longer in this country. If I am lucky, I may sail sooner than you think, and see you in June or July next year."

TO THE SAME.

" Madras, 29th June, 1826.

" THE ships lately arrived have brought several letters for you from your friends. I shall send them all back to you, because you will, I think, be sorry to lose some of them, and will like to read them all, if it were only for the sake of comparing the feelings with which you read them at home and would have read them in India. I shall keep a letter from Tom to you, as it is on the same sheet with one from him to me, both in his own hand-writing. He is the only one of the family whom I now see. I go into the room where his picture is every day for two minutes, on my way to the dining-room, or rather verandah. I think him more like Kamen than I used to do; and sometimes almost fancy that he looks happier since you went away. I am not sure, however, that there is any change. It is likely enough that, even when you were here, he looked as well pleased as now, but that I did not observe it.

" 7th July.—I went to Guindy on Saturday evening, and shall probably not go there again before November, as I must set out on the 21st on a long journey to the Southern Provinces. I took as usual a long walk on Sunday morning. There had been so much rain that the garden looked more fresh and beautiful than I ever saw it; but I found nobody there, except a boy guarding the mangoes and figs from the

squirrels—not even the old French gardener. It was a great change from the time when I was always sure of finding you and Kamen there. It is melancholy to think that you are never again to be in a place in which you took so much pleasure. This idea comes across me still more strongly when I enter the house and pass from my own room to the drawing-room along the passage, now so silent and deserted, and formerly so noisy with your son and you, and his followers. It always makes me sad when I visit the place; but I shall be *wæe* when I leave it, like you, for the last time. In my visits there I have never had any strangers. I generally go about once a fortnight.

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“I was in the garden this morning. Everything is growing in great luxuriance, but particularly the Hinah and Babohal hedges. The new well is half full. I looked, on my way home, at what you call geraniums, but which seem to me to be more like wild potatoes. I stood for a minute admiring them, merely from the habit of doing so with you; for, had I followed my own taste, I should as soon have thought of admiring a brick-kiln as of gazing at a hundred red pots filled with weeds. There is something very melancholy in this house without you and your son. It has the air of some enchanted deserted mansion in romance. I often think of Kamen marching about the hall equipped for a walk, but resisting the ceremony of putting on his hat.”

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#### TO THE SAME.

“Dindigal, 16th September, 1826.

“NOTHING has given me so much pleasure as your letter and journal from St. Helena. I can think of nothing else since I got them: they have removed all my apprehensions about you and Campbell. I never doubted that you would feel for Buonaparte in his wonderful reverse of fortune. I should have been surprised if you had not; for no person, I think, of proper feeling, can approach the black solitary rock of St. Helena without being moved at his fate.”

Time passed, and the successor, of whose nomination he had been apprised, not arriving, Sir Thomas Munro determined to pay a parting visit to his old friends in the Ceded Districts; and, early in the summer of 1827, set out from Madras for that purpose. The cholera had proved very fatal during some previous months, and was understood to have broken out in those parts of the country through which his journey must lie. But though his friends, fearing the possible consequences, urged him to suspend his pur-



pose for a while, he would not listen to their arguments. Without absolutely discrediting the doctrine of infection, he entertained no alarm on that head; and remembering that more than once in the course of service he had himself suffered slightly from the disease, the thought of exposure to it seems to have awakened in him no especial horror. Accordingly, towards the end of May, attended by a single medical officer, Dr. Fleming, and a small escort, he set out. On the 29th he reached Anantapoor, and found that several cases had occurred among the country people; but it was not till they halted at Gooty, on the 4th of July, that the malady showed itself in camp. Then, however, several sepoys and followers were attacked, and they all perished under the circumstances of awful rapidity which usually attend the disease. It would have been strange had the subject failed to come under frequent discussions at the Governor's table; and Sir Thomas, who had witnessed its ravages during the Southern Mahratta war, spoke of it like one who had given both to the causes and progress of the malady much attention.

On the 5th of July the party reached Jolmagerry, in which, as well as in all the villages round, the cholera was raging. Here Captain Watson and another gentleman attached to the Governor's suite were attacked; but the former so far recovered, as to be able to present himself in the audience-tent ere the cavalcade quitted their ground on the 6th. Sir Thomas Munro expressed himself exceedingly delighted at the circumstance, and began his march in excellent health and in his usual good spirits.

Nothing occurred during the early part of the day to denote that he was in the slightest degree indisposed. On the contrary, he conversed freely with such of the villagers as met him by the way, about the condition of their crops and the state of their affairs; and his gratification was warmly expressed when he found that the district generally was improving. When the party halted at Putteecondah, after a march of about ten miles, he dressed, and sat down to the breakfast-table as usual. He made a hearty meal upon "loogie," a dish of which he never partook when at all disordered; and then, walking to the audience-tent, transacted business with the collector. He was thus employed, when the disease suddenly attacked him. He

quitted the tent; and Dr. Fleming being sent for, found him slightly indisposed; but as the symptoms were not alarming, no fears were entertained as to the result. The doctor prescribed some medicine to his patient, and left him.

These events took place about nine o'clock in the morning, and till half-past ten Sir Thomas remained alone. At that hour Colonel Carfrae, who had been long in his family, entered the tent, and inquired into the state of his health. The reply was, that "he was not very unwell, but that he had no doubt he had caught the disease." Sir Thomas then swallowed the medicine ordered, lay down upon his couch, and continued to converse on matters of public business for some time.

As the day advanced, he became gradually worse, yet neither anxiety nor alarm was perceptible in his countenance or proceedings. He spoke with perfect calmness and collectedness; assured his friends that he had been frequently as ill before; regretted the trouble he occasioned to those about him, and entreated them to quit the tent. "It is not fair," said he, "to keep you in an infected chamber;" and when told that no apprehensions were entertained, because there was no risk of infection, he repeated his usual observation—"That point has not been determined; you had better be on the safe side, and leave me."

It was now one o'clock in the day, and his pulse being still full and good, sanguine hopes were entertained that all might yet be well; but from that time he failed rapidly, and the fears of his friends and attendants became serious. About three, however, he rallied, and feeling better, exclaimed, in a tone of peculiar sweetness, "that it was almost worth while to be ill, in order to be so kindly nursed." Between three and four no change took place, but he repeatedly alluded to the trouble which he gave, and urged the gentlemen around him to withdraw; but soon after four he himself remarked that his voice was getting weaker and his sense of hearing more acute. These were the last articulate sounds which he uttered; for the disease increased rapidly upon him; and though the appearance of favourable symptoms from time to time excited hopes that were not to be realized, Sir Thomas Munro lingered till half-past nine in the evening, and then breathed his last.

To describe the effect produced by this melancholy event upon

all classes of persons in India, is a task for which I confess myself incompetent. Seldom has a man, holding an office of authority and control, contrived to secure, as Sir Thomas Munro did, the affections of those placed under him; and hence, when a rumour of his unlooked-for demise spread abroad, it were difficult to determine whether men lamented it most on public or on private grounds. Among the many proofs, however, which have been laid before me, of the estimation in which this great man was held, there is one so touching in every particular, that I cannot refuse to insert it here:—

Three days after Sir Thomas Munro's death, Captain Macleod, who commanded the escort, fell a sacrifice to cholera. At sunset on the evening previous to his decease, that gentleman sent for his native officers, and assuring them that he could not recover, enjoined them to take great care of the men; he then minutely inquired whether all their accounts were settled; and being answered in the affirmative, he raised his hand with difficulty to his forehead, and made them a *salam*. Shortly afterwards, he alluded to their march on the following morning, and besought Colonel Carfrae, who was present, "that he would allow a small party to remain and see him decently interred." He was informed that, in the event of any such melancholy service becoming necessary, his body would be sent back to Gooty. "No, no," exclaimed the dying man, "I am perfectly satisfied; it is too much honour for me to be buried near Sir Thomas Munro."

I have no language in which adequately to describe the effect that was produced throughout the whole extent of the Madras Presidency when tidings of the melancholy death of the Governor got abroad. He had won so entirely the confidence and love of the people—he was held in such unbounded respect by all the European servants of the Company,—that his death, at once so unlooked for, and coming with a terrible abruptness, was felt as a domestic rather than a public misfortune in every circle. Moreover, this large portion of their respect and esteem his fellow-men, whether European or Asiatic, gave as a tribute due to his eminent qualities, and to the long and faithful service which he had rendered them; and nobody, I apprehend, can have read the letters which are interwoven into the present Memoir, without being convinced that they did not value him above his worth.

Nature had given to Sir Thomas Munro talents of a very high order, which he never permitted to degenerate for want of use; his whole life may be said to have been one of steady self-improvement. His judgment was clear and sound: he was brave, as well morally as physically: in inquiry he was patient: in action, prompt and decisive. He seems to have had no taint of jealousy or prejudice about him. He never took offence, unless the necessity of doing so were forced upon him. He was always more ready to think well of others, than ill. In eating and drinking he was exceedingly temperate. His manners were reserved, and he spoke but little in society; but reserve and silence were with him the results neither of moroseness nor of self-conceit, but arose out of that deafness to which from his boyhood he had been subject, and which rendered it impossible for him to feel at ease in large or mixed companies. With two or three friends, to whom he felt that he could unbosom himself, he was one of the most agreeable of men; for besides that his mind was stored with knowledge, he had that happy sort of humorous expression which gives to wit increased brilliancy, and renders even commonplace remarks amusing.

Sir Thomas Munro was a great reader, and a memory tenacious beyond the ordinary scale enabled him to turn to account, as often as occasion required, whatever books might have taught him. He was master of almost all the vernacular languages of Southern India, and read and wrote Arabic and Persian correctly. His opportunities of acquiring the tongues of modern Europe had not been great, but he did not neglect them. French and Spanish he read with ease: I do not find that he could speak either of them fluently, or that he had ever studied German or Italian. The Bible, of which he never omitted to read a portion daily, was at his fingers' ends. Brought up in the communion of the Scottish Episcopal Church, he died, as he had lived, a sincere but unpretending Christian; with whom generosity to others had been from the outset as much the result of principle as self-denial, which he practised continually.

The personal appearance of Sir Thomas Munro was more striking, perhaps, than handsome. He was very tall—upwards of six feet high; and his frame, though sinewy, was by no means coarsely built. His countenance, strongly marked, indicated

habits of deep thought, and might have deceived the ordinary observer into a belief that he was stern ; but it was not so—a kinder or warmer heart never beat in human bosom ; and his face, when lighted up by conversation, bore testimony to the fact. All who approached, withdrew from him again impressed with a conviction that they had seen no common man ; those who knew him best, and were admitted to his closest intimacy, loved to the full as much as they admired him.

The body of Sir Thomas Munro, being removed to Gooty within an hour and a half of his death, was interred the same evening in the graveyard of that station. “ There was something solemn and touching in the funeral,” says a gentleman who was present on the occasion. “ The situation of the churchyard ; the melancholy sound of the minute-guns reverberating among the hills ; the grand and frowning appearance of the fortress towering above the Gom—all tended to make the awful ceremony more impressive.” And he adds, “ Of all the dispensations of Providence I have ever witnessed or experienced, none have been equal to this—not even the death of my own father.”

I should extend these pages beyond reasonable limits, were I to describe in detail how the loss of Sir Thomas Munro was mourned both in India and in England—by the native population of the provinces, by the acting Governor and Council at Fort St. George, and the Court of Directors in London. The people of the Ceded Districts especially, who always spoke of him as their father, proposed to build by subscription a Choultry at Gooty, and to surround it with a wood of mango and other fruit trees, and to call it by his name. The Madras Government, besides voting that a stone monument should be erected over his grave, added a tank to the Choultry, and provided an establishment of servants to keep it in repair. The Court of Directors recorded the expression of its warmest regard for the memory of its late valuable servant, and assured his surviving family that it deeply sympathized in the grief which so unexpected an event must have occasioned to them. Nor were the personal friends of the deceased backward in devising some appropriate means of perpetuating the memory of his worth, and of their own affection. A subscription was entered into to the extent of nine thousand

pounds, for the purpose of erecting an equestrian statue of the late Governor, on the parade ground of Madras; and Sir Francis Chantrey being employed to execute the work, nothing which genius could suggest or industry execute was omitted to render it perfect. The living bronze has already survived the greater number of those who contributed to its existence; but it still speaks, and will long continue to speak, to coming generations of the past; telling how talent, industry, honour, and devotion to public service, carry men from the humblest to the highest situations, and ensure for their memories the lasting respect of mankind.

THE END.

