

THE THOMASON SCHOOL IN NORTHERN

INDIA, 1822-53

THE JAMES THOMASON SCHOOL
IN NORTHERN INDIA, 1822 - 1853:
A BIOGRAPHICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDY

by

PETER PENNER, M. A.

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

September 1970

Peter Penner

1974

Doctor of Philosophy (1970)
(History)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The James Thomason School in Northern India, 1822-1853:
A Biographical and Administrative Study

AUTHOR: Peter Penner, B. A. (University of Western Ontario,
Waterloo College, 1955)
M. A. (McMaster University, 1962)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Charles Murray Johnston

NUMBER OF PAGES: vi, 347

SCOPE AND CONTENTS: This dissertation attempts to show Haileyburians - students of the East India College - at the peak of their influence in India. This is done by an examination of the so-called Thomason 'school' at work in Northern India in the two decades before the Mutiny. This serves the purpose, moreover, of shedding light on a relatively neglected period of British India. The writings - private and published - of Haileyburians themselves provide the principal source for narrative, analysis, and interpretation.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It all began in 1967 with an interest in Old Haileybury - the East India College. Upon discovering, however, that a number of scholars had raised and answered most of the questions I had about this school unique in the annals of education, I diverted my attention to a small group of Haileyburians working in the land of their destiny - India. The subject appeared manageable by focussing attention on James Thomason. I discovered that he was popularly identified as the founder of a school of settlement officers, all of whom had been at Haileybury in the 1820s and 1830s. This Thomason school seemed to suggest a case study of pre-Victorian capacities to integrate expansionist, reforming, and evangelical motives into a professed civilizing mission in India.

Hence this dissertation represents an attempt to do for Haileybury what others have done for utilitarians, evangelicals, and missionaries in India. Since it was necessary to telescope the thesis, I concentrated on that part of India where and that period of Indian history when Haileyburians as such made their most significant contributions, at least by popular consent, namely the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, in the decades preceding the Mutiny.

While the copious footnotes and biographical data testify to the initial and abiding interest in Old Haileybury, this is by no means a study in the nineteenth-century proconsular style. I felt, however, that one could not obtain a complete grasp of the administrative policies of the Haileyburians without looking at the men themselves. Taken alone,

only a small number might be considered worthy of full-scale biographies. As a group, the Thomasonians represent some of the best of the Indian Civil Service, as contemporaries and moderns have seen them. Perhaps this approach will arouse interest in other groups of Haileyburians or in graduates of Addiscombe, the Company's military 'seminary'.

I am deeply indebted to Charles Murray Johnston, Professor of History at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, who advised me so helpfully during the past three years. His lot was made more difficult because so much of the supervision had to be undertaken by correspondence. I am grateful to Professors G. S. French and E. M. Beame of the same Department of History for their advance reading of the thesis and their helpful comments.

I could not have undertaken the research required for this dissertation without the assistance of a generous award in 1968 from the Canada Council, renewable for the summer months of 1969 and 1970. The Committee of the Marjorie Young Bell Fund at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, assisted me with expenses in 1967 and 1969. Everywhere the Librarians have been most helpful, not least in the Harvard College Library, where I began my search, the Scottish Record Office, the India Office Library, and that of the Church Missionary Society.

When it came to the spelling of Indian place names, which posed a problem, I decided to follow modern Indian historians as consistently as possible, knowing that I would not find uniformity among them. Since many still use Punjab for Panjab and Benares for Banaras, for example, I made these and a number of other exceptions.

Peter Penner, August 1970.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | iii |
| THE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | vi |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| PART ONE: BIOGRAPHY | |
| CHAPTER I: THE HAILEYBURIAN OF THOMASON'S GENERATION | 14 |
| CHAPTER II: THE LIFE AND CAREER OF JAMES THOMASON | 57 |
| CHAPTER III: THE THOMASONIANS IN NORTHERN INDIA | 93 |
| PART TWO: ADMINISTRATION | |
| INTRODUCTION | 156 |
| CHAPTER IV: JAMES THOMASON AND THE LAND SETTLEMENT OF 1833 | 162 |
| CHAPTER V: JAMES THOMASON AND INDIGENOUS VERNACULAR EDUCATION | 210 |
| CHAPTER VI: JAMES THOMASON, IRRIGATION, AND ENGINEERING | 281 |
| EDUCATION | 281 |
| SOME CONCLUSIONS | 322 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 331 |
| MAP OF NORTHERN INDIA | 163 |

THE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------|---|
| BCS | Bengal Civil Service |
| BM | British Museum |
| BPP | <u>Bengal, Past and Present</u> |
| CFW | <u>College of Fort William</u> |
| (C)HJ | <u>Cambridge Historical Journal</u> |
| CR | <u>Calcutta Review</u> |
| CMI | <u>Church Missionary Intelligencer</u> |
| CMSA - 1-295 | Church Missionary Society Archives, re Papers of the North India Mission, lot CI 1/0 |
| CMS | Church Missionary Society |
| CRO | Commonwealth Relations Office |
| CSSH | <u>Comparative Studies in Society and History</u> |
| D - 1-499 | Dalhousie Papers, SRO |
| DIB | <u>Dictionary of Indian Biography</u> |
| DNB | <u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> |
| E - 6-105 | Ellenborough Papers |
| EHR | <u>English Historical Review</u> |
| EICo | East India Company |
| FI | <u>Friend of India (the Weekly)</u> |
| HCL | Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts |
| Hobson-Jobson | <u>Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms</u> |
| HM | Home Miscellaneous Series, IOR |
| ICS | Indian Civil Service |
| IOL | India Office Library |
| IOR | India Office Records |
| MOHC | <u>Memorials of Old Haileybury College</u> |
| JIH | <u>Journal of Indian History</u> |
| NWP | North-Western Provinces |
| NWPGP | North-Western Provinces, General Proceedings |
| OPI | <u>Occasional Papers of India, CMS</u> |
| PP | <u>Parliamentary Papers</u> |
| PRO | Public Record Office, London |
| SAQ | <u>South Atlantic Quarterly</u> |
| SBR | Sadr Board of Revenue, NWP |
| SRO | Scottish Record Office |
| SDNA | Sadr Diwani Nizamat Adalat (Chief Court of Appeal in both Calcutta and the NWP) |

NOTE: The abbreviations of titles and decorations are those used in the DIB.

Regarding reduction in references and bibliography, the reader may assume that all books are published in London unless otherwise indicated.

INTRODUCTION

In 1953 and 1955 Philip Mason did rough justice to the Founders of British India under the Company, as well as to the Guardians under the Crown.¹ He included a whole host of men prominent in the ICS but not chosen during the 1890s for the Rulers of India series.² This dissertation attempts to do justice to some of those 'founders' in a way that contrasts sharply with the approach of Michael Edwardes. In spite of his attempt to popularize the British-in-India theme, his attitude towards the 'founders' remains a disdainful one. He wrote in 1958 that the contemporaries of John Lawrence at Haileybury College and in India "read like a hagiography of Empire, if we could only bother to remember them".³ This dissertation bothers about some of them. It is not concerned to find the Tommy Atkins-type among them, or to reconsider the role of aristocratic governors.⁴ It concerns itself with some of the

¹Philip Mason Woodruff (Woodruff was a pseudonym which he appears to have discarded), The Men Who Ruled India (1963 ed.), two volumes.

²Three Haileyburians, whose story forms a substantial part of this dissertation - James Thomason, John Lawrence and John Russell Colvin - were treated in that series, written in the 1890s when late Victorians preoccupied themselves with Empire. Thomason and Colvin had Haileyburians as authors, Richard Temple and Auckland Colvin.

³See The Necessary Hell: John and Henry Lawrence and the Indian Empire (1958), 50. With more than a half-dozen titles in print, this author appears to be writing from secondary sources and tends to reinforce for modern readers the generalizations about utilitarians, the Henry Lawrence school in the Punjab, the authoritarian liberals in the post-Mutiny period, to mention a few.

⁴Rudyard Kipling tended to elevate the men of the line, hence his "Tommy Atkins" to introduce his barrack-room ballads, and his poem

sons of upper middle class families who were nominated to the East India College, Haileybury, for service in India, and who became noteworthy as a result. This thesis attempts to get beneath the surface generalizations, to strip away the hagiographical attributions, where necessary, and to view the men and their setting strictly from a pre-Mutiny perspective.

Another aspect of this neglect is the dearth of studies of the administrative policies of the men governing Indian provinces in the quarter century before the Mutiny of 1857. Many studies have concluded at the years 1833 to 1835,⁵ as if those who served in India subsequently, except for John Lawrence's early career, were insignificant. If the men selected for this study came to subsequent notice, it was only because of their chance involvement in the Mutiny.⁶ One must of course acknowledge the existence of a number of post-Mutiny studies of some Haileyburians, who rose to high positions at the close of their Indian careers.⁷ The fate of James Thomason's generation has been less fortu-

entitled "Tommy". John Beechcroft, ed., Kipling, a Selection of his Stories and Poems (New York, 1956), II, 417, 491-2.

⁵For example, C. H. Philips, The East India Company, 1784-1834 (1940); Imtiaz Husain, Land Revenue Policy in North India (1801-33) (1967); and David Kopf, British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1783-1835 (Berkeley, 1969).

⁶Note the two books published by A. Constable in 1894: F. C. Danvers, Memorials of Old Haileybury College, and Col. H. M. Vibart, Addiscombe: Its Heroes and Men of Note. Addiscombe, the Company's "Military Seminary", located south of London, at Croydon, trained cadets from 1809 to 1861. Even MOHC has a section entitled "Record of Active Service of Old Haileyburians During the Mutiny", 581-638.

⁷As the bibliography will indicate, Richard Temple and John Lawrence have been the subject of recent studies by G. R. G. Hambly and Mark Naidis. But there are no recent studies of other Haileyburians.

nate, for there do not appear to be any recent studies, either biographical or administrative, involving individuals or groups of civilians leaving Haileybury to serve in the pre-Mutiny period.⁸

Quite different has been the lot of Charles Metcalfe's contemporaries. Historians have succeeded in fostering the image of a quartette of justly famous administrators - Metcalfe, Thomas Munro, John Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone - who are made to dominate the decade before Bentinck and Macaulay, without benefit of Haileybury and Addiscombe.⁹ On the contrary, Haileyburians such as Frederick Currie, George Clerk, and Henry M. Elliot, who served with distinction in the same line of work, still await biographies or group studies. The military rulers of India, particularly those who concerned themselves with the suppression of Indian customs - social and criminal - which horrified the English mind,¹⁰ provided relatively sensational copy. These 'men of action' who figured prominently in the various campaigns against Sikh, Afghan, and Sindian, whether ultimately as heroes or scapegoats, have received perhaps more attention than they deserved.¹¹ The civil

⁸Cf. Chapter One, reference # 2.

⁹See K. Ballhatchett, Social Policy in Western India, 1817-30 [re Elphinstone] (1957); T. H. Beaglehole, Thomas Munro and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras (1966); D. N. Panigrahi, Charles Metcalfe in India: Ideas and Administration, 1806-35 (1968). There does not appear to be a recent work on Malcolm, except in the extended reference in Mason's The Founders. Cf. B. S. Cohn's bibliographic essay, as listed.

¹⁰For example, G. Bruce, The Stranglers: The Cult of Thuggee and its Overthrow in British India (1968).

¹¹J. D. Cunningham, author of A History of the Sikhs (1966 reprint of his 1849 work) has been favoured with four recent articles by Indian scholars in an effort to rescue him from the disgrace into which

administrators, however, especially the school of settlement officers associated with James Thomason, have received only scattered references. When one considers the prominent place the NWP held in the minds of the ICS and Anglo-Indians¹² generally, particularly as a result of the emergence of Robert Mertins Bird and Thomason as its chief land settlement officers, one wonders at such neglect. This dissertation attempts to retrieve the Thomasonian school from the biographical footnotes and allusions to their policies, and to bring biography and policy together into a unified study.

This falls, as a result, into the category of a British-in-India-impact study, quite deliberately limited to the impact a relatively small group of men made on the NWP and the Punjab. Those selected are the Haileyburians who became associated with Bird and Thomason, and who became founding rulers of the Company-governed Empire of India. Whereas it would not have been possible to limit the study to those trained at Haileybury, if an earlier period had been considered, it was feasible when the quarter century before the Mutiny was taken. By this time virtually all those who had risen to places of responsibility and eminence in the civil service were covenanted* civilians trained at Hail-

Dalhousie cast him for alleged dishonourable conduct in the use of government sources. Perhaps the best of these is S. S. Bal's "Cunningham's History of the Sikhs", BPP, LXXXIII (1963), 112-30.

¹²The term "Anglo-Indian" in this paper refers to Englishmen in India or to careerists in retirement in England.

*The term "covenanted" indicates the special status of the Haileyburian vis-à-vis the Company. For example, Henry Carre Tucker of this paper was in effect a bonded civil servant of the Company in that two persons acted as "sureties" for him in the amount of several thousand pounds. Hence Tucker was covenanted (indentured) to discharge faithfully the duties assigned to him in India. He could not seek additional income from private trading. Among other things, he could not divulge the Company's affairs - considered secret - unless authorized to do so. Cunningham, above - an Addiscombian - was accused, perhaps wrongfully, of having broken his covenant. For Tucker's Covenant, see O/1/109, Book of Indentures, # 3666 - IOR. Emphasis mine.

eybury. Not only was the topic practicable; it was entirely admissible. Earlier, Haileyburians shared the spotlight with pre-Haileybury men; later, after the closing of the school in 1857, they came to be increasingly compared with the so-called "competition-wallahs".¹³ In marked contrast, the years from 1830 to the Mutiny belonged to the Haileyburians, and the administration of the NWP and the Punjab to the Thomasonians. For the men who helped to conquer, administer, and "save" Northern India were precisely the men who reflected the Haileybury esprit de corps best of all, if Philip Mason is a guide for moderns.

One of the chief problems in attempting to characterize a generation such as Thomason's is labelling the package. What, if anything, distinguished them from those of Metcalfe's generation who also served in the mofussil?¹⁴ How did they differ, for example, from the "British Orientalists" who form the subject of David Kopf's recent study? Were they 'modernizers' or 'westernizers'? That is, were they acculturated as orientalized Europeans, or pure anglicizers determined to assimilate Indians to English ways? And what influence had the English reform movement which characterized pre- and early-Victorian England on those Haileyburians whose apprenticeship in India coincided with that movement? If they were reformers, what labels are to be attached to them? The Liberal Toryism of 1822, the Whiggish Reformism of 1830-35, or the Tory paternalism of this general period, as epito-

¹³G. O. Trevelyan, Letters of a Competition Wallah (1866).

¹⁴This is the hinterland, the provinces and districts behind the foremost cities, such as Agra and Benares, Hobson-Jobson.

mized by Lord Shaftesbury? Or the ostensible utilitarianism of the Radicals in Parliament, the Toryism of Robert Peel in 1835, or the liberal-tory Peelite following of the same minister in 1846?¹⁵

Out of this bewildering array of possibilities one might select utilitarianism. Was this really a dominant characteristic of the men in question? A whole school of thought has been erected around the careers of Bentinck and Macaulay. It has been all too readily assumed that they and their generation of civilian administrators were radically influenced by the utilitarians. Eric Stokes, for example, saw Thomason and his peers as paternalists whose reforming views, however, were basically utilitarian.¹⁶ Kopf has helpfully suggested an alternative in the concepts of modernization and westernization as contrasting poles to which Anglo-Indians gravitated. While Stokes rightly saw Thomason as a paternalist, he presumed too much in the way of utilitarian influence, both at Haileybury and in India under men like Holt Mackenzie. From Thomason's own succinctly-articulated land and education policies - as well as Richard Temple's evaluation of his first mentor - it will become clear that Thomason's emphasis leaned toward modernization,¹⁷ that is, to an Anglo-Indian acculturation. Westernization (Europeanization or Anglicization) which implied replacement rather than improvement of Indian institutions was not Thomason's approach. He

¹⁵See Kopf, "Introduction", 1-9; and E. L. Woodward, The Age of Reform, 1815-70 (1962, 2nd ed.), 88ff, where most of these categories are defined.

¹⁶Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India (1959), 118-9.

¹⁷Temple, James Thomason (1893).

seemed willing to accept limitations in the degree to which he was likely to change Indian society in spite of the fact that his whole evangelical upbringing and private religious persuasion demanded such change.

Convincing proof of his modernizing tendencies is to be found in his concern to provide social stability by reviving in the Doab¹⁸ the ancient village communities. In this he must be seen, not as an innovator, but as a conservator of the best traditions.¹⁹ Underlying this was a strong anti-aristocratic bias, so evident in the following of Bird and Thomason, as will be shown in this dissertation. It is an oral tradition in the family²⁰ that Thomason, had he remained in England, would have been anti-protectionist. To put it another way, if Thomason had had to choose between Robert Peel and John Bright, who had differing motives for their anti-landlord stand in the 1840s, Thomason would have followed Peel. For Thomason seemed to belong to that relatively small body of upper middle class families in England and Scotland which - because of

¹⁸The land between the two rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna, from Hardwar southward in an inverted crescent to Allahabad.

¹⁹Temple, 126.

²⁰C. Thomason Beckett told the writer that Thomason, his forebear, inherited the tradition of the squireson (or squarson) - a combination of squire and parson - from his parents. His father was an evangelical minister; his paternal grandmother a Quaker. At the head of his mother's family (Fawcett) stood a squire solicitous of the lower classes having "the duty and the desire to do good". Thomason's own marriage to a Grant taught him the values of property, for a close relation had a 'lairdship' in Scotland. Beckett summed up Thomason's political stance as follows: while he was conservative and orthodox in theology, he was almost a "Cam Hobhouse [Broughton] liberal" in politics; not Whig nor Tory, but Liberal [perhaps Peelite], who was against the "selfish Tory way of life, which was identified with landlordism". This made him suspect to the "Tory world [class]". Major-General Beckett-Penner interview in London, 16 May 1969. Cf. Mrs. Patricia James' general assessment of Haileyburians in Chapter Two.

its intimate association with India - found itself under attack from influential elements in the aristocracy, the philosophical radicals, and the Manchester School. In any case, everything Thomason did towards the encouragement of village communities, whether with respect to kindling the property instinct, or fostering indigenous vernacular education and upward mobility from the grass roots, was designed to strengthen the arcadian element and the agricultural economy. He seemed concerned to secure the base of the social pyramid rather than to concentrate on élitist or middle class elements in Indian society.

According to Mason the design to prepare Indians for self-government was far more deliberately rationalized in the first third of the century than in the second, that is, during Thomason's generation.²¹ As a generalization, this must stand. Thomason seems, however, to have been desirous of fostering self-government at the village community level, as Part Two will indicate.

Allied to these questions is that of Haileybury's influence on Thomason's generation. Mason indirectly put forward the thesis that the East India College had the desired effect of fitting young men for Indian service, particularly while that empire was still expanding in the period under consideration. The 'writers' who went out before Haileybury training became both available and mandatory laboured under disadvantages by comparison. Haileybury attempted to give the young men who mingled there for four terms spread over two years both general and special education. Above all, in the words of Mason, it fostered "a

²¹ Mason, I, 14. Cf. Francis Hutchins, The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India (Princeton, 1967), chapter two.

close family spirit, a unity of interest". Its graduates were able to "overrun" and administer India because they "strove together" to serve Company, Crown, and above all, the TEAM!²²

Did Haileybury give merely a general education in European subjects and special training in Oriental languages?²³ Or did it foster a unifying perspective on life in general and on service in India in particular? Aside from these questions, which are taken up in Chapter One, there is the related question of equal importance regarding the academic and moral discipline attributed to the school under its last two principals. Did their influence have the effect of elevating the school above the criticisms which plagued its early years, and up to the heights envisaged for such a school by Lord Wellesley?²⁴ And to return to an earlier question, did it help to create British Orientalism in England as Wellesley's CFW did in India, at least in its early years?²⁵

It has been asserted recently, in what appears to be an authoritative study, that the bases for a significant reform in the land settle-

²²Mason, I, 280-6. With reference to the training received Mason wrote: "Certainly it was a scrambling, illogical, English sort of way of teaching statesmen, but with a good deal of help from Providence it did work."

²³The Orientals were Indian languages or those widely used in India, for example, Persian. Sanskrit came in the first term, with Persian next, and then Hindustani. That was the compulsory minimum. Europeans included classical languages and mathematics; law, both English and Indian; also a new science, political economy, introduced by Thomas R. Malthus; and history. Ibid. See Chapter One.

²⁴These were Charles Webb Le Bas (1838-44) and Henry Melvill (1844-57). The earlier ones were Samuel Henley (1806-15) and J. H. Batten (1815-37). All were Church of England clergymen.

²⁵See Chapter One. Kopf's study suggests that the CFW was a "pivotal unit for cultural change", 6. Since Kopf's book has appeared it is imperative that Haileybury College undergo a full-scale study.

ment were really laid by Holt Mackenzie and Bentinck, and that Robert Bird only completed what they had designed.²⁶ Moreover, Bird could be said to have called together the men who settled the districts between 1833 and 1841, and from this it could follow that Thomason has very little claim to be called the master of a school of settlement officers. While this may be true in part, it is a fact that Thomason, who had already gained an ascendant position in the thinking of his contemporaries, was handpicked to succeed Bird, who retired in 1842. Since he then became Lieutenant-Governor and stayed in office for a decade from 1843, it naturally followed that those who favoured the land settlement of Mackenzie, Bird, and Thomason linked themselves with him and came to be called his disciples. It is also true that the significant departures from the Cornwallis and Munro settlements in the NWP may best be seen during the career of Thomason. For he consolidated those changes in his Directions for Settlement Officers and Collectors. Moreover, since it was assumed that the village system would be equally applicable to the Punjab, the Directions were merely reprinted in an adapted form for the Punjab officers.²⁷ Since Thomason's men were taken to rule the Punjab, it is understandable that they would take with them whatever they considered applicable to that newly-annexed quarter of British India.

If there was an identifiable Thomason school, then it is impera-

²⁶ According to Husain their practical guide was not James Mill as asserted generally, but the results of the trial and error period from 1801. See Husain, chapter four, 136ff and 252.

²⁷ These were prepared first, as outlined in Chapter Four, between 1844 and 1849.

tive, in view of a recent article on the subject,²⁸ to demonstrate the very direct connection between this school and the Punjab system. For "the origins of the Punjab system" do not lie only with Dalhousie or perhaps Henry Lawrence, as has been asserted. They are also found significantly in the career of James Thomason. John Marshman saw this clearly. Although somewhat swept away in his admiration of what he thought he saw at Lahore, he at least had the connecting links between Calcutta, Agra, and Lahore straight in 1853 when he wrote John Bright, one of the severest critics of British India, about the origins of the Punjab system: "A body of civil officers, trained in the Thomason school, was drafted into the Punjab and the Governor-General [Dalhousie] planted himself at Simla . . . to superintend the construction of this new machinery of government, and the happy result of this combination of experience, talent and energy, has been the formation of the administration the like of which has never been seen in India, and which looks more like a picture of the imagination than a tangible reality."²⁹ The Thomason-Dalhousie letters³⁰ more than bear this out. It is because historians have failed to see the Punjab administration as an extension northward of Thomason's men and policies that he has been neglected. Surely it must be conceded, to return to an earlier point, that

²⁸Naidis, "John Lawrence and the Origins of the Punjab System", BPP, LXXX (1961), 38-46.

²⁹J. C. Marshman, Letter to John Bright (1853, 2nd ed.), 13.

³⁰There are more than 100 letters going each way between Dalhousie and Thomason in the Dalhousie Muniments (Papers). These cover the years from 1848 to 1853.

those who completed the settlement of the NWP and then pacified and settled the Punjab are as important as the earlier administrators.³¹

Hence is offered this study of a school of officers identified with Thomason and with the Punjab system as organized by Dalhousie and one of the Thomasonians, John Lawrence.

As to organization, it appears best to divide the dissertation: "The James Thomason 'School' in Northern India, 1822-1853: A Biographical and Administrative Study", into two parts. In this way, the problems involved can readily be isolated and analyzed, and where possible, generalized into theses. It is hoped that the attempt to see connections between the Haileyburians as men and as administrators will be facilitated, not obscured, by this division. Since the primary stress is on English gentlemen working in India, they may be seen first in the biographical section as the kind of civilians Auckland, Hardinge and Dalhousie prized as a group and then secondly, as belonging to a school trained by James Thomason working the land settlement, attempting to elevate the peasant intellectually and spiritually, and helping to moderate the ill effects of drought. These aspects of their careers, to be discussed in Part Two, form only an illustrative part of their imperial administration.

³¹ H. G. Keene, a Haileyburian of '46, in his review of H. Morse Stephen's article on the East India College in the CR (1901), 79, referred to the great difficulty civilians encountered during the first 20 years of Victoria's reign (1837-57) in receiving recognition for services rendered. The issue of awards and titles was first posed by Ellenborough on behalf of George Clerk and by Dalhousie on behalf of H. M. Elliot, and then of course John Lawrence. Thomason (1853) and Colvin (1857) both died undecorated.

As to sources, in this dissertation the writings of Haileyburians, Addiscombians, and other Anglo-Indians, from the period in question up to the 1860s and 1870s, are used as consistently as possible as the principal source for narrative, analysis, interpretation, and self-criticism. They provide the touchstone for an assessment of old and new generalizations, for example, about the insularity of the caste of civilians bred by Haileybury, or the inadequacy of Haileybury's training, and the greater success of 'competition', or the substantial influence of utilitarianism, to mention a few.

PART ONE: BIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

The Haileyburian of Thomason's Generation

James Thomason and his close associates may best be seen against a background chapter on the Haileyburian, the young man nominated to the East India College founded in 1806 and located near Hoddeston and Ware, in Hertfordshire, twenty miles north of London. What was the background from which he came, what training did he receive at Haileybury, and what prospects awaited him in India? This chapter attempts to deal with background and training, while a presentation of the careers of the Thomasonians is left to later chapters, beginning with one on Thomason.

While the social, religious, and political background provided considerable homogeneity, there was some heterogeneity in educational preparation for Haileybury. The most recent studies of the young men - adolescents in the modern sense - trained at the College for service in India, have concluded that from 1806 to 1857¹ some fifty to sixty inter-related families contributed "the vast majority" of the civil servants who governed India until the competitives in the 1870s gradually displaced them in key positions.² Bernard S. Cohn found that this restricted group in English society - upper middle class - drawn together

¹Haileybury College trained approximately 2,000 young men between 1806 and 1857. These years corresponded closely to the life span of James Thomason, 1804-53, who attended Haileybury 1820-22. In this paper he will be referred to as of the class of '22 ('22).

²Cohn, Professor of History at the University of Chicago, kindly gave permission to utilize the results of his research. Two of his articles have been most valuable: "Recruitment and Training of the Bri-

by economic and cultural interests which were frequently cemented by intermarriage, was centered chiefly in London, also in certain commercial families and landed groups in Scotland and south-east England.³

This monopoly for the deployment of some of England's fortunate youth to civil service in India developed from the patronage system.⁴ Direct ties of blood and marriage accounted for twenty-three percent of the appointments made to Haileybury between 1809 and 1850.⁵ For example, Henry St. G. Tucker, a Director of the East India Company from about 1826 to 1850, saw five of his sons appointed to Haileybury and India.⁶ Far more numerous were the appointments made for a variety of reasons

tish Civil Service, 1600-1860", in Asian Bureaucratic Systems edited by Ralph Braibanti (Durham, 1966), 87-140; and "The British in Benares: A Nineteenth Century Colonial Society", CSSH, IV (1961-62), 168-199. Other helpful contributions to be considered in this connection are Mason's volumes, already mentioned, and H. Morse Stephen, "The East India College at Haileybury", in A. L. Lowell, Colonial Civil Service (New York, 1900), 233-346.

³Cohn, "Recruitment", 110-111. Cohn found (see Table 5, p. 108, Ibid.) that 27 percent lived in Marylebone (today's Baker Street and Regent Park area); another 27 percent came from the remainder of England, including the Clapham Common, today part of Greater London; while 23 percent were born in India; more than 12 percent in Scotland; and more than 4 percent in Ireland.

⁴It is not the concern of this paper to deal with the patronage system in England. The authors listed above as well as C. H. Philips, The East India Company, have done so. The patronage system in India over which the Directors at home had little or no control is a matter of concern.

⁵See Table 3 of Cohn, "Recruitment", 105.

⁶E. L., "In Memoriam: H. Carre Tucker", CMI (1876); and John W. Kaye, The Life and Correspondence of H. St. G. Tucker (1854), 554. H. M. Stephen claimed in 1900 that the grosser forms of nepotism "were checked by the foundation of Haileybury and Addiscombe and a fuller knowledge of Indian conditions", 249.

covered by the term "friendship".⁷ Over half of the nominees received the prospect of an Indian career from Directors who had places in their gift and were willing to favour friends and acquaintances. For example, John Hudlestone, a Director between 1803 and 1826,⁸ who had seen service in India, offered a place at Haileybury to John Lawrence. He had already given military appointments to three of his older brothers, sons of Alexander Lawrence.⁹ According to R. Bosworth Smith, Hudlestone used his influence and patronage privileges "with a single eye for the benefit of those among whom the best years of his life had been passed".¹⁰ While thirty-five percent of the Haileybury nominees were sons of Company personnel - civilian and military - the considerations of "friendship" extended to business men, and to the sons of gentlemen¹¹ or of clergy.¹² This tightly-knit society headed by the Anglo-Indian Direction

⁷Cohn, "Recruitment", 105.

⁸Philips, 336.

⁹Lt. Col. A. Lawrence, 1763[?]-1835, DIB. The three sons were Alexander, George, and Henry, the last-named prominent in this paper, as well as John, a close friend of James Thomason, Resident at Lahore and then President of the Board of Administration of the Punjab, 1849-53.

¹⁰R. Bosworth Smith, Lord Lawrence (1883), I, 24-5.

¹¹Richard Temple, a prominent Thomasonian, indicated that he was simply the son of an English country gentleman, who had "no influential connection, and without any social advantage beyond the ordinary degree", from the Preface of his The Story of My Life (1896), I, ix, xi.

¹²James Thomason, the key figure in this dissertation, was the son of Thomas Truebody Thomason, a Company chaplain, a protégé of Charles Simeon, Cambridge divine and prominent evangelical leader, who had already sent to India T. Thomason's friends Henry Martyn, David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, and Daniel Corrie, all able exponents of the evangelical way. Brown and Buchanan in 1800 were Wellesley's choices to administer his short-lived College of Fort William (that is, as he had conceived of it in the grand manner). The Indian administrators,

of the Company, "bound by culture, economic interests and social relations", almost completely excluded the sons of working class families as well as those of manufacturers.¹³

This portrait of the social background is largely borne out by a reading of Walter Scott Seton-Karr. Himself a product of Haileybury and only three years in India when he wrote, he was particularly concerned about the ability of Haileybury to "amalgamate the somewhat incongruous materials into one consistent republic".¹⁴ He believed that Cambridge and Oxford moulded men with greater ease because the backgrounds in education, if not in family, were less diverse in the old schools than in Haileybury. He found that "the golden showers of the Directors' patronage" often enriched unlikely places so as to bring men to Haileybury whose thoughts were far removed from a career in India. Could the College, he asked, adequately prepare for service those - varying in age from "the schoolboy of sixteen to the full-grown citizen of twenty" - who were "thrown promiscuously into one and the same term"? Seton-Karr, who remained a constructive critic of Haileybury, obviously preferred those who had six to eight terms at Oxford and Cambridge, or those who came from Rugby and Eton. Then, in order of desirability

William Wilberforce Bird, and his brother Robert Mertins, friends of James Thomason, both married daughters of David Brown.

¹³Cohn, "Recruitment", 110; "British in Benares", 174.

¹⁴Seton-Karr, "The East India College, Haileybury", CR, IV (1845), 3. Seton-Karr went to Haileybury in 1840 from Rugby, as did Richard Temple. Richard N. Cust is the prominent Etonian of this paper. Seton-Karr eventually became foreign secretary to the Viceroy in 1868. A frequent contributor to the CR from 1845, he also wrote biographies of Cornwallis and John Peter Grant.

and perhaps malleability, came the "less-marked" individual from the private academy. Much less esteemed by the Rugbeian, for example, was the student who had passed the entrance examinations only by the "continued exertions of the regular Haileybury examiner". Certainly he preferred the student who had transferred from Addiscombe, who exchanged "the sword and shield for the pen and toga", to the crammed student. Lastly, he noted the "Highland youth blooming as the very heather of his native hills, and betraying by his silvery accents the land of his birth". On this group whose educational preparation appeared too diversified to the mind of Seton-Karr depended not only "the future utility of the college itself", but also the executive government of the English presidencies in India.¹⁵ Whether Haileybury was thought able to meet the challenge is the subject of the next section of this chapter.

From the above it is evident that current scholarship has seen in Haileyburians a higher degree of homogeneity in social backgrounds than did those who were, like Seton-Karr, among the more privileged as well as able students. Bernard S. Cohn, from a longer perspective, has seen Haileybury as forming the life-style of this upper middle class which found its high vocation and status in India. He has argued that as a result of being thrown together for a period of from one to three years, these men formed ties with their social peers and acquired a philosophy of life which set the tone for the civil service of

¹⁵Seton-Karr, "Haileybury", 4-5. For examples of the diverse educational backgrounds see the biographical chapters of this dissertation.

India.¹⁶

Basic to this outlook was the "official doctrine" held with varying degrees of tenacity and stated appropriately enough by Seton-Karr at a dinner in Calcutta for Haileybury men in 1864. Referring to the new competitiveness who were beginning to take leading administrative positions in India, he expressed the hope that they would adopt and hold with equal integrity the simple maxim that had governed Haileybury thinking, that Englishmen were "bound to govern India in trust for the natives and for India itself".¹⁷ According to Philip Mason, Haileyburians were also noted for "an independence of outlook, a readiness to criticize and state an opinion, however unfavourable to the administration".¹⁸ The "outspoken service" was not without its representatives among Thomasonians, but in most cases they preferred to hide their criticisms from all but an in-group.¹⁹

While the family backgrounds can be traced from the occupations of fathers and other data, the religious persuasion is not so readily

¹⁶Cohn, "British in Benares", 181.

¹⁷Seton-Karr, Speech at the Haileybury Dinner, 23 January 1864, 12. Temple Papers. This speech was reprinted in MOHC, 90-95.

¹⁸Mason, The Founders, 287.

¹⁹Criticism was voiced in private and semi-official correspondence, in journals (Cust Journals, for example), as well as in mofussil [provincial] papers, and in the Calcutta Review, whose editors offered their contributors anonymity. Was this part of that deliberate scheme of 'news-management', as John Dickinson charged, which characterized The Government of India Under a Bureaucracy? See his 1853 pamphlet under that title, 2-6, where he insinuated that "secrecy" and "mystification" was part and parcel of governance of India. Cf. Henry S. Boulderson's similar charge laid at the door of Bird and Thomason in connection with the land settlement of the NWP. See Chapter Four.

discernible. Doubtless one may assume that the vast majority of Haileyburians came from either Church of England or Church of Scotland families.²⁰ One may also assume that those directors and chairmen of the Company who held strongly to any religious persuasion would tend to favour otherwise fit sons of friends and kinsmen who held a like one. Two prominent men, already named, who were avowed evangelicals and who were in the direction if not in the chairmanship of the Company from 1794 to 1826 were Charles Grant and John Hudleston. While their influence corresponded almost exactly with "the age of Wilberforce",²¹ they may be held responsible along with other evangelicals for the appointment of many of the Thomasonians. The majority of them went to India between 1826 and 1831.²²

Cohn concluded that the evangelicals in the Direction were a small coterie who, like the Clapham Sect, "looked to a moral and social revolution in behaviour and attitudes at home and the proselytizing of Christianity overseas, particularly in India".²³ Their influence was

²⁰George Campbell said he early "preferred the Presbyterian system of my father to the episcopalian sacerdotalism of the Anglicans". See his Memoirs of My Indian Career (1893), 7.

²¹See Ford K. Brown, The Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce (1961). Wilberforce, the leader of the Clapham Sect and of the "Saints" in politics and parliament, headed the abolition movement from 1786 and died in 1833.

²²For the detailed account of the Thomasonians see Chapter Three of Part One.

²³Cohn, "Recruitment", 110.

reinforced at Haileybury itself, where Henry Melvill, considered one of the foremost Church of England preachers of evangelical persuasion, served as principal from 1844 to 1857. While the presence of evangelicals on the professional staff was somewhat spotty, the religion of the "Saints" was never as strongly felt as under Melvill, whose sermons to departing civilians were long remembered. On the occasion of the last "graduation", he said that he believed that many would in years to come "look back to Haileybury with gratitude and affection and trace to some lesson received within its walls much of their usefulness as men and their consistency as Christians".²⁴

In many cases the evangelicals among the Haileyburians stand revealed, given the lack of other manuscript sources, in the Papers of the North India Mission of the Church Missionary Society. Upon arriving at their up-country destinations they tended to link themselves with the missionaries who, after 1813, had followed the advancing military and civilian administrators up the Ganges River system. Drawn together by outlook and common general aims, some of the civilians and missionaries combined to form evangelical pockets in some of the chief centres of the North-Western Provinces, where James Thomason was Lieutenant-Governor from 1843 to 1853.²⁵ For example, the Benares division saw the for-

²⁴ For examples of Melvill's sermons, and responses to them, see MOHC, 120-72.

²⁵ NOTE: Biographical information is drawn chiefly from the Haileybury sources in the IOR, particularly the J/1 and O/6 series; from H. T. Prinsep's A General Register of the Civil Servants of the Bengal Establishment, 1790-1842 (Calcutta, 1844); and MOHC. Unless otherwise indicated, these were the sources used.

mation of such a pocket. It was at Azamghar in this division where James Thomason ('22) as collector and magistrate (1832-37) formed, with the assistance of Robert Montgomery ('28) and H. Carre Tucker ('31), the nucleus of his "school" of settlement officers. The Thornton brothers, John ('28) and Edward Parry ('30), evangelicals and descendants of the Clapham Thorntons,²⁶ served as settlement officers during the 'thirties in the neighbouring district of Gorakhpur. Robert M. Bird ('08), son-in-law of David Brown, evangelical provost of the College of Fort William, worked in the Benares division almost continuously from 1812 to 1831. George F. Edmonstone ('31), another Thomasonian evangelical,²⁷ worked as a settlement officer in several Benares districts from 1832 to 1843; Edward A. Reade ('26) became commissioner of the division in 1848; and H. C. Tucker, one of the foremost Anglo-Indian evangelicals, succeeded him as commissioner in 1852. It was Tucker who epitomized the evangelical character of the administration of that division and who led in the support of the missionary college of Jay Narain.²⁸

Other effective cells of evangelicals were established in Allahabad, where the Sadr Board of Revenue (SBR) had its seat under R. M.

²⁶ See E. M. Howse, Saints in Politics: The 'Clapham Sect' and the Growth of Freedom (1953).

²⁷ G. F. Edmonstone was a son of Neil B. Edmonstone (1765-1841), member of the Supreme Council, 1812-18 and a Director of the Company during the decade of the 1820's, DIB.

²⁸ Cohn in his article, "British in Benares", has a relevant section on the development of the missionary interest supported by civilians of the Company, but he does not mention Carre Tucker of this paper. For Tucker see Chapters Three and Five.

Bird (1831-41) and at Agra, the seat of the Government of the North-Western Provinces (NWP). One evangelical, who became a noted historian, Henry M. Elliot ('27), served as secretary to the SBR from 1836 to 1848.²⁹ Another, prominent in this dissertation, Richard Temple ('46), was first posted to work under E. P. Thornton in Allahabad (1849-51). In the Agra division the following identified themselves not only with Thomason's policies, but also with the evangelical ideal: C. G. Mansel ('26) and John Lawrence ('29), William Edwards ('37) and William Muir ('37). It was at Agra that Muir, the noted Islamic scholar, supported the Rev. C. G. Pfander in his controversy with Mohammedans.³⁰ From 1851 Muir was secretary to Thomason's Agra administration. The evangelical pocket which became most widely-known, of course, was that in the Punjab, led on by the Lawrence brothers, as later chapters will indicate.

Whereas these Haileyburians in the pre-Victorian period found little opportunity at home to demonstrate publicly their evangelical style of life, they received support while in India from an influential segment of the Direction as well as from the Haileybury teaching staff, especially during Melvill's time. Once in India, moreover, the private views of civilians found frequent articulation in public in the columns of the Friend of India, edited by John Clark Marshman,

²⁹C. H. Philips, ed., Historians of India (1961 ed.), 226. In an article of his own, Philips looked upon Elliot as "a utilitarian historian in the tradition of James Mill". Cf. reference # 46.

³⁰See Chapter Five for an account of Muir and Pfander.

and of the Calcutta Review, founded in 1844 by John W. Kaye.³¹ Nor must one fail to mention two Governors-General, Henry Hardinge and the Earl of Dalhousie, who were sympathetic to their spiritual outlook. Hardinge (1844-48) was doubtless disposed toward the religiously-activated Lawrences from 1846 because of his own experience in 1819.³² Dalhousie (1848-56) who was in no way antagonistic toward James Thomson and his disciples and friends, took a cue from one of the most ardent civilian evangelicals in the Punjab, Donald F. McLeod ('28), for his minute recommending grants-in-aid of missionary schools. Dalhousie, a Presbyterian, revealed that he was intimate with only a small handful of people. Among these were Elliot and F. J. Halliday ('25), both evangelicals.³³

³¹ See George Smith, "The First Twenty Years of the 'Calcutta Review'," CR, LIX (1874), 215-133. Kaye was an Addiscombeian (A-'32), who retired from an army career to pursue a literary one. After launching the CR, he edited the first numbers, only to return to England in 1845. In all, however, he contributed 47 articles to the first 50 numbers (there were 2 volumes and 4 numbers each year). Having entered the EICo. office in 1856 he succeeded John Stuart Mill as secretary to the secret and political departments.

While the CR was founded on "eclectic and catholic principles", it nevertheless exuded a "spirit of Christianity and even missionary zeal, due as much to the contributors as to its conductors", Smith, 215.

Marshman was the son of Rev. Joshua Marshman, a founder of the Serampur Mission and College. Father and son launched the FI in 1818, first as a monthly, in 1835 as a weekly, DIB.

³² The "Religious Thoughts of Col. Henry Hardinge" dating from 1819 may be seen in the Hardinge Papers. He experienced something akin to a conversion. For a most satisfactory explanation of the evangelical experience and "mentality", see Eric Stokes, 29-30.

³³ According to Stokes, Dalhousie aimed to be a "Christian, a gentleman, and a nobleman", Ibid., 248. For the reference to Dalhousie's intimates, see J. G. A. Baird, ed., Private Letters of Dalhousie (Edinburgh, 1910), 210.

For D. F. McLeod and Education, see Chapter Five.

The political background of the Haileyburian was without a doubt predominantly Tory, yet there were significant exceptions in the generation which went to India between 1822 and 1846. E. L. Woodward in his Age of Reform saw the political climate of this period divided by ideas and traditions into whig, tory, and radical camps.³⁴ Desika Char looked upon the Anglo-Indian administrators as having been imbued with a number of combinations of the old whig-liberal tradition, the paternalist tradition, and the reformist utilitarian school.³⁵ He saw Lord Cornwallis (1786-93) as exemplifying the first, Thomas Munro and Mountstuart Elphinstone³⁶ the second, while Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian

³⁴See Woodward, chapter two, 88ff. Cf. the Introduction.

³⁵S. V. Desika Char, Centralized Legislation: A History of the Legislative System of British India from 1834 to 1861 (1963), 34-39. Patricia James, editor of The Travel Diary of Thomas Malthus, in an interview in London suggested that most Haileyburians and therefore Thomasonians were likely imbued with the following traditions: that of the parish squire - squarson - where the small landowner was "father to his people" and where this kind of paternalism formed a micro-welfare state in the village; that of the classical tradition, which made Englishmen more tolerant, she thought, than the Scots or the Welsh; the "good-manners" tradition; the tradition of 'property', which was whiggish, and since the security of property at home stood in such utter contrast to the insecurity of it in India, therefore some like Thomason were concerned to make it secure and heritable. Utilitarianism, according to Mrs. James, was likely nothing more than a new name for age-old English practicality.

³⁶These were the foremost paternalists of the "romantic" period. Cf. Beaglehole, 4 and Ballhatchett, 36, in the studies noted.

ideas reached the peak of their influence both in India and at home at the time of the reform bill crisis of 1832 and the charter renewal debates. In India, according to Desika Char, Holt Mackenzie ('08) was among those who best harmonized the paternalist and utilitarian traditions.³⁷

If credence can be given to this view, what about that of Bernard Cohn, who claimed that Haileyburians left for India insulated from political and commercial realities.³⁸ Once in India, they attempted to establish, according to Cohn, "the idealized version of upper middle class British society".³⁹ This view has been reinforced by Francis Hutchins in a chapter entitled "British Indian Society: A Middle Class Aristocracy". He wrote:

The English created for themselves in India a social world intended to be as much like life in England as possible. . . . It was a highly artificial society, so tightly knit that it exerted a compelling pressure on all its members. It was a society dedicated to keep alive the memory of English life, hence inclined to foster feelings of self-pity and dissatis-

³⁷Desika Char, 37-8. Holt Mackenzie, 1787-1876, was one of the first Haileybury students, 1806, along with R. M. Bird and H. T. Prinsep. Mackenzie served chiefly in the Calcutta secretariat. For a recent appraisal of his career see Percival Spear, "Holt Mackenzie - Forgotten Man of Bengal", BPP (Jubilee Issue, 1967), 25-37.

³⁸Cohn, "British in Benares", 181-82.

³⁹Ibid.

faction with the imperfect replica. . . .⁴⁰

While this characterization has considerable force as a generalization, it by no means tells the whole story. H. G. Keene ('46), thinking back to the issues of Maynooth and the Corn Laws, wrote that such issues "were earnestly discussed amongst us youngsters", and looked at, admittedly, "mainly from the high Tory point of view".⁴¹

While it is undoubtedly true that many were Tory and traditionally paternalistic in their general outlook, the "youngsters" provided many exceptions to the general rule, among them Thomasonians. Before Thomason's generation Holt Mackenzie provided the most outstanding exception. Henry T. Prinsep in 1826⁴² feared that Mackenzie, following his up-country tour in attendance on the Governor General, Earl Amherst (1823-28), had returned a reformer for reform's sake. Before that, Prinsep claimed, he and Mackenzie had always worked together on "the truly conservative principle of providing a remedy for every evil or defect that was shown to exist, but were careful that our remedy should not go beyond the disease".⁴³ When Bentinck came in 1828,

⁴⁰Hutchins, 101.

⁴¹H. G. Keene, "Old Haileybury", CR, LXII (1901), 78-89.

⁴²Prinsep, 1792-1878, Mackenzie's contemporary at Haileybury, rose in the Calcutta secretariat to become a member of the Supreme Council in 1835. An "Orientalist" in the controversy involving Macaulay, he wrote history and compiled the Register of Bengal Civilians to 1842. A Director in 1850, he was appointed to the new Council for the Secretary of State for India in 1858, a position he held until 1874, DIB.

⁴³Prinsep is quoted in Spear, "Mackenzie", 28. This approached the principle that Robert Peel announced in his 1834 Tamworth Manifesto. The Liberal 'Reform' Government of 1830-34 went beyond this, in the opinion of men like Prinsep in India and Peel in England.

Mackenzie served in a willing partnership until his departure from India in December, 1830. Charles Grant (Glenelg) at the Board of Trade found employment for Mackenzie in London as an assistant commissioner. In this capacity he joined T. B. Macaulay in the preparation of the Charter Act of 1833. According to Percival Spear it was only the "violent prejudice" against Mackenzie of the Chairmen of the Direction which prevented his appointment to a governorship. They objected strongly to his financial and free trade views. As a result he had to accept a Privy Councillorship.⁴⁴

Before attempting a brief assessment of the degree of utilitarian influence on the Haileyburian of Thomason's generation, one other liberal-utilitarian ought to be noted. George Campbell ('42), when writing his Memoirs, looked back to 1830 when at age six his father acquainted him with the plight of the hand-loom weavers. He also recalled that his father, who supported the Reform Bill of 1832, was looked upon by neighbours as a "kind of mad dog". He wrote of himself in consequence: "I don't know whether I was born a Radical (having drunk them [sic] in with my mother's milk) or was made one in 1832. I rather think my nature inclines that way."⁴⁵

But mention of two liberal-utilitarians should not lead one to suppose that the utilitarian influence was considerable. In fact, a warning finger should be raised about easy assumptions of this sort. The exceptions among the Haileyburians mentioned suggest that the case

⁴⁴Spear, "Mackenzie", 29. Campbell Majoribanks and William Wigram filled the Chairs in 1833.

⁴⁵Campbell, Memoirs, I, 6-7.

for the strength of this influence has been overdrawn, just as that for the insulation from political realities, on the other side, has been exaggerated. For example, C. H. Philips wrote in 1961 that through a combination of the use of James Mill's History of British India as a textbook at Haileybury and a "succession of eminent utilitarians or close sympathizers" teaching political economy, law and history (Malthus, William Empson, James Mackintosh, and James Stephen), the utilitarian theory had a profound influence. He specifically mentioned Holt Mackenzie and James Thomason, implying that they were influenced in their land policies by the utilitarian ideas of their professors, and Henry Elliot, who perpetuated the Mill tradition of writing on Indian history.⁴⁶

W. H. G. Armytage in Civic Universities alleged that Malthus "exercised a great influence on the developed science of economics from his chair of history and political science, while his successor, Richard Jones, foreshadowed that philosophy of social revolution which the Marxists call the materialist conception of History".⁴⁷ Are these easy assumptions or conclusions drawn from diligent research?

The student concerned with this question cannot ignore the work of Eric Stokes who published The English Utilitarians and India in 1959. After demonstrating that Bentinck acknowledged his indebtedness to Bentham, Stokes asserted that the latter's ideas "were being disseminated amongst the young Indian civilians at the East India Company's College at Haileybury". To substantiate his case he quoted

⁴⁶ Philips, ed., Historians of India, 226. See reference # 29.

⁴⁷ Armytage, Civic Universities (1955), 179.

Campbell, who claimed, writing fifty years after his residence at Haileybury, that he had been influenced by Empson: 'He was a good deal of a Benthamite and I came away from Haileybury with a very sound belief in 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. It is strange that Campbell was not impressed sufficiently in 1852 to have mentioned this influence in his Modern India, in which he also wrote about his college experience. Perhaps the influence was not as sharp at Haileybury as has been assumed. And perhaps Stokes himself provided a clue for placing utilitarianism in its proper perspective. Immediately after this reference to Campbell Stokes wrote:

It would be natural to expect the Utilitarians interested in India to ally themselves with the general current of reform. . . . And for the most part they did. . . . Yet the specific influence of utilitarianism, especially that exerted by James Mill and Bentham, was surprisingly distinct and isolated from the broad body of Liberal opinion. This was not due to the much closer definition and precision of their actual practical ideas, but to an alienation in sentiment such as narrowed them into a sect in England. . . .⁴⁸

It could be proposed on the basis of Stokes' work, that Haileyburians, Campbell included, if not Holt Mackenzie, were by and large no more influenced by utilitarianism than was Dalhousie. Stokes saw the latter standing in the utilitarian tradition because he combined the two qualities, as in Bentinck, that Bentham thought ideal, authoritarianism and reform, enlightenment and despotism. Dalhousie's utilitarianism was, however, "no longer a fixed programme derived from the texts of Bentham, nor was it a set of intellectual dogmas. It was rather a

⁴⁸ Stokes, Utilitarians (1959), 52.

practical cast of mind, a strong aggressive logic with which a man of affairs could approach specific issues."⁴⁹

While Stokes can be quoted against the easy assumptions, a recent work has virtually rejected them. Imtiaz Husain, with specific reference to Stokes, stated that the arguments used to demonstrate the great degree of Benthamite influence, for example, on the formulation of land revenue policy, "are partly exaggerated, and partly without foundation".⁵⁰ The contemporary literature of Haileyburians, where they are known to have expressed themselves specifically on this matter, would tend to weaken Philips' generalization and support Husain's conclusions.⁵¹

This is not to discount Bentham's influence altogether nor to depreciate Stokes' work. He was right to point out that the East India Company was quick to appreciate "the importance of the new science"

⁴⁹ Ibid., 249

⁵⁰ Husain, 251. As indicated, Husain has shown that Mackenzie, acknowledged by Kopf as the most utilitarian of the Haileyburians, and who became the chief settlement theorist for Bird and Thomason, was very little influenced by Mill. Certainly the Thomasonian's position may be summed up as an intermediate one between the conservatives and radicals. Their evangelical identity is much easier to establish than the alleged utilitarian one.

⁵¹ Articles in the CR by John Thornton (1849), and R. N. Cust (1854), regarding the land settlement of the NWP and the 1852-53 books by Campbell have references to utilitarians en passant. (See bibliography). Empson, also associated with the Edinburgh Review, was sometimes identified as a whig-liberal, certainly as a reformer.

An example of an overdrawn case for utilitarian influence is found in the article by G. R. G. Hambly, "Richard Temple and the Punjab Tenancy Act, 1868", EHR, LXXIX (1964), 47-66. He insists, apparently without empirical evidence, that Temple's "intellectual" heritage was utilitarian and that his direct mentors were Metcalfe, Mackenzie, Lawrence and Thomason.

as evidenced by their establishment of a chair of political economy before any other institution did so. Malthus, however, the first holder of the chair, was not a utilitarian in the line of Bentham, Mill, and Ricardo. He was a whig-liberal, a protectionist by comparison, if he stood solidly in any tradition.⁵² There were others whose whig-liberal background has not been as readily discernible. One of these was R. N. C. Hamilton ('20), another James Thomason. The former, while on furlough during the critical period of the Reform Bill, wrote Bentinck that, although the opposition to the Bill was great he nevertheless hoped that "liberal principles" would prevail.⁵³

As to Thomason, this son of a reforming chaplain,⁵⁴ he may best be described as a liberal-tory, in spite of all the conflicting influences on his life.⁵⁵ While recognizing that this label does not easily fit Thomason, there is evidence in the Thomason-Dalhousie letters that both men were Free Traders, probably best labelled Peelites, after

⁵²Stokes, 87-8. Cf. Woodward, 195 and Elie Halévy, The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism (Boston, 1955), 153-4. Malthus stood on utility, as did Ricardo, but was for protection in 1815, whereas Ricardo was not.

⁵³Hamilton to Bentinck, in India, 10 May 1832, Bentinck Papers.

⁵⁴Thomas Thomason tried to influence the Earl of Moira (Hastings), 1813-23, in the direction of vernacular education while accompanying the Governor-General up-country. Richard Temple, James Thomason (1893), 29.

⁵⁵James Thomason was a ward of the Rev. Charles Simeon from 1814 until his return to India in 1822. While Simeon was evangelical and Tory like the Clapham Sect for the most part, Thomason's young associates in the private school were not so, at least not Thomas Babington Macaulay. Ibid., 25, 39. See reference to Thomason in the Introduction and in Chapter Two.

1846.⁵⁶ There is reason to believe that Thomason would have followed Gladstone, had he lived beyond 1870. Almost equally as great were the chances of his becoming as Tory as Richard Temple became. Family tradition holds that Thomason's marriage to Maynard Eliza Grant of the Grants of Elchies, Scotland, brought him into the "orbit of the Episcopal Church of Scotland whose official position demanded a degree of orthodoxy".⁵⁷ Generally speaking, however, this paper sees Thomason as a modernizer, that is, a reforming conservative in marked contrast to the westernizer who demanded radical reform.

The political career of the afore-mentioned Richard Temple took an entirely different, if more predictable, turn. While his father taught him to look upon Palmerston as "the first of the living Temples", the young Temple learned about the issues of his youthful years by attending anti-Corn Law meetings and hearing Richard Cobden speak. Hence, when he landed in India in 1847 he thought of himself as a Whig-Liberal. When he returned to England in 1880, he campaigned for a seat in Parliament as a Tory, finally becoming an M. P. under Salisbury in 1895 and remaining until the Liberal sweep of a decade later.⁵⁸

⁵⁶R. N. Cust described Dalhousie as a Tory who, sent as he was by the Whig-Liberal Russell Government, would have a long tenure. Cust Journal, 25 October 1847.

⁵⁷Beckett, a direct descendant of James Thomason, pressed this idea on the writer in an interview in London and also by letter 17 May 1969. The William Grants of Elchies near Elgin were closely related to the Charles Grants who settled at Clapham Common. From this Clapham family came Glenelg and Robert Grant, Thomason's contemporaries: Lord Glenelg prominent in Parliament and Cabinet during the 1830's and Robert, a defender of the "Haileybury system" (see below), M. P., Governor of Bombay, historian and composer of sacred poems, DIB.

⁵⁸Temple, The Story of My Life, I. Preface and page 8; II. 89.

In conclusion, while Hutchins may be partly right in thinking of many Haileyburians as those who sought in India the aristocratic status denied them at home, it is surely not correct to imagine that the Campbells, Lawrences, Thomasons, and the Temples were representative of the most selfish Anglo-Indians. They came from homes where political, religious, and economic issues were vigorously debated. And if there were Benthamites among them, their utilitarianism, even Mackenzie's, was modified by pragmatism.⁵⁹ Perhaps those people are right who say that the only definite thing Haileyburians carried with them to India was an esprit de corps.

There have been a number of scholarly studies since 1900⁶⁰ which have attempted to evaluate Haileybury's success vis-à-vis its original design. These have not been sufficiently cognizant of contemporary opinion to meet the requirements of this dissertation. The purpose here is to illustrate from Haileyburian sources, wherever possible, the educational milieu in which Thomasonians were prepared for an Indian career.

While the institution that attempted to provide the requisite education was established in 1806, the man who best stated the original purpose was the Marquess Wellesley when Governor-General of India, 1798-1805. Preempting as it were a similar design formed simultaneously or

105. The year 1880 saw him elected to the Carlton Club. The Reference is to Henry John Temple (1784-1865), 3rd Viscount Palmerston, (Pam).

⁵⁹Spear quotes Mackenzie's Minute of 1 October, 1830 to demonstrate that he was "always ready to jettison utilitarian theory when it interfered with practical needs. . . .", 33.

⁶⁰Among these are H. M. Stephen, "Haileybury", 1900; L. S. S. O'Malley, The Indian Civil Service (1931, second edition, 1965); See also A. K. Ghosal, The Civil Service in India (Calcutta, 1944), in addition to studies by Mason and Cohn.

earlier in the mind of certain Directors of the Company,⁶¹ Wellesley on 10 July 1800 stated magnificently the grounds upon which he intended to found that college which was desperately needed (but then denied him in India). He wrote:

The Civil servants of the . . . Company can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern. They are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign; they must now be viewed in that capacity, with reference . . . to their real occupations. They are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors and Governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations . . . their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteristic differences from the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, by a foreign language, by the peculiar usages and laws of India and by the manners of its inhabitants. Their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals should . . . be regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration and the dignity of their public station 62

He was convinced that "no system of education, study, or discipline", founded on the principles, or directed to the objects he described,⁶³ then existed anywhere in Europe or India.

Charles Grant, while acknowledging fully the merit of Wellesley's statement regarding educational training, nevertheless feared that under other governors the plan for the College of Fort William would not be

⁶¹ For the correspondence and the accounts involving Haileybury, whose foundation was spurred on by Wellesley's College of Fort William, see The Correspondence of David Scott . . . , 1787-1805 (1951); M. Martin, ed., The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of Wellesley, 1799-1805 (1836); Henry Morris ('48), The Life of Charles Grant (1904), 240-250; A. T. Embree, Charles Grant (1962), 194-201. Malthus inferred that Cornwallis (in India 1786-93) had been conscious of the need for educating the Company's writers. See his Letter to Grenville (1813), 4.

⁶² Wellesley's Despatch, 10 July 1800 in Martin, ed., II, 329.

⁶³ Wellesley, 331.

kept up to standard if left in India. Hence Grant was among those who built Haileybury to apply Wellesley's educational principles.⁶⁴

It is the thesis of this dissertation that Haileybury, that unique institution in both the history of education as well as that of trading companies, approximated the school that Wellesley had envisaged, given its two chief characteristics - the adolescence of its students and the prevailing patronage system by which they were nominated.⁶⁵ Derided from the beginning as "half-school, half-college" and therefore not a "fit rehearsal for the great drama of life" in India,⁶⁶ the debate about Haileybury went through three, if rather indistinct, stages. On the defensive as early as 1813, its vocal supporters nevertheless seemed equal to the challenge posed by critics until the charter renewal of 1832-33. For the next twenty years the Haileybury system appeared relatively secure, until threatened by the competitive system. Then, in the third phase, after the substitute system had proved disappointing, came the strong suggestion that the training of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) required a separate institution as an adjunct to one of the universities.⁶⁷

⁶⁴Morris, 242.

⁶⁵A recent paper on the competitive system which, beginning in 1854, gradually displaced Haileybury, reveals that that system was deliberately designed to perpetuate a hierarchy in which intellectual capacity was seen as only one of the criteria. See J. M. Compton, "Open Competition and the ICS, 1854-1876", EHR (April 1968), 265-84.

⁶⁶Seton-Karr, "Haileybury", 38. W. D. Arnold in his Oakfield [Fiction] (1854), I, 140-2, also repeated this label.

⁶⁷Compton did not consider this suggestion in his article.

Before the debate got underway, Governors-General Minto and Moira (Hastings), in their annual addresses before the College of Fort William, expressed their entire satisfaction with the preparatory training provided by Haileybury, if it continued to send out youths as able as Holt Mackenzie, R. M. Bird, and H. T. Prinsep.⁶⁸ Whatever the motive, the first attack, in 1813, was a major assault. Grenville, speaking in the House of Lords, charged that Haileybury, supplemented by the language college at Calcutta, fell far short of "the great and consistent plan of Lord Wellesley". He contradicted himself when he said that Haileybury's influence was "baneful" because its exclusive character tended to form an "English caste". For while he wanted to see more boys from the public schools nominated to Haileybury, he assumed, apparently, that the "British feelings and habits" acquired there did not have caste-forming results. In his opinion, moreover, the boys entering Haileybury were far too young, many only sixteen and seventeen.⁶⁹

The second attack, four years later, appeared even more formidable, coming as it did from the Court of Proprietors of the Company in response to criticisms lodged there by certain proprietors, by landlords whose property lay adjacent to Haileybury, and by parents whose sons had been disciplined because of riotous behaviour.⁷⁰ The chief

⁶⁸Thomas Roebuck, The Annals of the College of Fort William, (Calcutta, 1819). See pages 248-255 re the year 1810, for example.

⁶⁹T. R. Malthus, A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Grenville (1813, 38 pp. [hereafter Malthus (1813)]).

⁷⁰Malthus, "Statement Respecting the East India College. . . in Refutation of Charges . . . in the Court of Proprietors", The Pamphleteer, IX, (1817), 470-523. [Hereafter Malthus(1817)].

spokesman for the complainants was Joseph Hume, the Radical M. P., who later sent his son, Allan Octavian, to Haileybury.⁷¹

It was probably fortunate for Haileybury that the Rev. T. R. Malthus, considered almost universally as the most able professor there during his time (1806-1835), came forward in both instances to reply courteously but convincingly to the critics. This literary champion⁷² of Haileybury could not quite understand why the Company's school was made to run such an obstacle course from the beginning. In fact, he said he marvelled that the college had been able "to get on at all".⁷³ Hence, courtesy did not prevent his laying a countercharge against both Grenville and Hume. The former had been motivated to recommend a competitive system to replace Haileybury on the assumption that the charter renewal would fail in 1813. Since such failure was unlikely, Grenville's arguments hardly applied to "the actual state of things".⁷⁴ They might safely be considered superfluous. As to Hume's representation, Malthus believed he was being used as the mouthpiece of "a clamour based in interest and prejudice, or in an utter ignorance of what the college really is". Malthus made it very clear that if Haileybury had brought on England the kind of disgrace implied by Hume's charges, no profes-

⁷¹

A. O. Hume ('49) went on to become known as the "father" of the Indian National Congress. Another Haileyburian, Charles Gubbins ('28), married Joseph's daughter, Dalhousie Papers, D - 159.

⁷²From H. M. Stephen it is evident that Henley, the first principal of Haileybury, was not up to the challenge, 271-4.

⁷³Malthus (1817), 523.

⁷⁴Malthus (1813), 31, 32.

sor of integrity would remain at Haileybury for a moment, and certainly not he.⁷⁵

Having exposed, as he hoped, those proprietors and other interests which were prejudiced against the Haileybury system, Malthus argued that the institution adequately met a specific need of the English empire in India and explained why it was that Haileybury appeared to fall somewhere between a public school and a university. He insisted, from intimate knowledge of the College, that it answered Wellesley's demand for administrators trained for statesmanship more certainly than Wellesley's school would have found it possible in Calcutta.⁷⁶ Malthus considered ridiculous the charge that Haileybury developed a caste. On the contrary, residence there strengthened or formed the identification with English life. Were these young men not living "under the British constitution and seeing continually their parents and friends and hearing their conversations" and were they likely to lose "the habits and feelings of British citizens"?⁷⁷ No fear in Malthus' view could be more groundless.

Malthus then took infinite pains to explain why Haileybury had to be "half-school, half-college". He reminded Grenville that it was

⁷⁵Malthus (1817), 512-3 (italics mine). For an account of the riots about which persons professed to be scandalized - 1811, 1822 and 1843 - see H. Morse Stephen, "Haileybury", 298-301.

⁷⁶The many opportunities for the formation of bad habits in Calcutta is a recurring theme. Many young men, free from the restraints of Haileybury and home, fell into indebtedness, for example, by living far beyond their early ability to pay. Many found themselves caught up in the expensive style of life enjoyed by English society in Calcutta. See W. Lee-Warner, Dalhousie (1904), II, 254. Cf. p. 229.

⁷⁷Malthus (1813), 19.

Wellesley who had wanted the boys at age fifteen in order to meet the English fixation with health and retirement considerations. How could those interested in Haileybury, he wondered, have the best of both worlds: the liberal education of an English gentleman and the very early beginning of an Indian career?⁷⁸ If an early start prevented men from succumbing to the Indian climate, and helped to ensure retirement in England with a competence before their life's energies were spent, then the hybrid nature of the school was unavoidable.⁷⁹

Malthus acknowledged that Haileybury had weaknesses. It failed to inculcate an early identification with India. Many Haileyburians had little notion of the importance of their positions until they reached India and met their predecessors from Haileybury there.⁸⁰ Never-

⁷⁸For example, James Thomason, born in 1804, entered Haileybury at age 16. In spite of his early start in India, he succumbed at age 49 in 1853. Others, like Holt Mackenzie, enjoyed a retirement of over 40 years, after serving the Company for twenty-five.

⁷⁹Among the considerations of a career in India were the hazards of disease and death, and exile from home and friends. Cust preoccupied himself with this theme, as his Sorrows of an Anglo-Indian Life (1899) shows. At least one Governor-General, Auckland, made reference to the high mortality rate. He wrote of the "unremitting labours" and the debilitating results for the constitution: "the yellow complexion, sunken eyes, and treble voices". Auckland to Minto, 17 November 1836, see the Minto Papers, and the Auckland Minute of 26 April 1837.

An indication of the mortality rate may be drawn from MOHC. This work lists 1129 students destined between 1806 and 1857 for Bengal, which included the NWP and the Punjab. Of this number approximately 1060 reached India and realized a career lasting from a few short years to as many as forty. Death claimed 352 of the 1060, about 33 percent. This number included those whose careers were cut off by death in India as well as those who died outside of India, perhaps at sea returning to England, as well as those who died in England not having had an opportunity to enjoy the much-longed-for retirement years.

⁸⁰Cf. Malthus (1813), 19; Campbell's Memoirs, 17; and John Beames, Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian (1961), with reference to the general attitude toward India during the last years of Haileybury, 1856-57.

theless, Malthus thought that Haileybury uniquely combined European courses, including Political Economy, not then taught elsewhere, with Orientals so as to provide the requisite education for the embryo statesmen of British India.⁸¹ All that was needed was for those interested in Haileybury to give the school an opportunity to prove its value. That the College occasionally had to apologize to neighbouring landlords for disturbances requiring disciplinary action did not trouble Malthus deeply. He demonstrated statistically that the great public schools of England had long expelled students at the loss of considerable "property" to parents, patrons, and students - that is, by placing an entire career in jeopardy. All that was required to improve the discipline at Haileybury, he argued, was to enforce the legal means the College had of making good the threat of the loss of an Indian appointment. Otherwise, he preferred to see Haileybury rules modelled after those of the universities rather than of the public schools.⁸²

After Malthus, the most effective spokesman for Haileybury was

⁸¹Malthus (1817), 494-503. Seton-Karr gave perhaps the best description of the science of political economy introduced at Haileybury by Malthus. This course was initiated, Seton-Karr wrote in 1845 (having studied the subject under Richard Jones), in order to enable Haileyburians to draw comparisons between European and Indian economic and social systems. He felt he had gained considerable knowledge about the causes of wealth and poverty, the nature of land tenures, the ways in which prosperity might be increased, and the resulting social changes among the people. Seton-Karr said that Political Economy was certainly the most popular subject during his time. He concluded, however, that the practical transfer of the subject to Indian experience was limited. See Seton-Karr, "Haileybury", 10-13.

⁸²In 1817 Malthus pointed to expulsions from Harrow, Eton and Addiscombe. Until 1844, when Melvill became principal, Haileybury's disciplinary rules resembled those of the universities.

Robert Grant, M. P., son of Charles Grant, the man most responsible for frustrating Wellesley's educational aims.⁸³ In 1826 he spoke against a motion in the Court to abolish the College because of the disturbance of 1822 and the resultant enquiry.⁸⁴ (In response to the imposition of an early curfew, the students had used gunpowder to blow open the gates.) Grant took the opportunity to parade before the Court of Proprietors what he considered to be the merits of the College. He waved a sheaf of more than twenty testimonials before his critical audience. Among these was a statement by a Haileyburian, whose testimony has been overlooked. According to this "civilian", Haileybury was the answer to the pressing problem of preparing the very young for India. Since he was so clearly convinced that Haileybury was indispensable for the welfare of millions, he could only blame the vehement criticism on the existence of a prejudiced interest.⁸⁵

His position strengthened by this argument and other testimonials from committed Haileyburians, Grant dealt with the three chief considerations of parents who were fortunate enough to find a patron among the directors: What will Haileybury teach and what will the College environment contribute by way of habits on the one hand and friendships for the future on the other? He was convinced by the earlier arguments of Malthus and others that no substitute - not a university

⁸³Robert Grant, A View of the System and Merits of the East India College, Haileybury (Tract 91, Part IV - IOL, 1826) 117 pp.

⁸⁴Stephen, "Haileybury", 300.

⁸⁵"A Civilian", A Letter to the Chairman [of the EICo.] (Tract 43 - IOL, 1823) 27 pp. The writer still remains anonymous.

degree course⁸⁶ and certainly not the expedient of sending out those who had merely satisfied an examination board in London⁸⁷ - would answer so admirably, despite its weaknesses, as Haileybury. Whereas Minto (in 1810) had lacked perspective for a just assessment of the merits of Haileybury, Grant could already point to the rapid rise in the service of Holt Mackenzie and others. Besides, he claimed that such persons "very generally admit their deep obligations to the course of education at that establishment", and used statements from Haileyburians to back up the contention. He concluded, as the "civilian" had three years earlier, that 'the writers of the present day have the advantage over their seniors [pre-Haileyburians] in point of general education', and were therefore 'better qualified to enter upon the offices to which they are destined'.⁸⁸

As to the matter of friendships, what greater benefit, asked its defenders, could the College bestow than the knitting together of young men for their common task in a land which would surely engulf the "exile" except for the possibility of finding Haileyburians scat-

⁸⁶ Grant had graduated with distinction from Magdalene College, Cambridge. DIB.

⁸⁷ Notwithstanding, an act of 1826 did allow a certain number of otherwise qualified persons to proceed to India on this basis, that is, without attendance at Haileybury, but this was not to extend beyond three years, and then only to assist in filling vacancies where immediate needs lay. Robert Montgomery and Henry M. Elliot of this paper were among these.

⁸⁸ R. Grant, 22, 25. As a matter of fact, there was considerable diversity of opinion. Mackenzie in 1832 thought that Haileybury could safely be dispensed with, while R. N. C. Hamilton considered that the courses in law, political economy and history under James Macintosh and Malthus had been eminently useful to him. See testimony of former, 2 March 1832 before a Select Committee, PP, IX (1831-32), 76-105; and of the latter on 13 April 1832, Ibid., XII (1831-32), 68-78.

tered throughout the Indian Empire. Far from forming an undesirable new caste of men, the Haileybury associations would provide that healthy esprit de corps which Philip Mason found so laudable.⁸⁹ Moreover, Grant was persuaded that if that segment of the public who had elected to engage in "the hazards" of providing such a unique training school would seriously consider that it was responsible for choosing the rulers of the millions voiceless in that decision, they would support more wholeheartedly the elimination of those who proved themselves unfit. It was because too many parents and patrons were satisfied to have nominees pass, let alone with credit, so as not to lose the appointment, that associations of idlers were created and discreditable disturbances resulted.

In conclusion, on all three points, he was convinced that Haileybury provided the best possible environment - where politics was 'the art of the possible' - for the probation of youth who would be allowed to proceed to that honourable appointment with its great potential for good or evil.⁹⁰

While never entirely without its critics, Haileybury appeared relatively stable for the twenty year period following the charter renewal of 1833. It was threatened by the competitive principle only at their beginning and end. Macaulay introduced a motion in 1833 which stated that for every one place at Haileybury the Directors should be permitted four nominations. This was lost, according to H. Morse Stephen,

⁸⁹ Grant, 58-65; see Mason's The Founders, chapters 8 and 9. A careful reading of the Cust Journals bears out this point strongly.

⁹⁰ Grant, 65ff.

because the Directors were "wise in their generation", having given appointments (1813-33) to younger sons of peers and of Members of Parliament, "who were not expected to be ungrateful . . . when the battle for patronage was fought out in the legislature". As a result of political support in 1833, the Company retained the most valuable patronage since the days of the Roman Empire and became almost solely a patronage bureau".⁹¹

In the mid-forties,⁹² an able Haileyburian, Seton-Karr, writing anonymously in the Calcutta Review, gave the College a searching examination, in which he voiced the general criticism of those who had benefitted from a prior public school experience, as he had at Rugby. Himself a product of the patronage system, he was nominated in 1840 by Campbell Majoribanks, a former Director. Only about twenty-three years of age when he wrote the article, this Rugbeian must be considered seriously because of the freshness of his statement. Besides, he was a classmate

⁹¹Stephen, 244-6. The EICo., having lost its trade monopoly in 1813 and become a "corporation of place-seekers" was not about to give up patronage without a fierce struggle. This was not stripped away until 1854-57.

⁹²Also writing about this time on the subject of Haileybury was Henry St. G. Tucker. Recalling his own experience in India (1792-1815), he said the most distinguished men in our service "have gone out before the age of 18; and when they have felt a deficiency, some of them have educated themselves. . . ." Although he did not downgrade Haileybury, he felt professors were too concerned to send out "literary razors". The rough hard work in India required "intellectual hatchets". Above all he was concerned that young men "of sound principles and good understanding and moral habits, with minds fresh and pure, with frames healthful and strong" be sent out. There was very little call for "profound lawyers" or "subtle economists", let alone "deep theologians". Kaye, ed., Memorials of Indian Government (1853), 430-4.

of men like Campbell and Cust who became Thomasonians.⁹³ Generally speaking, while Seton-Karr deplored the disproportionate amount of time spent on learning Sanskrit at the expense of the "wider field of orientals" - the more practical Urdu or Hindustani, for example - and while he felt that classics and mathematics should be made to yield to the "more useful branches of law and history", he allowed that Haileybury had great practical value. He maintained that it offered courses unobtainable elsewhere, helped to form bonds of friendship "rarely severed", and provided recollections of the "pure and exalted character" of men like Principal Charles Webb Le Bas (1838-44).⁹⁴ On the one hand, he praised the political economy lectures of Rev. Richard Jones, who succeeded Malthus in 1835 but criticized William Empson's law lectures as quite irrelevant to India. He deplored the "fagging" by the few to gain a first class, and found the standard for "mere passing" despicably low, which many students met simply by "cramming".⁹⁵ He felt that Haileybury fell short of providing a "finishing" education for the "great drama of life". By way of reform he suggested delaying the civilian's departure by about three years. He would have them complete their terms at a

⁹³Seton-Karr, "Haileybury", 1-42. At about the same time an Etonian, Cust, recorded his thoughts about Haileybury in his Journal. He had intended, he said, to write an article himself which would expose the "sad abuses prevailing" in Haileybury and show "how perfectly unfit" it was for "the end in view", 24 April 1845. One might speculate as to whether Karr and Cust had correspondence at the time. Cust gave vent to his criticisms in his 1859 article, "The Examination System". See below.

⁹⁴Seton-Karr, "Haileybury", 25, 40-1.

⁹⁵Ibid., 9-17. G. H. M. Batten, a son of the second principal, wrote a revealing poem in the Haileybury Observer (HO), VI (1850), 332, entitled "The Sum of the Examination":

Some reading at night, for some precious weeks,
Some rising at dawn, at the call of the beaks,

public school and add several at one of the universities. By extending the years of preparation at home, Seton-Karr felt that Haileyburians would enter service in India at a more mature age, and hence make better officers. As it was, no one could predict how a young man was likely to perform. Since Haileybury possessed neither the "internal discipline of a public school" nor the "high tone of a university", the whole atmosphere remained too "non-compulsory".⁹⁶

Did time and circumstance change Seton-Karr's view of Haileybury? Speaking at the occasion of a "Haileybury Dinner" held in Calcutta two decades later, he appeared to ignore the weaknesses he had deplored then. In fact, the sight of eighty-five Haileyburians sharing common experiences led him to claim that Haileybury had benefitted them as no other agency could have done. "It was there", he stated,

we first became cognizant of the fact that we were members of the Civil Service, a body whose mission it was to rule and to civilize that empire which had been won for us by the sword;

Some papers on Classics, some teasers in Law,
Some in Political Economy, Hist'ry, and one or two more,
Some trembling of hands and some paleness of faces,
Some little confusion in taking our places,
Some mending of old pens, some buying of new,
Some scratching and scribbling, some sandwiches too,
Some smiling professors, and some very grim,
Some students in "Extra", crammed up to the brim,
Some opening and shutting of Orient books,
Some joyous and then some discomfitted looks,
Some "Di's" and some Parents of those men of luck,
Who've carried off medals, some of those who've got pluck,
Some wizened old Indians all in a row,
Some long-winded speeches (they're terribly slow),
Some prizes at last for the young generation -
And that is the sum of the Examination.

(Signed: Non Sum piger)

⁹⁶Seton-Karr, "Haileybury", 26, 34-6.

it was there that we first became firmly impressed with conviction that, as members of such a body, there were certain traditions to be kept up and handed over to our successors, a political faith to be cherished, and a code of public and private honour to be rigidly maintained "

He spoke of the abolition of Haileybury in the words of his principal Le Bas, as a "disruption of many ties and a dilaceration of many feelings".⁹⁷

While the opinions of Haileyburians themselves varied a great deal⁹⁸ and the Friend of India once asserted that there was "nothing apparent in the general character or conduct of the Civil Service which can be distinctly attributed to the beneficial influence of a Haileybury education",⁹⁹ the school did not come under serious scrutiny again until the great debate about the "better government of H. M.'s Indian Empire" was renewed in 1852. George Campbell ('42), who contributed three books to the general debate, and was interviewed by a select committee of the

⁹⁷ Seton-Karr, Speech at the Haileybury Dinner, 23 January 1864 (Temple Collection - IOL) 9-10. Les Bas was a great phrase-maker.

⁹⁸ Charles Merivale ('26) who stayed in England to become Bishop of Ely stated in 1889 that Haileybury had started him on his career as a life-long student. See his Autobiography (1889), 41, 46. E. D. Lockwood ('56) in 1893 recalled the great amount of partying in order to offset the "fearful amount of humbug" connected with the studies of embryo statesmen. See his "Glimpses of Old Haileybury" in Marlborough College (1893), 148.

⁹⁹ FI (6 November, 1845), 705-6. Marshman accounted for the acknowledged excellence of the character of much of the BCS by "the character impressed on them by their social position in society at home, to their previous education in public and private schools, to the high tone of the honourable feeling which distinguishes their body in this country, and the assiduity and success of Government in India".

Nothing could be so obviously biased when every good quality was attributed to pre- and post-Haileybury experience and every evil one to the four terms spent there. While the editor gradually revised some of his opinions, he continued to harp on the anomalous feature of the system - "the limited sphere of relatives, connections and friends of the Directors" who were admitted to Haileybury, 18 December. 1851.

House of Lords¹⁰⁰ wrote, among other things, that those who combined "idleness and recklessness with stupidity" were purged out - about fifteen percent - and sent to the cavalry, while the remainder went to India with a Haileybury "certificate of fitness". All carried with them a "decent education, some a very good one". He believed that Haileybury standards were higher than elsewhere and that "greater fools" were admitted to the bar, the church, and the surgery than ever got to India. There was only one problem: the incompetent, once in India, could not be eliminated as readily as his counterpart at home.¹⁰¹ In his Memoirs Campbell felt that because the Haileyburians were "caught young" and well-taught by the "wonderfully effective training in India" [presumably he meant under men like Thomason (H. C. Tucker) and E. P. Thornton (R. Temple)] they had been more dedicated as well as more ready "to take to the Indians", as Campbell put it, than those who came out at a maturer age under competition.¹⁰²

Frederick J. Halliday ('25), who became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1854, was less complimentary than Campbell of the actual training received. He placed very little value on the moulding effect of Haileybury. That "object of incorporation", he felt, could be achieved once the Haileyburian found himself in India. Before a parliamentary committee he testified that, although Haileybury failed in many

¹⁰⁰Modern India and India As It May Be in 1852; and A Scheme for the Government of India in 1853; testified 14 April 1853. PP, XXXI (1852-53), 415-33.

¹⁰¹Campbell, Modern India, 265-268.

¹⁰²Campbell, Memoirs, I. 9-10.

respects to fulfill its purpose, he agreed that, if all were to be educated in one place, the College ought to be left where it was. He favoured, however, one of two alternatives: either have youths qualify themselves in existing institutions in preparation for a board of independent examiners (as in 1826-29) or train them for a longer period at Haileybury for an examination set by persons other than its professors.¹⁰³

Many observers, like the editor of the Friend of India,¹⁰⁴ breathed a sigh of relief when it appeared that the competitive principle was about to be adopted. Macaulay, who had failed to win his point in 1833, did so in 1854. Supported by Sir Charles Wood at the Board of Control, Macaulay was asked to head a committee to draw up a plan whereby the principle of competition might gradually but completely displace the privilege of nomination to Haileybury which the Company lost in 1853.¹⁰⁵ This committee, in view of the fact that the Act of 1853 envisaged the continuation of Haileybury in spite of the introduction of the competitive principle, worked out a plan whereby admission would be "gained by superiority in an intellectual competition".¹⁰⁶ In November of 1854 Charles Wood, however, advised the Directors that, having re-

¹⁰³Halliday, 9 May 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 26-9.

¹⁰⁴FI, 14 December 1854.

¹⁰⁵See Macaulay's "Report to Sir Charles Wood" in John Muir, The Indian Civil Service (Edinburgh, 1855), 10-21. See also H. Morse Stephen, "Haileybury", 328-331; and J. M. Compton, 264. The best account of the transition from Haileybury by patronage to competition without Haileybury is by R. J. Moore, Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy (Manchester, 1966), 86-107. Wood was at the Board from December 1852 to February 1855.

¹⁰⁶Macaulay's "Report" in J. Muir, 11.

ceived Macaulay's report, he found the College "altogether unsuited to the instruction of gentlemen" who would now be coming mainly from the universities and whose maturity in years (between eighteen and twenty-three) and superiority in knowledge would almost surely eliminate all but a few who were younger.¹⁰⁷ As a result an Act was passed in July 1855 forbidding admissions beyond January 1856. For two years, from 1855 to 1857, the last of the Haileyburians, among them John Beames, Auckland Colvin, and Alfred C. Lyall, went out with the first of the "Competition Wallahs".¹⁰⁸

Auckland Colvin was at least speaking for some when, disguised as "Philo-Goldsmith" in the Haileybury Observer, he offered the following comment in his composition "The Deserted College":

Ill fares the land, where competition's ban
Has rendered each a rival - man to man.
Students may work and seek a sickly fame;
Yet what is glory? - nothing but a name!
While a bold brotherhood as we have been
When once destroyed, shall ne'er again be seen.
Old times are altered. Ministerial toes
O'er-turn a College, and displace the 'Pros'
The good old reign of Patronage is o'er -
Influence, departed; - Interest, no more -
(from "The Deserted College")

He seemed to predict that the day would come when "India's children" would lament the passing of the day "when men - not bookworms - ruled their destiny".¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷R. J. Moore, where Wood is quoted, 92.

¹⁰⁸Stephen, 330; also G. O. Trevelyan, The Competition Wallah (1866), 5-15. "Wallah" is Anglo-Indian for man, among other meanings. Hobson Jobson.

¹⁰⁹A. Colvin, in the Haileybury Observer, VIII (1856), 250-254. See also his "Elegy Written in a College Quad", Ibid., 296-299.

Competition having been achieved, the mood of interested parties changed from one of optimism to disappointment and then reassessment. Among the Haileyburians who came forward to welcome the competitives, to pick the bones of Haileybury dry as well as to rail at the principle of seniority was Richard Cust ('42). He accepted competition with the proviso that it impose a "self-denying ordinance" whereby class interests should be destroyed. He wanted to see "Trojan and Tyrian" levelled, polished by instruction, tested by examination, promoted by merit, eliminating the "fool, the dotard, the worn out. . . .(!)"¹¹⁰ Having served in the Punjab and observed that system, he felt that the competitive principle had already operated upon covenanted Haileyburians there. The Governor [Dalhousie] was strong enough "to eject every man who failed to maintain the required standard", because he had an "abyss" - the Agra Government and the native line regiments - into which he could throw rejects.¹¹¹ Then he wondered aloud how patronage would be managed when "each factory" would have to "consume its own smoke".¹¹² How would the "half-men half-boys", who had crammed to enter Haileybury and crammed to get out after "the lengthy farce" of two years, and who discovered on getting to their up-country assignments that they had "everything worth knowing" still to learn, going to get promotions under the new rules of

¹¹⁰R. N. Cust, "The Examination System", CR, XXXII (1859), 389.

¹¹¹While it was true that Dalhousie occasionally sent men down to Thomason for disciplinary training, so to speak, Cust seemed caustic in view of the eulogy he had given Thomason four years earlier. See "The Collector of Revenue in the NWP", CR, XXIII (1854).

¹¹²Cust, "Examination System", 389.

1852? John Peter Grant ('28), secretary to the Bengal Government, introduced a form of competition by making promotion after two years depend on the measure of success in examinations in vernacular languages.¹¹³

By the 1870's observers had changed their minds. Gone was the optimistic belief that the substitution of competition for the patronage system respecting the training of India's rulers was sufficient alone to meet the challenge. George Birdwood, one of the chief critics of competition, in a paper read before the East Indian Association in London, charged that the system involved an almost total surrender of "ministerial responsibility to an irresponsible Commission of Examiners" who were not capable of accomplishing the broad intent of the change, which was to secure the ablest men for the service, to "spread education throughout all the classes of the people and promote national contentment. . . ." He also charged that the wrong men were often plucked because they failed in a "paper test". He quoted Matthew Arnold who, as an examiner for a brief time, found that the men with the highest marks were "crammed men, not formed men".¹¹⁴

To support his contention, Birdwood pointed to the scholars and

¹¹³Ibid., 395. Years later Cust remarked that this article became a "counter-irritant" to a Governor and served to make him unpopular. See his Memoirs of a Septuagenarian (1899), 13.

J. P. Grant in 1859 became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The Hindoo Patriot on 21 February 1856 expressed doubts that competitiveness could ever "transcend" Haileyburians. In any case, placed beside the better military men taken into civil employ, the civilians appeared as "bargains". See M. Ghosh, ed., Selections from the Writings of G. C. Ghose [editor of the Hindoo Patriot] (Calcutta, 1912) 200-1. (Hereafter Hindoo Patriot).

¹¹⁴G. C. M. Birdwood, Competition and the Indian Civil Service (1872), 6-7.

brilliant writers,¹¹⁵ for whom India was indebted to Haileybury, a distinction "in which one would have anticipated competition [to be] more successful". He favoured the patronage system, young men chosen responsibly from known families and the great public schools. Some undoubtedly had more brawn than brain, nevertheless they all found suitable work,¹¹⁶ and the more intelligent had, in his opinion, never been equalled in the last twenty years. There was after all something to be claimed for Haileyburians who were carriers of traditions and "the mysteries of the art of man-government; they learnt them by living them". Most competitors, Bird complained, did not even know that they had to learn them [!]. Moreover, competition had destroyed esprit de corps at one fell blow. The covenanted servant who was "property", in effect, worked devotedly for the man who paid him, while the competitive was merely a part of the "great worldly government of state-craft". Admittedly, Birdwood was passionate, but he charged in 1872 that it would be more straightforward "to sell the appointments at a yearly auction outright to the highest bidder" than to expose them to the "New East India Competitive Examination Dodge Company", which was equally limited, but never as

¹¹⁵See the bibliography but also the DIB and the DNB for references to the scholarly work of John Beames ('57), H. M. Elliot, John and William Muir in oriental studies and history; the writers Campbell, Cust, Raikes, Seton-Karr, and R. Temple, to name a few.

¹¹⁶H. G. Keene ('46) made the point in 1901 that those who failed to measure up to the challenge of what he considered courses taught at the level of the university and went out as comparative dunces were not always bad fellows. The competitors on the whole may have been more knowledgeable but never greater than Brian Hodgson ('17) or John Lawrence ('29). His review of H. M. Stephen's "Haileybury" in the CR (1901) was reprinted in Here and There (1906), 89.

honourable as the old. How hollow, in retrospect, he declaimed, was the outcry against the old directors' system of nomination as a monopoly".¹¹⁷

Birdwood was not the first to suggest that Haileybury or its equivalent should be revived. Almost as soon as its demise was announced, Charles Trevelyan, as a member of the Christian Vernacular Education Society, suggested the founding of an Oriental College in London. He thought in terms of making it mandatory for public servants going to India to pass its vernacular language examinations and of making it permissible for missionaries and others to take the language courses offered.¹¹⁸

Another Haileyburian, M. Monier-Williams ('41), who taught Orientals at Haileybury from 1844 to 1857, and then went to Oxford, suggested the creation of an Indian Institute at Oxford. While he did not realize his project fully until 1883, he thought of this Institute as "a new edition of the old Haileybury College, resuscitated for the benefit of all students preparing for Indian careers".¹¹⁹

Birdwood recommended in 1872 that Haileybury be revived in connection with the new engineering college created at Cooper's Hill, just outside of London. This was founded to replace Addiscombe, which had been closed in 1861. Called to head the Royal Indian Engineering College

¹¹⁷Birdwood, 9-18.

¹¹⁸See James Long, "Christian Orientalism", CR, XXXII (1859), 298-307.

¹¹⁹For a biographical sketch of Monier-Williams, see the DIB. One of the chief contributors to the publication of MOHC (1893), Monier-Williams took the liberty of mentioning his projected Oxford Indian Institute there. See p. xxii.

was George Chesney (A - '48).¹²⁰ Three years later Salisbury, Disraeli's Secretary of State, initiated a full-scale enquiry into the method of recruitment and training of the ICS. Haileyburians in high positions, most of them Thomasonians earlier in their careers, were asked to submit their opinions. Among these were Richard Temple, John Strachey, and William Muir. Temple, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, felt that the candidates should have a common training provided for them either at Cooper's Hill or in a school attached to one of the existing universities.¹²¹ Strachey, Lieutenant-Governor of the NWP, placed very little value on training received at a university or a special college. He felt the competitiveness had too much book-learning and too little savoir-faire or self-reliance. William Muir, financial member in the Viceroy's Council, was convinced that an effort should be made to obtain the best of both systems, perhaps by inaugurating an improved Haileybury at Cooper's Hill.¹²² Thus had the debate gone full circle.

¹²⁰ See E. W. C. Sandes, The Military Engineers in India (1935) II, 349-353. Chesney was knighted and ranked as General, holding the office of Principal of the College from 1871 to 1880. For his remarkable career see the DIB.

¹²¹ Campbell wrote in about 1890 that he had had a plan "for a special Indian college at one of the universities. . . . The main difficulty", as he saw it, "seemed to be that no government would dare to plant such an institution at one university to the exclusion of the other. . . ." Memoirs, 10.

¹²² William Muir, ed., Papers Relating to the Selection and Training for the ICS (Calcutta, 1876), 147-151, 204-208, 451-7.

CHAPTER II

The Life and Career of James Thomason

In the historiography of the British interlude in India, James Thomason has been all but forgotten. No scholarly study has been prepared since 1893 when Richard Temple ('46), one of the last Thomasonians, drew his affectionate full-length portrait in the Rulers of India series.¹ Forty years earlier William Muir ('37) wrote his career-sketch of Thomason as Lieutenant-Governor. Having served him as secretary from 1851 till his death in September 1853, Muir took advantage of immediacy and intimacy, as well as access to the public records of the NWP.² While a certain degree of reliance on their work has been unavoidable, nevertheless a careful reading of the private papers of the Governors-General for the years 1836-56, in addition to other materials, has made some revision of the record possible. For there were some sources extant which they chose not to use then, such as the adverse criticism of the village settlement, with which they were faced.³

These two disciples, Muir and Temple, offer a convincing argument for the thesis that Thomason by 1843 was adequately prepared by experience and strategically placed by successive promotions to form a

¹ Temple, Thomason (1893). 215 pp. Temple had access to family papers. O'Malley in Modern India and the West wrongly attributes the authorship to W. W. Hunter, 593.

² Muir, "The Honourable James Thomason: Late Lieutenant-Governor", CR, XXI (1853), 472-523. Forty-four years later (1897) Muir wrote a Preface and saw his account published in Edinburgh.

³ See particularly Chapters Four and Five.

"school" of civilian administrators second to no other identifiable school. His varied career brought him to an easy familiarity with the personnel of the governments of Bentinck, Auckland, and Ellenborough. Because he had applied his mind, both theoretically as well as in practice, to virtually all facets of Indian administration, he had become a recognized authority in matters related to land revenue, education, and public works, not to mention justice, and the political and foreign departments. As a result, he was frequently consulted by officials of other governments and not least by Dalhousie after 1848, who was dependent on Thomason for men to settle the Punjab.

To attempt to trace the formation of a personality - thought to be the product of heredity and environment - has its distinct attractions for the historian. In Thomason's case, the formative years (1804-1822) require a look at his parentage and his wardship with Charles Simeon for eight impressionable years, and his preparation for Haileybury and his experiences there.

James Thomason was born 3 May 1804 at Shelford, near Cambridge, to Thomas Truebody Thomason who in 1799 had married Elizabeth Fawcett of Scaleby Castle. The father was elected a fellow of Magdalene College after taking his degree there, then became tutor of Queen's College. Until he went to India in 1808 to become Chaplain of the Old Mission Church in Calcutta,⁴ he was a curate in several parishes near Cambridge under Charles Simeon. James' mother, a daughter of a clergyman, came of English "country" stock.⁵ The young Thomason, the only male child of

⁴E. T. Sandys, "The Old Mission Church", BPP, X (1915), 306-331.

⁵Elizabeth Fawcett came from the L'Estrangers, the Howards of Carlisle and the Hudlestons of Hutton John. Beckett to Penner, 17 May 1969.

this marriage,⁶ and age four when his parents went to India, narrowly escaped death with them from shipwreck in the Bay of Bengal.⁷

After six years in India, he was sent to England into the care of Charles Simeon of Cambridge. Simeon was the spiritual father of a considerable number of Cambridge-educated evangelicals, among them Thomas Thomason. He was assisted in his wardship of James by Mrs. Dornford, another disciple of Simeon, who was James' grandmother.⁸ Delighted at the prospect of playing parent to young James, Simeon spelled out his role: "We shall steer the medium between excess of care, and a want of care. . . ."⁹ After taking him to the house of a Mr. Preston at Aspeden, not far from Cambridge, where James was to receive private schooling,¹⁰ Simeon wrote: "Having been shown over the house, your dear mother and myself retired with little James to his own room, to consecrate him and it to the Lord. O that it may be whilst in his possession the house of God, and the gate of heaven". Among his companions at Aspeden were Thomas Babington Macaulay and William Wilberforce. They were sons of the Clapham "Saints", Z. Macaulay and W. Wilberforce, respectively. At Stansted under Archdeacon Hodson (c.1818-20), Thomason had Samuel

⁶James' sister Esther married a relation of Sir James Stephen; Eliza Harrington T. married Col. George Hutchinson (A-'10), Bengal Engineers; Frances married R. Montgomery, Thomason's Azamgarh assistant, 1838.

⁷Temple, 26-7.

⁸She was the former Esther Truebody, a Quaker. Her first marriage in 1773 was to Thomason, mayor of Totnes.

⁹Simeon to T. Thomason, 12 August 1814 in William Carus, ed., Memoirs of Charles Simeon (1847), 394.

¹⁰See Cohn, "Recruitment", Table Six, 129; also Chapter Three.

Wilberforce as his companion.¹¹

In 1820 Simeon and Mrs. Dornford saw to James' transfer to Haileybury.¹² Equally as solicitous for James' spiritual welfare as for his academic performance, Simeon in November, 1821 interpreted a report from the Principal as proof of a "diminution of [his] excellencies", and asked: "Is my beloved James degenerating?" Was he, Simeon, to have cause to adjust his high estimation of James' work and life at Haileybury? "For my sake, for your own sake, for your dear parents' sake, I pray you correct instantly whatever is amiss; and let no young companion tempt you to persevere in anything which is contrary to the rules of the College. . . ."¹³ The Cambridge divine need hardly have worried. Although he was not the most outstanding prizewinner among those destined for Bengal, Thomason left with twelve prizes and three medals.¹⁴ He distinguished himself in Classics (taught by Rev. Edward Lewton, Registrar), in Mathematics (Rev. Charles Webb LeBas, Dean, later Principal, 1848-44), History and Political Economy (Thomas Malthus), Law (Sir James Mackintosh), as well as Arabic and Persian (Charles Stewart and Rev. H. G. Keene).

Given his evangelical upbringing and the environment afforded by Charles Simeon and Mrs. Dornford, Thomason's evangelical persuasion was not diminished by his Haileybury experience, 1820-22. The young

¹¹Simeon to T. Thomason, 7 September 1814, in Carus, 398. See also Temple, 38, 40.

¹²Thomason was nominated to Haileybury by W. Artell, motivated by his "friendship" for Charles Simeon of King's College, Cambridge.

¹³Simeon to James, 6 November 1821, Carus, 556.

¹⁴See MOHC, 55, 56 and the student lists.

Thomason found Simeon only too ready to make all the travel arrangements for his return to India on the David Scott which included sailing part of the way with him as he had done sixteen years earlier when the Thomasons left on their assignment. The godfather poured out his concern in a letter to India: "O may God preserve him in safety and bring him to your bosom as the most dear and acceptable of all earthly treasures".¹⁵ William Muir wrote in 1854 of Simeon's influence on Thomason as follows:

It was indeed one of the greatest privileges we can imagine, to have been, in the season of his youth, for eight years under the immediate charge of the apostolical Simeon. His simplicity of character and earnestness of purpose, fitted him eminently to be an influential guide, as well as an attractive pattern, for a young man, while his cheerful temperament, and buoyant spirits, exhibited religion in the most inviting aspect. Whether owing to this influence or not, it is certain that James Thomason was, throughout his life, guided by the same depth of religious sentiment, and the same catholicity, as animated Simeon.¹⁶

The youth who landed at Calcutta in September. 1822, has been pictured as a tall Anglo-Saxon, of modest demeanour, winning manners and a high caste bearing. Temple wrote:

When to this was added a thoroughly sound education, intellectual endowments and a paternal name most favourably . . . known in Calcutta, discerning persons could foresee that he would rise rapidly in life, and that many a powerful hand would be stretched forth to help him in mounting the steps of the ladder.

What Temple meant was that his distinguished academic record at Haileybury and his connections in Calcutta would promote his rise in the

¹⁵Simeon to T. Thomason in Carus, 558, 562.

¹⁶Muir, Thomason, 474. Simeon was not catholic enough in 1822 to support Catholic Emancipation. See Carus, 576.

service.¹⁷ He was the son of a popular chaplain, Thomas Thomason, a protégé of Charles Simeon, who had attended Lord Hastings (Moir) on an up-country tour in 1812.¹⁸ In short, young Thomason's entrance into the Bengal Civil Service during the tenure of Baron Amherst as Governor-General (1823-28) augured well for his success as a civilian administrator.

Assured as he doubtlessly was of an appointment, if not of early promotion, Thomason eagerly applied himself to become proficient in Oriental languages. As a result, he was pronounced "qualified for the public service" in June, 1823. Nevertheless, he remained at the CFW "to prosecute the study of Mohametan law". In December he received his first assignment as assistant registrar to the "Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlat" (SDNA). He remained at his post until February 1826, when he was made assistant to the magistrate and collector of the Jungle Mahals (estates). By November he was officiating as judge of these estates.

Before entering upon this responsibility which afforded civil and judicial experience, he insisted on being examined in Muslim and Hindu law. After giving complete satisfaction to his examiners, he received an honorarium of 3,000 rupees.¹⁹ His performance in two such different languages, Arabic and Sanskrit, was "almost unique in Anglo-Indian

¹⁷ Temple, 47.

¹⁸ Ibid., 28-31. Hastings was sufficiently impressed to invite T. Thomason to draw up a general scheme of education for Indians.

¹⁹ Muir, 474-5. This award ranked Thomason with the most distinguished students of the CFW. W. H. Macnaghten, under whom Thomason worked in the SDNA, and who examined Thomason in Orientals, was the record-holder in honoraria, having won 7,000 rupees in 1815. See Kopf, 231.

records". It was perhaps the combined effect of the exertions required for such prodigious achievements and the insalubrious climate of his first post which weakened his health. For in February 1827, he had to take sick leave.²⁰

Although this early breakdown in health was the fate of many, Thomason's biographer, Richard Temple, writing in the robust 1890's, was ever keen to demonstrate how Thomason, always a little larger than life, overcame all difficulties, how he moved up the ladder of promotion, how he came to the notice of prominent civilians in Calcutta, how, guided by his faith and his father's traditions, he made the right decisions for honourable advancement. In fact, in Temple's James Thomason one must remember that the formidable India confronting a young Haileyburian is the one Temple saw and mastered for his own advancement and not necessarily the India Thomason saw and modified by his reforms, and to which he succumbed in 1853.

Thomason returned to India in November 1828 to find Lord William Bentinck Governor-General. Because his father had come to prominent notice in Calcutta's official circles, the son could hardly have failed to meet Amherst, Bentinck's predecessor. That James drew inspiration for reforms from Bentinck, as Temple insisted, is highly probable.²¹ He was made deputy registrar of the SDNA as well as a "preparer of reports" in February 1829. By various interim or acting appointments, he

²⁰Muir, 475.

²¹Temple, 47. As this thesis intimates, however, the reader ought not to assume too much from this inference.

gained experience as judge and magistrate of the suburbs of Calcutta and as superintendent of the Alipur Jail. He was next steered into the secretariat (July 1830). Beginning in the territorial department, he was given charge of the judicial and revenue departments as deputy secretary to Government. He carried out this responsibility so ably from January 1831 to September 1832, that his "marked ability and efficiency" were noted by at least two members of the Supreme Council, Charles Metcalfe, then Vice-President-in-Council, and Alexander Ross.²² In addition, he was appointed in August 1831 to a place once held for seven years by Holt Mackenzie, that is, the General Committee of Public Instruction. There he made his first intimate acquaintanceship with educational matters, four years prior to William Adam's report on vernacular education²³ and the coming of T. B. Macaulay as the spokesman for the anglicization of India.

In 1827, having already held a judgeship, even if in the "jungle", and possessing money from his salary and honorarium, and enjoying security of tenure as a Bengal civilian, Thomason's thoughts turned to marriage. Taking the opportunity afforded by his sick-leave, he became engaged to Maynard Eliza Grant, whom he had known for some time.²⁴ She was the daughter of William Grant (BSC) stationed at Malda, a weaving centre north of Calcutta. The marriage ceremony was conducted at Malda

²²J. R. Colvin ('25), deputy secretary to Government, to Thomason, 5 February 1833, Muir, 476.

²³See Chapter Five.

²⁴Temple, 48.

in February 1829 by James' father.²⁵ This marriage to Maynard Grant of Elchies served not only to unite him to the Scottish upper class, for a member of the family owned the Burah Barony of Charlestown of Aberlour, but also to the family of Charles Grant, a close relative. Grant, who had himself been commercial resident at Malda in the 1780s, had become influential in the Clapham circle as a Chairman of the Court of Directors, as well as at Haileybury. His sons were Charles (Glenelg) and Robert, whose activities on behalf of Haileybury were in line with the views of the elder Grant.²⁶

Perhaps the most significant turning point in Thomason's career came on 18 September 1832 when he was gazetted to Azamgarh as magistrate, collector, and deputy opium agent. It appears that Robert M. Bird at the SBR and his brother William W. Bird, a member of the Supreme Council, saw to it that Thomason was "removed from the secretariat for the sole purpose of gaining Mofussil experience". Both brothers appeared to look upon Thomason as a likely candidate for either of their positions. When William Bird was asked twenty years later whether secretarial experience alone formed good councillors for India, he replied in the negative and illustrated his response with reference to Thomason: "Employment in the interior made him what he is, an extremely competent officer, who discharges his duty, I believe, with a great satisfaction to the Government and the community at large". In Bird's opinion the

²⁵1. Thomason, very ill at the time, immediately left for England to recover his health, but never got beyond the Mauritius where he died in June, Temple, 49.

²⁶Beckett to Penner, 17 May 1969; Temple, 48; also the DIB. For additional references to Robert Grant, see Chapter One; to Charles Grant, see the biographical studies by H. Morris and A. T. Embree.

"best man qualified for the Council was the man who has seen most service in most departments".²⁷

Later Thomason looked upon his Azamgarh experience as "a field of victory where such reputé and status as I had in the service was founded".²⁸ There he learned under Robert Bird what it meant to bring a land settlement to the NWP. Azamgarh gave Thomason a remarkable opportunity to form the nucleus of his "school" of covenanted civilians and to create a miniature of his later administration. He could test his power to influence "both native and European minds", to sway opinions and to exercise command.²⁹ He could hardly have begun more auspiciously than with Robert Montgomery ('28), who married his sister Frances in 1838, and Henry Carre Tucker ('31), as his assistants. Montgomery had come to this fertile district in late 1829, while Tucker arrived in May 1833. The former had become concerned about the absence of the vitalizing element of religion at Azamgarh. Hence, when Thomason, the "eminent civilian" arrived, Montgomery wrote that "his arrival with his family cast a gleam of sunshine over the whole place. He was a matured Christian, possessed of excellent and calm judgment, and had the power of winning the hearts of all who worked under him".³⁰ Montgomery

²⁷William W. Bird, 18 May 1852, PP, XXX (1852-53), 93. Bird was a student at the College of Fort William in 1803-04, and became a member of the Supreme Council in 1838, remaining until 1844. DIB. Kopf, 95-8.

²⁸Quoted by Temple, 54.

²⁹Muir, 477.

³⁰Montgomery's statement was published in E. L. "Tucker", 6. Thomason and Tucker combined to provide divine service for this "off-shoot" district.

and Tucker readily acknowledged Thomason's eminence, not only for his seniority, but because he came highly recommended by Calcutta as a man of exceptional ability and capacity to give leadership.

So successful was Thomason at Azamgarh that Metcalfe in February, 1837, as Lieutenant-Governor at Agra, offered Thomason one of three posts at the commissionership or secretariat levels, paying about £3,000.³¹ As a result of negotiations Thomason elected in the next month to join Metcalfe as secretary. Far from being persuaded to take a post alongside Macaulay on the Law Commission, his mind was now captivated by the more practical and immediate question of land settlement.³²

Since the chapters of Part Two will deal fully with at least three aspects of Thomason's official career, the purpose in this chapter is to indicate the path he took to the lieutenant-governorship and to show in part how he used that office to develop a "great official college" of Thomasonian civilians.

When Metcalfe retired from Indian service in February 1838 and Auckland personally took the administration of the Provinces, Thomason remained at Agra as the indispensable secretary in the judicial and revenue department. The exceptionally high regard in which he was held was demonstrated by Auckland's reaction to Mrs. Thomason's severe illness which necessitated her husband's temporary absence from Agra.

³¹Part of this letter of 14 May 1837, is quoted by Muir, 478.

³²See Auckland's Minute of 19 December 1836. Ross D. Mangles ('20) of the Supreme Council wanted Thomason for "every available commissionership that is vacant". See Auckland's letter to Metcalfe, 7 January 1837. Auckland Letters.

Auckland wrote:

I have read your letter to Colvin [Auckland's private secretary] with much pain inasmuch as it announces the probability of my being deprived, at least for a time, of your services. . . . I sincerely hope you will be relieved from this anxiety by Mrs. Thomason's progressive improvement, and though I shall grievously miss your assistance, I shall do my best with Colvin's aid and with such substitute as I can find. . . .³³

Aware of the high value placed on his services and pressed by this domestic concern, Thomason found himself torn between commitment to his covenant with the Company and that to his wife, Maynard, and his children. These now numbered seven in nine years of married life.³⁴ They had been blissful years, first in Calcutta, then four and a half years at Azamgarh, followed from March 1837 by service at Agra under Metcalfe and Auckland. Yet Temple understood from his perusal of a special manuscript Thomason had prepared for his wife - a depository of their favourite private religious readings - that they had made "mental

³³Thomason's indispensability was the subject of many paragraphs in Auckland letters. See Auckland to Hobhouse, 6 January 1838. On the subject of Mrs. Thomason's illness, see Auckland to Thomason, 21 September 1838. Auckland Letters.

³⁴They were James Grant (b. 1830), who went to Rugby, then Haileybury ('50), served in Oudh, became a victim of the Mutiny, 1857; Maynard Montier (b. 3 November, 1831), married twice to surgeons, Dr. John Hay, and then Dr. J. J. Clifford, but first served as Thomason's hostess, 1850-52, d. 1868; Charles Simeon (b. 1832 ?), attended Addiscombe (A - '52), rose to Major-General, Royal Engineers, became a famous piper, d. 1911; Elizabeth "Bessie" Drummond (b. 1834 ?), hostess to Thomason 1852-53, wrote two novels, The Rose and the Lotus (1859) and Gifts and Graces (?), married William Johnston ('51), BCS, NWP, d. 1864; William Stephen (b. 1835), became a clergyman and held a parish in Lincolnshire, d. 1870; Emma (b. 1837 at Agra) d. in England 1844; Rowland (b. 1838) a frail child threatened by serious illness in 1848-9. While the family believes that Rowland also went to India only to lose his life in 1857, there is no confirming evidence to date. On the contrary, Temple indicates an earlier death in England.

This family outline is based on Thomason Papers, Temple's Thomason, and family trees provided by Colonels A. D. F. Thomason and Hugh C. Gould, both descendants of the family of James Thomason.

provision for misfortune".³⁵ Well they might have, for en route to Agra the children were threatened by fever, at Agra Thomason sustained a serious injury by falling from his horse, and Mrs. Thomason had to be taken to Simla to seek recovery from illness. Finding her condition deteriorating rather than improving, Thomason eventually gained permission to accompany the family and relations to the Cape of Good Hope.³⁶ There he became convinced that he had to attend Maynard and his children all the way to England, thus breaking the Company rules regarding absence without leave. Once he had made provision for the care his wife required, and for the childrens' education, he threw himself on the mercy of the Court. As soon as he knew that the forfeiture rule was to be waived in his case, he hurried back to India via the Middle East - the "land" route - not knowing whether his wife would live or not.³⁷ News of her death reached him at Bombay before his return to Agra. There Auckland was only too glad to receive him back as secretary to the Government from 7 March 1840.³⁸

³⁵ Temple, 62-63. This manuscript illustrated how these and other God-fearing evangelicals in India overcame the temptations and distractions of "worldly success".

³⁶ Temple, 64-65. The George Hutchinsons accompanied the Thomason party. Thomason however had not made any arrangements to proceed beyond the Cape.

³⁷ Thomason's sister Esther, widow of a relation to Sir James Stephen, took care of the children, while his sister-in-law, Isabella Grant, cared for Mrs. Thomason till her death in late 1839. Later other provisions were made for the children's schooling, as well as a finishing education for Maynard and Bessie who served as official hostesses (1852-53). Temple, 66.

³⁸ See Auckland to T. C. Robertson, 22 March 1840; also Colvin to Thomason, 23 March. Auckland Letters.

Meanwhile, anxious about the material and spiritual well-being of his seven children, he wrote frequent letters of instruction and admonition, not without touches of humour. On his outward journey from England he had written from Elba to Maynie, his eldest daughter. Besides sending her a detailed "travelogue", he directed her to the Bible as the only safe guide, in his opinion, for life's voyage.³⁹ Upon receiving news of his wife's death, he addressed a letter to his children in which he conveyed words of comfort and understanding to each in turn.⁴⁰ His private letters to his children, over the next dozen years, demonstrate clearly that Thomason found his evangelical religion a constant solace. He could resign himself and perhaps even persuade his children to hold the same conviction that the call of duty under the Providence of God took precedence over the call of the family. His success may be measured by the fact that at least five of his children returned to India, the two eldest daughters in turn to serve as official hostesses at Government House, while two sons entered the services, civil and military. A third took orders.⁴¹

Thomason now entered what must surely have been the most challenging period of his official life. For during the next three years he was inextricably involved in an internal struggle for place and power in the revenue department. When he returned to Agra in early 1840, he found the land settlement rapidly nearing completion under Robert Bird.

³⁹ Thomason to Maynie, 6 November 1839, Thomason Papers.

⁴⁰ Thomason to his children, 12 June 1840, Ibid.

⁴¹ See reference # 34. Thomason Beckett suggested that no Anglo-Indian who attained high rank had time for his family. His was an all-consuming task. London interview, 16 May 1969.

Not only was the latter well served by many young men of Thomason's generation, but Bird was being pushed by Auckland to the point of arousing opposition voices from an older generation of civilians. Thomas Campbell Robertson during his three years as Lieutenant-Governor (1840-43) repeatedly lodged complaints because of the haste with which Bird, encouraged by Auckland, was driving the great project. Was the Governor-General's urgency determined by his embarrassment in Afghanistan? Did he have to seek satisfaction in the completion of a survey and land settlement to compensate for failure in diplomatic and military affairs in the North-West? Auckland was held responsible for the disastrous results of political moves to counteract the alleged Russian threat in Afghanistan and Persia.⁴² Whatever other compelling reasons he may have had, he wanted to see the settlement completed before Bird retired. Colvin, knowing Auckland's mind, wrote Mansel that no risk was to be incurred "in the early, consistent . . . execution of [this] great deed of beneficence that we can claim to have more nearly performed for the people of Upper India. Auckland wanted the advantage of "the superintendence of the officer who has planned and commenced it".⁴³ Curbed by the Court's directives regarding budget restrictions, and anticipating personal responsibility for the administration of the NWP, he earlier shared some of his frustrations with Hobhouse at the Board of Control:

⁴²From 1838 to his departure in March 1842 Auckland was preoccupied with Afghanistan, a political and military affray which also embroiled Ellenborough. See V. A. Smith, The Oxford History of India (1958, 3rd ed.), 599-606. Part Three of this edition has been rewritten by Percival Spear. (Hereafter Spear will be used as the author of this work).

⁴³Colvin to C. G. Mansel, 20 April 1839, Auckland Letters.

The operation of the resumption laws will be a rankling sore for a time and there is no manner of dealing with them other than that of carrying them through with as much strength as can be applied to them, acting upon them otherwise justly, honestly and perhaps even indulgently. Until these operations, which clog all our revenue offices, shall become lighter, our administration cannot be considered as upon a satisfactory footing. . . .⁴⁴

In addition, Auckland found himself restricted financially by the extensive remissions necessary to provide relief for the areas stricken by drought and famine in 1836-37. Yet in spite of the drain of about one and a half million sterling from the treasury, Auckland assured Hobhouse that Bird's work was progressing so favourably that there was every prospect in several years of placing the revenue system of the Provinces "permanently on a better footing than that of any other part of India".⁴⁵

Hence, seeing completion and success within his grasp in the matter of the revenue, which was primary, Auckland was determined not to have controversy hamper the work of his chief revenue officer. What he dreaded most, however, was brought about by the arrival of Robertson in Agra (February 1840).⁴⁶ The latter, faced with the imminent closing of a land settlement designed to last thirty years, thought he saw one last opportunity to place a restraining hand on an operation he regarded as unnecessarily injurious to the upper echelons

⁴⁴ Auckland to Hobhouse, 8 September and 9 October 1837. Resumption laws entailed the assessment of hitherto rent-free tenures. See Chapter Four. (Emphasis mine).

⁴⁵ Temple, 89; Auckland to Hobhouse, 3 June 1838, Auckland Letters.

⁴⁶ Robertson, 1789-1863, educated in Edinburgh and Glasgow, served in India as judge, diplomat, and supreme councillor before going to Agra as Lieutenant-Governor, in all from 1805 to 1842, DIB.

of Indian agricultural society. Utilizing his new position of power at Agra, Robertson raised objections against the resumption of free tenures, the too hasty dispossession of certain taluqdars, and the extension of the survey to the section of Benares which had been brought under the Cornwallis settlement of 1793.⁴⁷ Leaving the details to a later chapter, suffice it to add that Robertson felt that Bird, abetted by Thomason and Colvin, had used rather autocratic methods in their employment of the younger civilians.⁴⁸ A later critic charged that Bird and Thomason had nominated to the land settlement "disciples of their own school" or young men with pliant minds. These civilians, anxious to rise in the service, were given to understand, the critic claimed, that promotion would come only to those who fell into line, so to speak.⁴⁹

Among the young men indirectly accused by Robertson of undue subservience to Bird and his supporters were H. M. Elliot ('27), Bird's secretary at Allahabad; William Muir and Charles Raikes ('31), who had special land settlement assignments in Bundelkhand and Benares respectively; John Lawrence ('29) at Etawa and E. P. Thornton ('30) at Muzaffarnagar. While Tucker ('31) remained at Azamgarh until 1841, Montgomery ('28) had moved to Allahabad. G. F. Edmonstone ('31) particularly epitomized all that Colvin and Thomason expected from them.

⁴⁷ See the Auckland Letters for August and September 1840; also Robertson to Ellenborough, 15 December 1842 (E - 67).

⁴⁸ See Robertson's Minute of 15 April 1842. PP, LXXV, (1852-53), 120-6. According to Philip Mason, The Founders, 295-7, 302, it was Robertson's zeal to right injustices in the early land settlements in the NWP which had in part led to a revision of the revenue rules in 1822, as embodied in Reg. VII. See Chapter Four.

⁴⁹ Anonymous, CR, XLVI (1862), 372. Cf. Kaye's Sepoy War (1864), 153-169.

Colvin asked of Thomason: "Can you spare us G. F. Edmonstone, who might not elsewhere [as in Cuttack] have hope of such promotion? Who was there", he continued, "that was able to combine

practical experience, example and instruction to prove better than by words, how your proceedings in the NWP are so well and speedily conducted.

This is really a matter of much importance to us, and we rely on you and Bird doing all you can to send us a good man, who will do credit to you and be a light and guide to our Collectors and Surveyors [in Orissa].⁵⁰

That Edmonstone never reported to Cuttack is immaterial here. What the letter partly reveals is how the levellers, as Robertson called them, operated behind the scenes to extend their influence and smother the opposition. Before Auckland informed Robertson that the Supreme Government favoured Bird's measures and that he would be expected to support loyally the majority decision, Colvin had gleefully told Thomason that a letter would be forthcoming "which will, I trust, silence that petty fire [Robertson] for good. I quite know whom you are dealing with, his many excellencies and his few powerful prejudices. . . ."⁵¹ Auckland himself thanked Bird for his efficiency in Benares, wished him success elsewhere, and almost apologized for any obstructions from Agra.⁵²

Meanwhile, Robertson's growing opposition to Bird's procedures made matters awkward for James Thomason, who had remained at Agra in the capacity of secretary when Auckland returned to Calcutta. Ironically enough, one of the inducements the Governor-General had offered

⁵⁰ Colvin to Thomason, 17 September 1840. Auckland Letters.

⁵¹ See Auckland to Robertson, 16 January 1841 and Colvin to Thomason, 13 December 1840, Ibid.

⁵² Auckland to Bird, 31 December 1840, Ibid.

Robertson was the continuing presence of the indispensable secretary.⁵³ In response to Robertson's objections, Bird and Colvin, with the connivance of Auckland, as the correspondence clearly demonstrates, moved Thomason, from 20 October 1841 to the SBR at Allahabad. There he sat as an officiating extra member until Bird departed at the end of February 1842. This move placed Thomason in temporary succession to Bird as the senior member at the Board and clearly violated seniority rules.⁵⁴

There was another complicating factor. Auckland had begun to fear that Hamilton ('20), who was senior to Thomason and who had succeeded the latter as Robertson's secretary, might have "objects of ambition". Auckland determined to resolve the problem by offering Hamilton a judgeship at Calcutta paying about £4,200. But Hamilton frustrated this scheme by insisting that he either continue at Agra or go to the secretariat of the SBR. Discouraged, Colvin wrote to Bird: "My best hope is that Thomason may have some power, as a member of the Board to stay the spirit of mischief by which he will be busily assailed."⁵⁵ For the moment the problem was resolved by retaining Hamilton at Agra, while Thomason utilized his opportunity at Allahabad to acquaint himself with the complex revenue administration.

From this struggle for place and power Thomason emerged in a

⁵³Auckland to Hobhouse, 21 December 1839, Ibid.

⁵⁴Colvin to Bird, 13 July, 14 August, and 10 September 1841, Ibid.

⁵⁵Colvin to Bird, 10 September 1841. Ibid. While Colvin depreciated Hamilton, Auckland in a letter to Robertson, 16 September, professed to think highly enough of Hamilton to have offered him the legal post.

strong position. Bird's supporters simply shifted their support to Thomason knowing that with him lay their immediate destiny.

When Lord Ellenborough arrived in March 1842 to replace the retiring Auckland, he appeared, if anything, to accelerate Thomason's rise in the service. The new Governor-General proceeded to make Thomason responsible for one civil department after another. He had evidently heard of Thomason's fame in the service and it was probably no accident that Thomason was in Calcutta when Ellenborough arrived.⁵⁶ Even Robertson approved. "I see that Mr. Thomason", he wrote Ellenborough,

has taken up the post vacated by Mr. [T. H.] Maddock [('13)] and that a better selection on the whole could not be made. I have the highest respect both for his abilities and principles. His only fault is an occasional . . . harshness, as though for its own sake; and a disposition to govern mankind as if they were all boys in a grammar school and he the usher.⁵⁷

In early 1843 Ellenborough elevated Thomason to the "blue ribbon" position of foreign secretary;⁵⁸ in late 1843 to the highest post at Agra.

Thomason, however, had to learn patience from one more obstacle: the "intervention" of George Russell Clerk ('17). A very able Haileyburian, Clerk had served in the diplomatic-political line for most of his Indian career, the previous eleven years in the Punjab. As he was

⁵⁶Cf. Temple, 72 and Muir, 479. At Ellenborough's request in October 1841, Auckland supplied the former with a list of persons qualified to take senior civilian and military posts. Thomason's name was doubtlessly among these. Hence, after meeting Thomason a second time at Allahabad, Ellenborough appointed him to a finance committee (see Chapter Six). One appointment led to another (E - 26/2).

⁵⁷Robertson to Ellenborough, 1 May 1843 (E - 67). Thomason's authoritarianism becomes very evident in Chapters Four and Five.

⁵⁸This is Temple's term, 72. This position paid about £5,200.

to be replaced at Lahore by a military person, it was felt that Clerk's diplomatic experience made him an excellent choice to succeed Robertson at Agra. Clerk's ill-health did not deter Ellenborough from this view, for he felt that the NWP could be administered from Simla, where Clerk might recoup himself.⁵⁹ William Bird, speaking for the Supreme Council, seemed to support Clerk's candidacy. While he agreed that Thomason was "peculiarly qualified" to superintend all civil departments, there was only Clerk who stood above Thomason in the Council's consideration of the vacancy at Agra. Clerk was more experienced than Thomason in the diplomatic line. Besides, there was the matter of seniority. At age thirty-nine, Thomason was still considered too young to carry weight. Because he had ascended the official ladder very rapidly, he lacked "standing in the service". On one point, however, Clerk and Thomason were evenly matched. Since neither was of the military service, they could not meet one firm condition of the Council, that Agra should, in view of the perilous times, have a military man at its head.⁶⁰

As to Ellenborough's personal opinion, his letters at first left no doubt that he thought highly of Clerk's contribution at Lahore and wanted to reward him by this appointment,⁶¹ if his health would permit.

⁵⁹See Ellenborough-Clerk correspondence (E - 47, 59, 81, 93).

⁶⁰William Bird to Ellenborough, 7 January and 28 May 1843 (E - 43).

⁶¹After his return to England, Ellenborough demanded a G. C. B. for Clerk. He was more deserving, Ellenborough felt, than Metcalfe who had been honoured with this title. In 1848 Clerk did receive the K. C. B., one of the first civilians so honoured. Cf. the Introduction, reference # 31.

When Clerk strongly indicated, however, that Simla's air was not providing the cure he required, Ellenborough did not hesitate to gazette Thomason as Lieutenant-Governor, this as early as 30 October.

In view of the Council's recommendation and Ellenborough's alleged predilection for military persons, it was all the more surprising that he chose Thomason. But perhaps Ellenborough had learned in the intervening months, while Thomason was in charge of all the civil as well as the foreign departments, that the man Auckland had considered indispensable was more than conversant with military needs in the North-West.⁶² Hence Ellenborough, who was concerned about revenge in Afghanistan, conquest of Sind and Gwalior, and his earlier promises of retrenchment to the Home Government, appointed Thomason to succeed Robertson at Agra. Cust wrote: "The Foreign Secretary stood alone - the most distinguished of his contemporaries."⁶³

But getting Thomason to Agra proved to be almost as difficult as getting him away two years earlier. Although Clerk indicated on 10 October that he was making plans to leave India without delay, he did not hand over the government until 12 December. What transpired during

⁶²Thomason's letters leave no doubt on this matter. As to Ellenborough, he was accused by Court and civilians of favouring military men over civilians. G. Campbell, R. N. Cust, and Seton-Karr, all Haileyburians of 1842, and who wished to make their mark early, found Ellenborough's views corresponding very closely to those of Charles Napier, who treated civilians in Sind as "camp followers". Ellenborough called those with moustaches "Cutcherry Hussars". See Campbell, Memoirs, 16.

In his rebuttal at the time of his recall Ellenborough denied ever appointing military men to positions to which civilians were "especially entitled". He in turn accused the Court of nepotism and charged that many civilians were mere place-seekers. See his letter to Ripon at the Board of Control, 4 July 1844 (E - 25/10).

⁶³Richard Cust, "The Collector", 160.

those two months? Ellenborough later held Hamilton, Clerk's secretary, responsible for the delay, for as a result of Hamilton's joining Clerk in early October in Simla, the two apparently conspired to retain power at Agra by what the Governor-General called outright jobbery. Hamilton led off by requesting a permanent posting in Agra, either in the secretariat or the SDNA.⁶⁴ He was appointed to a political position at Bahawalpur, far removed from Agra. Clerk then followed with a request which Ellenborough found totally inexplicable unless there was a schemer behind the scenes. Clerk requested eighteen months leave of absence. After that he would hope to return to Agra where he promised to bring all his diplomatic acumen to bear on the Punjab whose annexation, in his view, was likely to become necessary.⁶⁵ While Ellenborough confided to Thomason that his was "a strange request from one of his rank" - to have eighteen months leave at approximately £10,000 - and that it was likely Hamilton's influence, he wrote to Clerk voicing some consternation:

What you suggest we have no power to allow - and I must frankly tell you that no part of the Indian system seems to me to be more full of abuse . . . than that which permits men to retain office for a long period of which they are unable from absence to perform their duties . . . In this system originates the long train of officiating employments replete with job and inefficiency, the restlessness of men always desirous to move for the advantage of higher salaries . . . I would strike at the root of the whole, and henceforward make the good of the Service and the interest of the incumbent the sole rule . . .⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Hamilton to Ellenborough, 10 October 1843 (E - 59). Clerk supported this request with his own note.

⁶⁵ Clerk to Ellenborough, 9 and 11 November 1843, Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ellenborough to Clerk and to Thomason, 19 November 1843 (E - 93). Whereas Clerk was immediately apologetic and admitted that under Thomason the NWP would be "fitly provided for", he voiced the fear that the

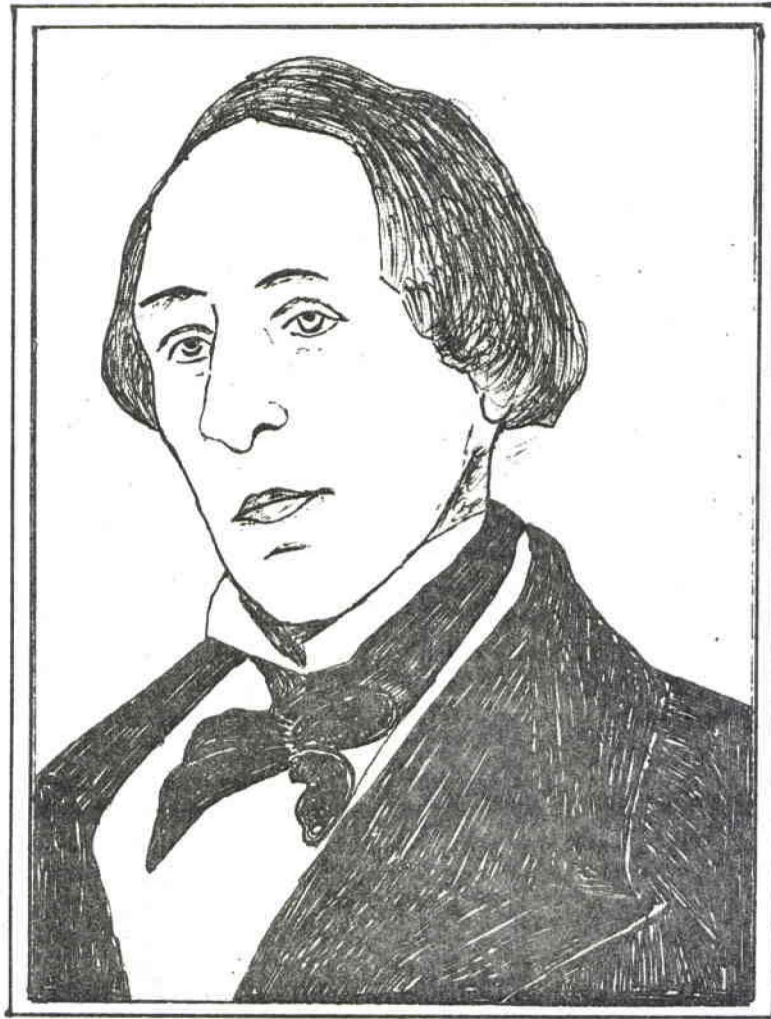
If Ellenborough ever had doubts about the appointment of Thomason they were erased by what appeared to be this scheming on the part of Hamilton and Clerk. Although these two civilians seemed to side with Robertson against the levellers, there appears to be no clear evidence that this collusion was connected with the struggle for power and place in 1840-42. In any case, all obstacles were finally cleared away and Thomason took office on 12 December 1843 at a salary of 7,000 rupees per month.⁶⁷

This account would not be complete without demonstrating in what ways Thomason may be seen as the first of a new kind of lieutenant-governor. For one thing, he accepted the lieutenantancy without reservations. In this respect he differed from most of his predecessors at Agra. Unlike Metcalfe (April 1836 - February 1838) and Robertson (February 1840 - March 1843) who considered their acceptance of this appointment as a degrading step from membership in the Supreme Council,⁶⁸ Thomason, quite otherwise, took it as an opening in which to exercise his maturing purposes on a broad scale. For him it was an advancement, an opportunity to continue Bird's policies in the land settlement, and

"officiating system" would not be curtailed. Yet he himself was prepared to perpetuate it for his self-interest. Ellenborough fortunately put this behaviour down to Clerk's illness.

⁶⁷This meant 84,000 Rs. annually, or £8,400, plus personal staff and establishment charges of another £1,320 a year: in effect nearly £10,000 a year. Metcalfe had received a total income of £12,000. Dharma Bhanu, History and Administration of the NWP, 1803-1858, (Agra, 1955), 137.

⁶⁸Agra as a Presidency resembling Madras and Bombay lasted from 11 November 1835 to 29 February 1836. That is, the change to a lieutenantancy was effected only one month before Metcalfe was persuaded to take the position. See Introduction to Part Two.



James Thomason

A likeness of James Thomason, from the official photograph, taken after he became Lieutenant-Governor in 1843

Sketched from a xerox copy of the print in H. V. Hampton, Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education (Oxford U. P., Madras, 1946)

moreover, to implement his plans for education and irrigation which will be the subject of later chapters. Whereas Robertson and Clerk⁶⁹ who had both seen diplomatic service, the former in Burma and the latter at Lahore, complained about the reduction of the establishment from Metcalfe's tenure or the restrictions under the imperious Ellenborough on their influence in diplomatic concerns, Thomason quietly co-operated with his chief, yet used his powers to their fullest extent. What others demanded as their just due Thomason got gratuitously - recognition as a valuable consultant, wide patronage powers, and freedom to exercise virtually alone vast power in the civil sphere. He did not stop to haggle, or to set conditions. In other words, Thomason accepted the position with its status, emoluments and involvements as Auckland and Ellenborough had re-constituted it.⁷⁰ By giving service he gained respect. His subordinates gained his respect and received considerable powers by the convincing argument, which Thomason understood, of service ungrudgingly and efficiently given. When Thomason died the Court remarked on this characteristic as follows:

He inculcated and maintained discipline in the public service by the discernment with which he observed and rewarded merit, by a rare union of conciliation and firmness, by uniform kindness and courtesy to those below him, and by his own marked example of deference to superior authority.⁷¹

⁶⁹Clerk "filled" the office from about May to December, never really taking up residence at Agra. Nothing seemed to satisfy his desire for recognition of his diplomatic services on the NW Frontier.

⁷⁰For an historical account of the evolution of the Agra Presidency see Bhanu, 98-164. The objections raised by Metcalfe, Robertson and Clerk, to which Auckland and Ellenborough addressed themselves, were so far resolved that Thomason had the advantage of their clarification.

⁷¹Quoted by Temple, 190.

Another reason for viewing Thomason as the first of a new pedigree of lieutenant-governors lies in the fact that he had nearly ten years in which to exercise alone, unencumbered by a council, or a board, uninterrupted largely by political anxieties - or even daily domestic cares - the power of a civil governor intent on reform. Temple wrote: "He was able to think daily from morn until eve on what could be done for improving and elevating the condition of the Natives both mentally and physically. He firmly believed in the possibility of such improvement among all classes. . . ."⁷² He took John Thornton ('28), who had been his assistant briefly at Azamgarh as his secretary (1843-1851). Thornton was one of the key settlement officers, who managed to despatch Thomason's enormous official correspondence with efficiency. Together they consolidated Thomason's hold on the settlement and implemented his closely-related policies of education and irrigation. The younger men, of Thornton's age group, easily shifted their allegiance from Bird at Allahabad to Thomason at Agra. For whereas the former gave ten years of stability and continuity in the land reform, the latter provided a decade of the same for the whole administration of the Provinces. With this in mind, Dalhousie eulogized Thomason at his death:

Conspicuous ability, devotion to the public service, conscientious discharge of every duty have marked each step of his honourable course; whilst his surpassing administrative capacity, his extensive knowledge of affairs, his clear judgement, benevolence of character, suavity of demeanour have adorned and exalted the high position he was wisely selected to fill.⁷³

His ability was so marked that members of both Commons and Lords Select Committees in 1853 questioned their witnesses closely about the advis-

⁷² Temple, 96-97.

⁷³ Dalhousie's statement of 3 October 1853 quoted by Temple, 188.

ability of giving so much power to one man. Should he not have had a council as did the governors of Madras and Bombay? The consensus seemed to be in the negative. In answer to a pertinent question from Joseph Hume, Marshman responded - speaking for many people - that a governor like Mr. Thomason would be "universally preferred" to one sent out from England, who usually began in ignorance of Indian affairs, and therefore required experienced councillors to advise him. Why wait, Marshman wondered, until a man needed to be rewarded for thirty years' service? Did not Thomason's tenure indisputably demonstrate the value of placing "the ablest man", even if only thirty-nine, in such a post, "unfettered by a Council" and hence not subject to a "premature removal"?⁷⁴

Another criticism levelled at Thomason's one-man rule at the time was that he had violated the principle of seniority. But F. J. Halliday ('25) before the same Select Committee defended Thomason by insisting that the famous Lieutenant-Governor believed that, although seniority should properly govern promotion, considerations of exceptional ability should never be ignored. Halliday then suggested that "jobbery" was probably greater where merit was the only criterion than where seniority was the rule and merit the exception.⁷⁵

One of the ways in which Thomason achieved his ascendancy over his civilians was by "marching" through the thirty-two districts in his jurisdiction. During eight "cold" seasons, he lived under canvas. By this means he visited most districts at least three times during his

⁷⁴Marshman, 12 May 1853. PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 54-65.

⁷⁵Halliday, 9 May 1853. Ibid., 33-38.

tenure. Temple remarked on the invaluable contacts that Thomason made with the people, the decisions reached and problems straightened away in consultation with his covenanted subordinates, and the "refreshment of spirit and the physical invigoration" afforded by these tours. On Sunday his camp would be hushed until the gong sounded the call for "divine service" which Thomason conducted himself, when no missionary or clergyman was present. William Muir, who travelled with Thomason, remarked that his chief "possessed a rare power of discriminating character" in his subordinates. The officer who tried to hide weaknesses in his district "would find himself foiled by one whom he counted upon as a stranger to his business, but who turned out to be more thoroughly acquainted with its details than himself". On the other hand, the "earnest worker, and the aspiring subordinate, were recognized and encouraged". Temple wrote that while the importance of travelling through the country had been recognized by every ruler of India, Thomason "accomplished it more completely, more systematically", certainly more effectively than any Anglo-Indian governor.⁷⁶

Thomason managed to augment his authority by the judicious use of every kind of hospitality. Anyone coming to serve in any capacity went away fully informed of the Lieutenant-Governor's views and aims and inspired by his zeal. Temple wrote from personal experience: "Young men, almost youths, just arrived from England would be impressed by his gracious kindness in a strange land, and fell at once under the spell of his influence."⁷⁷ While the older generation "rendered official obedience",

⁷⁶ Temple, 102-113; Muir, 483.

⁷⁷ John W. Sherer ('46), for some years an assistant in the Agra

the newcomers, "the freshmen, so to speak, in the great official college, became his zealous disciples". Eventually, of course as Temple observed, because "public life advances with rapid strides in India, the younger men soon became the seniors and leaders, so by degrees he found himself possessing influence over all alike."⁷⁸ This becomes more understandable when allowance is made for the very considerable patronage powers Dalhousie gave Thomason. In early 1853 he indicated that Thomason could comb the entire Indian field, including the other presidencies, for civilians and uncovenanted officers "on his own authority" referring only the cases of military men to the Government.⁷⁹ Their correspondence for the years of their close association, 1848-53, revealed the constant, sometimes agonizing search for the Thorntons and Edmonstones to replace those who retired, were stricken by illness or taken for the Punjab.

Did Thomason use religion as a criterion for the selection of his officers? If not, why is it that most of the identifiable Thomasonians held evangelical views roughly similar to his own? Marshman in his obituary of Thomason voiced the opinion that the man they all mourned had occasionally, in his selection of subordinates, been unconsciously influenced "by a prepossession in favour of those who openly professed

secretariat, described the Government house parties as "excellent". Thomason kept up appearances, "his horses and carriages were excellent" and his A.D.C. a "capital manager". Temple, 123, 134. Not everyone was impressed. While Sir Henry Hardinge in his rare mention of Thomason's name thought him "calm and collected", his son Arthur thought Thomason appeared as a tall "miserable-looking man", but one who did his work conscientiously. See E - 21/7 and Arthur's letter home, 21 October 1845, Hardinge Papers.

⁷⁸ Temple, 118.

⁷⁹ Dalhousie to Thomason, 29 January 1853 (D - 83).

his own deep religious feeling". Marshman suggested that "though this never induced him to select an incompetent officer, it sometimes diminished his dislike of palpable mediocrity".⁸⁰ Perhaps the editor of the Friend of India need not have been guarded in his statement. Although it is safe to say that many convinced evangelicals were able men, there is not much doubt that religious affinity facilitated the formation of the Thomasonian, as well as the Punjab, school of officers. For example, Thomason's link with William and Robert Bird has been shown. They were sons-in-law of David Brown, a Simeon evangelical and friend of Thomas Thomason, the father of James. They had a hand in promoting Thomason's advancement at Azamgarh, Agra, Allahabad, and back to Agra as the civil governor.⁸¹ Montgomery and Tucker, Thomason's disciples at Azamgarh, were evangelicals. Another interesting evangelical connection was forged by Thomason's close association with Henry Lawrence. The latter had been loaned from the Horse Artillery, in order to assist Bird in the rapid completion of the survey (1833-38). The essential link was supplied by the coming to India of Honoria Marshall, who was engaged to be married to Lawrence. While in Calcutta she stayed with Eliza Thomason Hutchinson, Thomason's sister. Of her Honoria wrote: "She is a daughter of Thomason, Henry Martyn's friend, and her brother James is an intimate of my Henry's". Later the Lawrences stayed at Allahabad with Robert and

⁸⁰ FI. 13 October 1853, a leader article.

⁸¹ Temple quotes Thomason's version of one of the religious discussions he had with Robert Bird. While they had "long been intimate", this was one occasion on which Bird had been particularly communicative about the concerns of "another world". Yet they had discussed mainly how best to "carry out . . . Christian principles into our daily walk as public servants . . .", 71-2.

Frances Montgomery.⁸² Not only did Thomason and Montgomery have a decisive influence in shaping Henry Lawrence's opinions, (for example, regarding civil administration in India), they undoubtedly found that frictions caused by differences over policy were considerably reduced by recognition and identity of religious interests and motives.

Of Thomason's deep religious faith and evangelical habits - Bible reading, prayers, support of missionary work - there was no doubt. While he seemed to hold a policy of neutrality without indifference in matters of religion, his basic convictions could not help but reinforce the general evangelical tenor of his chief subordinates and their underlings.⁸³ His personal Christian outlook was manifested in letters to children and their guardians. For example, when the Punjab was annexed, he expressed the fear to Mrs. Oldfield that the Indian interest would fall off because "the quiet operation of peace" would arouse no excitement at home. Yet it was the prospect of peace which challenged him to address himself by "unostentatious labour . . . to this country which God has placed into our hands". To Mrs. Oldfield he continued:

For its right performance we no less require the best wishes and

⁸²See H. B. Edwardes and H. Merivale, The Life of Henry Lawrence, I. (1872), 120-163. Just as Honoria relied heavily on Thomason's two sisters, Eliza and Frances, so Henry relied on Thomason to a considerable degree. Henry Lawrence's dependency on Bird and Thomason has been overlooked. See note #6.

[Members of the Thomason family living today drew the writer's attention to the fact that Jane Georgiana Hutchinson, daughter of Eliza and George Hutchinson, married Rev. Algernon Sidney Grenfell, of whom came Wilfred Thomason Grenfell, the famous missionary to Labrador. See James Johnston, Grenfell of Labrador, (Toronto, n.d.), 15-17.]

⁸³Temple wrote in 1881, in Men and Events, that "his Christian example . . . had an influence which was not the less potent from being indirect", 43.

prayers of our fellow countrymen than for protection in the day of battle or for deliverance from a threatening enemy. Do not think because we less prominently figure in the public eye, the Christian duty of . . . intercession may be safely laid aside. We have all a great duty here to perform. Our friends must not forget that we have a constant struggle to maintain against the powers of evil in their . . . most malignant form, and that in opposition we have to show forth God's glory and to prevent his holy name and religion from suffering . . . reproach.⁸⁴

And William Muir, his secretary from 1851, wrote of Thomason's religious bent as follows:

"However engrossing the claims of the State, those of his God were paramount, and it was just by a daily subjection of heart to the principle of the Gospel, and by honouring supremely the claims of his Maker, that he was enabled so efficiently to discharge his duty toward his earthly master and sovereign.⁸⁵

The covenanted civilians in the Provinces, who generally shared Thomason's religious convictions, needed only to recall his elevation to civil power and observe the fact of Dalhousie's solid support to know that it was the better part of wisdom to implement his reforms. Certainly what was accomplished in the NWP and the Punjab, particularly during Hardinge's and Dalhousie's terms, reflected Thomason's policies in land and education. As subsequent policy chapters will show, Thomason aimed to give good government for the general elevation of the "lower-middle and poorer sections of the community".⁸⁶ But his contemporaries viewed his reforms from differing perspectives. The negative critics could not really surface until after the Mutiny. For example, on the question of the treatment of the taluqdars - the "feudal barons" - both Patrick Carnegie and Temple viewed Thomason as consistent. They found themselves,

⁸⁴ Thomason to Oldfield, 14 June 1849, Thomason Papers.

⁸⁵ Muir, 520.

⁸⁶ FI, 13 October 1853.

however, on opposite sides. Carnegy looked on Thomason and his disciples as a "cloven foot" whose effects were all too disastrous for the native gentry.⁸⁷ On the other side, Temple looked on Thomason as one consistently "bent on progress and improvement" and saw no great "spirit of innovation" in him. Thomason's instinct was "to conserve", to adopt the old institutions of the Mughal emperor as his "starting point".⁸⁸ Therefore he preferred to stabilize the village communities rather than consolidate the exploitive taluqdars.

In educational questions he resisted the imperialist Ellenborough, who was basically against any European education which might instil liberal ideals, and the anglicizers - Trevelyan ('25), Macaulay, and Bentinck. When he systematically explored and implemented a plan of education for those benefitting from the land reform of 1833, he looked for vernacular models. Hence he found the views of Brian Hodgson and W. Adam⁸⁹ more helpful than those of the proponents of English education even though the latter were his friends, if not intimates.⁹⁰

⁸⁷Patrick Carnegy, "The Talookdaree Tenure of Upper India", CR, XLIII (1865). 160.

⁸⁸Temple, 126, 170-4. To use Kopf's terminology, this is "modernization" rather than "westernization". See Chapter Four.

⁸⁹Brian Hodgson attempted to refute the arguments of the anglicists in letters to the FI between 1835 and 1848. See D. P. Sinha, The Educational Policy of the EICo. in Bengal to 1854. (Calcutta, 1964), 264-6. See also Kopf, 251-2. For Clerk's support of vernacular education and Adam's Reports, see Chapter Five.

⁹⁰See T. B. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism (New York 1940), 59-130. Thomason served on the Committee of Public Instruction from August 1831 to September 1832, but the writer has no evidence to indicate conclusively what Thomason thought of the dispute involving friends. Nor does Kopf's study provide any help on this point.

The exceptionally high regard in which Thomason was held may be seen from his unanimous appointment by the Court, seconded warmly by Sir Charles Wood at the Board, as Governor of Madras. The Queen signed the proclamation at Balmoral on the day of Thomason's death, 27 September 1853. Marshman commented that for once the home authorities had done their duty in the selection of a governor. Instead of an "effete" politician or "Liberal Conservative" peer, they had honoured a man on the basis of ability alone. For Thomason "could not command a vote"; he was not "the relative of a 'rising man' or the heir of a party prepossession, an Indian Governorship". What Madras needed was one capable of reorganizing the revenue administration and of giving more than "a string of broken promises in education". Thomason had succeeded in the Provinces because he had not thought of himself as the equal of the Governor-General, as the governors of Madras and Bombay almost invariably did, and failed.⁹¹

Space does not permit reproduction of Marshman's eulogy of Thomason in his leader article. If there was a defect in an otherwise "spotless character", the editor suggested, it was that he attempted "to stand well with every one" in order to avoid offence. In other words, to Dalhousie his leniency seemed inconsistent "with his heavy responsibilities". Eighteen months earlier Marshman had commented on the suggestion in a Calcutta paper that "Lord" Thomason be canonized as a "saint". While the Baptist editor allowed that the title "Lord" was applicable to one whose government had been "so successful and

⁹¹Marshman, 12 May 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 54-65. See Lee-Warner, Dalhousie, II. 252.

distinguished", he feared that any canonization attempt would be premature and dangerous. Even if the appropriate and necessary prelates could be found, he knew there were critics who would immediately come forward to apply for the honour of serving as devil's advocate.⁹²

William Muir expressed the view in 1893 that he still regarded Thomason as "the best of Rulers it has been my lot to be associated with". Himself Lieutenant-Governor of the NWP from 1868 to 1874, and associated intimately with his peers John Colvin, Robert Montgomery, D. F. McLeod, John Lawrence, G. F. Edmonstone, R. Temple, and John Strachey throughout his long career, Muir wrote that his conception of this "wise and illustrious" Governor, who had been his faithful friend from 1831 to 1853, had "only been heightened by the lapse of time".⁹³

Richard Cust in 1854 echoed the sentiments of Muir, Marshman and many other contemporaries when he penned these lines anonymously in the Calcutta Review:

[Thomason] may not have had the political skill and vigour which had characterized Hastings and Elphinstone, nor would he have brought order out of chaos, and converted a rebellious kingdom into thriving provinces, so soon as this has been done by the Punjab Board. Not so great in public estimation as Metcalfe, but in something greater; not so popular as Clerk, but more deserving to be loved; he has left us better things than the frothy declamations of Napier, the songs of triumph of Ellenborough, or the carnage-bought victories of Gough. All around him was war, but he calmly worked out his schemes of improvement, and showed that peace has her victories no less renowned than those of war.

Some achieve greatness; he was both great and good, an example to the servants of Government, that great ability can

⁹² FI, 13 October 1853 and 1 April 1852.

⁹³ Muir to Temple, quoted by the latter in his Thomason (1893), 193. Cf. Preface to Muir's 1897 edition of his career-sketch, 14.

be united to purity and religion, that success in this world need not steel the heart to the concerns of the next. To enumerate his actions would be to notice every improvement for the last ten years in these provinces, for he could combine wisdom and sound views with the most intimate detail. Amidst the glitter of tinsel of the modern great, it was grateful to find something solid to rest on. He was greater because untitled, and because undecorated, he appears the more distinguished, for he had not been degraded by knighthood; but when the question of the Government of a great dependency [Madras] was agitated in the senate, his actions alone [in 1853] obtained universal praise: his administration alone stood the test of inquiry.

In the midst of applause he died.⁹⁴

This was the leader that men like Muir and Temple served and then memorialized. They were not surprised to find that his knowledge and acumen, combined with his administrative capacity and support from the highest echelons of government, were sufficient to give him the ascendancy he required to form a school of civilians. Their view has been more than borne out, particularly by the private correspondence of Auckland, Ellenborough and Dalhousie.

⁹⁴ Cust, "The Collector", 160-161. Cust seemed to use the word "grateful" in the sense of gratifying.

CHAPTER III

The Thomasonians in Northern India

The purpose of this chapter is to bring out of relative obscurity those who were, as Temple said, "brought up in the great official college of the North-Western Provinces". In 1893 Temple listed the following as Thomasonians. Foremost was John Lawrence, "who thoroughly agreed with Thomason's principles and ideas". Others who became famous as "rulers" were Robert Montgomery, William Muir, George Edmonstone, Donald McLeod, John Strachey, Henry Davies ('44), George Campbell, and John Henry Morris ('47). Thomasonians of lesser fame, in Temple's view, included H. Carre Tucker, John Thornton, and his brother Edward Parry, who trained Temple, George Barnes, Charles Raikes, and Richard Cust.¹ R. Bosworth Smith added Edward A. Reade and Charles G. Mansel.² Trained first under Bird and Thomason, they became prominent in mofussil, the Agra secretariat, and at the SBR. Dalhousie hand-picked many of them in 1849 for the settlement of the Punjab.

Since it was Temple, the biographer of both Thomason and Lawrence, who drew up the list, it struck this writer as most remarkable that Mark Naidis, in a recent article could completely omit Thomason's name.³ Those who have seen the Dalhousie-Thomason correspondence,

¹Temple, Thomason, 101.

²Bosworth Smith, I, 99, 101.

³Naidis, "Punjab System", 38-46.

could not help but conclude that Naidis missed completely the chief link in the chain of command between the NWP and the Punjab. Notwithstanding Robert Bird's justly-acclaimed contribution to the training of Lawrence, Temple, Cust, Montgomery, Campbell, Raikes, McLeod, Mansel and Edmonstone, it is surely erroneous to say that it was "no accident that the above-named men had all served previously in the North-Western Provinces" without acknowledging Thomason's role in that training, particularly when Temple, Cust, and Campbell arrived in India after Bird left.

Nor is it satisfactory to insist, as Naidis does, that "the extraordinary quality of the men who served in the Punjab school may best be attributed to the attraction of Henry Lawrence's personality and the sagacity of Lord Dalhousie".⁴ There is no doubt that Henry from 1846 to 1849 was the foremost person at Lahore in his role as Resident. He did form a school of military-political officers whose exploits captivated the imagination of his countrymen both in India and at home. Nonetheless, it is clear that Henry's role and that of his school in the Punjab drama has been grossly overplayed from the time of the Mutiny.⁵ Naidis' statement simply does not begin to explain the true nature of Dalhousie's relationship with the Lawrence brothers in early

⁴Ibid., 41, 45.

⁵P. Spear, India, 656. Spear, who has a fairer appreciation of the proportionate emphasis to be given Henry and John, explained how the Punjab school acquired its own ethos: "Through the facts of its foundation by one Governor-General, the elevation of its head [J. L.] to be another, its inspired publicity [from H. Lawrence to Kipling], the strategical importance of the province and its physical relation to the summer capital [Simla], acquired an influence and reputation out of all proportion to its numbers". [With regard to Simla, see J. Morris, Pax Britannica (1968), 257-80].

1849. Although he recognized the merits and contribution of Henry Lawrence, Dalhousie actively sought the co-operation of James Thomason in order to inaugurate a new regime of his own. This chapter for the first time attempts to show just how Thomason ought to be seen vis-à-vis the Punjab.

While a look at the administrative policies is reserved for Part Two of this dissertation, this chapter is an attempt to present the personnel - the Thomasonians - in perspective. Selected to illustrate their influential position in the Provinces and the Punjab are fifteen Haileyburians, two "competitives", and one Addiscombian, Henry Lawrence, Thomason's friend.⁶ The first five - Reade, Tucker, Raikes, Campbell, and Cust - to use Campbell's phrase, never stumbled into the secretariat.⁷ The next three, Edwards, Muir, and John Thornton, served as secretaries for Thomason. Henry and John Lawrence, also Mansel, must be seen in the context of Dalhousie's decision to create the Punjab Board. Elliot, a competitive of the year 1827, assisted in the introduction of the Punjab settlement, while Montgomery, who passed the competitive examination after receiving training at Addiscombe, also

⁶Not all those named by Temple have been included. For the purpose of this paper Strachey, Davies and Morris have been dropped, while H. M. Elliot and William Edwards have been added. Robert Bird's career will find fuller treatment in Chapter Four, also the conservatives Robertson and Boulderson.

⁷Campbell, who reached the position of lieutenant-governor, without ever working in the secretariat, thought that "most men who are at all to the fore make a beginning in the secretariat pretty early in the service, but I never stumbled into that. . . ." He was only partly right. Of ten Haileyburians mentioned in this paper who achieved that high office, only half of them "stumbled" into the secretariat: Thomason, Colvin, Muir, F. J. Halliday and Temple; while Edmonstone, Lawrence, Montgomery and McLeod remained "exclusively in the line", that is, the mofussil. Memoirs, I, 16. (Emphasis mine).

served on the Board. The remainder - Edmonstone, McLeod, E. P. Thornton, Barnes and Temple - made significant contributions not only to the consolidation of Thomason's system in the Provinces but also more than others to its introduction into the Punjab.

Reade and Tucker spent almost their entire careers in the division of Benares.⁸ It was in this division that Robert Bird, Thomason, Edward Thornton, Robert Hamilton, Edmonstone and others first learned their settlement work.

Edward Anderton Reade ('26)⁹ went to Haileybury from Chichester school. From 1829 until 1854 he remained in the Benares division, never far from the influence of Bird and Thomason.¹⁰ Reade's identity as a Thomasonian was revealed in a publication entitled Contributions to the 'Benares Recorder'. At Thomason's prompting he forwarded these pieces of 'harlequin crockery', as he called them, for publication in the local paper. One told the story of a Benares hospital which William and Robert Bird had helped to found. Another dealt with Jay Narain's College and Free School to which many Thomasonians contributed funds and prayers. Fortunately he also enumerated the engineering projects under-

⁸Cohn in his article "The British in Benares", does not touch on the Benares segment brought forward in this dissertation.

⁹E. A. Reade, b. June 1807; d. 12 February 1886; at Haileybury achieved only a second class academic rating [II], but ranked fourth [4] in his class. Hereafter simply: II, 4.

As a matter of fact most Thomasonians "graduated" first class and many stood at the head, or very nearly so, of their respective classes. A first class would however not necessarily guarantee that any one of them would become "first-rate" officers in the minds of a Thomason or a Lawrence. Each man had to prove himself in an up-country assignment.

¹⁰He preceded Tucker as commissioner of Benares, 1848-54, when he went to the SBR. There he bridged the gap between two other evangelicals, John Thornton (1851-53) and William Muir (1858-61).

taken by civilian officers. The most noteworthy was that of Carre Tucker whose 'Tuckerbund' ranked him "facile princeps amongst the non-professional pontificators. . . ." ¹¹

In Agra during the Mutiny, Reade was appointed to succeed Colvin as interim head of government, in case of emergency. J. W. Kaye acknowledged Reade as one of his informants for his Sepoy War, while Patrick Carnegy, a critic of the excessive levelling tendencies of the Thomasonians, applauded Reade as "one of the best of our past revenue officers". Carnegy claimed to have learned his first revenue lessons from Reade. ¹²

Henry Carre Tucker ('31) ¹³ was the most remarkable Thomasonian. No one more nearly approximates the ideal 'ruler of India' - a Mabap to his people, ¹⁴ a courageous dissenter, one who openly avowed his Chris-

¹¹Reade, Contributions, 78-89. Tucker, trained at Addiscombe, constructed his 'Tuckerbund' over a distance of 2½ miles, supported by 33 arches. It was considered an engineering wonder. Others, Montgomery, Bird, Hamilton, also took the risk, because of the shortage of engineers, of attempting to construct badly-needed bridges. But, as Reade pointed out, the matter of inspection to ensure minimum engineering standards forced a revaluation of the policy which permitted civilians, even with Addiscombe training, to embark on public works. Before this curtailment, the Benares division seemed to challenge the Military Board to pay attention to such needs. See also J. Dickinson, India Under a Bureaucracy (1853), 49-101.

¹²Carnegy, "Our Land Revenue Policy in North India", CR, LXIV (1877), 160-179. Not a Haileyburian, Carnegy was a deputy commissioner in Oudh in 1857, particularly in Faizabad, a district adjoining Azamgarh, where Thomason and some of his disciples had worked. Cf. J. Raj, The Mutiny and British Land Policy (1965), 26, 127-132. See also Kaye, I, 486; DIB.

¹³Tucker, b. 2 August 1812 in Garden Reach, Calcutta; d. November 1875; his academic rating is not known precisely; undoubtedly he stood high.

¹⁴Mabap meant you are my mother and my father, Hobson-Jobson.

tian stand, even though he seemed to lack support for some of his principles within his own family.¹⁵ Personally known to Canning both from prep school days and the Mutiny at Benares (1857),¹⁶ he made himself known to Dalhousie in India and to Stanley in London by fearless representation of personal views regarding foreign policy, the Bible in government schools, and missionary activity.

Tucker went to Haileybury from the military seminary at Addiscombe. A consistent prizewinner, he joined the divisional staff of Benares, spending in consequence almost his entire career in either Azamgarh where Thomason was his settlement trainer, or Gorakhpur, which was Bird's former commissionership. There he formed part of the new school of settlement officers who numbered, at various times, the Thorntons, Montgomery, Reade, Raikes, and Edmonstone. He was considered for the Punjab in 1852, but declined on the grounds that his health would "break down in six months". Knowing that Thomason wanted a younger man to go, he told Dalhousie he was quite content with the more limited range of duties "within his competence" in the settled Provinces.¹⁷ Dalhousie then made him commissioner of Benares division as well as

¹⁵Henry St. G. Tucker, the father of H. Carre T.[and Director (1826-50) and Chairman (1834 and 1837)]; wrote in 1824 that Government should "never identify with missionaries and other societies . . . for the propagation of the Christian religion in the East". Kaye, ed., Life, 255. H. Carre, however, found support from his sister, who went to India as a missionary in 1875 on the inspiration derived from her brother. Charlotte Maria, sixth child of Tucker, became well-known for her writings under the byline "A.L.O.E." [A Lady of England]. See the DNB and her letter to W. Muir, 28 January 1876, Muir Letters.

¹⁶Tucker, McLeod, and Canning were at Dr. Carmalt's, London, at the same time. Later in the Mutiny Canning and Tucker carried on a considerable correspondence. See Kaye, Sepoy War.

¹⁷Tucker to Dalhousie, 29 October and 1 December 1852 (D - 143).

Agent to the Governor-General (A.G.G.).

Tucker, a leading protagonist for the Bible in government schools, had no choice but to submit to the official policy of religious neutrality, which Thomason observed. Yet he persistently argued that "the efforts of individual Christians should be directed to the communication of the most complete education. . . ." ¹⁸ He was among the "small knot of friends" at Gorakhpur who united to establish a private school on that principle - the communication of moral and religious truth as well as secular knowledge. His subsequent representation on behalf of the Bible in India is held over for discussion in Chapter Five.

Tucker's independence of outlook is epitomized by his objections in 1848 to Dalhousie's annexation of the Punjab. For one thing, he feared that many lives would be lost if there was a military action; for another, that Dalhousie was being led away "by the fleeting triumphs of military glory". He favoured Hardinge's 1846 policy of indirect rule. "There is much cant", he wrote, "about extending the blessings of British rule, opening a field for British Skill, Capital, and Enterprise, and so forth. Much however remains to be done in our own provinces, before we can put forth this title to annex the property of our neighbours." ¹⁹

¹⁸ See the FI, 17 April and 13 November 1845 for editorials in response to Tucker's letters on the subject of education. The editor regretted the necessity for official neutrality and applauded the work of "that genuine friend of everything that is great and good - H. C. Tucker".

¹⁹ Tucker to Dalhousie, 30 September 1848 (D - 143). Dalhousie met Tucker on the eve of the Burmese War. He was pleased, he wrote Thomason, that Tucker was not as critical as four years earlier, 31 January 1852 (D - 82).

A somewhat eulogistic account of Tucker's career and character was prepared by a writer known only as "E. L.". He likened Tucker to Henry Lawrence and Donald McLeod in their Christian philanthropy. Tucker donated substantially to schools for the under-privileged, towards famine relief, for the translation of useful European books into the vernacular. Retaining only a subsistence allowance, he yet provided for nine children of his own. But he was more than a philanthropist, as Montgomery indicated: "It was mainly through his exertions that the district was pierced with roads, bridges built and school-houses erected."²⁰ Moreover, Tucker gave the ICS a Note Book of Rules and Regulations, Criminal and Revenue, which ran to three editions before his retirement in 1861. It became known popularly as Tucker's Note Book.²¹

When the Mutiny alarmed the Benares area, Tucker's behaviour caught the imagination of the historian Kaye. He saw the commissioner as a "Christian gentleman" who possessed such an "abundant, overflowing confidence [in Providence]" that he would go to meet the enemy "with a bible in his hand, as David had gone to meet Goliath with a pebble and a sling". When Tucker left Benares in 1858, leading Indians remarked on his "almost boundless benevolence", particularly in matters of education. They voiced their appreciation for his untiring devotion to their welfare, "here and hereafter. . . ." They raised money to have his

²⁰Tucker married a Miss Roxburgh in 1834. For his philanthropic and engineering interests, see E. L., "Tucker", 5, 7-8, and note # 11.

²¹The third edition was brought out by Patrick Carnegy. It comprises 625 letter-head size pages. It is a veritable dictionary dealing with subjects in alphabetical order from "adultery" to "witnesses". It also lists 47 titles Tucker edited, among them the Azamgarh Reader, useful for government and missionary schools.

portrait painted in England for the college in Benares associated with Tucker's name, as well as to found a Tucker scholarship.²²

In his retirement he devoted himself to the world-wide concerns of the Church Missionary Society and to the subject of the poor. In 1860, for example, Tucker made a strong appeal at a Liverpool conference on missions for education as an "instrumentality" second only to preaching in carrying out the "Gospel mandate". And out of his experience as guardian of St. Marylebone, he published Thoughts on Poverty and Pauperism.²³

Raikes, Campbell, and Cust became noted for their authorship, writing first for provincial periodicals of the English press, publishing books later. Raikes and Campbell popularized the Indian question in their publications of 1852, while Cust wrote first for the Calcutta Review, as did a number of Haileyburians.²⁴ Each had only limited experience in the Punjab, Cust and Campbell from 1844 to 1847, respectively, to about 1850, Raikes only from 1852 to 1855.

Charles Raikes ('31)²⁵ went to Haileybury from Winchester school. His career was proof that low academic standing did not preclude advancement in the Service. By 1852, when Raikes was magistrate and collector

²²Kaye, II, 209; also E. L. "Tucker", 11.

²³Tucker, ed., Conference on Missions (1860), 2, 10-1, 139-40; Thoughts on Poverty (1870). In retirement he also attempted A Brief Historical Explanation of the Revelation of St. John (1863), 118 pp.

²⁴Seton-Karr was the first Haileyburian to contribute major articles to that Review; William Muir came next, then Cust. Others were Temple, John Thornton, J. Strachey and H. G. Keene.

²⁵Charles Raikes, b. 30 December 1812; d. 16 February 1885. II, 8.

of Mainpuri, Thomason considered him "almost too valuable" for a Lahore commissionership under John Lawrence.²⁶ Primarily, Thomason thought Raikes' constitution too fragile for the pressures resulting from the work load at Lahore. Nevertheless, Raikes was posted as the commissioner. As predicted, he requested a return to the NWP in 1855, but not without receiving the thanks of Government for his services in the suppression of female infanticide.²⁷

Before taking the Punjab post, Raikes gained experience in each of the six divisions of the Provinces. During the crucial years (1839-1842) when Bird was preparing to retire and the opposition to the resumption laws was growing, Raikes was deputed as a special settlement officer to Ghazepur in Benares division. The terms of reference of this revision illustrate the settlement proceedings:

To effect the demarcation of boundaries and a general survey; the compilation of a record-of-rights for each village; the resumption and assessment of revenue-free lands [jagirs of various kinds] held in insufficient title; the assessment of unsettled and newly-alluviated lands; and the revision of settlements in certain estates declared open to settlement.²⁸

Where Robertson deplored this "reduction of the whole community to the dead level of village proprietors", to quote the anonymous critic of Lawrence's vice-regal administration, Raikes boldly declared in 1852 that he was the disciple of Mackenzie and Bird whose ears were, after all, "attuned to the voice of the millions".²⁹

²⁶ Thomason to Dalhousie, 7 December 1852 (D - 453).

²⁷ See D - 85, 87, 156, 169.

²⁸ Nevill, ed., Ghazepur Gazeteer (1909), 130-31.

²⁹ C. Raikes, Notes on the NWP (1852), 48-73; see "The Administration of John Lawrence", CR (1867).

Raikes wrote first for the Benares Magazine, while at Mainpuri, the post he took in succession to Edmonstone. In 1852 the Calcutta Review commended Raikes' Notes on the North-Western Provinces because they provided "untravellered readers" with a popular description of the "every-day duties which occupy their sons and daughters in the Indian Civil Service".³⁰ As for the author, he hoped to contribute substantially to an understanding of the condition of the "millions of our fellow-subjects" as affected by "the policy of their English masters". He hoped to add "one stone to the monument of Christian civilization, which so many abler hands are striving to rear in India. . . ."³¹

His last appointment was to the SDNA in 1858, from which he retired two years later, to become a magistrate in Wiltshire and Sussex. In his Notes on the Revolt in the North Western Provinces, published in 1858, he asserted from his intimate knowledge of the Mutiny, that it was not a national rebellion, but simply a mutiny of the sepoys. He was not aware of any smouldering resentment against the alleged harshness of the land settlements of Bird and Thomason.³² While he shared this view of the Mutiny with William Muir, Montgomery, and others, he was, according to one authority, representative of those whose subsequent actions and policies tended to belie their convictions regarding the causes of the rebellion. As Thomas Metcalf commented in 1964, they "acted as if the

³⁰ See the review in CR, XVIII (1852), xi-xviii.

³¹ Raikes, Notes on the NWP (1852), see Preface.

³² See Notes on the Revolt in the NWP, and the review of it, CR, XXXII (1859), 106-121. Raikes also wrote a third book entitled The Englishman in India, published in 1867.

Mutiny were the result of popular disaffection with the British administrative system". Hardly anyone showed enthusiasm for further reform.³³

George Campbell ('42)³⁴ was nominated to Haileybury College by a director of the Company "out of the respect", as he said, "I entertain for the youth's uncle", Sir John Campbell.³⁵ Always somewhat critical, Campbell took the pseudonym "Timothy Tugbottom" to lampoon the teaching of Sanskrit at Haileybury. In his Modern India he wrote:

The great study at Haileybury is Sanskrit, a language not more useful to an Indian magistrate than a knowledge of the tongue of the ancient Germans would be to a modern commissioner of police, who might now and then discover a slang term to be of orthodox Saxon origin.³⁶

On his way to take up his first appointment in the Provinces, he stayed at Allahabad with Edmonstone, "then a rising man" in the "model administration" of India. Edmonstone succeeded in making him sharply aware of Holt Mackenzie who designed the North-West revenue system, of Robert Bird who effected the new settlement, and of Thomason who administered it. He met other men at Allahabad's Sadr Board, for example, who were "equally distinguished for judicial acumen, knowledge of horse-flesh, and piety".³⁷

After four years in the mofussil under Thomason's jurisdiction,

³³Emphasis mine; T. R. Metcalf, The Aftermath of the Revolt (Princeton, 1964), 78-9.

³⁴G. Campbell, b. 1824; d. at Cairo, 18 February 1892. I, 3.

³⁵John Campbell was of the Madras CS. DIB.

³⁶Haileybury Observer (June 1842), 23; Modern India, 265. Cf. Seton-Karr's criticisms of Sanskrit in Chapter One, note 94.

³⁷Memoirs, I, 15-17. Emphasis in the paraphrase is mine.

Campbell went to the Cis-Satlaj under Hardinge. Unlike Carre Tucker, he urged Dalhousie to annex the Punjab. He was motivated by his desire to extend northwards the best aspects of Thomason's administration. In a review of Campbell's Modern India, Seton-Karr wrote:

Mr. Campbell's sympathies are evidently with tenant cultivators, good hard-working village communities, and able-bodied thannadars [police]. He has no regard for over-grown zemindars, whose very name, when translated into English [landholder], is an imposition on the public, and who have appropriated to themselves all the good things of ownership, without touching . . . any one of its duties. . . . Vested rights, time-honoured privileges, usurpations sanctioned by prescription, when interfering . . . with the agriculturist, find with him no favour.³⁸

Following an extended furlough (1851-54), which he turned to good use by publishing three books about Indian affairs, he returned to the Provinces, to Azamgarh, where he remained until 1857. His subsequent term as judicial commissioner of Oudh, 1857-62, overlapped briefly with that of Montgomery as chief commissioner. While there, Campbell resisted the "political swing" in favour of the taluqdars, seeking to ensure the protection of the actual cultivators of the soil.³⁹ Eventually Campbell rose to be Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. When he retired from the Service, he accepted an appointment to the Council of India but ran instead for a seat in the House of Commons.⁴⁰

Campbell's fame, however, rests on his writings which have an enduring interest. He was one of the bright young men who turned to constructive criticism of the British in India. Cust noted in 1849, for

³⁸Seton-Karr, "Mr. Campbell's Modern India", CR, XVII (1852), 455.

³⁹Raj, 80ff. Cf. Metcalf, Aftermath, 137, where Tucker is seen as one of those who were momentarily prepared to swing to the taluqdars.

⁴⁰He was named to the K.C.S.I. in 1873 and represented Kirkcaldy - without distinction - from 1875 to 1892. DIB.

example, that his friend, under the pseudonym "Economist", had "won a great name by some clever letter . . . about the Punjab question".⁴¹ Anxious while on furlough to contribute to the periodic review, then underway, of the Company's Charter and obtaining access - as a member of "the great official family" - to the Company's records, he fashioned his Modern India. Possessing all the right connections as well as a sense of timing, he saw it published in the spring of 1852, "just in the nick of time when Indian affairs were coming to the front. . . . So it was a success, was reviewed well, sold well, and very greatly improved my position". Bernard Cohn expressed the opinion recently that Modern India was "fresher and more enlightening", for example, than John Kaye's The Administration of the East India Company, written at about the same time.⁴²

While Seton-Karr found Campbell's books far too provocative for a "brief notice" in the Calcutta Review, John Dickinson, secretary of the India Reform Society, found both Modern India and A Scheme for the Government of India (1853) far from satisfactory. The former found inspiration in A Scheme for his remarks about Thomason's "model farm of the East".⁴³ Would anyone, he asked, dare pretend he could govern the Provinces better

⁴¹Cust, Journal, 1 November 1849.

⁴²Campbell, Memoirs, 132, 137; and Cohn, The Development and Impact of British Administration in India: A Bibliographical Review (Delhi, 1961), 6.

⁴³Seton-Karr, "The Company's Government", CR, XIX (1853), 298-344. For the "model-farm", see pages 303-305. It was to this article that the editors added a postscript saying that "we much prefer this clever author when describing things as they are [Modern India], to the same author showing what they may or ought to be". Postscript, 477.

than Thomason? His enthusiasm for Thomason's administration, shared by Marshman and Halliday, as noted, represented the high-water mark of Thomason's popularity. Although Dickinson implied strongly that the land administration of the NWP approached his ideal in that it rejected the disastrous ryotwari system, he found Campbell particularly infuriating with reference to the theme of self-government for Indians. How could Campbell in his A Scheme suggest that "the idea of giving [Indians] any actual power is altogether chimerical" and that "our Government must be the purest despotism"? Dickinson obviously would have applauded Thomason's concern to develop self-government at least at the village level.⁴⁴

Campbell continued to publish. In 1887 he added his British Empire to the spate of books on that subject. He gave India a prominent place, naturally; if she had done nothing else, he declared, she had provided "an outlet for a class of young men", which tended to proliferate in England. In India, this frontier for talent, they were able "to show their best qualities to the best advantage".⁴⁵ His last work, Memoirs of My Indian Career, was brought out the year of his death in 1892.

Richard Needham Cust ('42)⁴⁶ left two remarkable documents: his

⁴⁴Dickinson, The Government of India under a Bureaucracy (1853), 138 pp. For the comment on Campbell, see Preface to the 2nd edition, iv. For another reference to Dickinson, see Chapter Six.

⁴⁵The British Empire (1887), 66. Seton-Karr, in his introduction to Grant of Rothiemurchus (1899), rejoiced at the openings for his contemporaries to exercise talents otherwise denied them at home. He cited W. Muir, Keene, J. Beames as Oriental scholars; G. R. Clerk and Fred Currie ('18) as diplomats; Bird and Thomason as great settlement officers; the Lawrences as "pacificators of martial races"; and Campbell and Temple as efficient administrators.

⁴⁶Richard N. Cust, b. 24 February 1821; d. 1909. I, 1.

Journals, which provide unusual glimpses of Haileyburians at work in India, and his Memoirs of Past Years, written in 1899. He was most careful to divide his career into three periods: the years before India, his "exile" in India from 1843 to 1867; and finally his subsequent life as a Victorian in orbit.⁴⁷ While this paper cannot pursue his career beyond the era of Thomason's influence, it does suggest strongly that Cust's career justly deserves further study.

Having been head boy at Eton and headman at Haileybury, Cust naturally went to India with 'great expectations'. The beginnings were auspicious enough, if only his many contacts with Haileyburians, as recorded in his Journal, had proved as useful as anticipated. At Agra, to use Temple's term, he "fell under the spell of Thomason".⁴⁸ His first assignment took him to Ambala, on the exciting Northwest Frontier, where he was made an assistant to the A. G. G.. His closest colleague was Captain Joseph D. Cunningham. From that vantage point, Cust became one of the relatively few civilian eyewitnesses of Hardinge's war with the Sikhs, 1845-46. An Indian historian has recently made effective use of Cust's Journal to argue the truth, unpalatable then, that Hardinge was the aggressor and not the Sikhs. Cunningham held similar views and published them in his well-known History of the Sikhs. Whereas he was suspended by the Government as a result, and died a broken man, Cust was

⁴⁷Cust, Memoirs of Past Years of a Septuagenarian (1899, privately). His exile was made tolerable by three furloughs; his "orbiting" referred to his travels while on furlough or in retirement.

⁴⁸Journal, 24 May 1844. Cust was very much impressed with the beauty and intelligence of Anglo-Indian women, among them Mrs. John Thornton at Agra, the daughter of Bishop Reginald Heber.

promised a lucrative charge in a newly-acquired district in the Trans-Satlaj.⁴⁹

This appointment brought him in 1846 under the supervision of John Lawrence. Dalhousie's reorganization of the administration three years later, however, involved the displacement of Cust by Captain James Abbott.⁵⁰ This marked Cust's first disappointment, for he was forced to leave his "favourite kingdom" in which he had "created everything". Would this district remain in the flourishing state to which he had brought it?⁵¹

Following brief service in the Cis-Satlaj under Edmonstone, Cust took a furlough in England, apparently due to illness. When he returned in mid-1852, he asked Thomason for employment, only to be disappointed a second time. "I went over", he wrote,

and breakfasted with Mr. Thomason. . . . He was alone. I then heard my fate, which was not a brilliant one, nor have I much to thank my friends for - nobody could have had less consideration shown: I had written five months previously, and I was now

⁴⁹R. C. Majumdar, British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance (Bombay, 1963), Part I, 268-9. Cunningham (A - '30), published in 1849 (see 1966 Delhi reprint) and Cust remarked on the "unhomely" truths with which his friend was charged. See Journal, 24 November 1849. For a recent appraisal see S. S. Bal, "Cunningham's History of the Sikhs", BPP, LXXXVI (1963).

Hardinge promised Cust about £1,200, partly as a reward for his commissariat services during the campaign. Journal, 14 February 1846.

⁵⁰See Vibart, Addiscombe. 368-372. Abbott, a close friend of Henry Lawrence and Thomason, also helped in the survey under Bird.

⁵¹Although Cust remained in the Trans-Satlaj until 1851 and Dalhousie recognized that he had been named to it by Hardinge "for special and public reasons" [Dalhousie to J. Lawrence, 13 November 1849 (D - 97)], nevertheless he took any dislocation personally. Later, after 24 years, he added a note to his Journal entries to the effect that he had in his time become "one of the greatest revenue officers"(!). Perhaps this was belated ego-building based on his continuing friendship with John Lawrence. Cust returned to the Punjab's Amritsar division, 1858-64.

offered, what I could not have refused, - subsistence allowance of my rank - and an acting appointment as joint magistrate and deputy-collector at Saharanpur in Meerut division at [494 rupees], a warning for the future.⁵²

The precise reason for this treatment remains obscure. Were his real views about the first Sikh War known? In any case, Thomason gave him two appointments, one at Saharanpur, another at Banda (1852-55). As a mark of his appreciation, Cust wrote the laudatory review article based on Thomason's Directions.⁵³ In his Memoirs he praised Thomason "at whose side I sat in my youth", as one of those servants of the state "who loved God with their whole heart from their youth up".⁵⁴

Except for the critical outburst in his anonymously-written article on "The Examination System", Cust silently endured what he considered his "exile" in India.⁵⁵ Lawrence, who remained his friend and master, invited him to become the additional member of the Viceroy's council in 1865. Previous to this appointment Cust had penned these lines honouring the occasion of Lawrence's elevation:

In the cathedral, in the princely state
Which England's proudest citizen befits
Firm and undaunted, prosperous and great
Before my tearful eyes the Viceroy sits.

⁵²Journal, 10 June 1852. The salary was about half the amount Hardinge had suggested six years earlier, when he was only twenty-five.

⁵³See Chapter Two, particularly reference # 94. At Banda as magistrate and collector Cust received as much as £2,700.

⁵⁴Cust, Memoirs, 2

⁵⁵In an exchange in 1838-9 between J. R. Colvin and Mansel, this theme of exile in India dominated. Colvin, envious of Mansel, who appeared to be lucky enough to get sick leave [not until 1845] wrote: "I feel an inexpressible desire to visit again that European world, which we left so young, so full of intellectual activity, of objects for our best affections and purest tastes, and so stirring with the wonders of

Him had I followed, as my rising sun
 By his example learnt my course to trim
 And now, when all to me was lost and gone
 I had one interest to be with him.

I envy not his greatness; I rejoice
 To think, that Fortune should for once be true
 That he, who merits, should by general view
 Sit there the highest, and be happy too.⁵⁶

Cust appeared more open-minded than many Anglo-Indians with respect to the difficulty of inducing "Natives" to accept Christianity. As a "last scratch of an octogenarian pen" (1904), in ceaseless motion, as he claimed, since 1840, he wrote Clouds on the Horizon. This was an essay on the various forms of belief which he saw standing in the way of the acceptance of real Christian faith by the educated people of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. Perhaps with reference to missionaries and their apologists among the civilians, he denounced the "wholesale abuse, and ignorant detraction" of Mohammedanism.⁵⁷ Nor did he believe that only England had the right to "annex and subdue, and establish Protectorates". He felt, nevertheless, that it was England's duty beyond other Great Powers to "exhibit an ever-increasing aptitude for the administration of subject races, as if we were stewards of their welfare".⁵⁸

advancing civilization. I trust I shall be able to follow you home". In another he hoped Mansel would "at length find a rich repayment amid the civilization of Europe for the duller and darker hours here", 19 December 1838 and 20 April 1839, Auckland Letters.

⁵⁶This from a collection of poems written to "Marie", his wife, entitled Sorrows of an Anglo-Indian Life (1899), 74. He concluded that poem thus: "For this was ever my ambition here, To live like him [Lawrence], if she [Cust's wife] could live like her [Lady Lawrence]".

⁵⁷See his Preface to Clouds (1904). He seems to have become more critical as a result of his travels in the Middle East.

⁵⁸Memoirs, 6. In retirement Cust described himself as a "Globe-Trotter, Fearless Enquirer, Book Devourer, Careful Notetaker, Outspoken

Turning to other members of the school, it is convenient to group Edwards, Thornton, and Muir for their common experience in the Agra secretariat, Edwards under Robertson, the others under Thomason, as Lieutenant-Governor.

William Edwards ('37)⁵⁹ in his private life was a "saint", as were Thomason and McLeod. Evidence of this may be seen in the Morning Bible Readings he published in 1878. He explained his purpose as follows:

The following readings have been compiled for the use of my own family. . . . They are now printed for private circulation, in the hope that, by God's blessing, they may be useful to my children scattered abroad, and to any friends into whose hands they may fall.⁶⁰

Following a brief apprenticeship in the mofussil and the SDNA, Edwards became deputy secretary to Thomas C. Robertson when the latter held Agra as Auckland's lieutenant. Since Edwards served as an assistant to both Thomason and Hamilton in that capacity, he had ample opportunity to hear both sides of the settlement question as it affected the taluqdars. Ellenborough then chose him⁶¹ as an assistant in the Calcutta secretariat where he worked directly under Thomason, who had charge of the civil departments. In 1848 Edwards was named superintendent of the hill tribes around Simla, which was the civilians' mountain retreat. A furlough took him to England in time to be interviewed

Critic, Copious Writer and Christian Free-Thinker". This personal evaluation provides some clues to his lack of "brilliant success" in the Service.

⁵⁹William Edwards, b. 1816; d. 1909. I, 1.

⁶⁰See the Preface to Bible Readings as seen in the BM.

⁶¹Robertson recommended him to Ellenborough, 2 December 1842 (E - 67).

by both Commons and Lords Committees. On his return, he became magistrate and collector of Badaon in Rohilkhand division. He was there, east of Meerut and Delhi, when the Mutiny engulfed him.⁶²

In view of Edwards' post-Mutiny writings, his testimony before the parliamentary committees was all the more remarkable for his convinced pro-Thomsonian position. While he alluded to his services as Robertson's secretary, he made no pro-Robertson statement. On the contrary, before the Commons committee in 1853, he testified to his introduction of the Thomsonian village system into the hill tribes as a substitute for the existing form of the ryotwari system. His assessment as well as the term of the settlement were according to Thomason's general rule. He also spoke favourably of the introduction of the Bird-Thomson settlement into the Punjab.⁶³ Before the Lords he went so far as to intimate that with Thomason as governor, or George Clerk, the Punjab could be governed by the lieutenant-governor at Agra, providing the Benares division were returned to Bengal.⁶⁴

Five years later he published Personal Adventures During the Indian Rebellion and in 1866 followed with Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian. By then his views appeared narrowly based on his personal observations in the district of Badaon which he entered in 1856. As a result of resumption sales during the previous twelve or fifteen years, he

⁶² Sir Charles Napier, Commander-in-Chief under Dalhousie until their quarrel, despised all civilians as "ignorant" and all politicals as "brainless", except William Edwards and James Thomason. All others, presumably Dalhousie also, were "fools and knaves". Smith, I, 339.

⁶³ 20 June 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 150-156.

⁶⁴ 26 May 1853, PP, XXXII (1852-53), 3-12.

had witnessed, he wrote, not only "the destruction of the gentry", but also the "breaking up of the village communities". He continued:

By fraud or chicanery, a vast number of families of rank and influence have been alienated, either wholly or in part, and have been purchased by new men - chiefly traders or Government officials - without character or influence over the tenantry. These men . . . were also absentees [while] the ancient proprietary were again living as tenantry . . . by no means reconciled to their change of position. . . .

Edwards claimed to have warned "superior authority" that this "dislocation of society" could lead to serious consequences. John Colvin was then Lieutenant-Governor at Agra and W. Muir his secretary, while E. A. Reade was at the Sadr Board. In response, he found himself treated as an alarmist. "My warnings were unheeded", he wrote. "Little did I think at the time [1856] that my fears and forebodings were so soon to be realized."⁶⁵

Why did Edwards not voice these misgivings in 1853 before committees concerned about the 'good government' of India? For in 1866 he wrote clearly that his superior Robertson, while in Agra in 1840-42, had "dissented entirely" from the views of those [Bird and Thomason] "opposed to the great landed proprietary body".⁶⁶ Kaye of course took up Edwards' writings as another opportunity to scorn the "new school of civilian administrators". He attributed Edwards' later stance to the lessons he had learned from Robertson, the wisdom of which had become "miserably apparent".⁶⁷

⁶⁵Reminiscences (1866), 152. The writer was unable to obtain a copy of the 1858 Personal Adventures.

⁶⁶Ibid., 26.

⁶⁷Sepoy War, III, 281-282.

In summary, Edwards was one who was closely identified with the religious outlook and educational policies of Thomason, but who turned against the levellers decisively when the crisis came.

John Thornton ('28),⁶⁸ a grand-nephew of Henry Thornton of Clapham,⁶⁹ and a son-in-law to Bishop Reginald Heber, is strangely unchronicled in the pages of the DNB or the DIB. He remained relatively obscure in spite of the fact that his important 1849 article in the Calcutta Review was often quoted in order to popularize the 'fair-haired Saxon youth opposing his well-trained intellect to the new difficulties that crowd upon him' in India.⁷⁰ His pen-portrait seemed like the idealization of the "writer" turned statesman as Wellesley visualized him in 1800:

To dispense justice to millions . . . ; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue . . . ; to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions of the world; these are now the duties of the larger proportion of the civil servants of the Company.⁷¹

John Thornton emphasized how these noble concerns tested the utmost mettle of the young Haileyburian, preparing him ultimately for success in the grandest object of all, the realization of the happiness and prosperity of all classes of the indigenous peoples of the Provinces.

⁶⁸ John Thornton, b. 5 June 1809; d. 1854. I, 4.

⁶⁹ John and Edward Parry Thornton were sons of John Thornton (1783-1861), commissioner of inland revenue and an author, who in turn was a son of Samuel Thornton (1755-1838), Governor of the Bank of England. Samuel had two brothers: Henry of Clapham (1760-1815) and Robert. These three, all M. P.s, were sons of John Thornton (1720-1790), who descended from Yorkshire clergy. Compiled from the DNB, the DIB, and various secondary sources.

⁷⁰ Thornton, "The Settlement of the NWP", XII (1849), 413-467.

⁷¹ Wellesley, Despatches, 326, 339.

Thornton was probably educated at Charterhouse, as was his brother Edward Parry ('31). His contemporaries at Haileybury were Reade, McLeod, and Lawrence. His first assignment in Gorakhpur of the Benares division in 1829 brought him directly under the influence of Robert Bird, who had been a judge there and was then district commissioner of revenue and circuit. For part of a year he worked in Azamgarh under the direction of Thomason. What doubtlessly influenced Thomason's decision in 1843 to take Thornton as secretary was his settlement of Alighar in the Meerut division. Between October of 1833 and January 1837 Thornton revised the lands held nominally by a prominent taluqdar, Mursan, whose claims extended over about 300 villages. While Robertson and particularly H. S. Boulderson ('17) made this settlement a special object of attack, Thomason took Thornton's revision as his standard, and incorporated its principles into his Directions to his subordinates.⁷² The point at issue was whether Thornton should have engaged with village proprietors and thus "dispossessed" the raja of about two-thirds of his claims, the eighteen percent of the gross rental as compensation notwithstanding.⁷³ The report of this settlement, one of the first to be completed (1834) played a crucial role in the controversy which raged from 1838 to 1844 involving Thomason, Bird, and Colvin on the one hand, and their conservative opponents, Robertson and Boulderson, on the other.

Thornton saw his major article published in the Calcutta Review

⁷²Thomason, Directions for Settlement Officers (1849), first printed in 1844. For a fuller reference to them see Chapter Four.

⁷³See particularly Carnegy, "Talookdaree Tenure", 137-160.

the very year the Punjab was annexed. His having served as chief secretary to Thomason's government for six years only heightened his desire to educate his readers to the benefits accruing to the "many millions of our Indian fellow-subjects" from the land settlement inaugurated under Regulation IX of 1833. He was particularly concerned to enlighten Professor Jones, successor to Malthus at Haileybury, on the subject of the variety of land tenures in India.⁷⁴ Did the professor not know that Thomas Munro's ryotwari settlement, so much applauded as applicable to Madras and subsequently introduced into the Bombay presidency districts, was inapplicable to Aligarh and Mainpuri, for example, as well as to the Punjab? Under Bird and Thomason, he wanted it understood, there had been created a new interest in the soil, not only "by the limitation of the public demand [the assessment]", but also by the settlement, where possible, with the village communities.⁷⁵ Given his convictions and expertise, it is not surprising to learn that he was posted to the Sadr Board in 1851, where Boulderson was about to retire.

Thornton, like most Thomasonians, was an ardent supporter of missionaries in India. Among his concerns as local president of the Agra committee of the Church Missionary Society was the Christian college at Agra. He was also concerned about the strategy of the church's witness. At no time should it spread its forces too thinly, but rather concentrate

⁷⁴ Richard Jones taught at Haileybury from 1835 to 1855. There are only very scattered references to him in articles by Haileyburians.

⁷⁵ According to Thornton, Jones would have been as prepared to apply Munro's ryotwari system indiscriminately as Wellesley in 1803 was prepared to apply Cornwallis' permanent zamindari system. Jones was not distinguishing between Madras and the village or estate (mahalwari) system. Cf. Chapter One of Imtiaz Husain's Land Revenue Policy.

on leading cities such as Agra and Benares.⁷⁶

William Muir ('37)⁷⁷ was early recognized as a "very intelligent officer", just the man, Thomason thought, to effect a twenty-year settlement in Bundelkhand. But "Robertson's jealousy of all our proceedings", as Thomason explained to Ellenborough, "prevented the execution of the project."⁷⁸ From 1847 to 1851, Muir was strategically placed as secretary to the SBR, in succession to Elliot. The junior member of that Board throughout this time (1843-52) was Boulderson, who of course represented Robertson's viewpoint.

Muir's career was distinguished by any comparison. From the SBR he went to Agra in 1851 to replace John Thornton as Thomason's secretary. He remained to serve John Colvin in the same capacity until 1858 when he himself became the junior member of the Sadr Board.⁷⁹ John Lawrence, the only Haileyburian and Thomasonian exalted to the Viceroyship, took Muir as his Foreign Secretary. When Lawrence retired in 1868, Muir became Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces. For two years, 1874-6, he served in Calcutta as the Financial Member of Lord Northbrook's Council. When Lord Lytton replaced Northbrook, however, Muir was

⁷⁶ Thornton to H. Venn, 18 August 1850 and 25 May 1851 (CMSA - 289/1 and 3).

⁷⁷ William Muir, b. 27 April 1819; d. 11 July 1905. I, 1.

⁷⁸ Thomason to Ellenborough, 8 February 1844 (E - 59). The reference is obviously to Ellenborough's exercise of the doctrine of lapse respecting the lands of Jalaun of Bundelkhand. Robertson and Thomason differed in their interpretations of Jalaun's position *vis-à-vis* under-proprietors. For a discussion of this question see R. C. Majumdar, 59 ff.

⁷⁹ Meanwhile he wrote the career biography of his former mentor, Thomason, in 1853.

elbowed out in favour of John Strachey ('42).⁸⁰

Like his brother John ('28), William became a noted Islamic scholar. Such scholarly activity was not considered incompatible with the obvious proselytizing motive noted elsewhere.⁸¹ During the Mutiny, as secretary at Agra, Muir kept the "intelligence records".⁸² As a result of his varied contributions - imperial and scholarly - he was nominated a K.C.S.I. (1867) and was honoured by Oxford, Glasgow and Bologna universities, as well as by Edinburgh, of which he was Principal and Vice-Chancellor from 1885 to 1902.

Sir Henry Hardinge, whose papers for the period 1844 to 1848 yielded relatively little information about the personalities identified in this paper as disciples of Bird and Thomason, nevertheless brought three of them to prominent notice - Elliot, and Henry and John Lawrence. He chose the Lawrences in 1846, Henry as Resident at Lahore under the terms of the Anglo-Sikh treaty, and John as superintendent of the Trans-Satlaj; late in 1847 he took Henry Meirs Elliot ('27)⁸³ as his foreign secretary. Henry Lawrence commented at the time that while Hardinge selected numerous of his assistants "without any previous knowledge of them", he commanded the services of Elliot only after a

⁸⁰Lalit Gujral, "Background to the Appointment of Sir John Strachey as Finance Member in 1876", *JIH*, XL (1962), 357-363.

⁸¹Among his titles were Life of Mohamet and The Muhammedan Controversy. For reference to Muir and Rev. Pfander, see Chapter Five.

⁸²See Correspondence from Agra During the Mutiny (Edinburgh, 1898) and Records of the Intelligence Department (Edinburgh, 1902), 2 vols. Muir, like Charles Raikes, refused to believe that the Company's introduction of Christianity had caused the Mutiny.

⁸³H. M. Elliot, b. 1 March 1808; d. at the Cape, 20 December 1853.

full year's search to find "the man whom the voice of the service voted the best qualified".⁸⁴

Elliot revealed very considerable ability at Winchester College. When in the mid-1820s the demand for civilians exceeded the supply from Haileybury, Elliot was tempted to try for an immediate posting to India rather than go up to Oxford. He passed with honours the open examination conducted in London to become one of the first of eighty-three "competition wallahs".⁸⁵ Elliot spent nearly ten years in the revenue line in Rohilkhand, Delhi, and Meerut divisions. From 1836 to 1847 he served as secretary to the SBR, of which Robert Bird was senior member until 1842. Meanwhile, he had helped in 1845 to sponsor a CMS academy in Agra, which was patronized by Thomason.⁸⁶

Elliot's reputation came to rest, however, on two major achievements, one as diplomatic negotiator, the other as scholar. Dalhousie retained Elliot in 1848 as foreign secretary. His first major assignment was to arrange a treaty with the defeated Sikh power. Of greater significance, however, was his negotiation with Thomason for the transfer of civilians from the Provinces to the Punjab. Except for his illness,

⁸⁴Henry Lawrence, "Lord Hardinge's Administration", CR, VIII (1847). This was one of a number of articles Lawrence wrote which were brought together under the title Essays Military and Political Written in India (1859) and dedicated to George Clerk, who formed "the best school of Indian statesmanship". Among those chosen more hurriedly than was Elliot, were F. Currie, the three Lawrences (George, Henry, and John), Campbell and H. B. Edwardes.

⁸⁵DNB. See O'Malley, The ICS, 237. Cf. H. M. Stephen, 319-23.

⁸⁶W. Muir to H. Venn, 2 November 1857 (CMSA - 214/4).

Dalhousie would have given him the succession to James Thomason at Agra.⁸⁷ In any case, as a result of his scholarly activity he brought out before his death at the Cape a Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India.⁸⁸

As indicated in the early part of this chapter, the Naidis article hardly gives a satisfactory view of the origins of the Punjab system. For a more comprehensive understanding one must look at the careers of the Lawrences within the context of the Thomason-Dalhousie sponsorship and Elliot's diplomatic leadership in the actual take-over of Sikh country.

Many accounts of the Lawrence brothers have been more or less misleading. Their contemporaries or official biographers were mesmerized by their magnificent contributions - as seen by Victorians - to the Punjab tradition and the Mutiny, and writers subsequently have knowingly or unknowingly perpetuated their myths.⁸⁹ In this account, written from a strictly pre-Mutiny perspective, based mainly on the Dalhousie Papers, Dalhousie is seen as the ascendant figure. If he depended on anyone during the Punjab crisis and the life of the Board he created (1849-53), he looked to Thomason, Elliot and John Lawrence. But this was never recognized or understood. Even the Times of London had misconstrued his role, as Dalhousie saw it. In a letter to his

⁸⁷ Dalhousie to Couper, 29 January 1854, in Baird, 285.

⁸⁸ The following two works were published posthumously, the second edited by John Beames ('57): The History of India As Told by its own Historians, and Memoirs of the History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the NWP.

⁸⁹ The Naidis article is particularly guilty of hastening to publish without fully researching the subject. See below.

friend Sir George Couper he gave vent to his irritation over an article which gave Henry Lawrence credit for much that John had actually done, and it gave undue credit to both "for what was never originated by either of them, but by the Government over them". He objected to the supposition that he, Dalhousie, had been a mere "bystander looking on while other men were building up a pedestal for [his] reputation to stand on".⁹⁰ There is no doubt that Dalhousie built his own pedestal by keeping everyone in his place.

Henry Montgomery Lawrence was educated at Foyle College and Addiscombe (A - '22).⁹¹ Upon arrival in Calcutta he was attached to the Bengal Artillery. His chaplain, the Rev. G. Crauford, was an assistant to James Thomason's father, the Rev. Thomas Thomason.⁹² On furlough after the first Burma War, Henry worked in the Irish trigonometrical survey. He returned to India in late 1829 with his brother John and his fiancée, Honoria Marshall. From 1833 to 1838 he assisted in the survey of several divisions under the superintendence of Robert Bird, as noted in the preceding chapter. Throughout this period, Lawrence was in "close communion" with Thomason and E. A. Reade.⁹³

⁹⁰ Dalhousie to Couper, 26 March 1858, in Baird, 411-2.

⁹¹ H. M. Lawrence, b. 28 June 1806; d. 4 July 1857. For his Life see that by H. B. Edwardes and H. Merivale, 1872.

⁹² Crauford and James Thomason travelled to India together. The latter was described as a "most faithful friend of Henry Lawrence", and Thomason was named in Lawrence's will as guardian of his son, Ibid., I, 43, 336.

⁹³ Ibid., 122. See Chapter Two for Honoria's association with Thomason's two sisters, reference # 82.

As a result of his involvement in the Afghanistan War, Lawrence received the appointment as assistant to George Clerk, who was then political envoy in the Northwest Frontier. From 1843 to 1846 Lawrence was Resident to the court of Nepal, in succession to Brian Hodgson.⁹⁴ When the first Sikh War broke out, Henry was summoned to the Punjab to act as the A.G.G.. Eventually, in December 1846, Hardinge made him head of the Council of Regency, which ruled the Sikh kingdom as a subsidiary to British India. Because Henry was frequently ill and absent when the second Sikh War came, Dalhousie appointed Fred Currie to replace him.⁹⁵

John Laird Mair Lawrence ('29), the one Haileyburian⁹⁶ to attain the "princely state", to use Cust's phrase, naturally became the subject of many biographies. The official one came from the pen of R. Bosworth Smith in 1879, shortly after Lawrence's death. While Smith, like other biographers, seemed mesmerized by the image of the "hero" of the Mutiny who became viceroy, and interpreted Lawrence's life from that perspective, his work includes numerous letters, a redeeming feature, for these help to offset misleading elements of the larger-than-life portrait.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Lawrence got the Frontier posting only on the recommendation of Auckland and Currie, who was foreign secretary. When Hodgson was removed from Nepal by Ellenborough, it was Thomason who smoothed relations between Lawrence and Ellenborough, for Lawrence expected a better appointment at the time. Edwardes, Life of Henry Lawrence, I, 201, 426-35.

⁹⁵ Ibid., II, 119. Henry's health record must be taken into serious account. It was a matter of concern to Ellenborough in 1843, and to Hardinge in 1847, not to mention Dalhousie. See below.

⁹⁶ John Lawrence, b. 4 March 1811; d. 27 June 1879. I, 3.

⁹⁷ Cf. M. Naidis' "John Lawrence, Mutiny Hero", BPP, LXXXII (1963), 1-11. Naidis concluded that John deserved the designation "hero" that Bosworth Smith gave him, and that no amount of debunking by moderns will quite succeed in de-monumentalizing him.

At Haileybury John did not distinguish himself particularly. The principal, Mr. Batten, more than once told his son John not to "loaf with that tall Irishman" and to spend more time with the "good" students.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, there John Lawrence learned to know the Thorn-ton, Donald McLeod, and John Muir, the brother of William.

According to his biographer, John Lawrence's career in India was forwarded by one Haileyburian after another until Hardinge requested his services in the Punjab in 1846. First Charles Trevelyan, in 1831 an assistant in the Delhi residency, attracted Lawrence there.⁹⁹ After Lawrence had officiated as magistrate and collector in several charges, Robert Bird in 1838 selected him as his settlement officer for Etawa in Agra division. Fortunately the ironies of history in this connection were not lost on Bosworth Smith. He remarked that Bird who selected the "very best men" for the settlement, of which John was only one, had dropped from view by 1883, while the man hailed as the "saviour of India" was likely to have a continuing fame. To be selected by Bird had been considered a "feather in the cap" by those who "from luck or otherwise" eclipsed their old patron. Among others thus honoured were Thomason, Reade, Mansel, and Edmonstone. These men, it was said, "fully sympathized with [Bird's] noble motives and adopted his views".¹⁰⁰

Bird's influence notwithstanding, it was Thomason's that was decisive. According to Temple, Lawrence's secretary from 1854, his chief

⁹⁸ R. Bosworth Smith, Lord Lawrence, I, 28-31.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 44.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 95-6, 99. See Chapter Four for an assessment of Bird's place in the ICS.

often declared that "as a civil administrator, he drooped his flag to Thomason".¹⁰¹ This kind of deference merely infuriated the critics. One wrote anonymously in 1867 that Lawrence "belonged to that dangerous school which sought to crush out the native aristocracy and to reduce the whole community to the dead level of village proprietors". Was it any wonder, the writer asked, when Lawrence had undergone training in the NWP for nearly two decades? He asserted that the Viceroy "ultimately damaged his reputation as a statesman", at least with the Indian press, because he had "imbibed the notions of Bird and Thomason".¹⁰²

While Bird promoted Lawrence, Thomason was accused of keeping him from realizing his destiny. After the first Sikh War, Hardinge requested Lawrence for "a high executive appointment". Thomason, believing that Lawrence was needed in the Delhi division, simply sent up another man. Hardinge countered by sending Thomason's candidate back and demanding Lawrence for the Jallandhar Doab, that is, the Trans-Satlaj district.¹⁰³ Thornton, Thomason's secretary, suggested that this attempt to obstruct Hardinge's specific request indicated one of Thomason's few errors in judgment.¹⁰⁴

Thus it was that John Lawrence held the commissionership of the

¹⁰¹ Temple, Men and Events, 49. This was of course said following Thomason's decease. Kaye wrote that John Lawrence learned the anti-aristocratic bias from "the Gamaliel at whose feet he had sat, [namely] the virtuous, pureminded James Thomason", I, 153.

¹⁰² "The Administration of John Lawrence", CR (1867), 252.

¹⁰³ This was the area between the Satlaj and the Beas, two of the tributaries of the Indus.

¹⁰⁴ Smith, 190.

Trans-Satlaj until Dalhousie made him junior member of the Board of Administration. At the reconstruction of the administration of the Punjab in 1853, Lawrence emerged as the Chief Commissioner, a post he held until it was converted into a lieutenancy in 1859.

Lawrence has become one of the towering legendary figures among "the bold, independent, yet Christian rulers, uncrowned kings of men by grace and election". John's maxim was that "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen". Undoubtedly he spoke as a representative of that group of Christian civilians and military men who openly emphasized a Christian basis of government. Many of them were Thomasonians - Montgomery, the Thorntons, Tucker, and McLeod, to name a few. Others were soldiers, some from Addiscombe - Henry Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, James Outram, and Henry Havelock. They tended to fulfil the sneering prophecy of Sydney Smith that 'Methodism in the East will soon be the infallible road to promotion'.¹⁰⁵

The crucial question which complicated the relations between Dalhousie and Henry Lawrence was succinctly stated in 1883 by B. Smith:

The annexation of the Punjab overthrew the dream of a lifetime - the establishment of a strong, friendly, independent native power between ourselves and the wild Afghan tribes. Henry had struggled against the idea of annexation while it was yet in the future with all the chivalry and generosity of his nature; and now that it was an accomplished fact, he accepted it as such, set himself to make the best of it, and struggled . . . to ease the fall of the privileged classes. He contested every inch of ground with Lord Dalhousie, and with his brother John, who saw, more clearly than he did, how impossible it was in view of the poverty of the masses, for the two systems of government - the native feudal system, based on huge grants of land, on immunities from taxation, and on

¹⁰⁵O'Malley, Modern India (1941), 319-20. See Chapter Five.

military service; and our own, based on equality before the law, on equal and light assessments, and on reforms and improvements of every kind - to exist side by side. The more that could be left to the Sirdars of their dignity . . . the better, in Henry Lawrence's judgement; the worse in John's and Lord Dalhousie's. In the one case the few would gain, in the other the many. It was one of those questions on which honest and honourable and far-seeing men might well differ.¹⁰⁶

Whether or not this is a fair presentation, Dalhousie did not match Lawrence's chivalry. Henry and his "school" were rudely shaken from their accustomed positions of influence. On 3 February 1849 Dalhousie placed the Resident under the strictest subordination to himself.¹⁰⁷ Before the month was out, he had thoroughly disabused Henry's military assistants, among them the Christian zealot, H. B. Edwardes, of any "illusions" they may have had about the degree of their authority. They were not to presume anything beyond precise instructions from Dalhousie.¹⁰⁸

There was from the beginning, however, no indication that Henry would be set aside. Dalhousie assured him: "You shall have the best men I can find in India to act with you - your brother [John] to begin with".¹⁰⁹ Dalhousie also asked Henry to put forward frankly his proposals regarding "an agency for civil purposes". On 11 March, from his camp at Ferozpur, Dalhousie requested an interview with John to convey to Henry what he did not wish to put into writing. It is likely that

¹⁰⁶Smith, I, 328-9.

¹⁰⁷Dalhousie to H. Lawrence, 3 February 1849 (D - 97).

¹⁰⁸Apparently Henry had himself complained about dereliction of duty in his "Lahore Establishment", 20 and 25 February 1849. Dalhousie's displeasure persisted. In a letter to John on 23 July 1850 he called Edwardes, who grew to the stature of a "Titan" in the popular imagination, a "vaunting coxcomb". Ibid. See below for other references to Edwardes.

¹⁰⁹Dalhousie to Henry, 26 February 1849. Ibid.

Dalhousie's full intentions to annex the Punjab and to set up a board as a governing instrument were discussed at this time. Eight days later he responded to Henry's proposals by sending Elliot on a "special mission", presumably to conclude arrangements for the annexation and to inaugurate the new administration of the defeated state. "The whole of my intention", he wrote, "with the mode in which they [sic] are to be carried into effect will be communicated by him to you, and in part of them you, as Resident, are also associated with him."¹¹⁰ As a result, Henry was made president, Mansel senior member, and John junior member.

Sometime between that communication and 13 April, Henry Lawrence requested senior positions for Robert Napier, Edwardes, Harry Lumsden, and William Hodson. Dalhousie replied curtly: "While you are Resident, it was very well to call these officers Assistants to the Resident; now that a regular Civil Government is established, there will be necessarily required regularity of function and distinction of nomenclature."¹¹¹ The meaning was clear. Dalhousie had no senior places for them initially. Their names did not appear on the list drawn up by Elliot for 1 April 1849.¹¹² Hodson, for example, was added later as a deputy commissioner

¹¹⁰ Emphasis mine, Dalhousie to Henry, 27 March 1849. Ibid.

¹¹¹ Napier would have enough to do, Dalhousie said, as an engineering officer; while Lumsden and Hodson of the Guides had their police duties and did not need reclassification, Ibid. Lumsden, at the suggestion of Henry had "formed a corps of Guides, horse and foot, and originated the khaki uniform for the Indian army", DIB.

¹¹² D - 456. The names of Edwardes and John Nicholson, another hero in British eyes, were stricken from the list, though their names appeared in the CR for 21 April 1849 as deputy commissioners, presumably as a result of John's appeal on their behalf. The FI commented on the Punjab personnel on 26 March and 7 April 1849. The

of the third grade, receiving about twenty percent of the salary of the civilian commissioners Montgomery, McLeod, and Thornton. Edmonstone was brought up to the Punjab in November as Dalhousie's choice for a position Henry would have given to a military person.¹¹³

The myth of the Henry Lawrence school survived this blow. For Bosworth Smith claimed in 1883 that, "installed for eight years [in 1846] the supreme ruler of the Punjab" and "invested with unlimited authority", Henry drew around him a band of assistants who were "united by bonds of personal attachment and sympathy, the like of which has never been seen in India".¹¹⁴ Smith continued:

When the Board was broken up, recruited [sic] by a goodly number of men who were almost as much attracted by the widely different gifts of the younger as they themselves had been by those of the elder brother, they worked on with undiminished zeal under John Lawrence as Chief Commissioner.¹¹⁵

There are some gross exaggerations in these statements. First, Henry could claim to have ruled supremely for three years at the very most - only until 1849 when Dalhousie arrived to assert his will.

statistical breakdown was as follows: there were 27 civilians, 29 military. Of these 24 were English, 20 Scottish and 10 Irish. All except two were drawn from the NWP. The exceptions were taken from Bengal, but only at the lowest grades. The Madras establishment, which requested places in the Punjab, was denied.

¹¹³Dalhousie to Henry, 12 December 1849 (D - 97).

¹¹⁴Smith, I, 227. The Addiscombians were: George Lawrence ('21), G. Macgregor ('22), J. Abbott ('23), Robert Napier (later Magdala - '28), J. Becher ('37), R. Pollock ('39), and Edward J. Lake ('40), likely the biographer of D. F. McLeod, of this paper; other military figures were: Edwardes, J. Nicholson, Harry Lumsden, and Reynell Taylor; Haileyburians: Arthur Cocks ('37), and L. B. Bowring ('43).

¹¹⁵Ibid. Dalhousie resented precisely this assumption that it was either one or both of the Lawrences who served as the supreme magnet in the North.

Second, his assistants were, as noted, deliberately downgraded, at least for a time. Once John began to shoulder the burdens of state at Lahore, assisted by Mansel and then Montgomery, their contribution to the creation of the Punjab system was decimated. More than once, as Dalhousie noted, John had taken charge because Henry needed to be away for long periods to prevent a complete breakdown in health. Yet, as Smith pointed out, there were staunch "Henry-ites" who complained that John in his successful administration of the Punjab, "reaped the fruits of that which he had had little share in sowing".¹¹⁶

Such misrepresentations have persisted to this day. Naidis who in 1961 had not read the Thomason papers naturally emphasized the Henry Lawrence 'wing' of the Punjab system. While these paragraphs are not intended to downgrade Henry, they merely represent an effort, long overdue, to see him and his brother John in a perspective which rightfully includes Thomason. The John Lawrence 'wing' of the system, which gained the ascendancy, grew out of the reforming conservatism of Thomason and his disciples in Northern India. In practice, it meant the introduction of peasant proprietorship and vernacular education and led, in the Punjab, to the undoing of the fetters of "official neutrality".¹¹⁷

Henry learned on 23 December 1852 of Dalhousie's basic attitude

¹¹⁶Ibid., 236, 332. On 20 November 1849 Dalhousie for the first time wrote John that he was to pace himself - "don't throw away your strength prematurely[!]". He continued: "We cannot afford to spare you even for a time - you are building up a great reputation of establishing the strongest claims on the . . . gratitude of myself, or of anyone who may succeed me. . . ." (D - 97).

¹¹⁷For a fair appreciation of the Punjab school, see the reference in P. Spear, India, 656; W. Lee-Warner, Dalhousie, I, 243ff.

toward him. He told Henry plainly that it was his conviction from the beginning that the Punjab required civilian administrators "fully versed in the system of the older provinces and experienced in its operations". He added that he would hold this opinion "were Sir Thomas Munro the President of the Board of Administration". Clearly, Dalhousie was of the opinion that Henry was no Munro.¹¹⁸ As Smith suggested, Henry was doubtless a "wounded man" after that rapier-like thrust.¹¹⁹

A careful perusal of the concurrent Dalhousie-Thomason correspondence helps to explain Dalhousie's Punjab policy, which brought him into collision with Henry.¹²⁰ Finding Thomason completely co-operative and using Elliot as his liaison, Dalhousie inaugurated his experiment in administration by a Board whose subordinates were drawn from both the civilian and military branches of the Service.¹²¹ In response to Elliot's communication for the transfer of his men, Thomason wrote the Governor-General at the frontier:

¹¹⁸Dalhousie told Hobhouse as early as 25 May 1849 that Henry was not a Munro, Broughton Papers. He waited until December 1852 to tell Henry directly. The FI editors who were admirers of Henry admitted that he was probably the most slovenly-dressed man in India. On 27 July 1848 they said that "no man since Dr. Johnson evidenced so profound an indifference to the graces of the toilette". What impression would he make at a durbar beside bejewelled princes and handsomely-dressed Haileyburians and Addiscombians?

¹¹⁹Smith, I, 386.

¹²⁰To repeat, H. Lawrence was as opposed to the annexation of the Punjab as his brother and others favoured it. Dalhousie told Hobhouse in a letter that he had encumbered Henry with a brother, with Mansel, and other assistants, and censured him whenever he stepped out of line, 22 September 1849, Broughton Papers.

¹²¹Thomason to Dalhousie, 22 January and 28 February 1849 (D - 453). Thomason appeared ecstatic over the success of British armies against the Sikhs. He hoped the affair would end in the subjugation of the whole country.

I have received Mr. Elliot's intimation of the officers whom you have selected for employment in the Punjaub. They have all been made acquainted with the offer and have been directed to make known their determination to your private secretary direct. Arrangements have also been made to relieve them from their present charges at the earliest date. I shall feel much the loss of so many able men but I rejoice in the new field that is opening for the exercise of their talents. . . . 122

Dalhousie, more than gratified with Thomason's co-operation, replied: "I regard your Province as the mine out of which I may dig good public servants knowing that others will speedily be forthcoming in their place; and I heartily trust you may long retain your Government under which such excellent training is carried on." He continued:

To anybody else but yourself I should be inclined to make an apology for proposing to rob you of so many of your best men. You will not be inclined to quarrel with the omission of it, when you know that I am sincere in saying it proceeds from my perfect conviction that we both . . . have nothing but the general good of the state in view - and that you will object to nothing . . . , believing that I will propose nothing which I do not in my conscience believe to be necessary and right.¹²³

Having consulted with Thomason, as indicated, Elliot communicated Dalhousie's instructions to the Punjab Board. With reference to the new men he wrote: "As they have all been selected for their known or presumed qualifications, the Governor-General has no doubt you will find them as efficient a body of public servants as have ever been employed in a single province in India. . . ."¹²⁴ While he hinted that more would be added, he affirmed that "these will have to be sufficient to initiate

¹²²Thomason to Dalhousie, 19 March 1849, Ibid. See his letter to his intimate friend Montgomery on the same theme, Chapter Four, reference # 123.

¹²³Dalhousie to Thomason, 24 March 1849 (D - 78).

¹²⁴Elliot to Punjab Board, 31 March 1849 (D - 455).

the administration of the Punjab".

That Thomason felt that he was sharing with Dalhousie a most significant moment in Anglo-Indian history may be seen from his letter of 5 April. He animadverted as follows:

In a very short time the Punjab will take its place as part of this great country, where our rule is firmly established. . . . The present is a favourable opportunity for extending our limits. The system on which new countries are to be governed has been reduced to a method and a trained agency is at hand. We have profitted by the experience of nearly fifty years since we asserted our supremacy over the Doab [NWP]. I can anticipate no difficulty in the undertaking with the means your Lordship has at command and the vigilance you will exercise.

The closing scene at Lahore must have been impressive though melancholy. It is impossible to see a dynasty [the Sikh] pass away without a lively conviction of the instability of all that is human.

Our difficulties are now of another sort. It is no easy task to maintain spirit and efficiency in all branches of the public service, when our power has reached its culminating point. But for this too I trust we shall be equal. . . .¹²⁵

From Elliot's official communication and the obvious Dalhousie-Thomason co-sponsorship of the new administration, Henry Lawrence could only conclude that Dalhousie preferred to use men trained and policies matured under Thomason at Agra.

Unfortunately the differences between Henry Lawrence and John, supported by Dalhousie, could not be reconciled. Undoubtedly, Dalhousie's description of Henry as a "veritable Sikh" was the jaundiced view of an ardent empire-builder.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Percival Spear's view of a strong tendency for reform in Henry is also exaggerated. Ac-

¹²⁵Thomason to Dalhousie, 5 April 1849 (D - 453).

¹²⁶Dalhousie to Hobhouse, 22 September 1849, Broughton Papers. See reference # 118.

according to this authority, Henry wanted reform equally as much as John and Dalhousie, but he wanted it applied "with the consent and support of the aristocracy". The other side was prepared to impose reform from above "without or in spite of" the Sikh chiefs. Whatever the precise truth, there was this essential difference of opinion in matters of principle, and because of it Henry remained "'a suffering servant' [of the Board], admired but not followed", until he was sent to Rajputana as A.G.G. and John became chief commissioner.¹²⁷

These difficulties soon began to threaten the life of the Board. The earliest symptoms of distress were registered by the first man placed in the middle between the Lawrences. Charles Grenville Mansel ('26)¹²⁸ began his career in the secretarial line, but in 1832 found himself promoted to acting magistrate and collector of Agra district. Responsible for the land revenue settlement there under the general superintendence of Bird, he remained as a settlement officer until called to Auckland's secretariat for the NWP in February 1837. This office brought him into close association with James Thomason and John R. Colvin.

After further experience with the financial concerns of the Supreme Council, particularly during Ellenborough's term (1842-44), Mansel was selected by Dalhousie in 1849 to serve as senior member of the Punjab Board. Kaye said Mansel was chosen for his "high reputation as one of the ablest financiers in India". Henry Lawrence, it was wide-

¹²⁷Spear, 656.

¹²⁸Mansel, b. 27 July 1806; d. 19 November 1886. I, 2.

ly reported, lacked financial acumen. Moreover, it was felt that a reflective type was required to moderate the more impulsive nature of the Lawrences.¹²⁹

Like Montgomery after him, Mansel felt somewhat put upon - sandwiched between Henry and John Lawrence. Mansel wrote Dalhousie on August 4 1849, expressing his misgivings about the Board. Dalhousie allowed that the formation of a Board was not his first preference: "It was not open to me for various reasons . . . to adopt the form I should have preferred."¹³⁰

Thomason, who was prepared to place Mansel in Agra, was informed that Mansel's misgivings about the Punjab - its annexation and administration - would make it impossible for him to refuse another position. Dalhousie also affirmed that, while Henry would likely not be able to stay, Mansel could not be made president.¹³¹ Nor could John - who was clearly Dalhousie's choice to supersede Henry - be permitted to resign, as he intimated in November that he would, for that would wreck the administrative machine.¹³² The problem was resolved temporarily by a more precise division of financial and judicial responsibilities, particularly in April and May 1850. During the fall of the next year, in order to overcome the embarrassment arising out of his unwillingness to offer

¹²⁹Kaye, I, 52.

¹³⁰Dalhousie to Mansel, 22 August 1849 (D - 97). Yet Dalhousie defended the system against all critics and expressed his entire satisfaction with its performance.

¹³¹Dalhousie to Thomason, 13 December 1849 (D - 79).

¹³²Dalhousie to J. Lawrence, 24 November 1849 (D - 97).

Mansel the presidency, Dalhousie posted him to the residency of Nagpur.¹³³ Mansel obliged by moving to Nagpur to allow John to become senior member of the Board. But there Mansel embarrassed Dalhousie in 1854 by objecting to an application of the doctrine of lapse. Never an ardent annexationist, Mansel resigned the Service when Nagpur was taken, rather than "humour a governor".¹³⁴ A man of principle, appreciated as an evangelical by his brethren, he was an example of the 'outspoken service'.

Those Thomasonians who contributed most to the Punjab tradition, a compound of paternalism, reform, and evangelicalism, were Montgomery, who filled the role of mediator between the Lawrence brothers until the Board's reorganization, Edmonstone, McLeod, E. P. Thornton, Barnes, and Temple.¹³⁵

Robert Montgomery ('28) was educated at Foyle College, Londonderry, Wraxall Hall, and Addiscombe, 1826-28.¹³⁶ His early career at Azamgarh under Thomason, their mutual friendship with Henry Lawrence,

¹³³ Dalhousie to Mansel, 9 October 1851 (D - 98). His salary was continued at £5,000.

¹³⁴ Kaye, I, 52.

¹³⁵ Montgomery, McLeod and Thornton were the key Thomasonians at the commissioner level. The other Haileyburian at that level was M. P. Edgeworth ('31); the fifth commissioner was Captain D. Ross.

Barnes was at first listed among the deputy commissioners, also Cust. Both had been in the Punjab before the annexation. Temple of course went up in 1851, as this chapter will show.

¹³⁶ Robert Montgomery, b. 1809; d. 28 December 1887. III, 8. He was a "competitive" of 1828. At certain occasions the distinctions between Haileyburians and non-Haileyburians was sharply drawn. For example, Montgomery was not invited to the Haileybury dinner in 1864. In spite of his poor academic performance, he became a first-rate officer under Thomason.

Note to antiquarians: he was at Addiscombe 1826-1828 and not 1823-25 as in the DNB.

and his marriage to Frances Thomason,¹³⁷ have been noted. Leaving Azamgarh in 1837, he eventually became collector and magistrate in the Benares and Allahabad division. Because he completed the settlement of Allahabad district within one year, he was among those criticized for the haste with which the work was done.¹³⁸ In 1849 Thomason relinquished him to Elliot and Dalhousie for the Punjab. There he replaced Mansel in 1851, becoming judicial commissioner in 1853 under John Lawrence as chief commissioner. After a brief stint as chief commissioner of Oudh, 1858-59, he became Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, 1859-1865. Knighted by the Queen,¹³⁹ he joined the ranks of those who were appointed to the Council of India to advise the Secretary of State (1868).

While at Lahore as Commissioner, Montgomery wrote a comprehensive report, "of all that has been done for the promotion of good government in the districts under his supervision". Dalhousie, in response, said "he [could not] express too strongly his sense of the value of Montgomery's service to the Government".¹⁴⁰ In March 1858 Montgomery sent Temple, Lawrence's secretary, the substance of his Mutiny Records.

¹³⁷There were no children from this marriage. Montgomery's second to Ellen Jane Lambert eventually produced a famous grandson, Bernard Law Montgomery, Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein.

¹³⁸Nevill, ed., Allahabad Gazetteer, XXIII (Allahabad, 1911), 127.

¹³⁹K.C.B., 17 May 1859; G.C.S.I., 20 February 1866, DIB.

¹⁴⁰P. Melvill, secretary to the Punjab Board, to Elliot, 4 December 1859, in HM (760), 129, 197. For a more critical view the reader is referred to the Hindoo Patriot, 11 June 1859, in M. Ghosh, 323-4. What bothered the editor was "the beyond-belief summariness" with which suits in law were dispatched in the Punjab.

These two volumes catalogued many contributions by Haileyburians to the "salvation" of India in 1857.

In fact, the contribution of Haileybury College to the maintenance of English sovereignty in India in 1857-58 should be explored. Why should one man, John Lawrence, be seen as the only "saviour" of India? Temple in his transmission of Montgomery's Records to Government lauded the combined powers of Providence and the Civil Service, "to whom John Lawrence owes all".¹⁴¹

In his assessment, Kaye remarked that Montgomery was undoubtedly of the Thomasonian school, who . . . [because of this] concurred in the opinions and supported the views of John more frequently than those of Henry Lawrence, but at a later date, his measures both in Oude and the Punjab indicated his maturer acceptance of the principles and policies of the latter. In no one have the native aristocracy found a more generous advocate than in Sir Robert Montgomery.¹⁴²

Campbell, from his recollection of Montgomery in Oudh during the troubled year of 1858, tended to reinforce Kaye's view. He suggested that Montgomery was "not from any school; he was the least doctrinaire of men, but rather a born diplomat of great tact and temper".¹⁴³ And he might have added realism.

While the scope of this dissertation does not permit a full discussion of the Oudh annexation of 1856, a brief reference is necessary,

¹⁴¹ Mutiny Records (Lahore, 1911), II, 371, were published in two parts and are available at the IOL. Temple also singled out Montgomery and Bartle Frere ('33), among others.

¹⁴² Kaye, Sepoy War, II, 423-4; Malleon, History of the Indian Mutiny (1878-80), III, 262.

¹⁴³ Campbell, Memoirs, II, 8.

particularly in view of these comments. Before Montgomery became associated with Oudh directly, Dalhousie had ordered that a settlement in the tradition of Bird, Thomason, and the Punjab should be introduced. But the village communities which had experienced a settlement favourable to them nevertheless sided with the taluqdars when the Mutiny broke out. Although there was an immediate confiscatory measure announced, Canning reconsidered the matter on the advice of two prominent men who had earlier supported Dalhousie's land settlement in Oudh. These were James Outram, the first chief commissioner of Oudh, and John Lawrence.¹⁴⁴

Montgomery stepped into this situation on 3 April 1858, in succession to Outram. The new commissioner observed that

whatever the abstract idea of justice, whatever the principle we might have wished to see carried out regarding the tenure of the soil, the fact remains important and uncontrovertible that the superiority of these taluqdars forms a necessary element in the social constitution of the province of Oudh.

The necessity of their existence once admitted, it behoves us to direct the influence of taluqdars to the support of the Government. . . .¹⁴⁵

In this light, Montgomery may be seen, not as a "defector" from Thomsonian principles (or as a man matured under Henry Lawrence) but as a realist concerned with matters in Oudh, as he found them under Canning.

¹⁴⁴J. Raj, 22. Raj wrote: "No greater measure of the difficulty of the moment, and of the disappointed disillusion suffered by those who had shared Dalhousie's views can be found than this advice from two ardent supporters of the village proprietors. . . ."

¹⁴⁵From Montgomery's Report on Oudh Administration (1859), quoted in Raj, 28-29. Emphasis mine. In order to gain an adequate understanding of the impact of the Mutiny towards a reconsideration of British policies, the reader is referred to the recent studies of Metcalf (1964) and Raj (1967).

Moreover, his statement implied that he could have wished to see a settlement more nearly akin to the Thomason kind. Kaye's view of Montgomery therefore suggests special pleading for the sake of the reputation of Henry Lawrence, whose support of this aristocracy had been too generous for Dalhousie. Perhaps Montgomery did mature, as suggested, while serving as the man in the middle between Henry and John (1851-53). What is more credible, however, is that Kaye, the historian, living in London, changed his view more than did Montgomery. Following the Mutiny, it was Kaye who saw the Bird-Thomason settlement from a totally new perspective. In his Sepoy War he therefore accentuated the errors of that settlement, to which he merely alluded in his 1853 history, The Administration of the East India Company.¹⁴⁶

George Frederick Edmonstone ('31)¹⁴⁷ must rank with the Thorntons as a key settlement officer. In 1838 he followed J. Thornton's pattern of decimating a taluqdar's estate in Mainpuri on the ground that his proprietary claims to 189 villages could be justified in only fifty-one cases. While Bird in his 1842 report hardly mentioned Mainpuri, Robertson in his of the same year protested against Edmonstone's revision of it.¹⁴⁸ He drew the line equally at the latter's dealing at Mainpuri (Mynpoory) in Agra division and at Thornton's in Aligar (Allyghur). Robertson, as the departing Lieutenant-Governor, "exhibited" these as "specimens of

¹⁴⁶ Perhaps because of the publication in 1858 of the Boulderson "Minute on Talookdaree Cases" suppressed since 1844. See Kaye, Administration, 256-267 and Chapter Four.

¹⁴⁷ G. F. Edmonstone, b. April 1813; d. 24 September 1864. I, 3.

¹⁴⁸ Robert Bird, "Report on the Settlement in the NWP", 21 January 1842, PP, LXXV (1852-53), 132, 134.

the summary process whereby settlement officers such as [Edmonstone and Thornton] and their superiors, [Bird and Thomas Jacob Turner ('17), supported by Thomason, Colvin and Auckland], got over the difficulty of reconciling conflicting titles".¹⁴⁹

Edmonstone was the son of a director of the Company, Neil B. Edmonstone. Prepared by a tutor in 1829, he was pronounced "no less distinguished by gentlemanly manners and exemplary conduct than by unremitting diligence and rapid improvement". In fact, the tutor judged that George had ability "equal to two brothers" preceding him to Haileybury.¹⁵⁰

Prior to his revision of Mainpuri (1838-40), he learned settlement work in the Benares division, also briefly in Allahabad (1837-38). In late 1849 he was appointed commissioner and superintendent of the Cis-Satlaj. When John Lawrence became chief commissioner in the Punjab (1853), Edmonstone became financial commissioner and an acknowledged "tower of strength" to Lawrence.¹⁵¹ Two years later Dalhousie took him as his Foreign Secretary, a position he retained under Canning¹⁵² until appointed lieutenant-governor of the NWP in 1859.

Edmonstone's reputation for "sweeping with a large broom" pre-

¹⁴⁹Robertson, "Minute", 15 April 1842. Ibid. 120-6.

¹⁵⁰Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, 1765-1841, a member of the Supreme Council, 1811-18, was a Director of the Company, 1820-40. Of three sons sent to Haileybury, only George distinguished himself. William E. ('24) died in 1827; Neil Jr. ('27) retired from the Service in 1842.

¹⁵¹Smith, Lawrence, I, 432.

¹⁵²Canning ranked Edmonstone the ablest of his five secretaries, all first-rate. Michael Maclagen, 'Clemency' Canning (1962), 46.

ceded him to the Cis-Satlaj states. Cust, who had been moved from the Trans to the Cis-Satlaj territory in late 1849, wrote that Edmonstone's coming from Agra promised a cleansing of the "Augean stables". Cust in July 1850 recorded a long conversation he had had with Edmonstone. "We . . . came as reformers and proceeded steadily to lop off the excrescences of past years, and introduce an entirely new system - a work of immense labour and very unpopular - but it was to be done and it has been done [supported by John Lawrence]." ¹⁵³

Lawrence found Edmonstone superior as an administrator to McLeod, Raikes, and Barnes. "Edmonstone", he wrote to H. B. Edwardes, "has not the intellect of Donald [McLeod]; he has not his knowledge of the customs and habits of the people; but, by order and economy of time, joined to an iron constitution, he did treble the work that Donald does; and, on the whole, he did it better". ¹⁵⁴

Donald Friell McLeod ('28) ¹⁵⁵ was one of those 'saints' of the Empire who excited the admiration of evangelicals. ¹⁵⁶ More moderate than H. B. Edwardes, ¹⁵⁷ more fervent in his religious zeal than Thomason,

¹⁵³Cust, Journal, 3 December 1849, 6 January 1850, and see longer accounts of July and August of 1850.

¹⁵⁴Smith, 410.

¹⁵⁵D. F. McLeod, b. 6 May 1810; d. in railway accident, 28 November 1872. I, 2.

¹⁵⁶Less well-known than David Livingstone, Bartle Frere or "Chinese" Gordon, but equally admired by a smaller circle.

¹⁵⁷Edwardes, one of Mason's "Titans of the Punjab", a literalist Bible-believer, raised and answered three questions respecting the Indian Empire: how it was got - God gave it to English conquest; how it was used - emancipatory English rule succeeded Koran-rule by the sword; how

he tried in 1835 to interest Calcutta churches in evangelizing the hill tribes of his district in Saugor,¹⁵⁸ south of Gwalior, where he was stationed from 1831-43. His spiritual concern also extended to the military and civilian staff. Failing help from English resources, he hoped for German-speaking missionaries from Switzerland. What, after all, he asked, was "the purpose of our being here", if not "to confer on [Indians] the treasures of the Gospel". Because too many English gave the impression that they 'feared neither God nor man', "the natives we have come to rule over consider us 'the irreligious government'."¹⁵⁹ Later in his career McLeod found support for his evangelical convictions in the Punjab. His contributions to the question of grants-in-aid and Bible-reading in government schools will be discussed in Chapter Five.

McLeod, born in Calcutta, descending from Scottish Highland and French Huguenot families, was educated for Haileybury in Edinburgh and London. In 1843 he became collector and magistrate in Benares. From there he was taken in 1849 as one of the commissioners to serve under the Lawrences and Mansel. From the position of financial commissioner

it will end - "first fit India for freedom and then set her free!" In other words, until India is leavened with Christianity, she will be unfit for freedom! Emma Edwardes, Memorials of H. B. Edwardes (1886), II, 227-243. Cf. reference # 108.

¹⁵⁸ Later made part of the Central Provinces, but under Thomason's jurisdiction for the period under discussion.

¹⁵⁹ Major-General Edward Lake, Sir Donald McLeod (1873), 38-42. McLeod's first missionaries were carried off by cholera.

McLeod was unusual among Haileyburians in that he became a Baptist in 1829 while in the BCS by submitting to "believer's adult baptism". One W. Frith used this case for his pamphlet "Decision for Christian Ordinance" (1873), available at the BM.

(1855-60) he rose to the highest civil office.¹⁶⁰

His close ties with evangelicals and Thomasonians were cemented by his marriage in 1854 to Fanny Montgomery, presumably a sister to Robert,¹⁶¹ the judicial commissioner. While an anonymous writer referred to McLeod as a mere "cypher" under the domineering John Lawrence,¹⁶² it was the latter who recommended him in 1865 for lieutenant in succession to R. Montgomery. Even so, Lawrence was mildly critical. Of McLeod he wrote: "Morally and intellectually he has no superior in the Punjab, perhaps no equal. But, as an administrator, he is behind Edmonstone" In the same letter to H. B. Edwardes he concluded that "Donald is not fit for a new country; he has with all his virtues, radical defects [as an administrator]. I see this, who love the man; what more can I say?"¹⁶³ Fit or not for the Punjab system, McLeod was retained and elevated!

After his death, Lawrence recalled their schooldays together at Haileybury:

We first met at Haileybury College, and were very intimate. [In India] we were in close and constant communication from 1849-1859. In the worst days of the Mutiny we lived under the same roof McLeod, when at College, gave full promise of what he turned out in after life. He was then a most genial, pleasant and disinterested friend He was through life a sincere and zealous Christian, without a particle . . . of

¹⁶⁰ He was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1865-70, made a C.B. in 1860, a K.C.S.I. in 1866.

¹⁶¹ This wedding took place on 10 October 1854; Mrs. McLeod died 25 August 1855.

¹⁶² See "The Administration of J. Lawrence", CR (1867), 252.

¹⁶³ Smith, Lawrence, I, 409-410.

bigotry. In India he was the earnest and liberal friend of every good work . . . , a worthy type of the best or our civilians"¹⁶⁴

Although only Temple called McLeod a Thomasonian, his close association with J. Lawrence and the Punjab system - an extension of the Thomasonian school refashioned only by the character of Lawrence - made him a member of that school.

Edward Parry Thornton ('31)¹⁶⁵ the brother of John, established his reputation by making two settlements in the Meerut division: first at Saharanpur, 1835-39, and then at Muzaffarnagar, 1839-42. His reports were noted in the Court's 1851 review of the settlement of the NWP. A comment from the Meerut commissioner, George Fleming Franco ('17), Thornton's superior, illustrated how Bird's settlement officers bypassed members of the "old" school. Franco was one of those who felt that the proceedings under Regulation IX of 1833 were "materially and adversely" affecting the "zemandaree gentry". He wrote:

Mr. Thornton was always [in consequence of the difference of our views] particular in furnishing me with the details of each case; and as his proceedings were in accordance with the well-known sentiments of my superiors in the Revenue Department [Bird, 1832-42; Thomason, 1842-3] and never contrary to law, I was seldom called on to interfere in any other way than to confirm the order he had passed.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴Lake, McLeod, 108.

¹⁶⁵E. P. Thornton, b. 7 October 1811; d. 10 December 1893. I, 2. For Thornton's family background, see under John Thornton. E. P. Thornton should not be confused with his contemporary Edward Thornton who wrote a six-volume history of India. The latter was on the staff of East India House, 1814-1857, DIB.

¹⁶⁶Noted in the Court's Despatch, 13 August 1851, PP, LXXV (1852-53), 233.

After a furlough in England, Thornton became collector at Mathura in Agra division, where the young Richard Temple ('46) was referred to him as a first-rate master. Temple described Thornton as "religious, thorough-going in all affairs, studious respecting native ideas and customs, always on horseback at sunrise overlooking the things under his charge." Under him Temple was initiated into "the Settlement" according to the training Thornton had received under Bird and Thomason.¹⁶⁷

Subsequently, in 1849 Thornton was selected for one of five commissionerships in the Punjab. Ten years later he replaced Robert Montgomery as judicial commissioner of the Punjab.

George Carnac Barnes ('37)¹⁶⁸ is one of the few Haileyburians recently brought to scholarly notice: L. S. S. O'Malley in 1932 published "A Great Civilian: G. C. Barnes",¹⁶⁹ O'Malley found Barnes attractive because he had become the subject of Indian ballads sung in Kangra, the Punjab district he held under John Lawrence. One of these went as follows:¹⁷⁰

People praise Barnes Sahib and all wish to serve him
And praise none other than him.
He came to this tract of country in 1904 Bikram [A. D. 1847]
And showered blessings on the poor.
To the poor he gave money, food and comfort,
Hearing his name while standing on the road
People begin to dance there.
His name alone makes people happy,

¹⁶⁷ Temple, My Life, I, 34-41.

¹⁶⁸ G. C. Barnes, b. 4 June 1818; d. 13 May 1861. I, 2.

¹⁶⁹ O'Malley, in BPP, XLIII (1932), 1-9.

¹⁷⁰ Ballad # 2 in O'Malley's article, 8. Sir George Barnes, son of G. C. Barnes and a member of the Viceroy's Council, 1916-21, informed O'Malley about the ballads.

His name alone has power to remove all pains and miseries,
And so we sing his praises from our hearts.

The life and career of G. C. Barnes illustrated the close association of the upper middle class with both India and evangelicalism. His mother was a sister to James Rivett-Carnac, a Director of the Company, Governor of Bombay (1839-41), and of west country gentry.¹⁷¹ His father was Archdeacon Barnes of Bombay, who succeeded his friend Bishop Heber at Calcutta in 1828. The son became intimately involved, to use O'Malley's phrase, with the "bold Christian rulers" of the Punjab.¹⁷²

Before his transfer to the Punjab, he served an apprenticeship in the Provinces, "the great official school", as Temple called it. His first assignments in Rohilkhand coincided with Raikes' career; those in Delhi with Lawrence and Edmonstone. Barnes, with the approbation of the SBR, did no less than revise one of Lawrence's first settlements. Briefly stated, the revenue officials had withheld notice of the settlement of Gurgaon because Lawrence had obviously overassessed the land. The Court, pointing to Lawrence and other civilians, commented on this 1843 situation as follows:

¹⁷¹R. Temple's mother was also a Rivett-Carnac, hence Temple and Barnes were cousins. Ever since Kipling wrote that "if there was a single loaf of bread in all India, it would be divided between [sic] the Plowdens, the Trevors, the Beadons and the Rivett-Carnacs", the statement has been repeated without particularly investigating its validity. See Mark Naidis, "Richard Temple: Literary Proconsul". SAQ, LXV (1966) 82-94. He took it from Philip Mason, The Guardians, 61. Although the family relationships may have been unusually large, there are family names which occur with greater frequency in the Haileybury and Addiscombe lists. If Kipling was referring to the ICS in his day - the age of the competitiveness - the statement is further weakened.

¹⁷²Modern India, 319. Mason called them the "Titans" of the Punjab, in The Founders.

The unhappy system of high and always increasing nominal assessments, with constant, capricious ill-considered remissions, has so fixed itself on the minds of the district officers, that they have in most cases shrunk from proposing such an amount of reduction as is necessary to form an assessment which the people can pay regularly and prosper.

Barnes thus came to official notice for revising downward an assessment made by Lawrence.¹⁷³

From Delhi Barnes was transferred in 1846 to the Trans-Satlaj under Lawrence, Hardinge's Commissioner. There he settled Kangra and wrote his Report. Later in 1852 he became commissioner of Lahore, two years later commissioner of the Cis-Satlaj states in succession to Edmonstone. Lawrence wrote to Barnes in November, 1855:

I am sorry I shall not see you before you go home, as there is no knowing if we may ever meet again. I think, on the whole, you have made a good Commissioner . . . but not equal to Edmonstone. He is a greater workman than you will ever be . . . Your forte is the revenue line, not the judicial. You are too impulsive for the latter If you come back to me, I shall be glad; if you get a promotion elsewhere I shall be content.¹⁷⁴

Such blunt appraisals were not unusual in the Punjab system.

After the Mutiny, according to O'Malley, Canning appointed Barnes secretary to the Foreign Department in succession to Edmonstone. Unfortunately, he died in May 1861, while on assignment. Robert Montgomery, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, composed the following lines for Barnes' widow:

¹⁷³See PP, LXXV (1852-53) 283. Bosworth Smith, uncritical of his hero at this juncture, merely used Lawrence's appointment in 1836 to Gurgaon to show that this meant a more 'substantive' one than any he had received. Smith, I, 177.

¹⁷⁴Lawrence to Barnes, 22 November 1855, in Smith, I, 434.

Oft' will the grey beards tell with proud delight
 Of him who helped them to secure their right,
 And teach their children, yet unborn, to praise
 The British ruler of their fathers' days:
 To British hearts that man will still be dear
 In peril's darkest hour who showed no fear.¹⁷⁵

Richard Temple ('46)¹⁷⁶ a gifted civilian, whose career has a prominent place in this dissertation, has recently been the subject of several published articles. Mark Naidis, for example, recently provided a character sketch, with the emphasis on Temple's literary efforts.¹⁷⁷

That he was a "crammer" at Rugby and Haileybury there is little doubt. By hard work, and heeding the advice of a former classmate on "the best things to get up" for the examination,¹⁷⁸ Temple distinguished himself as a great prizewinner. Before his departure he received an accolade from Henry Melvill, the Principal of Haileybury, who was pleased with the "admirable manner" in which Temple had handled himself at college. The "sound moral elements" in his character had made him an outstanding headman in his final term.¹⁷⁹

Temple was one of the last men to come under the mentorship of both Thomason and Lawrence. During a brief apprenticeship under Edward Thornton, Temple served ably but also began an early clamour for pro-

¹⁷⁵O'Malley, "Barnes", 6-7.

¹⁷⁶Richard Temple, b. 27 March 1826; d. 15 March 1902. I, 1.

¹⁷⁷Naidis, "Temple", 82-94; see also Hambly, "Temple", 47-66.

¹⁷⁸This friend remains anonymous because of faulty binding of this addition to the Temple Papers (see Eur. 86/48 - IOL).

¹⁷⁹Melvill to Temple, 29 June 1846, Temple Papers.

motion by a transfer to the Punjab. He got his wish in 1851. It was recognized that, though he was ambitious for the higher grades of purse and power, he had ability and had proved himself efficient, for example, in the establishment of a police force on the Grand Trunk road in the Allahabad district.¹⁸⁰

Not everything he did, however, was looked upon without demur. When in early 1854 he sought to go back to the Provinces as registrar under John R. Colvin, Dalhousie dissented. Writing officially to John Lawrence at Lahore, the Governor-General argued that, although Temple was not one of the men picked to settle the Punjab in 1849, he had been "much brought forward", overtaking senior men. He should not leave an unfinished task in his own district "anymore than any of those specially selected" from the NWP.¹⁸¹ Dalhousie had asked Montgomery how Temple could manage to settle his own district in the Jallandhar Doab and find time to produce such praiseworthy reports on the Punjab for its Board?¹⁸² When Philip Melvill died suddenly in mid-1854, Temple was made secretary to the Board, hence finding adequate scope both for his ambition and his exceptional capacity for work.

¹⁸⁰ Temple to Thomason, 13 May 1850; to Lawrence, 24 May; and his report regarding the police, 8 May. Temple Papers.

¹⁸¹ Dalhousie to Lawrence, 21 January 1854 (D - 99). The registrar's (registrar) position paid about £1,800, a tidy sum for one of eight year's standing.

¹⁸² Dalhousie to Montgomery, 8 August 1853. *Ibid.* The Hindoo Patriot, 22 April 1858, gave its version of how Temple and other Punjab officials became experts at image and empire-building, news management and concealment. If the public was not alerted Temple would beguile it into believing that the Punjab had "the best of systems and men". See M. Ghosh, 292-3.

Temple's demi-official correspondence illustrates how secretaries identified themselves so closely with the aims, policies, and thought-patterns of their chiefs that their writings and views became well-nigh indistinguishable from them. Between Temple and John Lawrence there was the "absolute accord between the Chief and his henchman".¹⁸³ This closeness, however, did not prevent Temple from referring his Punjab report to Thomason for suggestions. In fact, along with his personal despatch to Thomason of a copy of the first Punjab Report Temple added: "I am anxious to offer it for your acceptance because . . . in common with all the Revenue officers of the Punjab, I feel myself to be a pupil of your government" ¹⁸⁴

Throughout his long Indian career Temple maintained his devotion to his earliest mentor. For example, in his article, "Village Schools and Peasant Proprietorship", he brought together two of Thomason's lifetime concerns.¹⁸⁵ In 1870, when called upon to address the various branches of the National Indian Association, he recalled his beginnings under

¹⁸³ Temple, The Story of My Life, 71-72. Other examples which may be cited were the relationship of Thornton to Thomason and Colvin to Auckland. In the case of the last-mentioned it was widely-held that Auckland was much under the influence of his secretary. Hardinge made a special point of saying in his letters that he was "in the hands of no favourite who can insinuate that my good decisions are his, and my bad decisions my own". See references in letters to "Emily" his wife, 7 April 1845; and Charles Hardinge to his mother, 21 October 1845. Hardinge Papers.

¹⁸⁴ Temple to Thomason, 20 August 1852, Temple Papers.

¹⁸⁵ Temple, in the CR, XIV (1850), 138-208. This seventy-page article - informative, popular - is evidence of Temple's intellectual capacity and literary aptitude. See Chapters Four, Five and Six.

Thomason, and expressed his satisfaction that under such men British rule had been more popular than Native Rule.¹⁸⁶ Finally, in 1893 he attempted, as a labour of love, to bring to the notice of a late Victorian reading audience a name that had been all but forgotten, perhaps because Thomason died too soon for fame and titles.¹⁸⁷

Whereas Thomason was applauded for his great measures as well as his admirable character, Temple felt the intense dislike of many of his colleagues. Two of the last Haileyburians, G. R. Elsmie and John Beames, shared this antipathy. The former likened Temple to Napoleon III, not only because of facial resemblance, but also because of what Elsmie saw as a conscious imitation of the emperor's posture. Elsmie concluded that, although Temple was "very conceited", there was little doubt, that he had something to be conceited about. Beames thought Temple theatrical - a showman - who would dash off a "vainglorious minute" on a famine situation, for example, after a "wild scamper" daily over fifty miles of territory in an attempt to assess the situation.¹⁸⁸ Though the last Haileyburians and competitiveness were uncomplimentary, successive viceroys, Lytton among them, admired Temple's energy and ability, and saw him elevated to become Governor of Bombay.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Temple Papers, 209.

¹⁸⁷ Temple, James Thomason (1893).

¹⁸⁸ Elsmie, Thirty Five Years in the Punjab (1905), 55; see P. Mason's introduction to Beames' Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian (1961), 8. Napoleon III was everybody's bête noire at the time.

¹⁸⁹ Hambly, "Lord Lytton and the ICS", BPP, LXXIX (1960), 8.

Throughout his life he espoused evangelical doctrine,¹⁹⁰ bypassed the frivolous life,¹⁹¹ and supported missions. In 1881, for example, before an assembly convened by the S.P.G., he answered a ten-point "Objection to Missionary Work". His statement leaves little doubt that he believed he had offered the last word on the subject.¹⁹²

These fifteen Haileyburians and two early competitors - Elliot and Montgomery - and one Addiscombian whose career images have been identified with the person and administration of James Thomason, are representative of the best of the Civil Service which went to India under the patronage system. When one selects a number of their contemporaries as a peer group¹⁹³ - for purposes of comparison - the eighteen Thomasonians stand out favourably as to academic and literary achievement. They also appear outstanding for the number of senior positions they attained in the Service, as well as for the number of titles received.

Of the eighteen chosen for whom there were relatively adequate

¹⁹⁰W. Muir to Temple, 8 May 1852, Temple Papers.

¹⁹¹Sophie Taylor, a Calcutta dilettante, to Temple, 31 December [1861]. "I cannot believe you have renounced the world, your pomps and vanities; you have the happy faculty of throwing off care and . . . enjoy whatever is offered you [did she mean Agra and Lahore piety?] . . .". Ibid.

¹⁹²See statement of 7 November 1881, as seen in the BM.

¹⁹³Thomason's peers were those in the Service who were generally held in high esteem and who looked favourably on his Agra administration. Among these were Metcalfe, William and Robert Bird, Thomas Jacob Turner ('17) at the SBR, Fred Currie, who succeeded Thomason in the "blue ribbon" job under Ellenborough, Ross D. Mangles ('19) in Calcutta and then a Director, F. H. Robinson ('23) at Allahabad with Turner, F. J. Halliday, John Colvin, and C. E. Trevelyan, all of 1825, and John Peter Grant ('28). Younger men who admired Thomason, friends of Campbell and Cust, were Seton-Karr and John Strachey, not to mention others who might be called 'disciples' of Thomason.

primary sources (within the limitations of this dissertation), fourteen may be said to have been rated "first class", while three fell short, achieving only second class, and one, Montgomery, rated a third.

Sixteen, if not all, were avowed evangelicals. In this they were of course not very different from their peers, nor from other men who might have been included as Thomasonians: C. Allen ('27), John Muir ('28), M. R. Gubbins ('30), John Strachey ('42), H. R. Davies ('43) and H. S. Reid ('46). Cust was undoubtedly the most outspoken critic of the superiority complex of the evangelicals as a group.

Of the eighteen at least twelve became known as authors. Their writings, in some cases, are only less well-known and appreciated because of the relative neglect of the two pre-Mutiny decades. Of the eighteen two received honorary degrees, and twelve were honoured with titles ranging in distinction from the C.B. to the G.C.S.I..¹⁹⁴

Seven of the Thomasonians selected became lieutenant-governors, Temple Governor of Bombay, Thomason himself a governor-elect, while only Lawrence reached the pinnacle as Viceroy, in 1864. Following their official retirement from the Service to become "annuitants on

¹⁹⁴ Many eventually received titles, but Robert Peel resisted the demand, with respect to civilians, as long as he could. He was not in favour of the proliferation of titles and decorations. But Ellenborough and Dalhousie, in the cases of Clerk and Elliot, respectively, argued that the diplomatic work of these men had been as valuable as that of Henry Lawrence, who had received a K.C.B. in 1848. Lawrence was sent a notification of a C.B. in error, in 1843, after the Afghan war. Thomason attempted to sooth his ruffled feelings in that embarrassment and in the Nepal appointment, while Ellenborough appealed for the K.C.B. - see Edwardes, I, 433. See Introduction, reference # 31.

the fund",¹⁹⁵ five served on the Council to advise the Secretary of State for India, while two won seats in the Commons.

Thirteen were taken to the Punjab for varying periods between 1846 and 1854. Many of these were immediately placed in the top administrative posts, especially in 1849 under Dalhousie, thus superseding the military-political administration of the Resident, Henry Lawrence, and his "school", whose exploits had caught and held the popular imagination.

¹⁹⁵The Personal Records, IOR, normally end with the date of resignation and this indication that the civilian has become a pensioner to which he has contributed four percent of his salary and from which, after 25 years' service, he expects to receive £1,000 per annum. See Campbell's Modern India, 284, for details of the subscription to and disbursement of the Fund. Cust complained that he had "forfeited his retiring pension" for the "non-completion of a few months of Residence in India". Memoirs, 7.

PART TWO: ADMINISTRATION

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

A former chapter delineated Thomason's path to the seat of civil power at Agra. The following three chapters are designed to show how Thomason and his fellow civilians in India concerned themselves with the land settlement, indigenous education, and irrigation. A look at these three areas by no means exhausts the careers of this select group of Haileyburians and Addiscombians. These three have been chosen, however, because they illustrate Thomason's primary concerns which, viewed from his perspective, demanded development to ensure the well-being of the indigenous population. Of what value were rights in the soil for the village brotherhood - the peasant proprietors - if they remained illiterate and ignorant of the extent of their rights or of their exploitation? Hence they must have an elementary education. Again, of what value was the soil in vast sections of the Doab (the land between two rivers) if the rains failed? Thomason had seen the plight of the poor in a time of drought. Such conditions bringing starvation, distress, and "wheat" disturbances must be obviated by ensuring a regular supply of water from the sacred Ganges and its chief tributary, the Jumna, by works of irrigation.

No Haileyburian of Thomason's generation was guaranteed any degree of success without sufficient delegated authority. The position that Thomason inherited in December 1843 was that of a lieutenant at Agra to the Governor-General in Council seated in Calcutta. Quite

literally, he was a place-holder, an appointee of the Governor-General. Had the arrangements foreseen by the Charter Renewal Act of 1833 been implemented, Thomason would have been encumbered with a council. That Act called for the creation of two new presidencies - that of Fort William and of Agra - whose presidents-in-council were to have jurisdiction over certain transferred powers. No council was added to Agra, however, during Bentinck's time. Charles Metcalfe, who took the post reluctantly, brooked no interference in matters of patronage, for example, and insisted on sole civil charge. Because of his eminent qualifications - he was Governor-General designate - Metcalfe set a precedent for granting vast civil power to a man of Thomason's ability.¹

When Metcalfe returned to Calcutta in 1835 to act as Governor-General, William Blunt and Alexander Ross, both members of the Supreme Council, held the Agra Presidency for short periods. By a Court decision, made effective in India, February 1836, the Presidency of Agra was suspended and superseded by the NWP, a civil jurisdiction subordinate to Bengal.²

Under Thomason lived approximately 23,000,000 people (of Hindu and Islamic faith) in about 72,000 square miles of territory, whose

¹See Bhanu, 111-6 for this account. According to this scholar Bentinck was opposed to the division of the power in the Bengal Presidency and was unwilling to share patronage with Metcalfe. Panigrahi, in his very recent study of Metcalfe, does not appear to deal with the constitutional relationship of Agra to Calcutta.

²The Fort William Presidency was suspended. A Bengal lieutenancy similar to the NWP was not created until 1853-4.

Thomason's predecessors in the NWP were Metcalfe, Auckland acting in his own behalf, then Robertson, Ellenborough for a brief period in early 1843, then Clerk. See Chapters Two and Three.

natural fertility varied considerably and whose geography extended from Benares to the Punjab, in a broad sweep of the Ganges valley.³

Thomason was governed by the Bengal Regulations, which were essentially those of Cornwallis, with subsequent additions. With respect to the land settlement, these were seriously modified by Reg. VII of 1822 and IX of 1833, to both of which frequent reference will be made. Subject only to the regulative body in Calcutta and the Courts of Justice, Thomason was charged with transferred powers⁴ over the municipalities, public health, provincial education, postal service, and of course the primary concern, the administration of the land revenue. The special instrument for the latter was the SBR, seated at Allahabad. Thomason had no official authority in military or diplomatic affairs, nor could he initiate public works without approval from the Military Board, which had this responsibility until 1854. While his executive authority in irrigation matters was slight by comparison with that in land revenue and education, he exercised a considerable degree of influence in the construction of the Ganges Canal, not to mention the improvement of the existing canals. In fact, at crucial moments, his influence in this area appeared decisive.⁵

Since the land revenue took precedence over all other consi-

³John Thornton, "The Settlement", 415.

⁴The division of powers was essentially dyarchic. A lieutenant at Agra possessed the power of a governor, as at Madras and Bombay, with certain reservations. From George Campbell's Modern India in Bhanu, 139.

⁵See Temple, Thomason, 162. Thomason had considerable aptitude for engineering without having any training in the discipline.

derations, an introductory note on the historical setting may be helpful. From Akbar of the Mughal Empire (1556-1605) to the death of Aurangzeb (1707) there existed a relatively successful revenue system as well as a revenue administration. Many of the features of the English system, with which Chapter Four deals, resembled those of the Mughal period. The assessment on the khalsa (state or government) lands reflected the dual needs of the state and the agricultural classes. The one needed revenue, the other protection. The administrative chain for the collection of revenue ran from the chief financial officer of the government to the village headman (lambardar) and bookkeeper (patwari). When the Mughal Empire broke up in the eighteenth century, the "contract-revenue system" tended to replace the khalsa system of Akbar. The agriculturalists became, as Husain wrote, the prey of the monied classes. "New and extensive talukdaris and zamindaris were being formed at the expense of the hereditary rights in the land, villages were being depopulated and agriculture was in a state of dislocation".⁶

When the British began to administer the Ceded and Conquered Provinces (NWP) in 1801 they inherited not only "the ideals of the traditional policy", but also all the "aberrations" that developed when the taluqdari element - in a period of relative chaos - devoted itself to the "delectable task of reducing and ejecting the village communities". Chapter Four will indicate the position Bird and Thomason took when Reg. IX of 1833 gave them authority to unscramble a century of land revenue development unfavourable to the village communities.

⁶Husain, 5-7.

Generally speaking, they hoped to restore peasant proprietorship, which Temple defined in 1850 as a system which would give to each cultivating proprietor "an amount of land sufficient for the support of himself and family". In doing so, they hoped that "the feeling of property" would supply a powerful incentive to industry, and education would raise them to their former scale in Mughal society and perhaps higher.⁷ Chapter Five will show how Thomason's educational policy reflected this kind of thinking about the settlement and its administration. The reader is also referred back to Chapters Two and Three for illustrations of Thomasonian attitudes towards the taluqdars.

To assist him in the execution of his transferred responsibilities, Thomason had manageable administrative units and personnel. For purposes of administration, the NWP were divided into six divisions, corresponding to provinces, the divisions into districts, corresponding to counties, and within these the village communities, which Temple likened to the English parish.⁸ Of these there were about 50,000 scattered with various degrees of density of population over about thirty districts. These had an average population of 730,000. Over each division was a commissioner directly responsible to Thomason. Since many of these men were senior to Thomason and hence of an older school, he tended, like Robert Bird before him, to rely on the chief officer in the district - the magistrate and collector - as the agent for the implementation of Regulations and his own personal 'Directions'. In matters

⁷Ibid; Temple, "Village Schools", 150.

⁸Temple, Thomason, 94.

of education, for example, this officer became the chief executive of a reforming or modernizing governor. Subordinate to these district officers were deputies and assistants, many of whom were uncovenanted. Up to a certain grade they were drawn from the indigenous population, and known as 'native agency'.⁹

While Metcalfe seems to have had the patronage of close to 200 servants of all grades in the Agra Presidency, this number was considerably reduced under Auckland, 1838-40. One may reasonably assume that Thomason had direct patronage influence over about 100 covenanted persons by 1843,¹⁰ most of them Haileyburians. Between 1843 and 1853 approximately 200 Haileyburians arrived in Calcutta, posted to the Bengal Presidency, who hoped for appointments with Thomason or in the Punjab. This provides the reader with some indication of the impressive degree of patronage powers implied in Thomason's position. The civilians in the districts had much of the patronage of the lower grades of uncovenanted agency, subject to the approval of their superior officer.

⁹The following are the six divisions and 30 districts of the NWP, the former in CAPITALS, and the districts of primary concern in this dissertation underlined:

DELHI: Delhi, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Hisar (or Haryana), Karnal (or Panipat); MEERUT: Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh; AGRA: Mathura, Agra, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Etawa; ROHILKHAND: Bijnor, Moradabad, Baduan, Pilibhit, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur; ALLAHABAD: Kanpur, Fatehpur, Hamirpur, Kalpi, Allahabad; BENARES: Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur, and Mirzapur. See Bhanu, 194. For a MAP see page 163.

¹⁰Bhanu, who relied heavily on G. Campbell for his information, enumerated the salaries which applied to about 90 civil servants in 1840. Bhanu, 119-20, 156-7.

CHAPTER IV

James Thomason and the Land Settlement of 1833

Many students have a general knowledge of the land settlements associated with the names of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal and Thomas Munro in Madras. They know that the Cornwallis settlement of 1793-5, whether right or wrong, gave the large zamindar¹ a permanent title to the land, making him equivalent to the Whig conception of a landholder in England. Thomas Munro, on the other hand, settled directly with the ryotwar, the actual cultivator of the soil. Fewer people possess a ready conception of the settlement in Northern India associated with the names of Mackenzie, Bentinck, Bird, and Thomason. This is not surprising for the land revenue settlement often referred to as mahalwari (from mahal for estate)² is far more complicated. As Imtiaz Husain has demonstrated from careful research in the multi-form volumes of proceedings,³ the settlement of Bird and Thomason had elements of the zamindari and the ryotwari in it. Any study that generalizes the mahalwari system into a simplification

¹Generally speaking, a zamindar is a landholder paying revenue to the government without a middleman of consequence. Cf. reference # 77.

²Thomason used this term to describe his settlement in his introductory statement to his Directions for Revenue Officers (Agra, 1849, 2nd edition). The first edition came out in September 1844.

³Husain calculated that the total number of volumes relating to revenue proceedings of the Bengal Presidency for the period covered in his study numbers 1,024. Husain, 271.

THE NWP AND THE PUNJAB
(NORTHERN INDIA)
AS ADMINISTERED UNDER
REGULATION IX OF 1833
BY THE JAMES THOMASON
GENERATION OF THE ICS

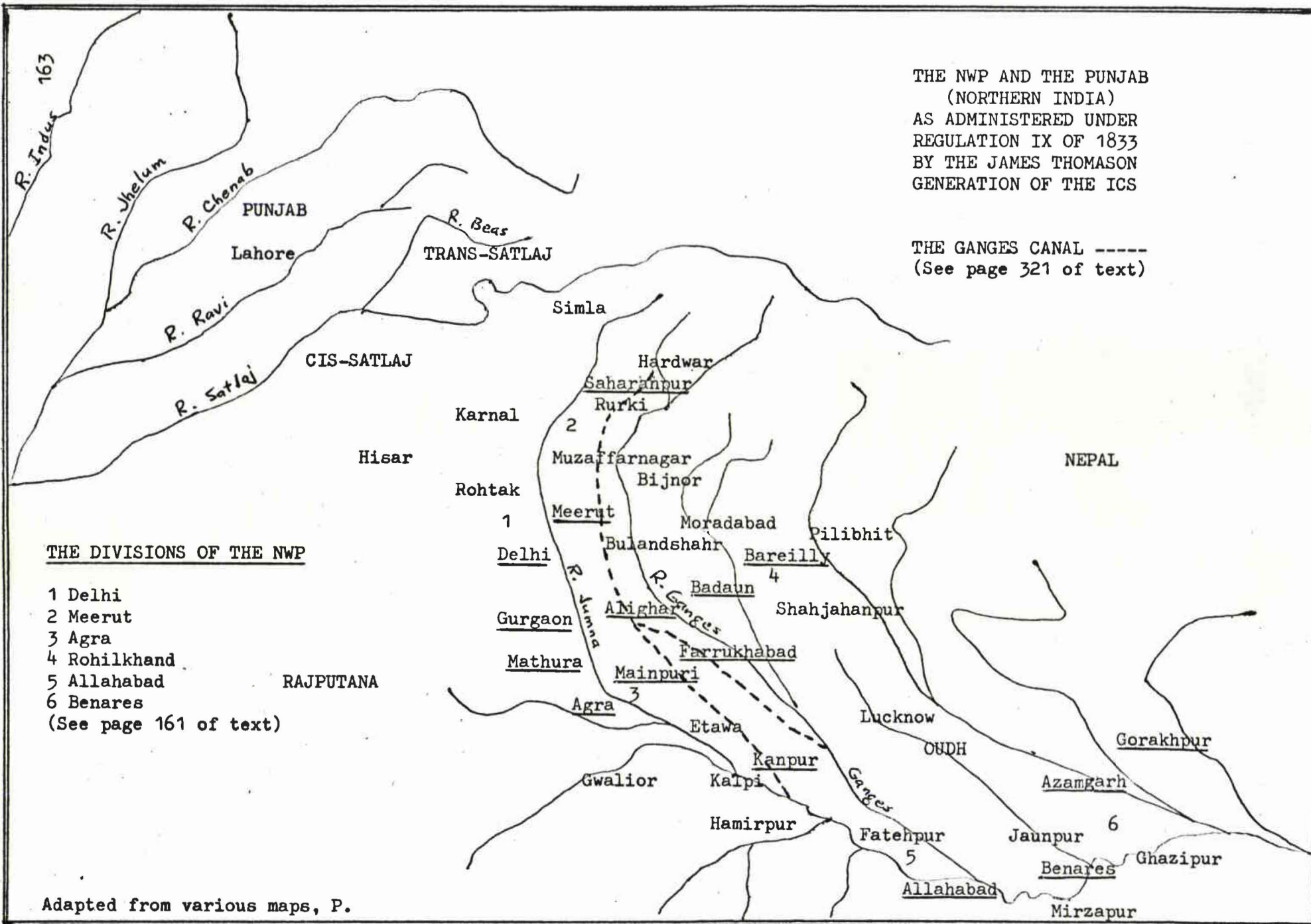
THE GANGES CANAL -----
(See page 321 of text)

THE DIVISIONS OF THE NWP

- 1 Delhi
 - 2 Meerut
 - 3 Agra
 - 4 Rohilkhand
 - 5 Allahabad
 - 6 Benares
- (See page 161 of text)

RAJPUTANA

Adapted from various maps, P.



of wide applicability in Northern India must be held somewhat suspect.

While this dissertation is mainly concerned with Thomason's understanding and implementation of Regulation IX of 1833, the serious student of the settlement cannot ignore Husain's work. It serves as a useful corrective of nearly all previous studies, particularly for the thirty years preceding the period under consideration in this dissertation. Husain does not deal with Bird beyond 1833, but he does explain with some degree of finality the various unsuccessful attempts to apply the Cornwallis permanent settlement and the Munro ryotwari plan to the NWP between 1801 and 1822. By careful analysis of differing points of view in the home government, as well as of Moira's intelligent comprehension⁴ in 1815 of the early attempts at settlement, Husain discovered the foundations for Holt Mackenzie's Memorandum of 1 July 1819. This formed the basis for Regulation VII of 1822. Mackenzie's approach was an amalgam of empiricism and paternalism; he owed no unique indebtedness to utilitarianism.⁵ "The initiative and ideas underlying [Reg. VII]", Husain claimed, "came from the Home Authorities, and a concrete plan was developed by Holt Mackenzie. It was an evolution and not a spurt". The following forms part of Husain's explanation:

⁴ Moira was Governor-General from 1813 to 1823. Neither Husain or Kopf saw Moira (Hastings, 1817) as reforming as some have made him out to be.

⁵ See Husain's chapter three, "Shaping the Settlement Mechanism, 1813-1822", 106-135. Whereas Eric Stokes in Utilitarians sought to find support for what appear as utilitarian presuppositions, Husain analyzed settlements and tenures, in order to classify them, disavowing all presuppositions.

The settlement's avowed object, apart from securing the interests of the state, was to protect existing tenures on the basis of the customs of the peasant. This was a conservative principle. The Cornwallis zamindari settlement was as much conservative as the ryotwari and the mahalwari; the difference lay in their techniques and in the understanding of the local situation. Being the last in the line of development, the mahalwari was the most complex and scientific land system in India, though it still [in 1822] had to be tested.⁶

In practice Mackenzie's recommendation embodied in Regulation VII involved a careful cadastral survey, the preparation of a complete record of the rights and interests in the land, a moderate assessment, and the protection of the rights of all tenures. Unfortunately, the settlement under the regulation went forward at such a "crawling pace" that, as a result of an investigation by Bentinck, Regulation IX was passed in 1833 in order to expedite the processes involved.⁷ "The path was now clear for Bird and then Thomason", Husain concluded, "to carry out . . . the first sophisticated revenue system in India."⁸

Once the procedures for the implementation of a settlement had been modified so as to make its completion feasible within a reasonable time, Robert Mertins Bird, as the practitioner, emerged as the vital link between Holt Mackenzie and James Thomason. Temple may have exag-

⁶ Husain was convinced that the utilitarian influence was not as consequential in forming the concepts of Holt Mackenzie, as has been assumed. The ideas behind Reg. VII were based on the clarifications that resulted from the whole trial and error period from 1801. The ideas were largely formulated before James Mill published his History and joined the East India House staff in 1819, 134-5.

⁷ Bhanu, 52-3. This switch from the pace of the tortoise to that of the hare was too much for Robertson and others.

⁸ Husain, 241.

gerated Bird's importance in exalting him as the pioneer, inventor, and the forerunner "into whose labours Thomason entered".⁹ On the other hand, there is no doubt that Bird pointed the way for Thomason who, aided after 1843 by his more influential position in Agra under Ellenborough, Hardinge and Dalhousie, completed the settlement and saw its principles and methods exported to the Punjab.

As R. Bosworth Smith noted in 1883, Bird dropped out of public view in 1853. His career, nevertheless, merits closer scrutiny. He was the son of Robert Bird of Taplow, Buckinghamshire. At age eighteen he went to Haileybury supported by the following recommendation from his tutor:

Having been required to write a testimonial of my dear pupil, Mr. R. M. Bird, in order to his being admitted into the College about to be opened at Hertford by the Honorable East India Co., I feel great pleasure in being able to speak of him in the highest terms of commendation, as, that he is a very excellent classical scholar, well instructed in the French language, and skilled in arithmetic, and that I never had a pupil, who displayed more amiable manners, or behaved with more propriety in the family, during the whole time he was with me. For this praise of his conduct he is indebted to an understanding naturally good, and to the influence of moral and religious instruction on a mind uncorrupted by vicious habits. I have no doubt, that he will be an honor to any society into which he may be admitted.¹⁰

He graduated from Haileybury in 1808, standing ninth in a class in which Holt Mackenzie ranked second.¹¹ Two years later, after his term at the

⁹ Temple, Thomason, 86-7. Husain saw Bird and Thomason as implementers rather than as originators.

¹⁰ From item # 12 in J/1/21 (1806) - IOR.

¹¹ Malthus gave gold medals to both Bird and Mackenzie in History, Political Economy and Law. Other classmates were Prinsep and William Fane.

College of Fort William, Lord Minto singled out Bird because he stayed in Calcutta to pursue studies "for his own attractions", and not for the "ordinary purpose . . . of advancement".¹²

Bird began as an assistant in the SDNA at Calcutta.¹³ Assigned in 1813 to the judicial line in the Benares division, he became judge and magistrate of Ghazipur, in 1826 judge of Gorakhpur district.¹⁴ Three years later he took up land settlement work as one of the new commissioners of revenue and circuit in the Benares division.¹⁵ From there in November 1831 he moved into one of the chairs of the new SBR, a position he held until his retirement at the end of February 1842.

¹²Roebeck, Annals of the CFW, 243-4.

¹³See Table 5 in Kopf, 98-9. This Table, which also lists those who won honorariums for language proficiency, does not include R. Bird.

¹⁴R. M. Bird married Jane the daughter of Rev. David Brown (1763-1812), Provost of the CFW, 1800-12. Before that Brown was minister of the Old Mission Church, the centre of evangelical Anglicanism in Calcutta - where Thomas Thomason also preached.

Robert's brother William Bird (c. 1785-1857) married Jane's sister. There was also a brother, Charles Philip Brown ('17) who joined the Madras Civil Service, DNB and DIB.

As in the case of Thomason and Montgomery (Chapter Two) Bird also experienced tragedy. His wife Jane died before he left Gorakhpur. His sister Mary who joined him in 1823 in order to do missionary work and who then transferred to Calcutta in 1830 died four years later stricken by cholera. Before that she was engaged in translating western books into Hindustani, DIB. The vernacularist trend - William Carey-style - began before Hodgson, Adam, Tucker, and Thomason (see Chapter Five).

¹⁵Stokes stated that this system formed "a principal feature of the administration of the NWP under Bird and Thomason". From there it passed to the Punjab "in the perfected form envisaged by Metcalfe" in which there was no civil court above the commissioner and Board, 154-5.

Husain hardly accepts the generalization that this commissioner-ship devised by Bentinck necessarily blended the paternalist tradition with the "authoritarian wing of Benthamite thought"; see his chapter 3.

In any case, the Hindoo Patriot saw only tyranny in its application by "civilian patriarchs", 11 June 1859, in M. Ghosh, 323-4.

In his "Report on the Settlement" which he submitted to Robertson in January of that year, Bird explained why he had not remained in the judicial line. From his observations and researches between 1813 and 1829, he formed the conviction that the Cornwallis system was inapplicable to Benares and that the English policies prior to the acceptance of Mackenzie's recommendations of 1819 had been "subversive of all rights and properties in the land". He found that the previous settlement bore very little relation "to the institutions and habits" of the people of the Provinces. Therefore, given his opportunity in 1829, he set himself two related objects. In his own words, these were "to test fully what he had discovered" and to give "practical operation" to the "generally sound principles laid down in Regulation VII of 1822". "I saw no reason", he continued,

to doubt the assessment of a fair and moderate revenue on the land could be so combined with an ascertainment of private rights and the cultivation of the village communities, that such records might be framed, such principles fixed as would correct the evils which had eaten like a canker into the very vitals of landed property and agricultural prosperity.¹⁶

Looking back on his achievements, he was anxious to have Robertson and the supreme government at Calcutta and London know that they had originated almost entirely from his "long-continued and painful and disinterested researches" as a judicial officer. Thus he appeared to claim originality for his measures in spite of the contributions during the

¹⁶R. M. Bird, "Report of the Settlement", 21 January 1842, PP, LXXV (1852-53), 126-7. It is passing strange how Bird's critics, Robertson and Boulderson (see below) could use very similar language to state their purposes and criticisms.

This report was part of the Court's Despatch, printed as paper # 999 of Volume LXXV, comprising 492 paragraphs and nearly 300 pages.

same period, from 1813 to about 1830, of Robertson, Mackenzie, William Fane ('08), his first colleague at Allahabad, and many others.¹⁷ He related his views to Bentinck in 1830, when the latter visited Gorakhpur. At his command, Bird wrote, "I maintained a constant correspondence with him on the subject". As a result, Bird said he was called "to the office in which the superintendence of the settlement . . . has devolved principally on me".¹⁸ John Thornton interpreted Bird's rise to the superior position as follows: "At first [in late 1831] only junior member of the Board at Allahabad, he nevertheless almost immediately demonstrated his superior ability over his colleague".¹⁹

Husain, however, gave Bentinck the chief credit for the revision as instituted in 1833. As a result of prolonged discussions with the persons responsible for the settlement, Bentinck laid the basis for the updating of Reg. VII of 1822. His recommendations were discussed at a conference in Allahabad between 21 and 23 January 1833.²⁰ Subsequently, Reg. IX was enacted and Bird became the chief supervising officer of a settlement based on the principles of proprietary rights and land

¹⁷See Husain, 57, 190ff. Husain merely alluded to Robertson's contribution (cf. Mason, The Founders, 297 and reference # 48 of Chapter Two) and laid stress on that of William Fane. Bird, in his 1842 Report seemed to play down Fane's role risking, as he said, "the imputation of egotism".

¹⁸Bird, Report, 127.

¹⁹John Thornton, "The Settlement", 432. Fane, officially senior member for a number of years, died at the Cape in 1839, MOHC.

²⁰Husain, 191. Bentinck's determinative Minute was dated 26 September 1832. Cf. Panigrahi, 116-120 on the 1833 revision.

assets, whose details were already largely prepared before 1822 by the village patwari, the bookkeeper, and accountant. One of the chief differences between 1822 and 1833 was as follows: "The settlement was made upon the land", Bird wrote, "not upon the crop [produce of the soil, as in 1822], and the people cultivated what they thought best for their interests".²¹ In other words, Reg. IX of 1833 determined that the Government's share should be derived from the rental assets of the land under consideration.²² No new rights were to be created; the old, dating from the Mughal order, were to be rediscovered on the basis of detailed enquiry, history, occupancy and 'democracy', and secured to the legitimate proprietors.²³ The official report summarized the objects of the settlement as follows:

- 1) the revision of the assessment,
- 2) the better division of the kists or instalments,
- 3) the demarcation of the exterior boundaries of estates and villages,
- 4) the correction of the system of accounts at the tahsildar's [chief Indian district officer] offices and the arrangement of their records,
- 5) the formation of a fund for the construction of roads,

²¹ Bird, before the Commons Committee, 2 June 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 29-44.

²² Bhanu, 167. Cf. Husain, 219; and Panigrahi, 105-09, 114-6. Metcalfe favoured the crop assessment, but was opposed in this view by Bentinck. The former, however, agreed in 1832 to the land rather than the crop assessment, if that favoured the village settlement.

²³ See Thomason's Directions, paragraphs 77 to 80 for the "test" of proprietary right. One of these was the degree to which a villager had a "voice" in the community.

Richard Temple, "Village Schools and Peasant Proprietorship in the NWP", CR, XIV (1850), 138-208, in this his first major article, to which reference will be made subsequently, stressed the lengths to which the new settlement went in order to restore the old Mughal system which, he claimed, was a Hindu idea, 139, 143. Cf. P. Spear, India, 639-40.

- 6) the establishment of a provision for the support of the village police [thanadar],
- 7) the resumption of all hidden rent-free tenures brought to light by the survey,
- 8) the recasting or reduction of the talookas [talukas], and
- 9) the demarcation of the component portions of every village; the recording of the several rights therein compressed, and providing for their maintenance; and the registering of all rights which may spring up hereafter (Khasra or cadastral survey).²⁴

Robertson, Bird's chief critic, in 1842 generally approved the first four points of the settlement, particularly the downward revision of the assessment. It was reduced from eighty-three percent under Reg. VII of 1822 to sixty-six percent under Reg. IX of 1833.²⁵ While Bird and others were conscious that over-assessment in the earlier period had been responsible for losses in incentive, frequent sales for arrears, and indebtedness at high interest rates, it was Bentinck who authorized the reduction in the assessment. Thomason adopted this percentage as his own standard; but in 1855 it was reduced to fifty percent by the so-called Saharanpur rules.²⁶ As to item 4), Bhanu calculated that 2,523 patwaris were replaced in the six divisions of the Provinces in 1833 because they were inefficient or otherwise

²⁴Taken from the enumeration in the Despatch of the Court, 13 August 1851, on the Settlement of the NWP, PP, LXXV (1852-53), 221. Cf. Bhanu, 167-8, who in concentrating heavily on Bird's role in the settlement, relied strongly on Bird's own statements of 1842 and 1853, while Husain seems to have ignored them.

²⁵Bhanu, 190-91. This meant that the person with whom the government engaged for the rent, paid 66 percent of his realized assets to the state, retaining 33 percent to cover his expenses and to realize a measure of profit.

²⁶Ibid. 201-205. The Saharanpur Rules came in the form of guidelines based on records made factual, accurate, and realistic by the experience gained since 1833.

disqualified.²⁷ As predicted, the road fund and police support (items 5 and 6) proved initially unpopular, but found public support by 1851.²⁸ It was against the last three items that Robertson and Boulderson directed their sharpest criticism.

Before making way for Bird's critics, some recognition must be given to the degree of support he demanded and received. In his farewell statement of 1842, he expressed gratitude for the support he and his colleagues had received from Government, that is, from Bentinck and Auckland. He concluded:

I am now about to quit the service, and my only desire . . . is that the good which has been effected may be maintained; my conscientious opinion is, that cannot be, unless the Sudder Board [SBR] is fully supported by Government, treated with respect and confidence, and not checked and thwarted in details, nor their proceedings interfered with, except upon very strong and urgent grounds.²⁹

Bird's statement implied that he never would have undertaken this settlement had he known that he might be "suspected and watched". He expressed gratitude to the late William Fane ('08), his close colleague from 1830 to 1839, and to Thomas Jacob Turner ('17) who succeeded Fane. While he did not mention the presence of Thomason at Allahabad, the latter was extra member of the SBR from 20 October 1841, and succeeded

²⁷Ibid, 179-180. Bhanu criticized Bird for his guesswork in establishing the assessment. Husain found that the best records antedated 1822. These were to be exploited with better trained and paid patwaris. Husain, 214-15. Robertson spoke in 1842 of the need to replace many of them. For references to his Minute, see below.

²⁸Court Despatch (1851), 223.

²⁹Bird, Report, 141. See R. Dutt, India in the Victorian Age (New York, 1969 reprint of 1904 work), II, 43-9, 298. Dutt was sympathetic to both Bird and Thomason, critical only of the rate of assessment.

Bird as senior member, remaining until Ellenborough chose him for higher posts in 1843 (as outlined in Chapter Two).³⁰ Not least of the accolades Bird received came from the Court in 1851. While its correspondent did not wish "to particularize where there [was] such ample ground for general satisfaction", he felt he must make "an exception in favour of Mr. R. M. Bird", whose planning and superintendence of the settlement entitled him to the Court's "marked and special approbation".³¹

Opponents of the settlement appeared to be restricted to two opportunities to criticize Bird. One came at his retirement in 1842, the other in 1853 at the time of the charter renewal debates. Two additional assessments cannot be ignored, namely those of Auckland and John Thornton. (Since the general review of 1853 treated the Bird-Thomason settlement as one continuous operation, the 1853 references to Robertson, Clerk and Edwards, Thomas J. Turner and Francis H. Robinson will be reserved for the latter part of the chapter.)

Auckland formed his view of Bird during his term as Governor-General (1836-42) and particularly when he administered the affairs of the Provinces personally from 1838 to 1840. In September 1838, he wrote Thomason that, "as I become better acquainted with his work,

³⁰Members of the SBR were as follows: Fane, 1830-39; Bird, 1830-42; Turner 1839-50; Thomason, 1841-43; Boulderson, 1843-52; F. H. Robinson ('24), 1850-2; Reade, 1854-57; William Muir, 1858-64.

Elliot served as secretary from 1836 to 1848; W. Muir, 1847-51; John Thornton, 1851-54.

As will be demonstrated in another section, of these only Boulderson attacked Bird and Thomason.

³¹Court Despatch, 289.

my opinion rises of his ability,³² his activity and his directness. He may perhaps for my taste", he continued, "have a spice too much of harshness in his character, but I have seen no officer nearly equal to him, and the efficiency of the administration of these provinces hinges much upon him". Auckland expected that Bird would "acquiesce with good grace in the policy of more mildness" in the reduction of taluqas and resumption of rent-free tenures (jagirs).³³ In any case, Auckland wished the Calcutta SBR might learn efficiency from Allahabad. Nearly two years later, as Auckland was preparing to return to Calcutta, he reported to the home establishment that Bird's settlement was progressing in the most satisfactory manner. Moreover, Auckland was gratified "with the measure of leniency" that had been introduced in the operation of the resumption law. Auckland took note of settlements made by Thomason, E. P. Thornton, Edmonstone, and Mansel.³⁴ As a result Auckland - aided by Colvin and Thomason - supported Bird in the controversy begun by Robertson, who moved to Agra in February 1840.

While the careers of Robertson³⁵ and Bird were not exactly

³² Auckland wanted Bird for the Law Commission, but the latter preferred, as did Thomason, to superintend the land settlement. Auckland Minute, 19 December 1836.

³³ See items 7) and 8) in the Court Despatch. Bird, by his own testimony, had been conscious of former abuses; nevertheless, he was biased in favour of the cultivators.

³⁴ Auckland to Thomason, 21 September 1838, from Simla, during the illness of Mrs. Thomason at Agra. Auckland's Despatch to the Court, 18 August, echoed the same views. See the Auckland Minute of 4 February 1840. Auckland Letters and Minutes.

³⁵ Thomas Campbell Robertson, 1789-1863, entered the BCS in

parallel, they were close contemporaries. Before 1819 Robertson's contribution to the land settlement discussion probably exceeded that of Bird's.³⁶ By 1840, however, Bird felt that he could afford either to ignore or overrule his critics, often senior men in commissionerships, such as Franco, to whom E. P. Thornton reported - unless of course the man holding the lieutenant's chair at Agra happened to be a forceful character like Robertson. The criticisms Robertson voiced in 1842 did not, however, become public knowledge until 1853.³⁷ His views, when known, by no means resembled those of a man carried away by prejudices, as John Colvin had hinted privately to Thomason.³⁸ In reality, his statement in response to Bird's "Report" must strike the reader as coming from a man of considerable knowledge, deeply concerned about the well-being of both superior and subordinate proprietors. He wished to see their often conflicting claims reconciled. Now, as Lieutenant-Governor, Robertson attempted to exercise his veto power over the SBR in the important items mentioned above, namely the resumption of jagirs, the reduction of taluqas, and the undue "interference" in the communities

1805. Following a variety of experiences in the judicial and political line he became member of the Supreme Council in 1838. He was Lieutenant-Governor from February 1840 to March 1843. Cf. Chapter Two, reference # 46.

³⁶Cf. reference # 17 of this chapter and Robertson's Minute in response to Bird's Report, dated 15 April 1842. PP, LXXV (1852-53), 120-26.

³⁷Robertson's Minute as well as Bird's Report of 1842 remained hidden from public view until 1852-53, known only to the professionals in the EICo. Very few official despatches were published before the charter renewal discussions.

³⁸See Chapter Two, reference # 51.

by the detailed field survey. Indeed, he wished to halt the proceedings in the Agra division, for example, because "the settlement officer swept up without inquiry every patch of unregistered rent-free land" in contravention to a modification of Reg. IX of 1833.³⁹ His chief criticisms, however, focussed on the reduction of taluqdari estates by men like J. Thornton⁴⁰ and Edmonstone. These and other collectors, he concluded, felt muzzled by the circular orders of the SBR, as well as hurried by the towering figure of the revenue head at Allahabad. He intended to slow the settlement down in order to give the junior civilians an opportunity to complete their reports without feeling inhibited by either Bird or Thomason. Above all, he deplored the "decidedly levelling character" of the settlement, calculated "to flatten the surface of society". He foresaw the creation of an imbalance in the feudal structure which, in his view, protected both the superior as well as the subordinate elements in society. It is a "fearful experiment", he warned, to attempt to govern the country without any "intermediate agency of indigenous growth". No responsible government could afford to become indifferent about the crushing of one element - the gentry - by "the regeneration that is to spring from their decay". Where Robertson deplored the levelling effect of Bird's proceedings, Bird looked to the elevating

³⁹See Robertson's Minute, 122-3. Bird of course considered this so much harassment. Cf. Panigrahi on Metcalfe's "Ideas on Land Revenue", 71ff. Metcalfe favoured the reduction of taluqas and resumption of tenures.

⁴⁰The reference was to the settlement of Aligarh, involving the taluqdar, Mursan, mentioned in Chapter Three. Thomason regarded Thornton's solution in that case as exemplary. See a later section for the Court's 1851 decision about one aspect of this case.

effect of his extensive reforms.⁴¹ It was well-known that Bird, and those responsible for Reg. IX of 1833, considered the taluqdars as a 'host of unproductives'. As Bird's expressed view demonstrates, the taluqdars held their intermediate position as revenue collectors from former Mughal overlords. He wrote:

I am entirely satisfied , . . after every investigation and enquiry I can make, that there was under the former Government no agricultural class between Government and the Cultivators. . . . all else were Government officers, or Government assignees [taluqdars and jagirdars]. . . . None of the jemindars [sic] being anything better than annuitants of the worst kind, unproductive themselves and wasting all their means on the unproductive.⁴²

Thomason, as is evident, followed Bird, not Robertson. As a result, Henry S. Boulderson ('18) came forward, upon Robertson's retirement, as the chief critic of both Bird and Thomason. The points disputed must surface again in the discussion of Boulderson's attack - more emotional than Robertson's - two years later.

John Thornton, in his article in the Calcutta Review implied that Bird had a broad claim to recognition as the founder of the Bird-Thomason school of settlement officers. He recalled how Bird had brought the settlement under his one "controlling intellect". A master at "aggregate to detail" work⁴³ - to use Husain's phrase - he was eminently

⁴¹ Robertson's Minute, 125 and Bird's Report, 204.

⁴² Bird's statement, taken from Paper # 2650 in the Bentinck Papers, is quoted by Husain, 199. On the question of the taluqdars, cf. Temple, "Village Schools", 157 and Chapter III, references # 74 and 748 to J. Thornton and Edmonstone, respectively.

⁴³ Husain, 215. This is an adaptation of the ryotwari field assessment used in Madras to the khasra survey (Item 9).

qualified to attract young settlement officers with his "cheerful spirits and unfailing health, together with a robust energy". Thornton, never one to overlook "shades in the portrait", could nevertheless recall that Bird remained almost unmatched as "a most able public officer, a warm friend, and a sincere and liberal Christian. . . ." Thornton, not unmindful of Robertson's criticism about the undue deference young civilians paid Bird, wrote favourably of the relationship between the men and their mentor. "Allowed to select his own instruments, he usually chose young men, as being less encumbered and more manageable than their seniors, and less likely to be imbued with prejudices from the dark ages of our earlier administration". Among the young officers with whom Bird was said to have maintained a private correspondence "thus instilling his views and animating them by his own hearty temperament" were John Thornton and Robert Montgomery. Thornton claimed that Bird, like Thomason later, "looked after their interests, defended their proceedings and fought their battles [against Robertson and supporters], as if they had been his own".⁴⁴ Of the twenty-five districts which Bird considered complete by the end of 1841, almost half were settled by civilians identified in this dissertation as Thomasonians.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ John Thornton, "The Settlement", 423-33. Thornton and others were undoubtedly attracted to Thomason, Bird's successor, for many of the same reasons and character traits.

⁴⁵ Bird's Report. Among these was Thomason himself, whose Report on the "Chuklah Azimgurh" will receive closer analysis.

As must be evident to the student of this period, there is no adequate study of Robert M. Bird. And this dissertation merely touches on the chief sources; it does not exhaust them. Bird is another "forgotten man" of the NWP. To date there is only Thornton's article, the scattered references to Bird in Stokes, Husain, and Panigrahi. Dutt has a chapter in The Economic History of India Under Early Victorian

In turning from Thomason's 'forerunner' to Thomason himself, the purpose is to see what motives lay behind his land revenue policies and to see his degree of control over the settlement. Thomason arrived at his position armed with his experience as a collector at Azamgarh; his unbroken association - except for his furlough⁴⁶ - with Bird and his supporters Auckland, Colvin, Turner, and others; and of course with his own predilections, as indicated in the Introduction and previous chapters. This dissertation sees him, as does Temple, as a reforming conservative or, in terms of David Kopf's model, as a modernizer. This does not rule out a degree of ambivalence in the thinking of his and Bird's followers. While there were westernizing tendencies of varying degrees in some of them, these were balanced by the essentially paternalistic and authoritarian attitude in all of them.⁴⁷

Thomason was appointed magistrate-collector of the district of Azamgarh in Benares division at the end of 1832. His office combined both magisterial and civil functions, particularly as they related to land questions. He could, for example, try all summary suits - from 1831 - as collector alone and know that his decision was final. This

Rule (1908, 3rd ed.), I, 384-97. Bhanu has a helpful section as well.

This writer would welcome detailed regional studies such as Husain's for the period from 1833 to 1856, for they have a salutary revisionist effect on assumptions about utilitarian influence as well as a deflating effect on the ego-building of men like Bird.

⁴⁶From 28 February 1839 to 10 January 1840.

⁴⁷While none of the following authors deal with Thomason specifically, except Stokes in a limited way, each is suggestive of some answers to this question: Kopf; George Bearce, British Attitudes Toward India (1961); Husain; O'Malley, Modern India and the West; and Rev. J. Long, "Christian Orientalism", CR (1859). 279-307.

degree of authority was granted collectors under Bentinck to 'facilitate the collection of Government revenue'.⁴⁸ Ordinarily, once the powers of the magistrate were transferred to him from the judges, also in Bentinck's time, he found himself responsible for police administration as well. Thomason as a typical magistrate-collector had an establishment to handle both civil and criminal cases.⁴⁹ With respect to the latter, in which Thomason had a keen interest, suffice it to point out that 'native agency' was employed - the tahsildar and the thanadar.⁵⁰ In the revenue line, in the actual implementation of the chief aspects of Reg. IX, Thomason was assisted by two covenanted civilians, Robert Montgomery and H. Carre Tucker, who have been treated as Thomasonians.⁵¹ Above Thomason in the revenue line stood the divisional commissioner - in his case a friend, Fred Currie - the SBR headed by Robert Bird, and Metcalfe, the lieutenant to Auckland.⁵²

⁴⁸Bhanu, 223.

⁴⁹See Bhanu and the articles in the CR by John Thornton and R. N. Cust, regarding the "Settlement" and the "Collector" respectively. Also extremely helpful are the 1852-53 books by Charles Raikes, George Campbell, and John W. Kaye.

⁵⁰Bhanu, 261 ff. The tahsildar was the chief Indian officer in revenue and police affairs in a subdivision, a tahsil. Thus he was responsible for the thanadar, the police. According to Bhanu there were 219 tahsildars employed in the 31 districts in the NWP. Chapter Five has references to Thomason's tahsildari schools.

⁵¹See Chapters Two and Three. Montgomery and Tucker had members of the uncovenanted service or 'native agency' to assist them.

⁵²Each of Thomason's immediate superiors to whom he reported were favourably disposed to him and to Bird's settlement. When Edmonstone, for example, submitted his 1840 report on Mainpuri to the same hierarchy of officialdom, he ran into Robert Hamilton as commissioner of Agra and Robertson as Lieutenant-Governor. The degree of acceptance of settlements depended on the fundamental disposition of superiors in the taluqdari question.

Space does not permit a detailed analysis of either Thomason's Report of the Collector of Azimgurh, or his Directions. Both must be introduced, however, as they illustrate how he succeeded Bird and took a commanding lead in the land settlement. Thomason submitted his Azamgarh report on 16 December 1837, first to Currie, then to Bird.⁵³ In all, it comprised thirty-four foolscap pages when printed. To the uninitiated it appears as the work of an Anglo-Indian settlement specialist.⁵⁴ Having supervised the settlement between 1833 and 1837 as determined by Reg. IX, he wanted to "place on record the principles which [had] guided [him] and to note some circumstances, a correct understanding of which is essential to the future prosperity of the district".⁵⁵

Having provided the appropriate 'social studies' background in the first section, he hastened to his main object - to classify the land tenures as he and his assistants had discovered them. In some cases proprietary rights rested in individuals, in others in a community of proprietors. How were the individually-owned estates [mahals] acquired? Some were appropriated by public sale for arrears of revenue, some in satisfaction of decrees of civil courts, others by private transfer. Among these were the taluqas. By this term he understood an estate comprising a "collection of villages, each having a separate

⁵³ Thomason completed his Report at Agra, where he joined Metcalfe as secretary in March 1837.

⁵⁴ The Report has 171 paragraphs. Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words (1968 reissue of 1903 ed.) is necessary to explain the terminology.

⁵⁵ Azimgurh Report, para. 1. See the text for further paragraph numbers.

community of its own which, by some act of the ruling power, had been assigned to an individual who was to collect the revenue for them and pay over a certain portion of it to the government" (para. 51).⁵⁶ As a result of his mandate in the khasrah survey (Item 9) to identify all the proprietary tenures - whether individual or corporate - Thomason explained his discovery, and definition of and steps taken to protect, each one (para. 57).⁵⁷ He had concerned himself equally with the nonproprietary tenures which warranted his protection: 1) those having an hereditary and transferable right to hold land "on special terms in lieu of proprietary claims on the state", 2) those who had occupancy rights at fixed rates, and 3) those who were "tenants-at-will" (para. 87).

As to the Azimgurh Report and settlement two appraisals were made, one by Thomason and Bird, the other by the Court in 1851. With reference to one pargana or administrative unit, Nizamabad, Thomason and Bird agreed that the settlement made there was far from satisfactory and that a downward revision of the assessment would likely be necessary at the expiry of "the present term". Nizamabad, Thomason explained, was one of those parganas "where every officer since 1822 first attempted to make settlements and obtained his experience".⁵⁸ Because

⁵⁶ Some taluqas encompassed 200 villages or more.

⁵⁷ These were the co-parcenary tenures which Metcalfe and Thomason elevated to popularity: the zamindari and pattidari. Disparities developed and litigation sometimes ensued when one co-parcener demonstrated "superior management" or gradually encroached on the "common wasteland". Temple discussed the same question in detail, "Village Schools", 152-7.

⁵⁸ A pargana was an administrative unit with a tahsildar, Azimgurh Report (para. 127-30). For another reference to Nizamabad, see Bird's Report, 1842, para. 172-82.

of former errors and the need for the kind of precipitancy Robertson deplored, Thomason admitted there were imperfections and overassessment. Nevertheless, when the Court reviewed the settlement as completed under Thomason, they remarked that he and his company of civilians in Azamgarh met the "unqualified approbation" of their superiors. The SBR had noted, the Despatch read, "their sense of obligation to Mr. Thomason, who had heartily entered into their views, perfectly comprehended their plans, and carried them into execution with great skill and judgment."⁵⁹

Following Azamgarh Thomason quickly rose to power, taking command of the settlement to such a degree as to have it identified with his name in the popular mind. First he served Metcalfe and Auckland as secretary. When Robertson succeeded Auckland at Agra, Thomason moved (October 1841) to Allahabad to become thoroughly grounded in the administration of the thirty-odd revenue districts, this in anticipation of Bird's retirement from the SBR. In 1843 Ellenborough took Thomason, "a favourite of official fortune",⁶⁰ to head the secretariat for various civil departments of the Supreme Government, until he was given the "blue ribbon" position as foreign secretary. Finally on 12 December 1843 Thomason succeeded George Clerk, after an irksome delay, as Lieutenant-Governor, a post he held for nearly ten years.⁶¹ The official

⁵⁹Court Despatch (1851), 266-68.

⁶⁰Temple, Thomason, 117.

⁶¹To this writer's knowledge no other member of the ICS held a comparable position for that length of time. Thomason took J. Thornton as his first secretary and Captain Minchin as his A. D. C.

notice read as follows:

I have the honour by direction of the Governor-General in Council to transmit for your information and guidance the enclosed copy of a notification this day issued, appointing you to be Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces from the day on which the Government may be delivered over by Mr. Clerk. You will accordingly proceed to Agra, and at your earliest convenience place yourself in communication with the Lieutenant-Governor for the purpose of assuming charge of the Government whenever his Honour may desire to be relieved.⁶²

Thomason took office in the full awareness of tension in revenue ranks over the taluqdari issue. His immediate predecessor at Agra, Clerk, added his warning to that of Robertson. In his Minute of 4 December 1843, he deplored, as Robertson had, "the setting aside of an influential possessor of twenty or thirty villages . . . to no real fiscal or useful purpose. . . ." Why annihilate the traditional connection between people of status and villagers who were then dignified with the title of "zameedar" [zamindar]? Clerk recommended that Thomason restore the native aristocracy to their former place of influence. There would be no fiscal loss and far "less shifting and subversion" of property rights, which was too characteristic of "the late settlement proceedings."⁶³

Regardless of these warnings and encouraged by his clear mandate to rule, Thomason immediately resolved to settle what he considered the one controversial issue remaining, namely taluqdari cases. On 17

⁶²Secretary of Government of India to Thomason, 30 October 1843, NWPGP, Range 214, Vol. 60.

⁶³Clerk's Minute, written from relative inexperience, was recorded by John Thornton on 15 March 1844, *Ibid.*, Vol. 62. For more on Clerk see Chapters Two and Five. His life and career merit a more complete study.

The classic statements on the taluqdari issue are those of Bird and Robertson in 1842 and those of Thomason and Boulderson two years later. See below for the latter.

January 1844 he instructed Turner and Boulderson at Allahabad how he wanted them to proceed in the taluqas requiring settlement. As in the Azingurh Report, and later in his Directions to Settlement Officers, he laid out his policy (para. 101-116). In brief, he intended that magistrate-collectors should engage for the revenue with taluqdars where their proprietary right could clearly be established. Where village co-parceners had equally clear rights, these should be recognized by engagement with their representative - the lambardar. In all doubtful and equivocal cases, the officers were to engage with the latter, granting the superior proprietor as compensation his malikana [allowance] of eighteen percent during his lifetime, and promising ten percent to hereditary descendants.⁶⁴

Because Thomason felt his policy threatened by Boulderson's criticism, he immediately sought Ellenborough's support. In a Minute dated 8 February, he justified his position on historical and juridical grounds. He looked upon the taluqdars as middlemen who had unjustly exploited the weak positions of many villagers and had thereby attained the position of virtual zamindars (individual landholders), a position to which he felt many were not entitled. He attached a private letter in which he apologized for burdening Ellenborough with such a subject, "very dry . . . to an unpracticed ear". He found nothing so difficult, he said, as to "write popularly on a purely professional subject". Furthermore, he requested - now that Robertson was out of the way - the

⁶⁴To think in terms of 18 and 10 percent is a simplification of the more complicated arithmetic used to compute the malikana. But this, in general terms, was the result of John Thornton's settlement of the taluqa Mursan. See Chapter III, reference # 73.

services of William Muir to make a "twenty-year settlement in areas south of Allahabad".⁶⁵

Apparently only one civilian took sharp objection to Thomason's directive of January 1844. This was Henry Smith Boulderson, junior member of the SBR, whose Indian career spanned the years 1818 to 1852. Until 1837 he served in Rohilkhand. After a three-year term as commissioner of revenue and circuit in Meerut - where he learned the details of John Thornton's settlement - he went to England on furlough. Upon his return in September 1842 he served as a civil and sessions judge in Allahabad and Benares. The next year saw him appointed to the SBR.⁶⁶

Quite unsupported, so it appears,⁶⁷ Boulderson wrote his critical "Minute on Talooqdari Cases" on 2 April 1844. He submitted it first to his colleague Turner, expecting it to be sent to Thomason and then on to Calcutta and London. Instead, it was pigeonholed, for it did not come to official, let alone public, notice until fourteen years later.⁶⁸ In fact,

⁶⁵Thomason to Ellenborough, 31 January and 8 February 1844 (E -59). A portion of Thomason's official letter is reproduced in Temple's Thomason, 158-9. On 9th February he also wrote Mansel, who was in the finance department, asking him to discuss the matter with Ellenborough. Apparently Thomason never got a reply from Ellenborough on that question, as the latter's attention was focussed on other complex issues. Cf. references # 42, 56, 77, and 79.

⁶⁶He resigned the service in 1852 and died 28 October 1877. Very little is presently known of his life.

⁶⁷Robertson had retired; Clerk had gone home ill; Hamilton, as seen in Chapter Two, had been shunted aside to the far west.

⁶⁸Carnegy, Talookdaree Tenures", 137-160, confirmed in 1864 that, while Boulderson's Minute was not entirely ignored - as it could not be, if he were retained in the SBR at all - it was suppressed until published as Minute on Talooqdaree Cases (1858), 38 pp.

Boulderson had no guarantee that his colleague was turning his representations over to Thomason, for with reference to one minute dated 17 October 1843 he stated: "I suppose it to be with my colleague, though I requested its submission to Government".⁶⁹ Boulderson was not one to be put off indefinitely. Finding his views suppressed by either Turner or Elliot - at worst censured, at best tolerated as junior member⁷⁰ of the SBR by Thomason - he felt he had no choice but to seek a publisher. A man who felt so passionately about an injustice as Boulderson obviously did in 1844 had either to resign at a great sacrifice⁷¹ or be content to inform the world at an appropriate time. After the Mutiny, understandably, he wanted informed persons to know what position he had held on an issue which, to his mind, was a major cause of the rebellion of the taluqdars.⁷²

Boulderson's charges were directed against both Bird and Thomason, for they grew out of his observations of the injustices perpetrated

⁶⁹Boulderson, 35.

⁷⁰As far as this writer can make out, Boulderson should have succeeded to the senior position in the SBR when Turner retired in 1850. Robinson, six years Boulderson's junior, superseded him. See Robinson's statement before Commons Committee, 13 June 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 106. Boulderson, who retired in 1852, was apparently not invited to testify as were Turner and Robinson, not to mention Bird and Robertson. No one in 1853 ventured to speak a distinct word on his behalf.

⁷¹His position paid about £5,000. Bhanu, 156.

⁷²In 1858 interested persons could read what he had written fourteen years earlier: "Those orders [of Thomason's], as it is my duty as a servant, I have issued and shall do my best to fulfill; but it is also my duty . . . to protest, . . ." Boulderson, para. 1. Even then, only Patrick Carnegie and John Dickinson of the India Reform Society seem to have picked up Boulderson's statement. See Dickinson, The Famine of the NWP (1861), 14.

against taluqdars under Regulations of 1822 and 1833. A select number of his charges must suffice to illustrate his bitterness and passion.

He charged first that the "Board",⁷³ in many cases involving the alienation of a taluqdar's estate under "this so-called enquiry", had never carefully scrutinized the proceedings of settlement officers. Therefore, Bird's confirmation of taluqdar settlements was to the "last degree untrustworthy, open to the charge of simulation and mere pretension".⁷⁴ He argued that precipitancy (Robertson's charge of 1842) had been the chief cause, but failed to mention that Auckland was partly responsible for two features which Robertson and Boulderson must have seen as incompatible: the rapid completion of the settlement and a thorough check on every case.⁷⁵ He argued that the Board had "forfeited all rights" to decide in taluqdari cases because it repeatedly misrepresented those parts of settlements which did not conform to its prejudices. As proof he pointed to a settlement made in Kanpur, Allahabad division, between 1834 and 1837.⁷⁶ While the officers correctly reported existing rights in superior proprietors - both taluqdari and zamindari - the Board, Boulderson charged, "grossly misrepresented" the case. He thought that Government regulations made provision for zamindars to engage directly

⁷³ Throughout he kept chastising the "Board" because he identified the term with Bird and Thomason. He named Thomason specifically.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 3. One of these was Mursan, in Aligarh, which J. Thornton settled in 1834. See Chapter Two, reference # 74.

⁷⁵ See Chapter Two and Three for the attitudes and actions taken by the Thomasonians.

⁷⁶ He named E. A. Reade of this paper and I. W. Muir. Could he have meant J. W. Muir, a Haileyburian ('31) who served in that district at that time?

with the government, "owning no superior", yet the Board laboured throughout to confuse; and under cover of this confusion, to procure the sanction of Government to annihilate this zamindari right . . ." [para. 12 (z)]. Boulderson implied that Thomason and Bird were guilty of deliberate generalization and oversimplification, worse still, of obfuscation, to keep the Supreme Government and Court ignorant of the many peculiarities discovered by the interior survey (Item 9). In regard to this obfuscation, he said the Board had used the terms "communities, and village communities and proprietary communities, applicable to all; thus producing the impression . . . that a vast number of proprietors were kept out of their rights by the usurpation of a Rajah or Talooqdar" He concluded: "It is by confusing into one the very marked distinctions . . . that the Board have drawn universally in all cases so largely upon the credulity of the Government and procured the sanction to their measures." This was, in Boulderson's words, the worst kind of "chicanery" in order to accomplish, by degrees, the aim of destroying taluqdars altogether.⁷⁷

⁷⁷Land settlement terminology is confusing for the uninitiated at the best of times. Here the difficulty is compounded in that Boulderson used the terms zamindar and taluqdar more or less interchangeably, while Thomason used the term zamindar as of "indefinite signification" (para. 77 of Directions). Boulderson's explanatory note on these terms reads as follows: "The 'zemindar' of the original Bengal regulations means the 'talooqdar' of the NWP, and vice versa. In the first regulations enacted for the NWP [to which he returns again and again, in contrast to Thomason and Bird] the Bengal nomenclature was employed." Boulderson, 16.

Thomason's 1844 definition of a zamindar was, as said, less definite. "It is generally used as equivalent to land-owner, but is sometimes erroneously applied [as by Boulderson], as signifying the possession of the entire right in the whole Mahal [estate] to the exclusion of all other co-existent rights of whatever kind." In other words, in contrast to Boulderson, Thomason thought of zamindari tenures as

In spite of all the denials, there would appear to be some substance to Boulderson's charges that in taluqdari cases, the 'Procrustes bed' was used. T. H. Maddock ('14),⁷⁸ who knew Thomason and Robertson, if not Boulderson, asked Robert Bird on 2 June 1853 to comment on the "considerable varieties of tenures" in the Provinces. Bird responded in part, as follows: "There were great varieties, to be sure, but they all went very much upon one principle. In all those cases we always took up the tenure, whatever it was that we found in the place. We never put it into a 'Procrustes bed' and stretched the one and shortened the other, but we took the tenure of each village as we found it, giving the people the right to make their own rules of government and management, so that each village had its own private system."⁷⁹

To date no one to this writer's knowledge, except Carnegy in 1864, has taken up Boulderson's charges seriously. Nor will anyone be in a position to substantiate or refute them without a painstaking analysis, comparable to Husain's for an earlier period. While Husain

those "in which the whole land is held and managed in common" (para. 87 of Directions).

Boulderson and Temple (p. 151 of "Village Schools") seemed to equate the zamindar with the "right down English idea of a landlord", whereas Thomason did not. He found the single landlord idea further down the hierarchy of the mahalwari system in the putteedaree [pat-tidari] tenure where individual management prevailed, but within the village settlement. Cf. Boulderson, Talooqdaree Cases, 9-18; Thomason, Directions, both written first in 1844.

⁷⁸Maddock, 1790-1870, whose Indian career spanned the years 1814-49, retired after serving six years as a member of the Supreme Council. He then became M. P. for Rochester 1852-7, MOHC and DIB.

⁷⁹Bird, 2 June 1853, before Commons Committee, PP, XXVIII, 39.

appeared relatively uncritical of Bird, and complimentary of the British generally, Boulderson was vehemently critical. He wrote that if his language was bitter,

it must be recollected that the subject matter is most bitter injustice, most violent breach of all law, practiced . . . from a mania arising from empty unfledged ideas of abstract justice, driven without the least reference to facts, and supported by 'doing evil that good may come', by a mass of false representations and wretched sophistries, and inconsistencies in arguments which are truly wonderful.⁸⁰

What was Thomason's response to Boulderson's attack? Boulderson received a mere acknowledgement of his "Minute" of 2 April, 1844, while the magistrate-collectors in September received Directions in full.

Boulderson in 1858 prefaced his Minute as follows: "Its receipt was acknowledged, but it produced no effect in modifying or staying the proceedings. If it was forwarded to England, as in due course it should have been, it must have had as little effect upon the Honourable Court".

The latter body took no comprehensive review of the settlement until 1851.⁸¹ Meanwhile, Thomason took pains to "arrange methodically and to place authoritatively before the officers" employed in the revenue department all the enactments of the various "legislative" bodies.⁸²

No one can say with certainty the degree to which Thomason modified his

⁸⁰ Boulderson's "Minute", 2 April 1844, para. 19 (e); see P. Carney, "Talookdaree Tenure", CR (1864).

⁸¹ Emphasis mine. From the Preface to Boulderson's Minute. Cf. Carnegy, 155. See also references # 16 and 37 of this Chapter. To repeat, there was no comprehensive despatch until 1851 and that was not printed until 1852-53, in Volume LXXV.

⁸² See the Preface to D. G. Barkley, Directions to Revenue Officers in the Punjab (Lahore, 1875).

position because of the complaints of Robertson, Clerk, and Boulderson. That Thomason and Bird tended to speak with one voice may be documented with greater certainty. In his "Remarks on the System of Land Revenue Administration Prevalent in the North-Western Provinces of Hindostan", with which he introduced his Directions, he undoubtedly followed Bird while obliquely replying to his critics: "As regards certain classes of tenures, a fixed course may be prescribed But as regards the generality of tenures no such rule can be laid down" He concluded his "Remarks" on the same note:

The rights of Government cannot be justly enforced without careful regard to all those peculiarities. The object has been to devise a scheme, which will meet the exigencies of each case, and not to bring all cases to one uniform standard It is impossible to say how uniformity of tenure may hereafter prevail, and so produce simplicity of procedure, but if this is ever the case, it should arise from the free and spontaneous choice of the people, and should not be accomplished by the compulsory operation of laws, unsuited to the existing state of property.⁸³

From this it is obvious that Thomason and Bird slanted the implementation of the 1833 regulation in favour of the village communities. Both wanted to see the development of self-governing institutions. The village headman (lambardar),⁸⁴ elected by the people, acted as their agent with the magistrate-collector. Bird, speaking about his and Thomason's system, said in 1853: "When this was done, they met together and determined in conclave the general system of management of the village. . . . In determining these matters . . . each man had equal rights . . . to a

⁸³ See "Remarks" in Directions, 17-18.

⁸⁴ Husain thinks that lambardar is an Anglo-Indian term, whereas mukaddam or sadr malguzar are Indian terms. 276. There was one lambardar for every 1,000 rupees collected.

voice in the management."⁸⁵ Whereas Robertson had deprecated this "regeneration from the decay" of the taluqdar, Bird and Thomason appreciated the village communities as integral to the Indian society of the Doab and therefore deserving of their foster care.

While Thomason claimed there was considerable allowance for discretion in the settlement officer, Temple, his disciple and biographer, created a distinctly opposite impression. The latter explained in 1893 that when Thomason wrote the Directions, this meant "that these instructions [were] delivered ex cathedra, and [were] to be obeyed in spirit as well as in letter". Temple had the strong impression from men like Edward Thornton that the Directions were not merely the effusions of a well-informed dignitary, but emanated "from an authority addressing readers who were all bound to obey him" In spite or because of this authoritarian bent, which most Haileyburians expected and understood, many came to look up to him as "a guide, philosopher and friend". One can only conclude that when Bird retired in 1842, the centre of authoritarian gravity shifted from Allahabad, the seat of the SBR,⁸⁶ to Agra, the seat of the Lieutenant-Governor. The young men of 1826 to 1831 as well as those who joined subsequently - William Muir, George

⁸⁵Bird, 2 June 1853, see reference # 80. Carnegie in 1864 concluded his article with the charge that, while Thomason had inculcated principles of self-government in his writings, his revenue system, in which "he believed so earnestly to the last, was certainly not calculated to teach them".

⁸⁶Temple, Thomason, 144-8. Turner, Boulderson and Elliot remained at the SBR, but with diminished influence after Bird's departure.

Barnes, William Edwards, George Campbell, and Richard Temple - were not only impressed with Thomason's mandate from Ellenborough, but also with his power to promote their interest in return for co-operation with, if not outright submission to, his authority.⁸⁷

When Thomason took up the 'codification' of the land revenue system, he naturally turned to Bird's circulars and the Government Regulations applicable to the land settlement. Whereas Temple insisted that Thomason composed the Directions,⁸⁸ he failed to make allowance for the latter's heavy indebtedness to Robert Bird. Between 9 April 1839 and 4 May 1841 Bird circulated four papers among his magistrates and collectors. They formed a "digest" of previous circular orders designed "to meet the exigencies as they arose" during the implementation of Reg. IX of 1833. They dealt with 1) settlement, 2) the realization of revenue and rent, 3) records and registration, and 4) miscellaneous subjects,⁸⁹ and provided the basis of Thomason's Directions for Settlement Officers and Directions for Collectors of Land Revenue, published between 1844 and 1848. They were brought together in one volume in November 1849

⁸⁷ Perhaps Boulderson who missed the controversy between Bird and Robertson when on furlough (25 March 1840 - 8 September 1842) was naive in thinking his remonstrances had any chance of success.

⁸⁸ Temple, 141.

⁸⁹ See the Preface of Barkley, as above. These circular orders comprised 136, 102, 148, and 175 pp. respectively. Auckland welcomed their appearance and encouraged the formulation of "a manual of the approved and authorized mode of procedure in these departments". He was concerned to have one "authorized version". Auckland Minute, 4 February 1840. Thomason's editions of 1844 and 1848 became the "Revised Standard Version" of the settlement officer, his bible.

for use in the Punjab.

If Husain's conviction that the English had no agricultural policy, so to speak, is sound, then these Directions may not be interpreted as the basis of a revolutionary reform in agriculture.⁹⁰ They represented the one authoritarian formulation of the English effort from 1801, in the 'ceded and conquered provinces', to make the most efficient use of the existing agricultural institutions for the benefit of both Indians and British India.⁹¹ Thomason naturally took the opportune moment of his recent appointment to Agra to formulate instructions to achieve this multiple aim. Anxious to train his covenanted civilians adequately, he devised the 'handbook', a method widely employed subsequently. James Fitzjames Stephen looked upon Thomason's handbooks in 1871 as very nearly the best "law books" to come to his notice. He continued:

With some exceptions . . . they are arranged and expressed with a degree of precision and clearness, which I do not think can well be exceeded.

I have noticed that there is an all but insuperable tendency . . . to prefer hand-books. The hand-books of Mr. Thomason were infinitely superior to the Acts which they were intended to explain, and the natural consequence was that they superseded them.⁹²

This interpretation by Lord Mayo's law member helps to explain how

⁹⁰Husain, 264. English policy from Mackenzie to Thomason was pragmatic and empirical, Ibid., 243.

⁹¹This view is corroborated by Temple who thought of Thomason as a conservator, not an innovator, Thomason, 161.

⁹²James Fitzjames Stephen, a son of Sir James Stephen, was law member in Lord Mayo's Council at Calcutta, 1869-72, DIB. His opinion is recorded in Barkley's Preface.

Directions came to achieve an ex cathedra character.

As the 'senior professor' in the "great official college",⁹³ Thomason began by introducing his trainees to the history of the settlement in the Provinces. This mirrored the confusion of the years covered ably by Husain's study. "The Natives of the country", Thomason wrote in Directions to Collectors,

were unaccustomed to examine questions regarding rights of property with a view to their classification. It is surprising even to this day how ill-informed Native gentlemen are on the subject (1849). But still less were they able then (1803-33) to appreciate the change that had been effected in the old village institutions by engrafting on them the modes of procedure adopted by the British Government. The English functionaries, on the other hand, understood their own rules but had no leisure to study the old institutions of the country. Injustice and confusion necessarily ensued.⁹⁴

The next sentences appear designed to inculcate a prejudice against the taluqdar:

Designing men usurped rights which did not belong to them, and blunders of all possible kinds were committed by those who ought to have protected the rights of the weaker parties. In such confusion the litigation increased, till the whole machinery of the judicial administration was choked, and it became necessary to take active measures to introduce order and certainty where hitherto confusion and uncertainty only had reigned. Hence resulted the system of Record which was introduced in 1822.⁹⁵

To recall for his disciples Reg. VII of 1822 was to remind them of the "despair" with which some saw the "magnitude and difficulty" of the great undertaking in the face of the multitudinous tenures to separate, classify,

⁹³ Temple, Thomason, 118.

⁹⁴ Reproduced in Temple, 140. The imagery of the "graft", used aptly by Thomason (see also Chapter Five) suggests modernization rather than revolutionary change.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

record and protect. "But it is impossible now", he wrote them, "to withdraw from the course which has been commenced ." Anyway, from a look to the past there was every reason "to take courage from the great progress already made" ⁹⁶

His young Haileyburians, however, needed more than history and encouragement. The NWP of British India required an efficient land revenue service. To ensure that his civilians understood their task well enough to administer the regulations and teach their subordinates to lead in the self-government of the agricultural community, he distributed Directions in the manner indicated by Temple. For their sake he defined his terms, explained the adjustment of boundaries (Section II, paragraphs 4-21), the survey (III, 22-46), the assessment (IV, 47-75); then he took over 100 paragraphs to delineate the "record of rights", (V, 76-183), and concluded with a brief section on the police (VI, 184-195). In paragraphs 146 to 148 he seemed to dwell on the practice of both paternalism and principles of self-government without due regard for their incongruity. He visualized the settlement officer going among the people in his capacity as magistrate "as their friend, and peacemaker, rather than as their Judge". Nothing appeared more imperative than to fix a moderate assessment, limit the demand to which Government was legally entitled, thus creating a "valuable property", and to "reduce the terms of agreement to record and give [it] the stamp of Judicial authority". Thomason then added a theme which recurs in both his and Bird's directions. "The settlement officer will

⁹⁶Reproduced in Muir, Thomason, 488.

find his ends best answered by doing everything as much as possible through the people, and deciding nothing himself that he can avoid." 'The greatest good for the greatest number', to use a general phrase, could only be guaranteed by a permanent record, "the charter of rights to which all persons having an interest in the land" may appeal.⁹⁷ Here was the equivalent, to use Temple's wording, of the Domesday Book and the Magna Charta of the people.⁹⁸

In Directions for Collectors Thomason emphasized to his colleagues the relationship between "Record of Rights" and the education of the village agriculturalists. His system of education, to which he turned his attention after the completion of Directions, was designed to aid them in an understanding of the patwari's papers. Moreover, he believed that the record system would never be perfected without an education policy (the subject of the next chapter).⁹⁹

From the above emphasis on the training of his officers, it is obvious that Thomason dwelt primarily on those items which Robertson and Boulderson had attacked most vehemently - resumptions, reductions, and undue interference as a result of the khasra survey. While more

⁹⁷Directions, 73-77 (Emphasis mine).

⁹⁸Temple, Thomason, 139.

⁹⁹See Muir, Thomason, 489; Temple, "Village Schools", 159-166. Richard N. Cust reviewed Directions for Collectors in 1854. He praised Thomason for ensuring efficiency and training by bringing together in one cover all that a collector required for his combined duties as revenue officer and magistrate. See his "Collector", CR (1854), 136-161.

details could be given, these must suffice in this essentially non-settlement study.¹⁰⁰

Thomason was forced to return to the taluqdari issue in 1851.

The Court requested a more precise statement of intention:

What will be the position at the next settlement of the talookdars who waived the question of their right to engagements, and received a malikana, generally of 18 per cent on the jumma [jama-land revenue plus cess], for the life of the first incumbent, to be, except in peculiar cases, prospectively reduced, and finally fixed at 10 per cent. We desire to be more fully informed respecting the nature, extent and duration of the agreement with these talookdars and whether the arrangement . . . was intended to be permanent.¹⁰¹

Thomason doubtless felt he had made his position abundantly clear in successive editions of Directions. Paragraphs 103 to 115 had been devoted to it exclusively. He had outlined the either-or nature of the cases that often arose, provided the details of the malikana allowance - eighteen and ten percent, normally - and concluded:

In the N. W. Provinces, it has been the general rule, sanctioned and approved by the Hon'ble Court of Directors to make the settlement with the inferior proprietors, and this is the best arrangement, when the superior and inferiors are unconnected by blood or clanship But, if the two classes are of the same family or tribe, and mutually willing to maintain the connection, the former arrangement is very much the best.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, he replied to this request on 24 October, 1851 by informing the Court that the resolution of 17 January 1844 had been

¹⁰⁰ 'Non-settlement' in the sense that the revenue proceedings for the period 1833-53 have not been consulted, and the emphasis throughout is on select people rather than on a regional study such as Husain's.

¹⁰¹ Emphasis mine. Court Despatch (1851), 288-9. Carnegie denied that the taluqdars have ever waived their rights to engagements. He traced the history of the confusion which resulted from this interpretation by the Court. See his "Talookdaree Tenure", 157.

¹⁰² Directions, 62, 63.

"uniformly acted upon" because he had never received a directive to the contrary,¹⁰³ leaving aside Boulderson's criticism. Thomason obliged by restating his position. He saw no reason why the government should treat any taluqdar as liberally as to give him the highest suggested malikana for "the whole period of the settlement" and not merely for the life of the incumbent. He argued that making taluqdars "pensioners" of the government would mean the perpetuation of a colossal blunder. He referred particularly to an 1850 representation made by Boulderson¹⁰⁴ and Robinson at the SBR in which they expressed doubts "regarding the propriety of the course I had followed, though on grounds considerably differing the one from the other" He added: "I could see nothing in their statements to shake my conviction of the justice and sound policy" of the resolution of 1844.¹⁰⁵

The Court's reply was delayed because its clerks could not locate the pertinent circular order written by Bird about 1840. After reviewing the entire case, the Court ruled on 1 August 1853 that "the maintenance of public faith [was] more important than the acquisition of revenue" While the Directors acknowledged Thomason's sincerity in believing that "public faith [was] not pledged on this matter", they stated: "We differ from him with reluctance." They ordered that the full malikana be maintained. They added that in their opinion the original mistake had

¹⁰³Thomason's Minute, 24 October 1851, printed as part of the Court Despatch (1851), 290-1.

¹⁰⁴There was no reference here to Boulderson's attack of 1844.

¹⁰⁵Thomason's Minute, Ibid.

occurred when John Thornton's settlement with the taluqa Mursan was taken as a precedent.¹⁰⁶ For this they held Thomason responsible.

It was a hollow victory for the opponents of Thomason. He died on 26 September 1853, before this response to his October 1851 Minute reached him. Meanwhile Boulderson had retired, and Robertson, as noted, was reluctant to criticize. A decade later Carnegy was chagrined to discover that Muir, a Thomasonian who filled the senior chair in the SBR, actually based his post-Mutiny (1860) decisions involving taluqdari cases on Thomason's order of January 1844.¹⁰⁷

Carnegy's complaint provides the opportunity to ask whether the researcher's primary aim is to become expert in land revenue analysis or adept at prejudice analysis. Without claiming to be either an economic historian or a psychologist, this writer must pose the following question: How does one explain the fact - given the dilemma of the taluqdari cases - that some Englishmen in India chose the taluqdar, while others preferred to engage with all the proprietors rediscovered in the ancient village communities? Did Robertson, for example, choose the former because he saw in him the counterpart of the English gentleman who served as an indispensable intermediary - a source of stability in society - between government and people? Did he wish to transform the taluqdar into the zamindar of the Bengal type? Or did he genuinely desire, as

¹⁰⁶The Court's Despatch, 2 August 1853, attached to Thomason's Minute of 1851 and printed as part of massive statement of 1853, 292-93. See Chapter Three, references # 73 and 74.

¹⁰⁷Carnegy, "Talookdaree Tenure", 158-9.

he said, to reconcile conflicting claims and do justice to both taluq-dar and villager? This was also, however, Thomason's avowed aim.

Nevertheless, supported by Mackenzie and Bird, also by all the Governors-General from Bentinck to Dalhousie, Thomason tended to favour what Metcalfe had popularized as the "little republics" which had weathered every vicissitude since Mughal times.¹⁰⁸ Thomason also tended to look upon taluqdars as parasites on the land, a "host of unproductives". Bolstered by nearly all the young settlement officers, including virtually all who joined the service between 1826 and 1831 - Elliot, Reade, Montgomery, the Thorntons, John Lawrence, Raikes, Tucker, and Edmonstone - Thomason and Bird approved of what appeared to some senior men as a "flattening of the surface of society".¹⁰⁹

Closely related to the question of prejudice is the one of motivation. Were those who followed Mackenzie and Bird motivated, as some would contend, by the reforming spirit of the 1830s¹¹⁰ personified

¹⁰⁸ Temple, Thomason, 84; Cf. Husain's and Panigrahi's view of Metcalfe. See the Introduction to Part Two for a reference to the historical setting of the Bird-Thomason settlement, also references # 94 and 95 of this Chapter.

¹⁰⁹ Husain, 199. Metcalfe held this view, see Panigrahi, 71ff. For the contrast see Robertson's Minute of 1842.

¹¹⁰ See George Bearce, 153ff. John Thornton in his 1849 article may have provided some encouragement for such a contention when he wrote: "We recollect the 'father of the Civil Service' [Bird] saying in 1831, with reference to a pending investigation into private claims in the Rajah of Benares's family domains, that it 'was of a piece with the Reform agitation, then going on in England; the setting of little men against the great'. Men of this stamp object to affording the ryots any species of redress against a rack-renting landlord," 459. Thornton, however, seemed to find his surest foundations for the protection of the oppressed, not in the reform movement, but in the "maxims of a civilized nation, as well as from the duty of a Christian government", Ibid. Presumably it was as fashionable then as now to relate one's projects to movements captivating contemporary public opinion.

in India by Macaulay? Husain has denied that Macaulay and what he epitomized was necessary; he holds that reforms in India were primarily induced by English pragmatism and empiricism and tempered by paternalism. From his work and that of Kopf one could argue that the Anglo-Indians of Bengal, not to mention Elphinstone and Munro in Bombay and Madras respectively, had transferred to Thomason's generation a tradition quite independent of, if not entirely uninfluenced by the utilitarian and liberal movements. While no definitive answer is possible until the unpublished revenue records have been thoroughly searched, it may be suggested from Thomason's predilection for the village communities that he was more concerned to modernize than to replace ancient institutions.¹¹¹

In any case, the supreme moment for criticism of the settlement arrived in 1852-53. From the questions asked and responses made, one may conclude that this marked the apex of the fame of Bird and Thomason. What baffles the student, however, is that those whose criticisms had been muffled, overruled, or completely ignored in the early 'forties, and who had the opportunity to speak out before Commons and Lords committees, did not do so at the time. Robertson particularly, also George Clerk and William Edwards, and Thomas Turner and Francis Robinson, seemed relatively uncritical. Robertson, at age sixty-four, sat before a Lords committee and heard several questions pertinent to the discussion directed to him. While he spared Bird altogether, he damned Thomason

¹¹¹ Temple, Thomason, 140. See reference # 94 for Thomason's image of "engrafting" English modes on Indian institutions. In this connection, Kopf, Husain, and Panigrahi generally supply a corrective to the reform-oriented interpretations of Stokes and Bearce.

with faint praise.¹¹² George Clerk, who warned Thomason about the danger of liquidating the superior proprietors in 1843-44, had nothing but praise in 1853 for Bird and the settlement as completed. In response to a question from Macaulay, Clerk volunteered that he would prefer to see the village settlement replace the impossible ryotwari system in the Bombay presidency.¹¹³ Again with reference to the settlement, he thought that it had worked "remarkably well". It was his considered opinion that engaging with the heads of villages for the revenue need not necessarily infringe on the rights of taluqdars. Where the two conflicting claims had achieved the kind of reconciliation Bird, Thomason, Robertson, and Auckland each pretended to seek, Clerk thought the mahalwari was "the best possible system" of all.¹¹⁴ William Edwards ('37), who had every reason to criticize the results of the settlement in Badaon between 1840 and 1856,¹¹⁵ praised Bird and Thomason for reviving the "original Indian system" of the Mughals. He spoke before the Lords of the "great success" in the introduction of the village system into the Pro-

¹¹²Robertson, 14 June 1852, PP, XXX (1852-53), 249-54. Of Thomason he said: "He is a man of great power of mind altogether and of great knowledge of the country."

One must conclude from his testimony that, either he was satisfied to remain undisturbed by controversy in his 'competence' or he was, as he appeared, ill-prepared for the witness stand.

¹¹³Clerk served as Governor of Bombay from January to May 1847, returning to that post 1860. By this time he had had more experience in land matters than in 1843.

¹¹⁴Clerk, 5 April 1853, PP, XXVII (1852-53) 194-198.

¹¹⁵Edwards, 20 June 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 150-53. See reference # 66 of Chapter Three.

vinces and the Punjab.¹¹⁶

Thomas Jacob Turner ('17) and Francis Horsley Robinson ('24), whose combined service in the SBR spanned the years 1839 to 1852, also testified in 1853. Turner, far from thinking of any drawbacks to the system established by Bird and Thomason, spoke of its benefits to the Indian people. Of greatest advantage to the country, Turner held, was the breakup of "those considerable talooks" (talukas). Upon dispossession, they were given a *malikana* - a settlement of eighteen percent - which could hardly be considered as an "extinction" of this class of middlemen. Where he disagreed with his former colleagues and agreed with Boulderson was in the reduction of that settlement to ten percent at the death of the first incumbent.¹¹⁷ Robinson, who succeeded Turner as senior member in 1850, acknowledged a degree of restlessness among the taluqdars because they had lost in terms of money and status. Beyond that, he believed that the condition of the "general body" of the people had improved beyond expectation.¹¹⁸

Although generally favouring Thomason, Robinson implicated him in his assertion that, since Bentinck left India, there had been a gradual deterioration of "kindly feeling towards Indians", a lesser degree

¹¹⁶ Edwards, 20 June 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 150-53.

¹¹⁷ Turner, 6 June 1853. Ibid., 45-52. The SBR seemed to be agreed in the 1850s that the 18 percent should remain for the term of the settlement - normally 30 years.

Turner, when pressed on the issue of the taluqdars, said that he thought Mughal rulers would have dispossessed taluqdars as well had it been advantageous to them. Was dispossession advantageous to the British? Clerk in 1843 thought not. See reference # 63.

¹¹⁸ Robinson, 13 June 1853. Ibid., 106-121.

of "social politeness and consideration". When R. D. Mangles ('19), M.P., asked: "Do you not think that Mr. Thomason has a very strong feeling of affection for the native population under his rule?", Robinson replied in unqualified terms: "I think not" [!]. He illustrated this by suggesting that Thomason had treated two cases of raffling in unequal terms. Whereas a collector had dismissed a tahsildar of his establishment for raffling off a pony, the Government reinstated - except for payment of a fine - a covenanted civilian who had sold tickets on a bungalow. The Indian died in disgrace; the civilian got off with a reprimand and the repayment of ticket-holders.¹¹⁹ William Muir, Thomason's secretary, replied to both charges in his career biography of 1853. With respect to Robinson's charge of Thomason's dislike for Indians, Muir denied the allegation. Thomason's personal example and precise instructions on this point in the Directions effectively proved the contrary. Muir, of course, could not have read Robertson's letter to Ellenborough in which Thomason was likened to an usher in a grammar school where little love was lost in the harshness exercised.¹²⁰ Temple in 1893 proved more candid and less protective of Thomason on this point. Thomason's "way" with the people, Temple thought, was not to become popular by encouraging familiarity. "His manner was the same with Natives as with his own countrymen; suave, bland, courteous, calm, somewhat undemonstrative and reserved". Nevertheless, Temple claimed that Thomason was held in high esteem by all classes of Indians because they knew he was

¹¹⁹Ibid., 112-116.

¹²⁰See Chapter Two, reference # 57.

their "steadfast friend". It was true, however, that the people could hardly conceive of him "as a living personality, around which their regards could cluster". They regarded him rather as a "benevolent power placed up aloft to watch over the fortunes of the country".¹²¹

As to the accusation that there was "one rule for the native and another . . . for the European", Muir responded: "At the most the case of the [tahsildar] would not prove inconsiderate treatment, but they who know best have never even heard of . . . the case". Muir intimated that Robinson was evidently irritated because Thomason had reprimanded the SBR for attempting to interfere in a case of dismissal involving several subordinates. When the Board insisted on their reinstatement, the commissioner of the division appealed to Thomason on behalf of the magistrate-collector responsible for the dismissal. Thomason then reminded Robinson and Boulderson that the tahsildars involved had been dismissed because they had been found guilty of corruption. The SBR, Muir explained, "did not much relish the advice".¹²² As a generalization, one might suggest that a certain amount of friction between Allahabad and Agra was bound to occur, particularly since the former, under Bird, had seemed all-powerful. With Thomason at Agra, the SBR's influence diminished considerably.

Since Chapter Three was devoted to the thesis that Thomason's

¹²¹Temple, 96. Thomason's shy nature revealed itself in his hesitation to attend the ceremonial opening of Benares New College. See Chapter Five and Thomason-Dalhousie Papers.

¹²²Muir, Thomason, 487.

influence in the formation of the Punjab tradition. was a paramount one, the emphasis on that theme in this chapter may be limited to proof that the land revenue settlement of Bird and Thomason was the one implemented in and adapted to the Punjab districts. While William Edwards and G. Campbell confirmed this before parliamentary committees, the best proof that the Punjab's land revenue policy was an extension of that of the NWP under Thomason is found in Barkley's edition of Thomason's Directions.¹²³ Barkley told how Dalhousie at the end of March 1849 referred the Punjab Board - the Lawrences and Mansel - to the "Four Circulars" of Bird and the "pamphlets" published by Thomason as forming 'an admirable body of instructions adapted to any province where the village system obtains'. As a result, Thomason's Directions, as brought together in a "single work" in 1849, were widely distributed in the Punjab. According to Barkley, this and a subsequent edition of 1858 had "continued to be the principal manual of Revenue law and practice up to the present time". The only important additions and modification before 1875 were made in 1868 and 1871. As a result, Barkley was asked to prepare the 1875 edition of Directions for Revenue Officers in the Punjab.

The extension of Thomason's land revenue system did not stop at the Punjab. Seven years later (1856) Dalhousie annexed the kingdom of Oudh. He decided against the taluqdars and introduced, supported by his Council, the principles of land settlement as implemented in the Pro-

¹²³Campbell, 14 April 1853, PP, XXXI (1852-53), 417. "We had special instructions which were, for the most part, conformable to those of the NWP."

Not only instructions, but men were transferred, as indicated in Chapter Three. Thomason bemoaned the fact (1849), privately to Montgomery, that he had to give up 'nineteen men of the best blood!', for

vinces and the Punjab. In his letter of 4 February 1856, he commanded that the system of village settlements as described in Thomason's Directions and 'modified in its application to the Punjab . . . should unquestioningly be adopted'.¹²⁴ This transfer to Oudh, however, produced very little subsequent boasting. It was inevitable that the critics of British India, who fell on Dalhousie after the Mutiny, should point to his introduction of the Bird-Thomason settlement into Oudh as one of the chief causes of the rebellion of the taluqdars.¹²⁵

example, Mansel, Montgomery, McLeod, E. P. Thornton, and Edmonstone, not to mention those of lesser quality or lower grade in the Service. Using the image of the blood transfusion, he wrote: "I feel weak after so much depletion. But the remaining blood will circulate more quickly and healthily - so we shall soon get over it." Temple, 102.

¹²⁴See Jagdil Raj, 12-16. For accounts of this transfer to Oudh and its results see Raj and T. R. Metcalf, as noted elsewhere.

¹²⁵See the writings of John W. Kaye, William Edwards, and Patrick Carnegy. Kaye's Sepoy War should be read alongside Raj and Metcalf.

CHAPTER V

James Thomason and Indigenous Vernacular Education

Richard Cust, addressing himself in 1854 to the question of a suitable memorial to Thomason, declared: "Let no masses of stone, or useless Mausoleum be raised to commemorate so good a man: let the testimonial be, like his own character, practical, unostentatious, and beneficent to the people, whom he loved so well."¹ In practice Dalhousie agreed with these sentiments. Thomason remained untitled and undecorated, because Dalhousie apparently viewed Thomason's vernacular education programme as an enduring and sufficient monument. A month following his lieutenant's death, the Governor-General eulogized him as follows:

Even though Mr. Thomason has left no other memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general Vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career.²

One of the main purposes of this chapter is to analyze the leading role Thomason played in the development of this system of mass vernacular education, the other, the Thomasonian contribution to the breakdown of the practice of religious neutrality. The object cannot be to provide a complete statistical report of his programme, but to indicate the degree to which Thomason initiated a policy of education for those agricultural groups delineated so carefully in his Directions to

¹Cust, "Collector", 161.

²Dalhousie's Minute, "Vernacular Education in India", 25 October 1853 (D - 34); also reprinted in Rev. James Long "Vernacular Education for Bengal", CR, XXII (1854), 291-340.

Settlement Officers.³ Since his sympathies were almost wholly on the side of the village communities, Thomason developed an educational policy calculated to consolidate the gains made by small proprietors in his land settlement.⁴ Within the decade of his personal rule he began to realize the fruition of his programme of educating those people neglected almost entirely by the proponents of English education. Instead of waiting - perhaps in vain - for the policy of 'percolation from above', one so dear to the anglicists, to benefit the agricultural classes, Thomason began with those who formed the broad base of the "social pyramid".⁵ He hoped to awaken village minds first, to evaluate intelligently their share in proprietary and cultivating rights and second, to support indigenous education in useful knowledge, at both elementary and secondary levels.

For one only three years in India, Temple in 1850 made an intelligent appraisal of the presumed capacities of the various grades of agriculturalists among the village communities to absorb the education Thomason planned for them. Temple looked to European models and suggested fostering the development of a sturdy class of peasant proprietors, whose education would lead to the "moral and intellectual advancement" of the

³See Thomason's Directions, Section Five, para. 76-160.

⁴By this designation he meant the zamindars and pattidars, joint proprietors of various kinds within the village community, as well as the "ryot", the non-proprietary cultivator, discussed in Chapter Four. In Thomason's view, these classes had been ignored in the Cornwallis settlement and left illiterate as well. He intended to remedy this. Cf. his Directions and Temple, "Village Schools", 151-7, 166ff.

⁵James Long wrote that the "upper ten thousand" may be able to benefit from English in Bengal, but for the millions below them the vernaculars "must ever remain the only medium of acquiring knowledge" "Christian Orientalism", 285. See below for other references to Long's view.

whole Doab. While he was at a loss to predict what "standard of social culture they would eventually reach", he was confident that an educational policy would work more successfully in a country "peopled with small proprietors than in [one] swarming with the tenants and cultivators of great landlords".⁶ It is obvious that Temple was, in 1850, in a more vigorous westernizing mood than Thomason. But as the latter, albeit a modernizer, was deeply motivated to strengthen the position of the village proprietors, he was primarily concerned to give all grades a rudimentary education, as well as to train administrators for municipal requirements and self-government as a whole.

Another interpretive question must be raised in conjunction with the evangelical attitudes characteristic of most Thomasonians and many Haileyburians.⁷ How could they support secular education in the ver-

⁶ Temple, "Village Schools", 138-149. Among his concluding remarks, Temple judged that the people of the NWP were fortunate in having placed before them "the happiest of all motives to exertion, the adjudication and definition of their dearest rights [in the land]", 207.

While Temple's article is extremely valuable in that it links Thomason's chief concerns in a popular manner that Thomason himself could perhaps not have matched (see his letter to Ellenborough, Chapter Four, reference # 65), it must be kept in mind that Temple wrote it in order to forward his career. He wrote "Village Schools and Peasant Proprietors" for the CR in the hopes of being appointed visitor-general of Thomason's education programme. This approach was suggested by his apparently equally ambitious wife, who had "whispered" in his ear that distinction was to be gained "by the pen in the English language indoors, as well as by vernacular business in the field".

When he applied for the position more directly Thomason told him he was made for "sterner stuff". See Temple, My Life, I, 49-50.

⁷ Thomason's generation was born between 1800 and 1820 and arrived in India between 1820 and 1840, give or take a few years. The evangelical influence in the Church of England may be said to have crested during this time. The inevitable time lag and the generalization that Englishmen continued to do in India what they could no longer do in England accounts in part for the later cresting of evangelicalism in India. See the later section in this chapter on Christianity.

macular when their religious convictions and imperial outlook led them to expect dramatic changes in Indians as a result of the introduction of Christianity? Like H. Carre Tucker, many of them supported adequate programming of secular knowledge if it was attended by training in the Bible, in the language of the masses, primarily Urdu.⁸ This policy, conflicting as it did with official neutrality, was nevertheless partly encouraged by the difficulty of maintaining Thomason's position, which may be summed up as neutrality without indifference.⁹ Tucker's attitude, taken to an extreme position by some members of the Punjab administration, led to controversy in 1857-8 between the religious indifferents at Calcutta and the Christian zealots at Lahore. Because Thomasonians and other evangelicals in the Punjab appeared to have been instrumental in saving India for the Empire, the CMS took occasion in the post-Mutiny evaluation to plead the case for the elimination of the restrictive policy of religious neutrality.

Before turning to the account of Thomason's educational policy and the controversy which developed between Lahore and Calcutta as a result of forceful objections to neutrality, it is necessary to review some of the antecedents of vernacularism in India, for Thomason's ideas

⁸Urdu, or Hindustani, the common language in Hindustan or Doab. According to Hobson-Jobson, it was the mixed language that grew up in "camp and court". Temple, after surveying the schools according to the languages used in them, expressed his approval of the adoption of Urdu as the most useful vernacular, because it appeared to him that the Hindus would benefit most from Thomason's educational policy. See references # 45, 56.

⁹Temple, Thomason, 128-30. Thomason held that public servants who had officially to be neutral carried a tremendous responsibility "to do their best in their private capacities" to aid Christianity.

developed in part out of frustrations experienced elsewhere by those interested in a similar policy. While the following account suggests that many of Thomason's educational ideas were derived from others, he was probably as original as they. He distinguished himself, however, by being the first man of his rank to implement an indigenous vernacular policy which his peers considered viable for other parts of India.

There appears no particular reason to search for antecedents before 1823. While Holt Mackenzie's Note on education in that year helped to formulate a policy which Thomason found largely inapplicable in the NWP, nevertheless, a brief review of it at least establishes the contrast between the two and indicates to what extent Thomason may have found a challenge in it. Mackenzie brought forward a comprehensive educational policy in anticipation of the Government's need to appoint a committee "combining a variety of talent and acquirement", to implement such a policy.¹⁰ He categorically repudiated the suggestion that Indian subjects should be kept "weak and ignorant that they may be submissive". The aim of government-sponsored education was to "raise the character, to strengthen the understanding, to purify the heart". He continued:

Whatever therefore can extend the knowledge of the people, . . . give a juster conception of the true relation of things, . . . add to their power over the gifts of nature or better inform them of the rights and duties of their fellow men, whatever can excite invention and invigorate the judgment, . . . enrich the imagination and sharpen the wit, . . . rouse to steady exertion and bind to honest purposes; whatever fits man to bear and improve his lot, to render his neighbour happy, and his country

¹⁰ Mackenzie, then secretary to the Territorial Department, saw such a committee appointed and himself on it. See below.

prosperous; whatever in short tends to make men wiser and better and happier here and hereafter - all are desired to be given, in due season, to the people of India.¹¹

This was a statement which both doctrinaire utilitarians and fervent evangelicals could endorse. When Mackenzie faced the question of where to begin with the inculcation of such wholesome education, he recommended the "influential classes", those already sending their children to the colleges. "The natural course of things in all countries", he observed, "seems to be that knowledge introduced from abroad [Europe] should descend from the higher or educated classes and gradually spread through their example. We surely cannot here . . . expect the servant to prize a learning which his master despises or hates."

Having assumed the filtration method of education, he gave a rationale for his concentration on the apex of the social pyramid:

To provide for the education of the great body of the people seems to be impossible, at least, in the present state of things. For the ordinary purposes of life, the means of education are not, I imagine, ill supplied, though doubtless the native seminaries [indigenous schools] are susceptible of much improvement, and this at a cheap rate, by assisting them, both with books and masters.¹²

Mackenzie saw great obstacles to educating the impoverished peasants of India because of the absence of the one great instrument available in England with which "to work beneficially on the lower orders", namely, the Bible. Only under the "Christian scheme" could one expect the

¹¹Mackenzie, "Note on Education, 17 July 1823, reproduced in Selections from Educational Records (Calcutta, 1920), ed., H. Sharp, 58. This volume of documents on educational subjects covers the years 1781-1839; while a second volume edited by J. A. Richey covers the years 1840-59, 1922. (Hereafter Sharp or Richey).

¹²Sharp, 59-60.

labouring classes to become educated and "humanized beings".¹³ Privately Thomason undoubtedly agreed with Mackenzie, but government policy prevented him from introducing the Bible, even in the vernacular languages - if such translations had been available - into government schools. Yet he found an almost equally handy instrument of universal application to the labouring groups in his jurisdiction. While it was far removed from the Bible, he was concerned about vernacular education sufficient for the "ordinary purposes of life". He disagreed with Mackenzie's contention that the lower classes were educated up to their domestic needs. Thomason was convinced that everyone must have sufficient elemental education to investigate and make secure his new interest in the soil. In a general sense Thomason was highly practical. While Mackenzie, relatively more doctrinaire in his utilitarianism than most Haileyburians, saw that the English catalyst for the education of the poor was missing, Thomason - a biblical literalist who believed that man does not live 'by bread alone' - argued that a convenient catalyst could be created: elementary education for the confirmation of proprietary rights in the interests of the consolidation of the village communities. But this is to anticipate the development of Thomason's policy.

As a result of Mackenzie's statement, the Supreme Council appointed a General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI) to survey the educational field and to recommend measures to the Government. Mackenzie naturally found himself appointed to the GCPI. According to D. P.

¹³Ibid. There were of course those who thought they saw that the Bible, an oriental book, translated into India's vernaculars, would have the same beneficial effect. See Long's "Christian Orientalism".

Sinha, he was the only member who wholeheartedly championed "English Education". All the others were "British Orientalists",¹⁴ many of whom opposed Mackenzie then and Macaulay and Bentinck later in the matter of anglicizing India.

Failing to see a panacea in Mackenzie's Note,¹⁵ Thomason found practical suggestions in the educational reports of William Adam, submitted to the GCPI between 1835 and 1838. Although one of the responsibilities given to the Committee was to survey the state of education in Bengal, nothing of this nature had been undertaken.¹⁶ Adam, who had gone to India in 1818 as a Baptist missionary - only to become unitarian¹⁷ - addressed a memorandum in 1829 to Bentinck's Council on the subject of popular education. As a result of such prodding, Bentinck appointed Adam in 1835 as a special investigator under the GCPI to survey the educational field.¹⁸ Of his 1835 Report Long wrote:

¹⁴D. P. Sinha, The Educational Policy of the EICo in Bengal to 1854, 52ff. These were W.H. Harrington, H. H. Wilson, J. P. Larkins, W. B. Martin, W. B. Bayley, H. Shakespear, H. T. Prinsep, J. C. Sutherland, and Andrew Stirling. Cf. the list of CFW graduates who received highest awards in Oriental languages, Kopf, 98-9. Thomason's record compared favourably with the best. He was a member of the GCPI from 1831 to 1832.

¹⁵Bird and Thomason, after leaning heavily on Mackenzie as a guide in the land settlement, diverged from his more radical anglicizing views in education.

¹⁶Sinha, Educational Policy, 173.

¹⁷According to Kopf, 201, Adam's conversion to unitarianism came as a result of his association with the famous Rammohun Roy. This led to a rupture between leading Hindu "westernizers" and the Baptists at Serampur, among them Carey and Joshua Marshman. Cf. E. D. Potts, British Baptist Missions in India (1967), 233ff.

¹⁸D. P. Sinha, British Social and Administrative Policy Under Auckland (Calcutta, 1969), 37. (Hereafter Sinha, Auckland).

Adam's system of Vernacular Education was based pretty much on the old municipal system of the Hindus, by which each village had its chief, its accounts, its priest, smith, carpenter, potter, barber, washerman, poet, doctor, and though last, not least, its village or hedge School-master. . . . The village system was a brotherhood which has survived the ruins of Empires. . . .¹⁹

Adam, having calculated there were about 100,000 such village schools, recommended that "the great object ought to be not to supersede, but to supplement them".²⁰ Unfortunately, Adam submitted his first report at the climax (in 1835) of the famous anglicist-orientalist controversy.²¹ Although the strength of the orientalist position was still considerable, the GCPI, chaired in 1835 by Macaulay, accepted anglicization, as had Mackenzie, as the primary emphasis to be given to Government-supported education in Bengal.²² In that controversial atmosphere Bentinck was not prepared to entertain a policy which suggested the diversion of limited funds to education directed to the base of the social

¹⁹Long, "Introduction to Adam's Report" (1868), 9-10. James Long (1814-87) joined the CMS in India, 1846. Known popularly as 'Padre' Long, he found himself sued for libel in connection with his contribution to a Bengali play Nil Darpan, directed against the indigo planters, DIB. See the Hindoo Patriot for the many editorials on this trial.

²⁰In Long, Ibid., 10. Cf. Sinha, Educational Policy, 229. This was in harmony with Thomason's social philosophy. See his Benares speech, reference # 82.

²¹For an authoritative account, see Ibid., 178-209.

²²Ibid., 177. Cf. Spear's "Bentinck and Education", (C)HJ, VI (1938), 78-101. While this article gives an overall view of the impact of Macaulay's Minute on Education, it has been modified by Sinha, Stokes and Kopf. Spear did not differentiate clearly between James Mill on the one hand, who held that useful western knowledge should be conveyed through vernaculars, and Macaulay and the evangelicals in Calcutta on the other, who were mainly anglicists. Some significant exceptions to this rule will be indicated later. W. Carey of course was one.

pyramid.²³

More important was Adam's Report of 1838, undergirded as it was by some factual information. He recommended something quite acceptable to Thomason's mode of thought: to use "existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest of all kinds and classes as the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people". While Mackenzie merely recognized the economy of improving indigenous schools, Adam strongly recommended their support by subsidies and aids of some kind. No other plan could possibly be as simple, safe, popular, economic and effective to stimulate the Indian mind and elicit "the exertions of the natives themselves for their own improvement . . ."²⁴ As is evident, this plan was made to measure for Thomason's emphasis on some measure of autonomy at the village level. Adam rejected the notion that government should support only those schools administered under its jurisdiction at great expense for the benefit of the few. The 'filtration thesis', he wrote, "overlooks the entire system of education institutions . . . which existed long before our rule". Those advocating that educational foundations be made "broad and deep" to carry a superstructure "lofty and firm", could only lament, as Adam did, that vernacular education had been relegated to "the bottom of the list of priori-

²³Since 1813 one lac [100,000 rupees or £10,000 - the salary of two judgeships or one Macaulay] had annually been set aside for education in India. According to Auckland's statement of 24 November 1839, Prinsep and other Orientalists would not have felt threatened had additional money been set aside for English education. Sharp, 148; Kopf, 245.

²⁴W. Adam, Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal (1838 - 1941 ed.), 200-1, 350-81.

ties while patronage has been bestowed on a 'foreign medium of instruction, the English language'."²⁵

Adam's proposal for financing such a vernacular education programme is noteworthy, since Thomason eventually tried to implement it. Adam suggested that a "small endowment of land [a jagir]" be given to support the teacher of the village school. Naturally he would have to meet conditions set by both the community of proprietors [rate-payers]²⁶ and the government. The latter would ensure that teachers met educational standards set by the GCPI. Then he concluded that, should this plan fail,

there is still left the general revenue of the country on which the poor and the ignorant have a primary claim . . . for from whence is that revenue derived, but from the bones and sinews, the toil and the sweat of those whose cause I am pleading? Shall £10,000 continue to be the sole permanent appropriation from a revenue of more than twenty million sterling for the education of a hundred million of people? 27

Surely it was short-sighted to deny the lower classes the benefit of a comprehensive plan of education when in the long run the well being and prosperity of India could be immeasurably enhanced.

How did Adam's Report fare in the hands of the GCPI? Although

²⁵ Ibid., 357-8, 362, 374. Adam reminded Bengal administrators that Moira (Hastings) in 1815 had recognized that elementary indigenous schools providing education sufficient for 'zemindars, accountants and shop-keepers' could be improved at low cost. He also referred his readers to Frederick John Shore ('17), son of Teignmouth (John Shore), who in his Notes on Indian Affairs (1837) had ridiculed the folly of inflicting a foreign language (English) on a hundred million people.

²⁶ A village school association might help to form the nucleus of municipal self-government concerned with village police, local improvements and statistical knowledge.

²⁷ Adam, 390.

the Committee in 1838 was committed to filtration and anglicization, it recommended to Auckland's Council that Adam's plan be given a trial run for at least three years. When Government rejected the proposal, Adam resigned his appointment in disgust.²⁸

Auckland acknowledged that William Adam's Report had convinced him of "the low state of instruction amongst the immense masses of the Indian population". Nevertheless, he agreed with his Council that Government implementation of the plan would be premature. "The first step", he argued, "must be to diffuse wider information and better sentiments amongst the upper and middle classes." He had observed elsewhere that education of the villagers was "the last stage" in any national policy.²⁹ He promised to press upon the GCPI Adam's suggestion regarding the preparation of text books. Once these had been prepared, he would experiment with the plan, but only under a "thoroughly zealous and qualified superintendence".³⁰ For the time being he held to the filtration thesis which declared that "a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community" could be accomplished by raising the standard of instruction among the leisure class than by "acting directly in the more numerous class". The Court upheld Auckland's decision but stated in 1842 that the implementation of Adam's plan only

²⁸ Sinha, Educational Policy, 232; Long, "Adam's Report", 12.

²⁹ This was Mackenzie's presupposition as well. Hence the question remained whether the BCS or certain segments of it would give Indians more education than the aristocracy gave the lower classes at home?

³⁰ Auckland Minute on Education, 24 November 1839, in Sharp, 152-3.

awaited the preparation of a "complete set of vernacular text books" and the finances required to meet the cost of education "for the higher and middle classes".³¹

In order to understand the authority under which Thomason initiated a plan comparable to the one shelved by Auckland's Government³² one must note the administrative changes undertaken as they affected education. They were initiated in 1841, ironically enough, because Thomason as Visitor to the Delhi and Agra Colleges in that year (while secretary to Robertson) had pledged Government to scholarship stipends without seeking approval from the GCPI.³³ The General Committee thereupon decided to define its position vis-à-vis the Local Committees at Delhi, Agra, and elsewhere in the Bengal Presidency. The GCPI recommended to Government that it retain a central supervisory control over education, permitting local committees only the power to make representations to the controlling body in Calcutta. At first the Government seemed prepared to endorse this view, but as educational budgets grew, the Government assumed direct control of finances and transformed the GCPI into a consultative Council of Education, actually tending to weaken its influence.

Meanwhile, the Friend of India challenged Ellenborough to place

³¹Ibid., 155; Court Despatch, 23 February 1842, quoted in Sinha, 232. According to Kopf's model, Mackenzie and Macaulay, and Auckland in education, were "westernizers".

³²Recall that Auckland had his seat at Agra from 1838-40. It was while Thomason was away in England that Auckland wrote his Minute of November 1839, supported by his private secretary John R. Colvin.

³³Sinha, Educational Policy, 252; also Thomason's Minute in Richey, 252-4.

educational matters in the NWP under the supervision of the incumbent at Agra. Marshman, the editor, argued that education in the Provinces would never receive adequate attention if supervised from Calcutta. Would Ellenborough, who "did things that fancy him absolutely", give the NWP their minister of education? As leverage, Marshman used the recommendations of a "gentleman of the Civil Service at home". These encompassed indigenous vernacular schools, district schools and a 'Normal School', the latter designed to prepare Indians for employment in the professions, including teaching.³⁴ Two weeks later, on 29 April 1843, while Ellenborough and his secretary Thomason were resident in Agra (between the departure of Robertson and the appointment of Clerk), the Governor-General transferred education in the Provinces to the Agra Government.³⁵

Almost simultaneously with this transfer, as though he were cognizant of it, H. Carre Tucker, the young Thomasonian then on furlough in England, offered himself in a letter to Ellenborough as superintendent of education in Agra Presidency. Moreover, he enclosed a complete education policy which he wished to see introduced.³⁶ Having published his Notes on Education four years earlier, as a result of his educational experiences at Azamgarh under Thomason, Tucker now expressed his funda-

³⁴ FI, 13 April 1843.

³⁵ Sinha, Educational Policy, 252-7. Three colleges at Agra, Delhi, and Benares and nine schools at principal administrative stations were transferred by Government circular dated 3 May 1843. See Temple, "Village Schools", 180; Richey, 232.

³⁶ Tucker to Ellenborough, 20 April 1843, from Leamington, England (E - 16/1).

mental concern for a system which incorporated moral training in indigenous vernacular schools, and the establishment of "Normal Schools" in each Presidency for professional training in civil administration, teaching, medicine, and engineering. Such a programme, he felt, required adequate supervision and direction in matters of curriculum, textbooks, and general philosophy. Although fully aware that the position of superintendent would mean a sacrifice of both "salary and prospects", Tucker indicated his readiness to waive such personal considerations, if he could contribute to the moral training of "the rising generation".³⁷

The similarities between Tucker's letter and Marshman's arguments in his Friend of India article of 13 April are so remarkable that one may conclude that Carre Tucker was the writer. A clue as to why Tucker failed in his application will be indicated later.³⁸

Tucker's proposals were remarkably like those of another Haileyburian, Brian H. Hodgson ('18), to whom Thomason was also indirectly indebted for suggestions in the direction of a vernacular programme. At Haileybury a brilliant protégé of Malthus, Hodgson turned his talents to a study of Buddhism while serving in the Residency of Nepal from 1820 to 1844.³⁹ Between 1835 and 1848 he contributed letters to the Friend of India, in which he advocated a popular education program through the

³⁷Tucker was able to quote from a letter of recommendation Robertson had given him. See below for reference to Thomason's Azamgarh plan of education, as reviewed by Tucker in Notes on Education.

³⁸Marshman was obviously using the arguments of Tucker whom he kept unidentified at the time. See reference # 127.

³⁹DIB. For his Life see W.W. Hunter. Relieved of his post by Ellenborough, he returned to India to pursue his research into religion,

vernacular. He predicted that 'Macaulayism . . . will help to widen the existing lamentable gulf that divides us from the mass of the people'. What he recommended, as summed up by Sinha, was the cultivation of vernacular education along with English and Oriental education, the preparation of improved text books in the vernacular and, above all, a 'Normal Vernacular College for School Masters and Translators'. From his observations in Nepal he discovered that Buddhism was successful against Hinduism only by the use of Hindu vernaculars. Europeans would be successful in achieving their educational objects primarily by turning to this medium.⁴⁰

George Clerk, the non-resident Lieutenant-Governor of the NWP⁴¹ from May to December 1843 contributed enough to the education debate to trigger the popular view that Thomason had merely implemented his predecessor's proposals.⁴² Had it been possible for Clerk to take up the Agra administration with vigour, he might very well have introduced an effective programme of education. In any case, he and his secretary Robert Hamilton ('20) had to administer the schools transferred to their

literature, and vernaculars of Buddhism, collecting manuscripts and pursuing other scholarly interests. He retired from India in 1858.

⁴⁰ See FI, 16 March 1848, for example. Hodgson published Preminece of the Vernaculars or the Anglicists Answered in 1847. "We seek to regenerate India. . . . Let then the foundation be broad and solid enough to support the vast superstructure. . . ." Kopf, 252. See also Sinha, Educational Policy, 265.

⁴¹ Clerk resided at Simla most of 1843 in an effort to recoup his health. See Chapter Two.

⁴² See OPI, Part III, 4. This was a CMS publication reviewing statements made by Ellenborough and Clerk in 1858 concerning education in India and patronage by officials - civil and military - of missionary activity. See reference # 143.

jurisdiction in April.

Clerk feared that the Government-supported schools were not finding the support of the "Native Gentry" because they were simply not "in unison with their feelings". He strongly advocated working with existing institutions, as did Thomason. Clerk expressed himself thus:

It only needs that our endeavors should be properly directed that existing native schools should not be cast aside as useless, and the whole population, as it were, arrayed against us, because we will not bend to adopt improvement upon existing means.

Clerk felt that as long as the English "obtruded a zeal for proselytism prematurely", or insisted on imposing a "foreign tongue" [English] on them, they could hardly expect Indians to support their educational efforts.⁴³ While he emphasized the need to win the confidence of the Indians by a closer integration of government and indigenous schools, he nevertheless seemed unaware of his potential to inaugurate a scheme along the "well-digested and sound principles" he had in mind. It remained for Thomason to exercise the executive authority given his office by the transfer of education to Agra in April 1843. Thomason of course possessed a clearer grasp of movements in education, was more fully aware than Clerk of his powers, and had conceived of a definite plan to associate vernacular education with the primary domestic concerns of the people.

These suggestions from the fertile minds and practical experience of Adam, Tucker, Hodgson, and Clerk undoubtedly came as a timely

⁴³Clerk made two responses to the circular order of 3 May 1843. One was written on 8 August by Hamilton, his secretary, the other by himself on 4 December, as he prepared to make over the government to Thomason. Cf. Temple, "Village Schools", 181-3; Richey, 233-6.

spur to Thomason, whose own career had provided numerous opportunities to become acquainted with educational matters. His earliest assignments had kept him in or near Calcutta. At the College of Fort William he distinguished himself in the study of Oriental law and language under W. H. Macnaghten, who described the Anglicists as "dangerous Utopians", whose imposition of English on Indians would prove to be largely a wasted effort. From August 1831 to September 1832 Thomason was himself a member of the GCPI. Whereas his going to Azamgarh for a five-year period in 1832 took him away from Calcutta during the anglicist-orientalist controversy, one can see, using the advantage of hindsight, that the influence of Macnaghten and his peers was more decisive than that of Macaulay.⁴⁴

It is highly likely that his tendency to modernization was strongly reinforced at Azamgarh. For there he observed the working of Indian indigenous institutions, and developed educational views in co-operation with H. Carre Tucker. Finding the "great mass of proprietors" generally illiterate and their district schools haphazardly taught and attended,⁴⁵ Thomason worked out his first distinct plan of education, which clearly antedated that of Clerk, as recorded by Tucker in his Notes on Education (1839):

⁴⁴Kopf, 251. Macnaghten found support from Hodgson who, according to Kopf, stepped into Carey's shoes when the Baptist evangelical and vernacularist died 9 June 1834, as the leader of the "popular-culture Orientalists". Macnaghten resigned from the GCPI in July, 1835 when the Government refused to open the Anglicist question. Sinha, 212. Educational Policy. See reference # 14.

⁴⁵Thomason, Azimgarh Report, 1837. There were Brahmins who gave gratuitous instruction in Sanskrit to Hindus, and Moslems who taught in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu for a pittance.

It is much to be desired that the plan of Mr. James Thomason, for establishing branch schools at all the large towns and villages . . . in connection with the English Station Schools, should be carried into effect; but to do this, it is necessary that the Teachers of these latter should exert themselves in raising a class of monitors, qualified by their knowledge of their native languages, their European science, and their stock of general useful knowledge, to act as pioneers in teaching European knowledge in the vernaculars, and preparing the more intelligent of their pupils to relish and benefit from the more extended education afforded by the Station Schools.⁴⁶

Of course Thomason had to wait until 1843-44 before he could begin to implement any plan. In the intervening years, as indicated, he served in the secretariat and SBR of the NWP under both Auckland and Ellenborough. Although he was absent on furlough when Auckland resolved the anglicist-orientalist quarrel, Thomason gave evidence later that he was not in harmony with Auckland's stand.⁴⁷

Perhaps the best description of how Thomason used his place of power in Agra to inaugurate his educational policy came from the pen of the Rev. James Long.⁴⁸ This statement not only formed part of his eulogy of Thomason, but also gave vent to a widespread criticism of Calcutta's failure to inaugurate a vernacular education programme.

To Mr. Thomason we owe it that, while here in Bengal no effort was made on the part of the Government to diffuse knowledge through the Vernacular, he quietly but firmly matured his plans

⁴⁶Tucker, Notes on Education (1839), 145-6.

⁴⁷The reference is to Auckland's November 1839 Minute. See references # 30 and 32. Thomason obviously intended to remedy the setback to vernacularism and mass education where he had jurisdiction.

⁴⁸While the 1854 article in the CR, from which the following statement is taken, does not have Long's byline, internal evidence - the almost verbatim similarity to Long's Introduction to the 1868 edition of William Adam's Report - identifies him as the author.

and brought his great experience of native character, learned away from the haunts of Europeans, to bear on the course of the people; he unostentatiously followed in the track of him of whom it is said 'the common people heard him gladly'.

The peasantry, who had been, from time immemorial, the puppets of Muslim and Brahminical despots, found in Mr. Thomason a friend who, released from the shackles of Calcutta centralization, took his views of education not from the purlieus of Chowringhee* but from the people. Five years after the Calcutta Council had shelved Mr. Adam's admirable reports, Mr. Thomason commenced his plan for education On the North-West Provinces being separated from Calcutta, he promulgated the statement that 'to produce any perceptible impression on the public mind, . . . it must be through the medium of the Vernacular languages'. The smaller English schools were abolished and instruction in English was confined to the Colleges.

Long reverted to Thomason's good fortune in finding himself independent of Calcutta in educational matters.

The successful working of the Vernacular plan in the North-West Provinces shows how necessary it is to avoid being linked in with Calcutta in a centralized system. Had the voice from the ditch* been heard, this Vernacular plan of Thomason's would never have had a fair trial, neither Rurki nor any of the other fair creations of the North-West Provinces would have sprung into existence. Like Lord Hardinge's resolution of 1844 they would have been stifled in the ditch.⁴⁹

The year 1844 provided Thomason with the opportunity to crystallize his views. In order to establish a factual basis for his policy, he created one new office, that of "curator of school books". Otherwise, he

* Chowringhee referred to the wealthy Anglo-Indian quarter of Calcutta. This is where dilettantes threw their parties to which young civilians from the CFW were invited and where many received their first impulses to extravagant living. The ditch referred disparagingly to those Calcutta residents. The term originated after 1742 when a huge excavation was made to protect them from Mahratta bands. Hobson-Jobson.

⁴⁹ According to Long, the peasant under Cornwallis was forever doomed to serfdom, for in education Bengal spent four lacs of rupees for the upper classes and only 8,000 for the peasantry. Long, "Vernacular Education in Bengal", 311-3.

commandeered existing administrative agencies - local education committees and the covenanted civilians in his charge - to assist him in obtaining statistical information. Where others had pamphleteered and lobbied,⁵⁰ Thomason used his considerable powers as lieutenant-governor to initiate an education policy designed to complement the land settlement.

With respect to books, Thomason took a lead from the suggestions of William Adam, Carre Tucker and Brian Hodgson, each of whom had advocated the preparation of vernacular books treating useful subjects. On 2 September 1844, he appointed the Rev. J. J. Moore of Agra as "Curator of School Books" in the NWP, responsible directly to Thomason.⁵¹ The books Thomason had in mind were primarily for the vernacular schools "supported by the people themselves". First, Thomason requested from Moore a "Catalogue Raisonné, a combination of annotated bibliography and publisher's list of books available in the vernacular languages of Urdu and Hindi, the learned Oriental languages of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, as well as in English. Particularly concerned about the vernacular books, he advised Moore to make the Catalogue so "methodical" and complete that any person consulting it might have a basis for evaluation and a reference for purchase. To encourage indigenous effort he

⁵⁰ Hodgson in the press, Tucker by correspondence, Adam through a commission to investigate indigenous education in Bengal.

⁵¹ In view of the peremptory manner in which he was treated subsequently, it would be of interest to know why a clergyman was conscripted for this task. Or was he chosen from a number of applicants for the new office created by Thomason? Temple, "Village Schools", 189.

insisted that the village schoolmasters be given "the kind of instruction they prize and will be useful to them". And since agriculture was the abiding interest of the majority of the people, "whatever instruction will therefore enable them better to understand their rights in the land, and to conduct their agricultural concerns", Thomason asserted, "will be likely to command their attention".⁵²

As to the survey of existing schools, Thomason requested information first from local committees about the institutions transferred to Agra the year before, and the indigenous schools. One of his earliest pronouncements about educational priorities came as a result of events in Agra and of information derived from the Agra committee in 1844. In November Thomason learned that the government-supported school at Far-ruckhabad had been closed largely as a result of the absence of local Indian support. Taking into consideration Clerk's warning that 'native gentry' were not keen to support government Anglo-vernacular schools (where religious neutrality was ostensibly upheld), he wrote the secretary of the Agra local committee, expressing some strong views about the adaptation of government post-primary education to the village self-supported school:

Whatever tends to rival and discourage these schools is in itself so far objectionable, whilst whatsoever on the other hand tends to encourage, improve and multiply these schools is a solid advantage, likely to be permanent. It is then desirable that the course of education in the Government Colleges should be adapted to these considerations. . . . It should not be giving the elements of vernacular education, constitute itself

⁵² Thomason and Thornton to J. J. Moore, 2 September 1844, NWPGP, Volume 64.

a rival to all the native indigenous institutions, and waste the time . . . of its teachers But it should take up the Education of youth at the point where the prevalent system of education leaves it, and, by carrying on to a state of further advancement the promising boys of the indigenous schools, constitutes itself a reward to the most deserving and a constant stimulus to all.⁵³

Because Thomason wanted to ascertain whether public support had made education generally "more prized and of a higher standard than it used to be", he directed the Agra local committees to avoid setting up rival schools. He made C. C. Fink responsible for promoting indigenous schools through improving public relations with the people and explaining how literacy would permit them to personally investigate the 'record of right' in the patwari's offices.⁵⁴

Wherever possible, Thomason insisted, education involving the sons of village proprietors and shopkeepers was to take a "practical turn". He was convinced that "when the advantages of even an elementary education begin to be thus appreciated we may reasonably hope that some boys of better abilities will rise above the mass and aspire to an education which will make them more than intelligent zemandars and successful bunyahs".⁵⁵ As to the language of instruction, Thomason suggested

⁵³ Thomason to Agra local committee, 27 November 1844, NWPGP, Volume 65. See reference # 35 and 43. Bhanu surveys the spread of English education in the NWP, 369ff.

⁵⁴ Thomason's first circular order of 20 July 1844 was directed to men like Edward Lodge, superintendent of Agra schools, and C.C. Fink, principal of Farruckabad school. According to Temple's account, Lodge and Fink had contributed much to indigenous vernacular education. When Lodge went to Benares, Fink took the Agra position. Unfortunately he died in 1848. See "Village Schools", 185. Cf. reference # 60.

⁵⁵ Bunyah was an Anglo-Indian version of banyan, a merchant, Hobson-Jobson.

the use of Urdu wherever possible, "as it is best calculated to become the language of communication".⁵⁶

As indicated, Thomason did not stop with the local committees in search for an accurate assessment of the state of the indigenous school system. He also engaged the energies and authority of the collectors in the thirty-odd revenue districts under his jurisdiction. His action undoubtedly reflected the manner in which Bird earlier conscripted young civilians for his settlement. As a result the collectors received circular orders from Thomason regarding education almost simultaneously with his Directions concerning land revenue. The complementary nature of the education and land proposals led naturally to placing this dual demand on the Haileyburians. This suggests, of course, how mistaken it is to limit the identity of the Thomasonians to settlement officers. This chapter suggests that those who co-operated willingly in the linkage of land and education policies ought to be included in that 'school'.⁵⁷

Thomason's earliest formulation of his views came when the political climate in Calcutta favoured the support of vernacular indigenous education. On 10 October 1844, Sir Henry Hardinge (1844-48), influenced

⁵⁶ Thomason to local committees, 20 July 1844, NWPGP, Vol. 64.

⁵⁷ Thomason really had no choice but to recruit his collectors. He could not call up a separate army of bureaucrats to raise the standard of education everywhere in the tahsils - revenue sub-divisions. But he also knew he would require people with considerable authority to make any impression on the conservative and illiterate society over which he ruled. This was brought out when he dealt with Tucker on this very point. As to the "school", Temple in 1850 (in contrast to 1893) did not write in such terms. This interpretive device seems to have been initiated by J. W. Kaye and the first biographers of the Lawrences.

to some extent by representations from Brian Hodgson and the Friend of India, resolved to establish about 100 vernacular schools in Bengal. While Thomason doubtless found encouragement in this attitude,⁵⁸ his plan took on greater significance during the next decade because it succeeded relatively where Hardinge's schools failed miserably. James Long put their failure down to inadequate supervision, but Sinha's history revealed something more fundamental. Hardinge's schools were undertaken only because of a temporary surplus in education funds. At first the SBR of Bengal was made responsible for their supervision. In 1848 this office decided to close down twenty-two of the seventy-three schools established; three years later it asked to be relieved of its responsibility for these vernacular schools. By that time the Bengal authorities, directed by Dalhousie, looked to Thomason's relatively successful venture for answers to educational questions involving vernacular schools.⁵⁹

What appeared in the NWP like a fully-matured policy of supporting indigenous education found expression in Thomason's key circular order of 7 June 1845. Sent to each magistrate-collector, it was no less a mandamus from Thomason than his Directions of the previous year. As usual, Thornton served as the official spokesman:

⁵⁸ Hardinge wrote his step-son, Walter James, on 20 February 1845: "I divide my time between Calcutta and Barrackpore and am over head and ears in educational questions, law and police. . . ." To his wife on 7 April: "Before we attempt conversion we must educate. Their Indian powers of imitation are astonishing; their originality feeble, but the population under our mild laws is increasing and exceeds one hundred million." In his 8 March letter to Lady Emily he mentioned his 100 schools. Hardinge Papers.

⁵⁹ "Adam's Report" (1868), 12; Sinha, Educational Policy, 266-71. There was roughly a surplus of 2,000 rupees a month, equivalent to the monthly salary of a collector in Bengal.

The Lieutenant-Governor is desirous to draw your attention to the subject of Vernacular Education in the district entrusted to your charge

The people of Hindustan are essentially an agricultural people. Anything which concerns their land immediately rivets their attention and excites their interest.

During the late Settlement a measurement has been made and a map drawn of every field in these Provinces and a record formed of every right attaching to a field. The Patwari's papers, based on this Settlement, constitute an annual Registry of these rights, and are regularly filed in the Collector's Office. They are compiled on an uniform system, and are the acknowledged ground work of all judicial orders regarding rights in the land.

It is important for his own protection, that every one possessing any interest in the land, should be so far acquainted with the principles on which these papers are compiled, as to be able to satisfy himself that the entries affecting himself are correct.

There is thus a direct and powerful inducement to the mind of almost every individual to acquire so much of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Mensuration, as may suffice for the protection of his rights. Until this knowledge be universal it is vain to hope that any great degree of accuracy can be attained in the preparation of the papers.

Thomason, acting as his own minister of education, left no doubt that he intended to force upon his collectors the duty of promoting indigenous educational effort. "Carry the people with you, aid their efforts"! he urged.⁶⁰

Furthermore, Thomason informed them of the appointment of a 'curator' of books, the immediate preparation of books to meet the demands of the Three 'Rs and "Mensuration" [measurement], and the urgent need to submit complete reports regarding "the actual state of education" in each district, embracing all branches, from the "highest to the lowest". For the purpose of the statistical survey, Thomason supplied each

⁶⁰ Thomason's key circular order, 7 June 1845, NWPGP, Vol. 68. This was reprinted in full by Richey, 236-9. Cf. Temple, "Village Schools", 150, 167-173.

collector with forms adapted from William Adam's suggestions.⁶¹

On the surface, the matter of the Report appeared simple enough. In actual fact, Thomason's demand for haste placed a considerable "extra straw on the Collector's back". Why this should have been so is not clear, for Cust indicated that the chain of command from the patwari in the village to the lieutenant-governor in Agra was so "well-linked that the most accurate statistics can be furnished without expense and trouble". Communication in this highly-centralized system, where the grand object was "not to govern the people constitutionally, but to govern them well", was only a matter of time.⁶²

The degree to which Thomason could be autocratic may best be seen by his treatment of the luckless man nominated curator of books, J. J. Moore. Although asked in September 1844 to prepare a "Catalogue Raisonné", he had submitted by July 1845 a mere list of books disbursed by his office during 1844. Thornton informed him curtly that his submission was most unsatisfactory. Had he not understood the nature of the request: a catalogue "embracing all the works wherever sold, and in whatever language [Vernacular, Oriental and English] procurable in this country", including prices, agency, availability and content? Thornton asked: "Are you now engaged in the preparation of such a catalogue and

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Cust, "Collector", 138, 149-50. Cust complained that every year the collector's duties were multiplying and "the fashion of the day is to invest him with new and miscellaneous duties".

when will it be submitted?"⁶³ Considered tardy and uncooperative, Moore received two additional reminders in February and May 1846. Then, on 26 May 1846, Moore got the following message - plain and threatening - from Thornton:

The Lieutenant-Governor would be reluctant to lose your services in the [post of Curator of Books] but he feels it is impossible to permit the injunctions of the Government to remain disregarded, and he apprehends it will be necessary to entrust to other hands the duty which has been assigned, if you don't feel equal to its punctual performance?⁶⁴

Moore defended himself. Had anyone thought how much work - correspondence and compilation - was involved in the preparation of the Catalogue Raisonné? He wanted Thomason to know that he was doing everything in his power to comply with the original request. As a matter of fact, on 20 June 1846 he submitted a catalogue containing 30,000 items.⁶⁵

Meanwhile Thomason sent his collectors packets containing four books. Prepared by Rai Ram Surrun Doss, a deputy collector at Delhi, and highly commended by Commissioner C. R. Cartwright of Meerut ('19), they included a rudimentary vernacular grammar, also arithmetic and mensuration books, according to the Indian method, and the forms of the patwari's papers with explanation. "You will lose no time", the Col-

⁶³ Thornton to Moore, 4 July 1845, NWPGP, Vol. 69.

⁶⁴ Thornton to Moore, 26 May 1846, Ibid., Vol. 71. Moore was not given anyone to assist him either because of misconceptions about the demands of the project or of the ability of the man chosen, or because economy demanded this kind of workload. He probably had inexpensive 'native agency' nonetheless.

⁶⁵ Moore to Thornton, 20 June 1846, Ibid. Moore asked whether the collectorates, as Tucker had suggested on 18 May, could become depositories for the required books. The reply was in the affirmative.

when will it be submitted?"⁶³ Considered tardy and uncooperative, Moore received two additional reminders in February and May 1846. Then, on 26 May 1846, Moore got the following message in the best Thorntonian officialese:

The Lieutenant-Governor would be reluctant to lose your services in the [post of Curator of Books] but he feels it is impossible to permit the injunctions of the Government to remain disregarded, and he apprehends it will be necessary to entrust to other hands the duty which has been assigned, if you don't feel equal to its punctual performance?⁶⁴

Moore defended himself. Had anyone thought how much work - correspondence and compilation - was involved in the preparation of the Catalogue Rainsonée? He wanted Thomason to know that he was doing everything in his power to comply with the original request. As a matter of fact, on 20 June 1846 he submitted a catalogue containing 30,000 items.⁶⁵

Meanwhile Thomason sent his collectors packets containing four books. Prepared by Rai Ram Surrin Doss, a deputy collector at Delhi, and highly commended by Commissioner C. R. Cartwright of Meerut ('19), they included a rudimentary vernacular grammar, also arithmetic and mensuration books, according to the Indian method, and the forms of the patwari's papers with explanation. "You will lose no time", the Col-

⁶³ Thornton to Moore, 4 July 1845, NWPGP, Vol. 69.

⁶⁴ Thornton to Moore, 26 May 1846, Ibid., Vol. 71. Moore was not given anyone to assist him either because of misconceptions about the demands of the project or of the ability of the man chosen, or because economy demanded this kind of workload. He probably had inexpensive 'native agency' nonetheless.

⁶⁵ Moore to Thornton, 20 June 1846, Ibid. Moore asked whether the collectorates, as Tucker had suggested on 18 May, could become depositories for the required books. The reply was in the affirmative.

lectors were told in February 1846, "in distributing the packets . . . and exert yourselves in furthering the views of Government in the manner already explained to you."⁶⁶

Just as the year 1844 afforded opportunities for the crystallization of early views, so the approximately eighteen months following the circular of June 1845 brought Thomason to formulate a plan to present to government. What information he received back from collectors and local committees, while discouraging to many, confirmed his conviction that Government must be prepared to sacrifice something to subsidize indigenous effort. Some reporters referred to the obstacles, others expressed their criticisms, while still others had concrete and favourable suggestions to offer. Thomason welcomed them all.

C. C. Fink's report summed up some of the obstacles and prejudices among Indian subjects. Whereas he detected a general "aversion to innovation", innate conservatism was reinforced by Indian distrust of government support for education. Were the English less proselytizing than their Islamic predecessors?⁶⁷ Fink also underscored what Thomason knew already, that village bureaucrats - the tahsildar, thanadar, and patwari⁶⁸ - feared a loosening of their grip on the relatively ignorant villager, if the latter were educated, even up to the first

⁶⁶Thomason's circular order, 23 February 1846, *Ibid.*, Vol. 71.

⁶⁷Fink raised the point which is discussed later in this chapter: how could Indians be expected to distinguish between missionary schools and indigenous efforts supported by Christian officials?

⁶⁸The sub-collector, police, and bookkeeper, respectively.

level Thomason had in mind.⁶⁹ While G. H. M. Alexander ('30), who was even more pessimistic than Fink, asked how the English could possibly overcome the accretions of generations which had irresistibly disposed Indians "to whatever is bad", another Haileyburian, J. C. Wilson ('27) suggested more sympathetically, in consideration of how little light had percolated down to the villages, that it was a wonder the natives had any morality at all.⁷⁰

Tucker, the first Thomasonian to report, also lamented the pitiful state of education in Gorakhpur and thought it melancholic indeed that a district such as his, under British rule for forty years, having a population of well over two million, living in 15,000 villages, should have a mere 322 teachers and just over 3,000 scholars. Always energetic and prepared to maximize any good policy, he suggested that Mr. Fink be moved to Gorakhpur where he might work under his supervision. "I doubt not", Tucker concluded, "that, under God's blessing, a great improvement would soon be perceptible in the number and efficiency of the indigenous schools". Thornton could only reply that the state of education was

⁶⁹Fink to Thornton, 30 April 1845, NWPGP, Vol. 68. Thomason took up a suggestion from Alexander (see below) that promotion for patwaris be conditional upon mastery of the Doss books, 21 September 1846. At the same time he hoped that education to foster the property instinct in the villager would help him to resist this allegedly exploitive element in society. Temple dwelt on this theme in "Village Schools".

⁷⁰Alexander to Thornton, 21 September 1846 and Wilson three days later, *Ibid.*, Vol. 72. Among the many Haileyburians who served as collectors during this early period in Thomason's educational reform were Alexander, at Etawa; Wilson at Moradabad; G. Blunt ('25) at Kanpur; A. Fraser ('26) at Gurgaon; Charles Gubbins ('28) at Kurnaul; John Muir ('28) at Azamghar; A.A. Roberts ('37).

It is of course impossible to deal with each of the contributions these collectors made, let alone giving details of their careers. Where possible Thomasonians like Tucker are treated fully.

abysmally low everywhere. Matters could only be improved by the hearty co-operation of collectors like himself. Fink's transfer would hardly have the desired result because he lacked the authority of a covenanted servant. He could not become "the Guardian of the Agricultural interest", whereas Tucker could ensure a command performance from his Indian establishment.⁷¹

Donald McLeod, reporting from Benares district, expressed his concerns for Indians in the hinterland of Benares. He had appealed directly to prominent persons in his district as he felt they needed to see the "utter contrast" between amounts being spent on schools in the city and on those in the hinterland. He did not want to leave them ignorant of the Government's wish "to raise and improve the intellectual condition of every class among the people. . . ." He wrote Thomason:

This is a subject in which I feel personally the liveliest interest, believing that there is no one subject on which the well-being of the country so vitally depends, as on this, and I have accordingly prepared a notification on the subject [in English, Urdu, and Hindi] based chiefly on the tenor and terms of instructions received. . . .⁷²

By 18 November 1846 Thomason had prepared a scheme for vernacular indigenous schools to present to Government. By this time it was clear that only about five percent of those of school-going age - five to fourteen - were actually receiving any.⁷³ Since poverty and other factors

⁷¹Tucker to Thomason, 30 June 1845, Ibid., Volume 68; Thornton to Tucker, 16 July 1845, Ibid., Vol. 69. Tucker reported on a school sponsored by missionaries, which he had helped to found.

⁷²McLeod to Thornton, 23 October 1847, Ibid., Vol. 77. McLeod had been corresponding with Dr. Ballantyne, principal of Government College in Benares, about obtaining teachers.

⁷³Bhanu, 362-363; H. S. Reid, Report on the State of Indigenous Education (1853), 15.

prejudicial to any improvement existed, Thomason deemed it advisable to follow Adam's suggestion of 1838 that village zamindars be permitted to support indigenous schools, particularly the school masters, by offering a small endowment, a jagir, of from five to ten acres of land. Part of his rationale rested on the assumption that the endowment system was in harmony with "the customs and feelings of the people. The schoolmaster," he argued, "will become a recognized village servant, elected and supported in a manner consonant with the usage of the village community". He thought a jagir would lend greater respectability to the teacher than a mere "pecuniary stipend". Dependence on the latter made him a mercenary of a "foreign" government; support from the former connected him to the soil and people. Equally as blunt as Adam in his criticism of Government's niggardly treatment of education, Thomason stated:

It is a standing reproach of the British Government that whilst it continually resumes the endowments of former sovereigns [the resumption of free tenures granted by Mughals], it abstains from making any, even for those purposes which it considers most laudable. The present measure will in some degree remove this reproach and that in a manner acceptable to the people at large.

Thomason indicated he would have gone ahead without Government sanction except for the reduction in revenue implied in this endowment plan.⁷⁴

Aside from this rather important matter of finances, the remainder of

⁷⁴Based on a calculation of 18,000 villages, an alienation of five acres per jagir would come to 90,000 acres. At four rupees per acre, the reduction of the land revenue would come to 360,000 rupees or £36,000. If each teacher were to get ten acres, these amounts would be doubled. See Thomason's Minute, 18 November 1846, NWPGP, Vol. 72.

Since the NWP were producing revenue in 1852-53 amounting to almost five million sterling (John Kaye, Administration 1853, 147), this alienation for education purposes, in Thomason's view, must have appeared as something the Government could very easily afford.

his submission resembled his 1845 statement. Thomason heard the fate of this plan to endow teachers about the end of 1847. The Court refused to sanction it, as Muir stated later, because the endowments were "likely to become hereditary and inefficient"; besides, such a system would have proved "cumbersome and unmanageable".⁷⁵ Whatever the precise reason, Thomason was not sidetracked by having one scheme undercut so fundamentally.

What Thomason and his secretary thought significant was the Court's recognition of the necessity for "giving some powerful impulse to elementary education" in the NWP by sanctioning some comprehensive plan. Grateful for the acceptance of his proposals, except for the principle of endowments, Thomason "set himself with earnestness", as Thornton wrote, "to devise a plan which shall meet the Hon'ble Court's wishes. . . ."⁷⁶ Viewing the setback as temporary and inconsequential, Thomason turned from his plan which called for significant indigenous effort to one requiring considerable government initiative and supervision. In fact, he seemed to resurrect the plan he had formulated when at Azamgarh. Hence, dropping the jagir and substituting the establishment of a model tahsildari (district) school and a "powerful agency" of inspection merely suggests that Thomason had a long-range view of indigenous vernacular education, dating from his intimate association with

⁷⁵The Court Despatch, dated 25 August 1847, forwarded to Agra by Hardinge's Government on 25 October, see Richey, 243. Muir, Thomason, 511. Kaye strongly implied that "works of great public benefit" such as this were cut back because of the costs and debts incurred by wars. Kaye, Administration, 161.

⁷⁶Thornton's Minute, 18 April 1848, see Richey, 243-6.

Tucker in the 1830s. Thus it was that in 1848 Thomason requested permission to establish, to borrow Tucker's phrase, eight "branch schools" in large villages to pioneer the teaching of European knowledge in the vernaculars.⁷⁷ He also asked for the immediate appointment of a "visitor general".

Having learned of the Court's sanction for the initial eight model schools and the appointment of a general inspector for the Provinces,⁷⁸ Thomason on 9 February 1850 formulated a resolution that incorporated the best features of both plans - supporting indigenous and planting post-primary model schools. He pressed upon the collectors again the significant relationship between land registration and education. As to the establishment of tahsildari schools, he wrote:

⁷⁷See reference # 46 for Tucker's 1839 statement. Thomason calculated the cost of these eight schools - for instruction and inspection - at 4,500 rupees each, Richey, 244.

The matter of Thomason's indebtedness to someone for the idea of the model schools would not be raised except for the fact that William Edwards, a prominent Thomasonian, in his *Reminiscences* (1866) claimed that Thomason had adopted his "Simla system" (developed between 1847 and 1853) for the NWP. While it is not unlikely that Thomason visited his evangelical friend at Simla during the hot seasons of 1849, 1850 and 1851, he nowhere acknowledged his indebtedness to Edwards as he did in the case of W. Adam. See Edwards, 118-123.

If Edwards could make this claim in 1866, why not in 1853 before the Lords committee [26 May 1853. PP, XXXII (1852-53) 3-12] who asked him precisely about his education activities? Had his amour propre developed out of all proportion by 1866, when he wrote from memory?

⁷⁸The Court to Government, 3 October 1849, in Richey, 248-9. At that point the Court limited expenditure on Thomason's project to 50,000 rupees. The schools were located at Bareilly (overseen by Fleetwood Williams, '29) and Shahjahanpur in Rohilkhand; Aligarh in Meerut (overseen then by G. Blunt); the other five were in Agra division: Reid at Agra, E. P. Thornton at Mathura, C. Raikes at Mainpuri, Alexander at Etawa, and the area of Farruckabad, where Fink's school had failed earlier. See reference # 70 for other Haileyburians.

The Government village school at each Tehseeldari will be conducted by a school master, who will receive from Government a salary of from ten to twenty rupees per mensum [month], besides such fees as he may collect from his scholars. The course of instruction in this school will consist of reading and writing the vernaculars, both Urdu and Hindi, accounts and the mensuration of land according to the native system. To these will be added such geography, history, geometry, or other general subjects . . . as the people may be willing to receive. Care will be taken to prevent these schools from becoming rivals to the indigenous schools maintained by the natives themselves. This will be effected by making the terms of admission higher than are usually demanded in village schools, and by allowing free admissions only on recommendations given by village schoolmasters, who may be on the Visitor's lists.⁷⁹

As to inspection, Thomason placed district and sub-district "visitors" under one Visitor-General. The Haileyburian appointed in 1850 was Henry Stewart Reid ('46),⁸⁰ a classmate of Richard Temple.

William Muir, writing only a few years after the enunciation of Thomason's matured plan, epitomized the general feeling as follows:

These efforts have been welcomed by the people; for the great value of the plan is that it makes them work with us for their own improvement. It is their own schools that we are, with their own consent, endeavouring to raise. Hence it is that they willingly receive our teachers, cheerfully accept our suggestions and assistance, and purchase with avidity the useful text-books, which are being prepared with a laborious devotion by Mr. Henry Stewart Reid and his subordinates, and are brought, by the arrangements of the Government, to the very doors of the purchasers.⁸¹

Thomason expanded on this in one of his few recorded speeches. Ad-

⁷⁹ Thomason's Resolution of 9 February 1850, in Muir, 512.

⁸⁰ Reid was appointed 26 February 1850. See his Report on Indigenous and Vernacular Schools (1851-54) [10 October 1851], 2. Thomason considered this office and a qualified civilian to fill it the "cap-stone" of his education project, Thomason to Dalhousie, 4 December 1849 (D - 453).

See reference # 6 for an account of Temple's attempt to obtain this appointment.

⁸¹ Muir, 513.

addressing a Benares New College audience on 11 January 1853 on the occasion of its opening, he said:

We have not swept over the country like a torrent, destroying all that is found, and leaving nothing but what itself deposited. Our course has rather been that of a gently swelling inundation, which leaves the former surface undisturbed, and spreads over it a richer mould, from which the vegetation may derive a new verdure, and the landscape possess a beauty which it has not known before. Such has been our course in the Civil Administration. . . . 82

As in the land settlement, so also in the matter of education, Thomason was decidedly not a radical reformer. When taken at face value, Thomason appeared, like the British Orientalists of an earlier generation, as a modernizer rather than a westernizer. Nevertheless, there was present a considerable degree of ambivalence, as a later section of this chapter will show.

Although one may not entirely disregard statistics, they may not be used as the only criterion for measuring Thomason's success. It is rather more fair to evaluate his educational plan in terms of how widely his policy was adopted and implemented by superiors and successors. James Long warned against looking for "fine showy results. We have not there as in Bengal", he continued in a critical tone, "a few first-rate English Schools and a mass of utterly neglected Vernacular ones." After making due allowance for the "bigotry and ignorance" that had to be overcome in the Indian mind, he felt that Thomason's vernacular education policy had given "a powerful impulse" to the preparation of vernacular literature. But Long could only comment; he could not legislate.⁸³

⁸²The Benares speech available in Tract 631 - IOL, 4pp.

⁸³Long, "Vernacular Education", 313-4. Long referred to 94 publications and 185,000 copies in circulation.

More influential were the voices of Dr. F. J. Mouat, secretary of the Bengal Council of Education, Lord Dalhousie, and H. S. Reid, Thomason's own Visitor-General. Reid was made Director of Public Instruction in the NWP in 1855 under Thomason's friend and successor John Colvin.⁸⁴ Mouat inspected the vernacular schools in Thomason's jurisdiction and reported in June 1853. He appreciated the fact that "the scheme of national instruction" had been erected on a "pre-existing base", the revenue system of the Agra Government, "confessedly the most complete and perfect in India". Having visited a number of schools and studied Reid's complete annual reports of the eight experimental tahsildari schools, Mouat left no doubt that he considered Thomason's policy "the best adapted to leaven the ignorance of the agricultural population, but also the plan best suited for the vernacular education of the mass of the people of Bengal and Bihar."⁸⁵

Nor did he refrain from a criticism which set Thomason and Reid in a favourable light:

From having witnessed the utter failure of [Hardinge's schools] in Bengal, among a more intelligent docile and less prejudiced people than those of the NWP, I am much more struck with the solid advance and firm root taken by Mr. Reid's system than he appears to be himself in the modest estimate of its merits and measure of success [in 1852].

Mouat, favourably impressed with Reid, then only twenty-six years of age,

⁸⁴ Colvin was Lieutenant-Governor until his death on 9 September 1857 from illness, in Agra.

⁸⁵ Mouat 4 June 1853, in Richey, 258-63. Mouat now advocated what Adam had fifteen years earlier. See Chapter Six for a reference to Mouat's visit to a government tahsildari school at Rurki, near the Ganges Canal works.

considered that "his enlarged and liberal views, well-stored mind and indomitable perseverance have accomplished more in three years than a century of less active and well-directed exertion would have attained".⁸⁶

Dalhousie's "Minute" on Vernacular Education written thirty days after Thomason's sudden death,⁸⁷ tended to confirm Mouat's recommendation. Indeed, Dalhousie requested, "in the strongest terms", sanction of the Court for the extension of Thomason's vernacular system to all thirty-one districts. His request was in line with the matured programme of 9 February 1850, whose policy of experimentation in eight districts had been considered a complete success. Dalhousie heeded Thomason's moving appeal on behalf of Indians at the base of the social pyramid. Thomason had written:

In all these parts there is a population no less teeming and a people as capable of learning. The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced; the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated; the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise throughout the length and breadth of the land the same spirit of enquiry and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterise the inhabitants of the four districts in which a commencement has been made.⁸⁸

As a result Dalhousie recommended to the Court that Thomason's system, should be extended not only to Bengal, but to the Punjab as well. As

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Dalhousie, 25 October 1853 (D - 34). Long was one of the first to reprint it in his "Vernacular Education" (1854).

⁸⁸This appeal to Dalhousie was made about the end of July 1853, according to Muir. For the reprint, see Richey, 267.

to the costs, Dalhousie appeared willing to spend up to four lacs of rupees - 400,000, or £40,000 - in order to see Thomason's vernacular programme extended from Calcutta to Lahore. In any case Dalhousie pronounced that "financial considerations [should] no longer shackle the progress of the Government".⁸⁹

The famous education despatch of 1854⁹⁰ also took note of Thomason's contribution in these words:

As in all branches of his administration, Mr. Thomason displayed that accurate knowledge of the condition and requirements of the people under his charge, and that clear and ready perception of the practical measures best suited for their welfare, which make his death a loss to India, which we deplore the more deeply as we fear that his unremitting exertions tended to shorten his career of usefulness.

As part of the national plan for the education of India, which the Directors entertained for the first time in this Despatch, there were numerous recommendations that Thomason's method of encouraging indigenous efforts should be widely adopted.

Lastly, what have been termed indigenous schools should, by wise encouragement, such as has been given under the system organized by Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Provinces, and which has been carried out in eight districts under the able direction of Mr. H. S. Reid in an eminently practical manner, and with great promise of satisfactory results, be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people. The most promising pupils of these schools might be rewarded by scholarships in places of education of a superior order.

Such a system as this, placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection, beginning with the humblest elementary instruction, and ending with the university test of a lib-

⁸⁹ Dalhousie, 25 October 1853. See Richey, 268. This was eight times the amount the Court authorized in October 1849.

⁹⁰ The Education Despatch was reprinted by Richey in full, 364-408.

eral education, the best students in each class of schools being encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining a superior education as the reward of merit, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India and lead to a gradual, but steady extension of its benefits to all classes of the people.⁹¹

A brief review of Henry S. Reid's Reports for the four years that followed the Resolution of 9 February 1850 will indicate why Long warned against proclaiming success prematurely. Initially Reid's authority extended only to the eight districts chosen for the model schools. His statistics revealed that the number of indigenous schools had increased by approximately eighty percent between 1850 and 1854, their enrollment by well over 100 percent. Reid reported that, unfortunately, about one third of those indigenous schools "we are attempting to improve" failed annually. This helped to explain why in the eight districts only about one boy out of sixteen actually attended school.⁹² Other reasons for the slow growth have been mentioned in conjunction with Thomason's discoveries at Azamgarh and in the reports of Fink and Alexander.

These figures only underscored the need for both model schools

⁹¹Ibid., 368-70, 377. Dalhousie received the Despatch with mixed feelings because it depreciated Bengal's accomplishments in vernacular education and failed to recognize all that Dalhousie had done to encourage the adoption of Thomason's plan. See his Minute, 19 October 1854 (D - 39). The authors of the Despatch were keen enough to note that Thomason's inducements to the agricultural classes in the NWP were not transferable to those in the Cornwallis system. But could not "other solid advantages" be used as inducements?

⁹²H. S. Reid, Report, 21 August 1854; cf. Bhanu, 366. These are Reid's figures: 2,014 schools in 1850; 3,603 in 1854; enrollments rose from 17,169 to 41,133 over the same period, while about 650,000 boys were actually of school-going age. See reference # 101 for some 1873 figures.

and teacher training centers. By June 1852 Reid had enrolled fifty-two students-in-training, drawn from the district or zillah schools, in the Agra Central school. The students were housed, fed and provided with an allowance for clothing and books. Mouat remarked: "It is impossible to exaggerate the amount of beneficial influence that will be produced by the dispersion of such a body of teachers throughout the North-West Provinces".⁹³

Because the first model schools were then considered an outstanding success, the plan was extended under John Colvin to eight other districts - northward from Agra.⁹⁴

Fortunately the tahsildari schools found an inexpensive supplement in the halkabandi or circuit system of vernacular schools. Their initiation in 1851 was attributed to [G. H. M.] Alexander. The idea was to choose a cluster of villages in a pargana, ascertain both the number of boys of school age and the revenue the villages paid, and then select the most suitable site for the school. Ultimately the proprietors agreed to support such schools at the rate of one percent on their land revenue. Alexander's experiment spread at first to the eight tahsils, where circuit schools provided the real grass roots of indigenous

⁹³Mouat, quoted in Long, "Vernacular Education", 315. The students enrolled here were doubtlessly monitors of the kind Thomason had in mind at Azamgarh. Reid described them as from 15 to 18 years, of good character, fair scholastic attainments who, after two years apprenticeship would attend his Normal College for three years for further in-training, see Report (1854), 32-3.

⁹⁴See Court Despatch, 8 May 1856, in Richey, 269. These were in Meerut, Delhi, Gurgaon, Rohtak, Baduan, Bulandshahr, Muzaffarnagar, and Moradabad. H. W. Deane ('26) was then at Muzaffarnagar, M. R. Gubbins ('30) at Delhi, and John Strachey ('42) at Moradabad.

education. From these schools boys might be drawn to the tahsildari schools. By the close of 1854 halkabandi schools had enrolled about 17,000 pupils. The Court in 1856 sanctioned the extension of these schools throughout the Provinces authorizing Colvin to match the contribution of the landowners from the Government funds.⁹⁵

Given these modest results, one must ask whether Thomason before he died had actually realized his expectations for the agricultural classes. Temple had written in 1850 that peasant proprietorship would develop character, the kind of "industry, perseverance, self-reliance and intelligence" that he saw in the European peasant. Becoming a property owner would make the peasant in India "the architect of his own fortune", so to speak. The village-school plan introduced would serve as an invaluable aid to the preservation of the village communities, because it would inculcate "mental habits of care, vigilance, thoughtfulness, self-control, and caution". Temple asked: "What motive had the small proprietor [formerly] to work his mind, to think, to ponder, and to plan for the future?"⁹⁶

Four years later, Reid observed at first hand that most of the boys attending the sixteen model schools were not from the agricultural classes. As Thomason's hopes had concentrated on the sons of peasant proprietors, this result was somewhat disappointing. But he might have anticipated this, given the realities of the educational task - its very

⁹⁵Fleetwood Williams' report was also suggestive of this, 11 December 1847, NWPGP, Vol. 77. This Court Despatch permitted what Adam had suggested in 1838. See Richey, 269-70.

⁹⁶Temple, "Village Schools", 150, 167, 170. See reference # 6.

magnitude and the inertia of the people. Besides, had not W. Adam observed in 1838 that in Bengal agricultural and commercial people tended to ignore vernacular education and that only writers and accountants and such like took it up? Whereas there was much less concern about English in the NWP, Reid found that official government employees and the most enlightened members of the communities were sending their sons to the model schools, which were naturally located in the chief administrative centres. Hence, Reid could only hope that the slight upward mobility from the villages might complement a certain amount of reliance on 'filtration' of education downward from the towns. At least it appears that such a rationalization was inevitable, for Temple expected that the non-hereditary proprietors could hardly be expected to see advantages in education to the same degree as the hereditary village proprietors. He thought, however, that if Thomason's programme concentrated on the Hindi schools, as these were the most numerous and offered just the education required by the agriculturalists, the plan was bound to transform expectation into measureable realities.⁹⁷

As to the transfer of the educational system of the Provinces to the Punjab, the accounts leave no doubt in the matter.⁹⁸ Briefly, by 1854 the Punjab administration under John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, and Donald McLeod had inaugurated a province-wide plan based on the example of Thomason and Reid. There were four normal and fifty tahsildari

⁹⁷Reid, Report (1854), 19-20; Temple, Ibid., 175, 200-3.

⁹⁸Richey devoted chapter VII to early developments in the Punjab, 178-311.

schools, one central college at Lahore, and adequate supervisory personnel.⁹⁹ William Delafield Arnold, the Punjab's first Director of Public Instruction, also introduced the halkabandi system, but with indifferent success.¹⁰⁰

If the question were asked, whether the educational policies followed after Thomason's death constituted an extension of his programme, the answer must be in the affirmative. If it were otherwise, the onus of failure would rest on those who were expected to implement fully the Education Despatch of 1854, into which Thomason's vernacular programme was incorporated. By the early 'seventies the vernacular schools had increased by another 100 percent. Of the 4,736 institutions supported wholly or in part by the NWP, 4,324 were vernacular schools and seven were teacher-training institutions. The annual budget for all schools administered from Agra was £120,000. While this growth was not phenomenal, there was every indication then that the ICS as a whole recognized and carried forward Thomason's programme.¹⁰¹

Developing parallel with the implementation of Thomason's secu-

⁹⁹Dalhousie's Minute, 6 June 1854, see Richey, 284-7, 282.

¹⁰⁰Arnold was the son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and brother of Matthew Arnold. See bibliography for titles. Arnold went to India in 1848 as an infantryman and became an assistant commissioner in the Punjab. He died at Gibraltar on the way home in search of health, DIB. For the reference to his halkabandi schools, see Richey, 283.

¹⁰¹From a speech of Mr. Justice [William Charles ('55?)] Turner, on 9 November 1873 at the opening of Central College, Allahabad. The ceremony was attended by the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and William Muir, then Lieutenant-Governor of the NWP, after whom the College was named. See W. Muir, ed., Selections from Speeches of Lieutenant-Governors of the NWP (1868-74), 56-8.

lar policy was the educational programme of the missionary societies, notably the CMS. What led to controversy and conflict eventually was the open support military and civilian personnel gave to these missionaries. This can be understood only when one views this religious activity in India as an extension of the tidal wave of the Wesleyan revival, which reached Indian shores between 1793 and 1813.¹⁰² Then, like a 'tidal bore', it rolled up the Ganges and its tributaries into the NWP and the Punjab. It was there that this spreading revival demanded an open avowal of Christianity on the part of Christian rulers. No one stated this more clearly than Carre Tucker, who suggested that if British India was only one of many governments recognized by the constitution, then "neutrality" was correct. But

if we are a 'paternal despotism' and if India is given to Christian England as a sacred trust, for the very purpose of carrying to it the Bible, and imparting the truths of Christianity and the benefits of an enlightened administration founded on Christian principles; if there be but one true God and one true religion, and all others be false; then it appears to me that our Government cannot possibly recognize an equality of religious instruction. . . . It must choose with Joshua whether it will serve the Lord, or the gods of the country, . . . decide with Elijah between God and Baal. It must stand forth among the natives in its proper character and assume the . . . straightforward bearing upon which we Anglo-Saxons pride ourselves . . . To the millions of India let us prove we have higher objects than additions of territory or accumulations of wealth. Let us aim at the overthrow of idol temples . . . by affording means to know the truth.¹⁰³

It is the conviction of the writer that this religious motivation

¹⁰²This time span covers the years from W. Carey's arrival in India to the charter renewal of 1813. See references in Part One to the evangelical character of the ecclesiastical establishment.

¹⁰³H. C. Tucker, "The Bible in India", 16 June 1859, bound in Tract 163 - IOL, para. 9. (16pp). See below for additional references to Tucker, also Part One.

for an imperial mission in India has been neglected. John W. Kaye wrote in 1853 of his firm belief that the 'British-in-India' had a providential mission. There was nothing accidental about English displacement of the Mughal power in India. God had worked 'in mysterious ways His wonders to perform'. Kaye's view, expressed in the year Thomason died, was more than narrowly representative.

In the inscrutable manner in which, whilst the nationalities of East and West were breaking up around us, Providence preserved that little party of London merchants to work out his great designs, is to be found the key-note of Anglo-Indian history. It was not for any petty ends that this great miracle was wrought in our behalf. . . . It was that the great Christian nation, thus mysteriously selected, should achieve great things in the East, and finally work out the scheme of India's emancipation.

Then, with reference to the English civil service, whose beneficial deeds he had set before the British public, he wrote:

Never were the rulers of India so mindful as now [1853] of the duties and responsibilities which have devolved upon them, as guardians of the happiness of that immense section of the great human family, which Providence has so mysteriously committed to their care. The last twenty years have witnessed more changes tending to increase the prosperity, happiness and civilization of the people of India, than the antecedent two centuries. . . . 104

There is no doubt that Thomason's generation of covenanted civilians in India readily identified with Kaye's views and with those of the CMS secretaries Dandeson Coates and Henry Venn. While men like Thomason and the Thorntons, Robert Bird and Charles Trevelyan, who were covenanted not to trade but to administer their Indian empire in trust,

¹⁰⁴ Kaye, Administration, 658-660. Cf. 63-4, where he introduced the subject of the 'mysterious influence'. Kaye doubtless had in mind his friends in the civilian, military, and missionary service, whose homes, tents, barracks, and collectorates dotted the Indian landscape from Benares to Peshawar.

felt that Christian principles would eventually prevail without direct support of missionaries,¹⁰⁵ the fact remains that they actively - and progressively without disguise - supported Christianity. Whereas in Central Africa, beginning with David Livingstone, the missionary opened a path for empire, in India the empire paved the way for missions. Fortunately for the Thomasonians, there was widespread appreciation of the "tricky character" of the position in which they found themselves. How could committed evangelicals like Tucker repress completely their deepest convictions about life when indeed the basic profession of government, particularly in London, was Christian?¹⁰⁶

Nevertheless, the official policy respecting the proselytizing activities of Christian missions from 1813 was one of "neutrality". This meant in effect that there was to be no interference with the religions of India by those in the employ of Government. From 1813 to the 'forties there was relatively little dissent directed toward "official neutrality". Bentinck, responsible for much social engineering which the CMS later could not or would not reconcile with the doctrine, had several occasions to affirm this official policy before he left India in 1835. To Islamic leaders who felt their religion and literature threatened by his reforms, as well as to English missionaries, in his parting address, Bentinck declared that the fundamental principle

¹⁰⁵For Halliday's testimony before a Commons committee, see Syed Mahmoud, English Education in India (Aligarh, 1895), 64.

¹⁰⁶See OPI, Part III, 23. This reviews the question of "Christian Missions and Government Education in India", with particular reference to the attack from Ellenborough and Clerk, 52pp.

of British rule was "strict neutrality". He stated that "all interference and injudicious tampering with the religious beliefs of the students, all mingling direct or indirect teaching of Christianity with the system of instruction, ought to be positively forbidden". While Auckland and Ellenborough seemed more opposed than Bentinck to the presence of the ecclesiastical establishment in India, Hardinge was less fearful of harmful effects than Bentinck. In striking contrast to his predecessors, Dalhousie by 1853 would be suggesting that neutrality had been carried too far. The Court, nevertheless, in one of its last pronouncements before relinquishing all control of India to the Crown, reaffirmed the position held for forty-five years:

The Government will adhere, with good faith, to its ancient policy of perfect neutrality in matters affecting the religion of the people of India, and we most earnestly caution all those in authority under it, not to afford, by their conduct, the least color to the suspicion that that policy has undergone or will undergo any change.¹⁰⁷

Regardless of repeated affirmations of it, there was a perceptible relaxation of "strict neutrality". Thomason's position, defined as official neutrality without indifference (and only one step from an "open avowal" of Christianity) was the least objectionable policy to anyone committed to an evangelical viewpoint. Leaving aside the argument that the 'westernization' under Bentinck and Macaulay contributed more to this change than could officially be admitted,¹⁰⁸ there is little doubt that missionaries, supported by zealous civilians and military persons, formed an influential lobby for a modification of the neutral-

¹⁰⁷ Mahmoud, 64; cf. Sinha, Auckland, 179-83.

¹⁰⁸ In the post-Mutiny revaluation, more than one CMS spokesman harped on the thesis that Bentinck's social engineering - the abolition of sati, for example - had been a violation of the neutrality rule.

ity policy. Under Thomason and Colvin in the Provinces (1843-57) and the Lawrences in the Punjab (1849-59), they slowly gained widespread support.

For example, in January 1846 the Calcutta-based missionaries of the CMS made clear their position regarding English education. In a letter to Dandeson Coates, they expressed alarm that Indians receiving English education in Calcutta were casting off their Hindu creeds without substituting a Christian one. "Many of these", they wrote, "have imbibed the soul-destroying doctrines of European infidels, whose works are most extensively read. The question for the religious public in England to decide now is: 'Shall Tom Paine or the Bible form the standard of morals in the country'?" If Indians, as Hardinge had seemed to promise again in 1844, were to be increasingly employed in the civil service, they wanted more power "to act suitably on the youthful minds now so that the Indians will be guided in the right way and into the right principles".¹⁰⁹ In effect, they asked for greater financial support for efficient English schools under their management. They claimed that Indians were not offended at the presentation of the Bible, as long as the missionary societies offered a sound general education. Rather than atheists, they wished to produce what Long called "Christian orientalists".¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Missionaries to D. Coates, 1 January 1846 (CSMA - 10/8/1).

¹¹⁰ Long, "Christian Orientalism", 285. Long supported the formation in England of the "Christian Vernacular Education Society", presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury. Carre Tucker was its secretary, while Lord John Russell and C. E. Trevelyan were among its subscribers.

The aim of this society was to develop in India the policies espoused by Carre Tucker, James Long, and earlier William Carey. Converted Indians, utilizing the Christian scriptures in the Indian vernaculars,

The 'tricky character' of official neutrality and the ambivalent stances taken may be illustrated from Thomason's own views. At the Benares New College, Thomason appeared to approach a syncretism differing considerably from a strictly evangelical stance:

We are here met together this day, men of different races and of different creeds. If any one section of this assembly had met to dedicate such a building as this to the education of their youth in their own particular tenets, they would have given a religious sanction to the act, and would have consecrated the deed by the ceremonial of their faith. But this we cannot do. Unhappily, human opinions, on the subject of religion, are so irreconcilable that we cannot concur in any one act of worship. The more necessary it is then, that each man, in his own breast, should offer up his prayer to the God whom he worships, that here morality may be rightly taught, and that here truth, in all its majesty, may prevail. This aspiration may have a different meaning, according to the wishes or belief of the person who forms it; but with many it will point to a new state of things, when a higher philosophy and a purer faith will pervade this land, not enforced by the arbitrary decrees of a persecuting government, not hypocritically professed, to meet the wishes of a proselytizing government, but whilst the government is just and impartial, cordially adopted by a willing people, yielding to the irresistible arguments placed before them.¹¹¹

How was this to be reconciled with his deeply-felt evangelical concerns expressed in a letter to Henry Venn? With reference to Benares College, Thomason admitted that while its instruction under Dr. James Ballantyne was "doing much to shake Hindoo prejudice and arouse them from their

would serve as the agents between Europe and Asia. With the Bible, this Society could hope to achieve what Mackenzie in 1823 thought was possible only in England. See reference # 13.

The Calcutta-based missionaries, as represented by George Smith, an editor of the CR, thought mainly in terms of using the Bible in English. Long, Carey, and W. Adam seem to have been exceptions. See the Smith articles, particularly "Dr. Ballantyne and Government Education", CR, XXV (1856), 305-22.

¹¹¹ See reference # 82 for the Benares speech.

lethargy", their hopes went beyond that.¹¹² "We want the active Christian instruction, the powerful setting forth of Christian doctrine, and Christian example in conjunction with secular learning, as its handmaid". Thus, Thomason's private aims really corresponded with Tucker's, who hoped to achieve them through Christian vernacular schools and Jay Narain's College at Benares, as will be shown. Moreover, Thomason told Venn he hoped for "a really able champion of the truth" who, under Providence, might challenge Delhi, "the most influential stronghold of Mohammedanism in Hindostan". Not only concerned to get first-rate propagandists to challenge both Hindus and Islamic teachers, he hoped to see the ecclesiastical establishment consolidated all the way to Lahore by the appointment of a bishop for the Punjab.¹¹³

Thomason found this ambivalent position called into question by one of his collectors, David Robertson ('29). While not as vehement or bitter as Boulderson in the land question, nevertheless Robertson vigorously objected to the secular programme announced in the circular of 7 June 1845. He was being asked to foster a school system which omitted a study of the "Word of God", while at the same time Mohammedans had freedom to teach the Koran. How could he, an English Christian of integrity, take measures calculated to promote "the tea-

¹¹²Ballantyne's aim was to make each educated Hindu a Christian. His optimism is amazing in view of the relative failure of the Baptists, for example, in their contemporary missionary efforts. See Potts, Baptist Missionaries, 207-44; Smith, "Ballantyne", 317.

¹¹³Thomason to H. Venn, 6 September 1851 (CMSA - 21/10). For an account of this College, see Smith, Ibid. Did Thomason have in mind another C. G. Pfander? See references below.

ching of a system of doctrine which blasphemes both the divinity and atonement of Him from whom I derive the name [Christian]"? He regretted having to dissent but felt that, as one "called to a higher obedience", he must make his protest and perhaps even lay his career on the line. In view of Thomason's handling of Boulderson and Moore, the response was predictable. Robertson could not be permitted to block a plan designed for the immediate and ultimate benefit of the people under his jurisdiction. While his private convictions found due respect, Thomason felt that religious objections to his vernacular programme as conceived at that stage were unreasonable. Thomason as a matter of fact threatened Robertson with obstructions in the path of reasonable expectations for promotion, if he persisted in his objections.¹¹⁴

David Robertson and Carre Tucker found support from an unexpected quarter - Madras. In 1846 the Governor of the Presidency, the Marquis of Tweeddale, suggested the Bible's use in government schools. Predictably, the Court denied the request on the grounds that this was a specific "departure from the practice hitherto pursued".¹¹⁵ While the Court endeavoured to remain firm, it gradually yielded ground as a result of an exchange over the broader issue between the father of Carre Tucker and Hardinge's Council. Henry St. G. Tucker, writing as Chairman four weeks after denying Tweeddale's request, ordered the Hardinge

¹¹⁴D. Robertson to Elliot (at the SER), 4 July 1845, NWPGP, Vol. 69. During his early career he served in Ghazipur, a district adjacent to Carre Tucker's. He became a victim of the Mutiny at Bareilly 31 May 1857.

¹¹⁵Tweeddale's Minute, 24 August 1846, addressed to the GCPI, Calcutta; the Court Despatch was dated 23 March 1847. Tweeddale suggested setting up (in each school where English was taught) a voluntary class which would include the Bible. See Mahmood, 58.

administration (because of 'recent incidents' which remained unidentified) to remind the ICS that the principle of neutrality was to be upheld. He followed the argument that, since civilians were invested with public authority, their actions could not be regarded as those of private individuals.¹¹⁶

Most members of Hardinge's Council numbered themselves among the supporters of the CMS, Frederick Millett ('16) and Fred Currie ('18), to mention two, and objected to the "comprehensiveness" of the Director's very brief statement.¹¹⁷ Tucker had managed to convey the impression, they said, that civil and military servants were prohibited "from taking any part whatever in missionary proceedings". Surely it was common knowledge that "for years past" many Company servants had been members of local committees sponsoring missionary activities, both in 'proclamation' and education. Hardinge's favourable attitude toward the spread of Christian influence could not help but aid Millett's contention.¹¹⁸ Before responding to the Court's admonition, however, Hardinge consulted with Thomason at Agra. They agreed that publication of the Despatch

¹¹⁶H. St. G. Tucker and J. C. Lushington to Government of India, 21 April 1847, PP, XLII (1857-58), Item # 71. Perhaps this Despatch had reference to the activities of Tucker's own son, H. Carre!

¹¹⁷H. H. Maddock ('14), F. Millett, F. Currie, H. M. Elliot, who was then foreign secretary, and P. Melvill ('39), who later became secretary to the Punjab Board.

¹¹⁸Hardinge in 1845 passed the "Liberty of Conscience" bill which guaranteed Hindu converts to Christianity the protection of their property. He felt the act might eventually do more for Christianity than the missionaries in preaching and education. Hardinge thought of Auckland as much "too timid" to interfere with Hindu custom. His brother-in-law, Ellenborough, "had a strong feeling that conversion was dangerous and the blacks . . . had better be left to a religion which keeps them safe". Hardinge to Walter James, 21 April 1845, Hardinge Papers.

would needlessly agitate the public mind. In a Minute dated 13 July 1847, Hardinge suggested to the Court that heads of presidencies and divisions be advised to use their admonitory powers where "decided violations" of the general policy occurred. The fact that the Muirs, Thortons, Carre Tucker, and Montgomery all promoted missionary activity in their private capacity was obviously not considered a decided violation. Instead of drawing the line sharply when they had the opportunity, the Directors responded to Hardinge's Minute by a clarification of their intention. By no means had they meant to hinder officers from privately contributing to the promotion of "true religion". They merely wished to caution against activity that might "excite uneasiness and alarm among the people". In conclusion, they placed their confidence in the discretion of covenanted civilians rather than in precise instructions. "The rule should be governed by the principle on which it is founded".¹¹⁹

Donald McLeod's communication on this matter to Missionary William Smith of Benares emphasized the freedom from interference which Thomasonians and others enjoyed. "I may mention", McLeod wrote, as though implying disbelief,

that we have never yet heard a whisper of the order respecting non-participation on the part of public officers in missionary operations - and I cannot believe that any such has been issued. Not a syllable upon the subject has yet been said in any shape - nor do I suppose will be.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Hardinge Minute, 13 July 1847. Hardinge commended Thomason for remaining consistent with respect to neutrality in that he did not attend missionary meetings from the time of his elevation at Agra. But this was not the kind of consistency Tucker admired.

¹²⁰ McLeod to Smith, in a letter identified as dating from late July 1848 (CMSA - 265/92). McLeod admitted to Smith that he would prefer to see the policy of neutrality scotched, but there was so much indifference at Calcutta that it would likely be held over them.

The line between open and private support of missionaries became less sharply drawn in the Provinces by about 1850, and almost erased in the Punjab. In Thomason's jurisdiction two concrete examples must suffice to illustrate the tensions resulting from growing opposition to official neutrality and from the difficulty of maintaining this position. One is the remarkable Christian career of Carre Tucker and the other William Muir's applause for the Rev. C. G. Pfander. Tucker fell into the Victorian category of "thorough Christians", as one missionary said, "than which no higher praise could be given". For him, consistency in public life as a Christian meant an open avowal of Christianity in all aspects of his life.¹²¹ He found great difficulty in maintaining, let alone accepting, Thomason's position. He and others found it wholly inconsistent with their appreciation of England's Christian destiny in India.

In view of Tucker's contributions to the field of education, his criticism of Thomason's programme of 1844-45 could hardly have caught the Lieutenant-Governor by surprise. Not as unequivocal as David Robertson in his opposition, Tucker nevertheless held basically the same views. On this occasion he criticized Thomason for not introducing Bible reading for a portion of each school day. While Tucker undoubtedly received the reply he expected, he was not one to miss an opportunity to point to shortcomings, in his view, of government policy. Thornton replied that Thomason "could not feel himself called upon to deviate

¹²¹Tucker in 1860 asked supporters of an association of missionary societies to petition for the 'liberty of conscience' of Christian officials in government service. See Tucker, ed., Conference on Missions (1860), 139-40; also E. L., "Tucker", 15.

from the rule which has hitherto been observed by the Government of refraining altogether from giving direct religious instruction . . . in institutions supported by public funds. . . ." ¹²²

Although Tucker demonstrated no ill-will, nevertheless his actions posed a challenge to Thomason. Had Tucker had his way, he would have substituted a Christian for a secular school at every educational level. Believing as he did in an open Christian stance, he initiated his own village "seminary" at Gorakhpur, appealing for funds for his "Christian" school through the Calcutta press. In response Marshman of the Friend of India said: "Whatever be the line which Government has deemed it necessary to chalk out for its duties, there can be no doubt that the efforts of individual Christians . . . should always be directed to the communication of the most complete education." ¹²³

Tucker's dissatisfaction went beyond the village level. Reacting to Thomason's January 1853 speech at an institution "which excludes the Bible and Christianity", Tucker launched two projects. One was a Christian vernacular normal school to train teachers, as suggested by Hodgson, the civilian and Long, the missionary. The other was to improve Jay Narain's College, a CMS school at Benares, "that it may not lag behind" the Benares New College Thomason had recently opened.

¹²²Tucker did not wait for the 7 June 1845 circular. By March of the previous year he had already surveyed the district. Thornton to Tucker, 11 June 1844, NWPGP, Vol. 63.

¹²³FI, 30 January and 17 April 1845. Interestingly enough, Thomason subscribed £30 annually, William Muir, £10, G. F. Edmonstone, £5. See 22 May 1845. They were anxious to "combine Christian instruction with secular knowledge and to rectify the heart as well as improve the intellect".

Tucker's policy to train Christian teachers for the Thomason-sponsored tahsildari schools was completely consistent with the missionary view. If he could not get Bible-reading into government schools, then he intended to train an Indian "Christian agency" to fill the teaching positions. Once established in the government school system, such teachers would "throw a strong, Christian element" into district vernacular education. He also felt it was deeply incumbent upon on all missionary societies to do their best to prepare Christian orientalist, to use James Long's term.¹²⁴

Whereas Thomason had felt he could not give in to Tucker's demand, his successor as Lieutenant-Governor, John R. Colvin, openly associated himself with Tucker's vernacular normal school at Benares. Such encouragement from Thomason's peer meant another breakthrough in the struggle against official neutrality.¹²⁵

Tucker was also one of the chief supporters of Jay Narain's College and Free School at Benares. Founded by Raja Jay Narain in 1818 and launched with the approval of Bishop Daniel Corrie and Governor-General Hastings, this school found continuing support from various Haileyburians. Among these were Robert Hamilton, Robert Bird, and Fred Currie. In 1836-37 Bird and Currie attempted to place the school on a sound financial

¹²⁴Tucker to Venn, 16 March 1853 (CMSA - 295/1). Cf. Long's "Christian Orientalism" and Smith's "Ballantyne". See references # 110, 112.

¹²⁵Colvin gave his permission and on a visit to Benares conducted one of the first Bible quizzes held, about 1855. See Tucker, Conference (1860). Tucker had enrolled about 100 young men, Islamic and Hindu, who were persuaded to read the Bible as the "foundation of all that is good". He admitted there was much "swimming with the tide", because a smattering of English might mean a job. Compromise with the English overlord was readily rationalized by the Indians. At least this was a recurring theme in the literature of the time. See Smith, "Ballantyne".

footing by placing it fully under the auspices of the CMS.¹²⁶ It was Tucker as commissioner of Benares who pledged 1,000 rupees down and 200 a month on the condition that the Mission expand it to a full university.¹²⁷ John Muir, Ballantyne's predecessor as principal of Benares College, another supporter of Jay Narain, who had "reflected a great deal on missionary proceedings in India", wanted to see a "powerful band of missionaries . . . distinguished not only by zeal and piety", but endowed also with "all the resources of powerful intellect and learning" in order to challenge "this religious stronghold".¹²⁸

Tucker continued into retirement his campaign for unrestricted Christian activity on the part of evangelical Thomasonians, Haileyburians, and Addiscombians. His convictions about the wrongness of "official neutrality", held at least from 1843 when Thomason went to Agra as civil head of the Provinces, were only confirmed by his personal experience in the Mutiny at Benares. As a result, he challenged the 1858 position taken by Lord Stanley, Ellenborough and Clerk, and thus identified himself wholly with the CMS policy in the immediate post-Mutiny period.¹²⁹

William Muir, by giving his support to the proselytizing acti-

¹²⁶For this account see E. A. Reade, Contributions, reprinted in the CMSA, 26 June 1852. Corrie was one of Simeon's protégés; Reginald Heber visited the school in 1824.

¹²⁷Tucker remarked in the letter to Venn, 16 March 1853 (CMSA - 295/1), that he was able to offer these sums because he was now solvent, in receipt of an adequate salary. Tucker had a large family to support, but had often overextended himself in his generosity. See reference # 38.

¹²⁸John Muir to H. Venn, 24 May 1851 (CMSA - 289/2). John Muir, was an Islamic scholar and brother of William Muir.

¹²⁹See Kaye's Sepoy War, II, 208ff; and reference # 103 re Tucker and # 143ff for the CMS position.

vities of George Christian Pfander, provided a striking contrast to the earlier "British Orientalists" discussed by Kopf. Whereas both they and Muir were "modernizers", the latter appeared, as an evangelical, to be less sensitive to Indian feeling generally, and apparently less fearful of arousing antagonism, for this was, as could have been foreseen, the effect of Pfander's "controversy". One might ask whether Muir's generation was more insensitive to Indian achievements and aspirations than was William Carey's. Francis Hutchins suggested recently that British aspirations for India shifted from an emphasis on moral force to the "less ambitious idea that India was held simply by military power". And if "total reform" was not possible, then Campbell's and H. C. Tucker's view that English rule must be a 'paternal despotism' undoubtedly reflected the gradual acceptance of the idea that England's stay in India was to be an indefinite one.¹³⁰

Pfander was a German missionary engaged at Sikandra [Secundra] where the CMS had a church and two orphanages.¹³¹ At nearby Agra, the seat of Government, the Mission also held a school for catechists, whose students aided Pfander and other missionaries in market-place preaching and open confrontations with Mohammedans. Pfander eventually became

¹³⁰ See Hutchins (1967), 19, 186, and his chapter on "The Orientalization of British Rule". For Campbell see Chapter Three, reference # 44; for Tucker, # 103 of this chapter; for Cust, # 62; Lawrence, # 146.

¹³¹ Pfander was at Sikandra and Agra from 1841 to 1855, Church Missionary Register (CMR), December 1855, 282. A Christian village developed here as a result of the intermarriage of orphans. The Mission also established a press, which the Government frequently used, perhaps as an indirect way to subsidize the Mission, CMR (1849), 164. Thomason donated the church bells at Sikandra and often conducted the service. Dalhousie was a visitor of the compound in 1849 and expressed pleasure in what he saw.

known as a most effective apologist of the Christian faith. Over a ten year period he made several notable converts who posed a threat to their own Islamic institutions at Agra. Pfander also managed to publish three controversial tracts in response to Islamic pamphleteers. The effectiveness of his propagandist activity, which reached a peak in the year 1853, may be measured by the sharp counter-attack in Indian press and pamphlet as well as by the personal abuse heaped on the outdoor preachers.¹³²

William Muir, as Thomason's chief secretary from 1851, was quoted as saying that Pfander was "the most distinguished Christian opponent of Islam that has yet appeared in Christendom". Muir wrote Venn on 24 February 1854 that, although official policy restricted his religious interests, he found a great source of satisfaction in Pfander's championship of Christianity. He proposed that the German missionary who had crossed denominational lines - from Lutheran to Anglican - should be given an honorary doctorate in theology. Pfander's attainments as a vernacularist and Christian apologist were so highly valued that he was invited in 1855 to head a new mission in the frontier city of Peshawar, where the zealot, H. B. Edwardes, served as commissioner under John Lawrence.¹³³

These instances of Haileyburian support of the churches and

¹³²See the CMR (1853), 478-9; (1854), 166; (1855), 165. Open-air preaching became "precarious and self-denying" at Faruckhabad where Moslems petitioned against such activity. The CMR was the prime information organ for this "Muhammedan Controversy".

¹³³Cf. Muir to Venn, 24 February 1854 (CMSA - 214/2) and the CMR (1855), 165, 282.

schools of Benares and Agra are sufficient to illustrate the advanced degree to which Thomasonians supported the missionary establishment. Generally speaking, they were moderately cautious in their display of support. Only a small percentage of Thomason's collectors openly objected to his secular policy of education. The rank and file in his jurisdiction were not 'bold independent rulers'. Seen as a group, however, they must have made a singular impression on the native mind, whose feelings of hostility lay hidden until aroused by men like Pfander.

In turning to a brief account of the introduction of Christianity to the Punjab during the rule of the Thomasonians, one witnesses an almost complete collapse of the practice of official neutrality. The Regency period (1846-49), when Henry Lawrence was Resident, and the period of the Board of Administration when John Lawrence became the ascendant 'Titan' of the North, saw the firm establishment of Christian rule there. The Lawrences, Montgomery, McLeod, H. B. Edwardes, and the whole host of Christian "warriors" - in the nineteenth century evangelical sense - found support for their stance from Dalhousie, Thomason, and then Colvin at Agra, John W. Kaye in London, and Marshman at Serampur.¹³⁴ After Dalhousie's annexation, the missionaries soon established themselves in the Sikh territory, welcomed as they were by the Christian empire-builders who had planted the British flag from Lahore to Peshawar. Many of the Thomasonians had already supported missionary efforts in the NWP. What was more natural than to expect to continue that policy beyond the Sat-

¹³⁴For an account of the testimonies of Marshman, Duff, Halliday, and Trevelyan before parliamentary committees during June and July, 1853, see PP, XXXII (1852-53).

laj River? Hence in 1851 Archdeacon Pratt, supported by Thomason, went to Lahore to inaugurate a new chapter of the CMS.¹³⁵ In attendance upon this occasion to give open, if not official, support were all the members of the Board of Administration, as well as many civilian and military officers. Edwardes, easily the most enthusiastic evangelical in the North-West, addressed himself in 1853 to the question of neutrality. Speaking in Peshawar, where he welcomed Pfander two years later, he agreed that neutrality, while perhaps wise, should never prevent Christian officials "from doing their duty", which was to evangelize India. "Our mission in India", he proclaimed, "is to do for other nations what we have done for our own".¹³⁶

The introduction of the Education Despatch of 1854, which recommended grants-in-aid, English-style, to all schools - regardless of their denominational origin and orientation - where an adequate secular education was offered, must be seen against the groping for the same principle in India. While Charles Wood in London waited for Dalhousie to furnish him with a 'scheme of education', he resorted to other advisors who had testified before the Lords' committee that a system of grants-in-aid should be introduced.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, missionaries and Christian officials

¹³⁵Thomason to Venn, 6 September 1851 (CMSA - 21/10).

¹³⁶CMI (November 1859), 251-2. Cf. Chapter Three, reference # 108, 157.

¹³⁷R. J. Moore, Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy (1966), 108-23. No scheme had arrived from Dalhousie, except his Minute of 25 October 1853. And J. S. Mill had no hand in the drafting of the 19 July 1854 Despatch! Wood depended much on Alexander Duff, to some extent on Marshman, and perhaps only slightly on others who testified before Committees. Duff had submitted a paper but Wood and his secretary, T. G. Baring, wrote the Despatch.

in India, aware of the potential in the proposal for grants-in-aid, began to formulate policies for Dalhousie's consideration. While the Rev. James Long and Frederick J. Halliday ('25), Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, recommended grants-in-aid in Bengal, Dalhousie was in fact influenced most by McLeod's education report of December 1853.¹³⁸

Donald McLeod agreed generally with the two-fold aim of the Thomason plan: "the elevation of the people at large [and] the raising up of a class of officials for Government purposes". McLeod had, however, come to the conviction that the Government of India could not limit its assistance "only in proportion as the desire for education is locally evinced". McLeod believed it was a "most essential part of our mission here, to strive to raise the people in the intellectual scale, even in spite of their own apathy". Hence he argued that every means should be used to accomplish this aim. Since missionary schools were usually better run and taught than government schools, the latter should not be established in an area already served by a missionary school. Moreover, the latter should receive government funds by virtue of their adequate curriculum and relatively competent teachers. He stated:

I would by no means advocate that Government should depart from its strictly secular character, but where really sound instruction in secular matters is imparted, I would encourage it.

¹³⁸ Long appealed to Halliday for support in his educational endeavour in the 24th Pargana, and Halliday recommended assistance. Halliday's support in this instance resulted in a lively debate within Dalhousie's Council. Two members supported Halliday, four appeared against the proposal of grants-in-aid. Dalhousie wrote an independent minute, however, in which he governed himself more by what McLeod reported from the Punjab in December 1853. CMI (1859), 162, 184ff. McLeod's report was printed in PP, XLII (1857-58) 49-71.

Then he added:

It is time, I think, that we should show that the Christian religion will not be discountenanced by us, though abstaining from all attempts, as a Government, to interfere with the religious persuasion of any.¹³⁹

On 6 June 1854, in response to McLeod's suggestion and in spite of the opposition of the majority of his Council to the policy of grants-in-aid, Dalhousie declared:

During my administration here I have carefully followed the traditional policy which has been handed down to the Government of India for its observance in all matters into which there enters a religious element. But I am of opinion that for these days we carry the principle of neutrality too far, that even in political points of view we err in ignoring so completely as we do the Agency of Ministers of our own true faith in extending education among the people and that the time has now come when grants of money in aid of secular education carried on in schools established and conducted by Christian Missionaries might be made by the Government without any risk of giving rise to those evils which a recognition of such agency has hitherto been thought likely to create and with the certainty of producing an immense . . . extension of sound secular education. . . .

I sincerely trust that the . . . Court when they reply . . . ¹⁴⁰ may see fit to recognize the principle I have now advocated. . . .

Almost simultaneously with this dramatic declaration of a significant modification of the traditional policy, the Court released the Despatch whose authorship may be attributed to Charles Wood. Strongly influenced in many features by Alexander Duff, the Presbyterian missionary and educator,¹⁴¹ the President of the Board of Control, and supported by the

¹³⁹ Thomason in 1844 had believed very strongly that assistance should be given only where there was no resistance. McLeod, December 1853, in CMI (July 1859), 163.

¹⁴⁰ Dalhousie Minute, in Richey, 286-87.

¹⁴¹ Alexander Duff, 1806-78, was in India from 1829 to 1863. He was the second editor of the CR., 1845-49, DIB.

Court, recommended a policy of grants-in-aid almost identical to that of McLeod, Halliday, and Dalhousie. In his anxiety to maintain the semblance of neutrality, Wood emphasized the need for "entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted". Any school offering adequate secular education and permitting government inspection was to be eligible for assistance. Nevertheless, this indirect system of aid to "all schools unconnected with Government", found support, according to CMS leader writers, from well-nigh every Thomasonian mentioned in this paper, as well as M. R. Gubbins ('30), Fred Currie, R. D. Mangles and H. S. Reid. And Charles Wood, when introducing the Charter bill on 3 June 1853 to the Commons, voiced the common hope "that the education [Indians] are receiving will gradually lead to the reception of our own faith. . . ." On that occasion he took exception to Ellenborough's argument that "we shall endanger the empire by educating the natives of India".¹⁴²

Then came the Mutiny. The grants-in-aid question, which had agitated many minds before the cataclysmic events of 1857, now tended to polarize the responsible home authorities and Anglo-Indians into two feuding camps: those who saw in the breaking of the neutrality rule a major cause of the rebellion, and those who thanked God for the bold Christian rulers of the Punjab who had saved India. And how were the latter able to do it? Quite obviously, it was argued, their ascendancy over the Punjabis was based not alone on the sword. The Sikhs remained loyal and peaceful because they had nothing to fear from rulers who made

¹⁴²See OPI, Part III.

their Christian allegiance known. Thus it was that evangelicals used the pacification of the Punjab and its use as a base for the suppression of rebellion to the south, as well as the fact of the relatively low loss of life to missionaries generally, as a powerful argument in favour of a more energetic Christianizing policy in India.

Only the briefest possible account may be given of the attack and counter-attack which involved evangelicals prominent in this paper. The attack against the civilians and military men of the North-West came from the combination of the imperious Ellenborough and the popular George Clerk. On 28 April 1858 Ellenborough addressed a letter to the Court, attaching a memorandum drawn up by Clerk which criticized certain features of the 1854 Despatch and the patronage given to missionary societies in India. Ellenborough particularly held official connection with missionary agencies responsible for the "almost unanimous mutiny of the Bengal army and the extension of hostile feelings among the people". To parry this blow the CMS memorialists drew together every conceivable argument to persuade informed opinion in Calcutta and London that Ellenborough's charges were unfounded and that the policy of neutrality was villainous: impossible to maintain and totally inconsistent with England's mission in India. Their thesis, in the words of Edwardes, declared that the Punjab had been not only spared, but honoured to save India for the Empire, "because we honoured God in establishing the Mission."¹⁴³ Since John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery and Donald McLeod,

¹⁴³OPI, III, 21. Ellenborough was, from February to June 1858, President of the Board of Control, and Clerk secretary. Their attack on missionaries and civilian supporters during this period elicited a vast literature. The OPI, as indicated, brought together nine papers:

who were undisguised Christians, had been used thus by Providence, the CMS writers were particularly incensed over the post-Mutiny attempts to impose anew on these rulers the policy of neutrality. This then was the question, they wrote, "which remains to be decided by the people of England":

Shall the policy of Calcutta or Lahore be henceforth that normal policy of India to which all administrative proceedings in every province and Presidency are henceforth to be assimilated?

In Calcutta it has been the old time-serving policy, called neutrality'. . . always disposed to treat the false religions of India with consideration, the true religion of the Bible with indifference. . . . The policy of the Punjab administration has been, on the other hand, open and candid. . . . They have never considered that official duty required that they should reduce themselves to religious indifference. . . .¹⁴⁴

In the OPI the CMS called to their own witness stand in the public press the expression of the Christian view of John Lawrence and Carre Tucker, to mention only two. The former spoke from his authority as Chief Commissioner of Lahore, while Tucker, in retirement, became a petitioner of the Secretary of State for India. On the question of the Bible in schools, Lawrence stood between Edwardes, the extremist who would close schools where the Bible was not taught and McLeod who would place the Bible only where Christian personnel was available to explain its tenets. Lawrence left Bible study voluntary, placing it in school libraries and providing instruction in it where Indians requested such. But on the more fundamental question of the nature of British rule in India, Richard Temple, his secretary, was authorized to say the following:

the first was a "memorial to the Queen", the third the review already referred to, the fourth on "religious neutrality", and fifth, the despatches of John Lawrence, and so on.

¹⁴⁴ CMI (November 1859), 242-3. Recall Long's criticisms of "Calcutta", see reference on page 229.

The Chief Commissioner, since May 1857, had pondered the shortcomings of British rule in India and "he would solely endeavour to ascertain what is our Christian duty. Having ascertained that", Temple continued, "according to our erring lights and conscience, he would

follow it out to the uttermost, undeterred by any considerations.

Sir John Lawrence does, I am to state, entertain the earnest belief that all those measures which are really and truly Christian can be carried out in India, not only without danger to our British rule but, on the contrary, with every advantage to its stability.

Christian things done in a Christian way will never, the Chief Commissioner is convinced, alienate the heathen. . . . It is when unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an unchristian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned.

Sir John Lawrence is satisfied that . . . he can carry out all those measures which are really matters of Christian duty on the part of Government.

The ground for Lawrence's position was frankly imperial. He believed that W. D. Arnold who objected to his position did so because he mistook the constitutional ground of British rule. In Lawrence's view it was not based on representative institutions. "We are here", Lawrence averred, "through our moral superiority, by the will of providence. We are bound by our conscience, not theirs." He continued:

To say [as does Arnold] that we have no right to offer Christian teaching to Government schools because we do not allow the native religions to be taught there, is to misapprehend the fundamental relation that in this country subsists between the Government and the people. We are to do the best we can for them, according to our light, and they are to obey us.

Lawrence offered the Bible because he believed it to be true; he refused to teach Indian religions because he believed them to be untrue.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Temple at Lahore to Government of India, 21 April and 3 July 1858, OPI, V, 19, 22-3.

Carre Tucker, who was at Benares when the Mutiny broke over the area, in 1858 addressed a letter to Lord Stanley. Essentially, his was a reaction to what he considered the mistaken policies and beliefs of Ellenborough and Clerk. What, he wanted to know, was the purpose of England's presence as conqueror in India, if it was not to "communicate our superior standard of morality, founded upon our possession of the truth of God. . . . Surely our mission is not confined to material improvement . . .?" As to education and the danger of alarming the Indian multitudes by an open stance as Christians, Tucker felt - on the basis of experience and observation- that it was the "pretension to neutrality" which elicited the skepticism and cynicism of intelligent Indians. The undisguised Christian stance of Thomason and Colvin, and the tendency to affirm it publicly in the Punjab was more readily understood and appreciated. He related his own experience as follows:

As for myself, personally, I have gone as far as most officers as a friend and supporter of missions, a preparer and distributor of Christian books, a founder of a Christian Normal School, and a public Bible examiner in Benares.

Yet Benares remained relatively calm in the revolt, and the missionaries "pursued their labours without hindrance, and not a single voice was raised against the various schemes of the Christian effort."¹⁴⁷

He did not, however, want to be misunderstood. There is perhaps no more honest admission that the attempts of the English David to slay the Indian Goliath with 'smooth stones' from the Bible did have shock value of indeterminable effect. He wrote Stanley:

¹⁴⁷Cf. Kaye, Sepoy War, II, 208ff.

Whilst I feel sure that no consistent Christian officer is disliked on account of his Christianity, and that in that point of view Christian effort had nothing to do with the Mutiny, it is equally clear that our Mission of light against darkness, truth against falsehood, justice against tyranny and misrule, has had everything to do with it. The tone and the spirit of 1800 years of Anglo-Saxon progress are totally opposed to stagnant notions, and stereotyped customs and superstitions of the East. Our rule in India, notwithstanding all the manifestations of a hundred years . . . that we do not wish to interfere with the religions of the natives, is the embodiment of a spirit now working counter to and undermining all the evils of social, political, and moral life in that country. The instinctive feeling of the irreligious and the heathen is true. The red line must advance on the moral and religious, as well as the political map. We cannot avoid it. Hinduism and Mohammedanism are incapable of reformation and must fall. [We cannot] attempt to set limits to the spread of Western Christianity. The Natives feel this and the common impression is that in a few years the whole country will become Christian[!].¹⁴⁸

It was surely only this combination of honesty and naiveté which could then urge Stanley to take a bolder and professedly Christian stand in keeping with such an imperial mission.

When it became apparent that the Crown's assumption of control of the sub-continent signified a continuation of "official neutrality", the CMI deeply resented the victory of the policy of Calcutta - the 'ditch' - over that of Lahore, where the 'heaven-born' still ruled. At least its leader could rejoice over Richard Temple's elaborate and public Christian ceremony in 1859 for the opening of the Punjab Railway to

¹⁴⁸ Tucker to Stanley, A Letter to Lord Stanley (1858), 15pp. Cf. his "The Bible in India", 25 May 1859, in Tracts Relating to Missions. (n.d.) Both of these are available in the BM. Tucker wrote the latter as secretary of the Christian Vernacular Education Society. Cf. Long's "Christian Orientalism" of the same year.

link Lahore with Karachi.¹⁴⁹ Thomason at the New College opening in 1853 said that he was not giving and could not, in view of the nature of the school and the assembled throng, give "religious sanction" to the act. Six years later in the Punjab his disciples publicly dedicated a project of material improvement to God.

The strength and persistence of an undisguised religious stance in Northern India is understandable when one recalls that Montgomery and McLeod between them ruled the Punjab to 1870, and Edmonstone (1859-63) and William Muir (1868-74) held the lieutenant-governorship of the Provinces.

¹⁴⁹CMI (November 1859), 251-6.

CHAPTER VI

James Thomason, Irrigation, and Engineering Education

When Thomason involved himself over a fifteen-year period - from 1838 to 1853 - both in the promotion of the Ganges canal and the founding of an engineering school, he brought together three of the most fundamental aspects of the Doab: land, water, and the peasant. Rights in the land, and some guarantee of its fertility, combined with an attempt to banish ignorance through a minimal learning experience, composed the essence of his policy. James Long, Thomason's admirer, referred to this triangular relationship when he wrote that Thomason, "a real friend of the people", had made these purposes paramount during his administration: "irrigating the minds of the masses by diffusing the healthy current of European ideas through the agreeable medium of Vernacular education and irrigating the lands by the appliances of modern science in his great Ganges Canal."¹ Thomason's biographer, writing at about the same time, confirmed this preoccupation when he suggested that Thomason, who had an amateur's interest in engineering, devoted considerable thought to irrigation works. He was concerned "to enhance the productive value of the soil, the comfort of the people, and their security from the ravages of famine."²

Thomason's role in civil engineering, both in the prodigious

¹Long, "Vernacular Education", 311.

²W. Muir, Thomason, 495-6.

canal and the college at Rurki, eventually named after him, may best be seen by tracing his involvement with four governors-general who figured most prominently in his career: Auckland, Ellenborough, Hardinge, and Dalhousie. This dominant preoccupation - attempting to guarantee soil fertility by creating material improvement - also called, appropriately enough, for interaction with men trained at Addiscombe. One of these, the chief engineer of the Ganges project, with whom Thomason had a cordial and co-operative association from 1838, was Proby Thomas Cautley (A - '19).³ He registered as a student at the Company's military seminary in 1818 and joined the Bengal Artillery a year later. From 1825 he helped in the restoration of the Eastern Jumna Canal, which was intended to irrigate part of the Doab.⁴ After it was opened in 1830 he served as its superintendent until 1843, when Ellenborough agreed with Thomason that Cautley's entire attention should be devoted to the Ganges canal.

Serious consideration of a canal drawing water from the Ganges to irrigate its right bank was impelled by the famine of 1837-38.⁵ Earlier John Colvin (A - '10), who had gained experience on the Western

³DIB, DNB, IOR - L/Mil/9/333.

⁴For a description of this canal, see Baird Smith (A-'36), "Canals of Irrigation in the NWP", CR, XII (1849), 106-124; and Bhanu, 308-10.

⁵Bhanu, 296-304. This famine came during the lieutenant-governorship of Charles Metcalfe, when Thomason was his secretary, and had its most devastating effects on the area which Thomason ruled for ten years. Baird Smith estimated that about 800,000 people died from starvation and disease. Cholera raged and grain prices soared. Agra was the principal resort for a stricken population. During April and May, 1838, about two hundred people were dying daily in Agra alone. Relief measures were undertaken and government remissions of the land revenue were granted.

Jumna Canal,⁶ had recommended a feasibility study. Cautley, who made that study in 1836, at first shrank from the magnitude and difficulty of the project. After the famine had begun to take its toll, however, and Auckland had personally taken the reins of government (1838-40), Cautley requested authority from the Governor-General to investigate thoroughly the possibility of taking water from the Ganges in the upper Meerut division.⁷ Thomason, then Auckland's chief secretary for the Provinces, replied that "His Lordship is not prepared to expect much success in any attempt to draw water from the right bank of the Ganges. If, however, the object can be attained, the public benefit would be great".⁸ From 1838 the project's desirability was clouded only by doubts about its practicability.

Meanwhile, Auckland expressed a dual concern to Hobhouse at the Board of Control. What the Provinces required was rain, on the one hand, to relieve the current crisis, and engineers, on the other, to prepare works of irrigation as insurance against future drought. He scored Addiscombe for underrating the prospects for engineers and creating the impression that even the infantry might be preferable. "I would wish the

⁶Colvin was a member of the first Addiscombe class of 1809, and is not to be confused with the J. R. Colvin of this dissertation. He later achieved colonel's rank and was made superintendent of canals in the NWP in 1823. See Smith, 86-106, and Bhanu, 305-8.

⁷Cautley to Auckland, 23 May 1838, Auckland Letters; Muir, 498. This concerned the district of Saharanpur where H. S. Boulderson was then commissioner (1837-40) and E. P. Thornton had made the settlement (1835-37). Hardwar and Rurki, two key places in this chapter, seem to have been located in this district.

⁸Thomason to Cautley [1838], in Muir, 498. Thomason, himself doubtlessly more than interested, was merely expressing Auckland's momentary hesitation.

subject fairly looked at," Auckland wrote, "because there is no country in which good engineering is so much wanted as in India."⁹

When Auckland turned the reins of the Agra Government over to T. C. Robertson (in March 1840 at Allahabad) Cautley had already recorded a sufficient series of levels in his survey of the projected line that Auckland and his private secretary, J. R. Colvin, were able to make what was considered the first intelligent appraisal of the situation. Against the substantial financial outlay that would be required they balanced the awesome costs in terms of human distress - as well as those of relief measures - caused by recurring drought.¹⁰ Auckland and his sisters, Emily and Fanny Eden, had seen enough death and distress to know that "by every principle of humanity and sound policy it was expedient to effect relief at considerable cost."¹¹ At Allahabad, however, Auckland again warned that Government hesitated to embark on a venture so expensive because of the difficult terrain over which the water would have to be conveyed.¹² Therefore, on the eve of his departure for Calcutta, he em-

⁹Auckland to Hobhouse, 28 June and 10 July 1838. Auckland admired the quality of the men leaving Addiscombe; he wanted to see more men turn to engineering.

¹⁰The Doab and the upper Punjab were limited to a mean annual rainfall of 20 to 40 inches, while much of the lower Punjab and country south of the Satlaj to Delhi was part of a dry belt. See C. C. Davies, An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula (1959 ed.), 81.

¹¹Auckland's Minute, written from Allahabad 4 February 1840. He was grateful that the various relief measures and remissions of revenue as well as employment of those in distress had prevented a "mass exodus" from the country. See Bhanu, 297.

¹²Auckland to Cautley, 25 January 1840, Auckland Letters. Throughout December of the previous year both Auckland and Colvin encouraged Cautley to persevere in his survey. There was no hesitancy then.

phasized that "the minutest attention" must be paid to the Solani valley which had to be crossed, if the first dam were to be built at Hardwar, near Saharanpur and Rurki.¹³

In spite of apprehensions on this point, Auckland left the NWP confident that a line had been discovered, and that the canal's construction "would scarcely have any parallel". He felt he could not overestimate its significance for, given "the uncertainty of the seasons, the nature of the crops and soil", Government must feel bound to attempt to alleviate distress by an irrigation canal whose possibilities would likely extend far down the Doab.¹⁴

Although Thomason and Robertson may have disagreed in principle on the treatment of taluqdars, they nevertheless concurred in giving generous support to the Ganges project.¹⁵ Between them they strongly urged Auckland at Calcutta to continue the survey of the Ganges and to increase the engineering staff assigned to it.¹⁶ In private letters to Colvin, Thomason pressed particularly for a superintending engineer for

¹³Auckland to Cautley, 13 March 1840, *Ibid.* "Be careful", Auckland warned, "at the point where the greatest criticisms will arise."

What was involved was the construction of an aqueduct which eventually measured 920 feet, held up by 15 arches to clear the Solani river. This was the greatest obstacle of several before the water could be brought into the upper Doab proper, see Smith, 154-7. The criticisms that Auckland anticipated fell on Cautley in the 1860s.

¹⁴Auckland Minute of 4 February 1840; Smith, 151. Cautley's first report, submitted on 12 May 1840 to the Military Board, which had jurisdiction over public works, demonstrated how the Solani was to be crossed.

¹⁵For an account of their disagreement over the land settlement, see Chapters Two and Four.

¹⁶Auckland to Robertson and Hamilton, 29 January, 27 February, and 12 March 1841, Auckland Letters.

the Provinces.¹⁷ As Auckland's term ran out, the Governor-General acknowledged the urgency of the projected canal system, but stressed that, as the Ganges plan was a wholly new venture for the Government, he would have to refer the matter to "the authority in England".¹⁸ In early April 1841 he placed the results of Cautley's study before the Court, asking for authority to undertake "the great work on the largest practicable scale". At this point he estimated the cost of extending the canal to Allahabad at about £600,000, while the Military Board hoped to regain half that amount in water rents.¹⁹

In September 1841 the Court sanctioned construction on these terms. Colvin commented privately to R. M. Bird: "It must be most gratifying to Lord Auckland to have the power of laying the foundation of this peculiarly important and beneficial undertaking before he quits India."²⁰ As to Cautley, the consulting and surveying engineer, he was awarded 10,000 rupees for his contribution. Although the grant was unprecedented, Baird Smith wrote that the reward was "robbed of nearly half its value and all its grace, at the recommendation of the Military

¹⁷J. R. Colvin to Thomason, 25 April 1841, Ibid. Frederick Abbott was appointed in 1841, but was called away to the North West Frontier under Ellenborough. See Edward Thackeray, Biographical Notices of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers (1900), 87.

¹⁸Auckland to Robertson, 29 January 1841, Auckland Letters.

¹⁹Auckland Minute, 3 April 1841. The amount spent on the Ganges canal by 1856 was almost three times this amount.

²⁰Colvin to Bird, 23 October 1841, Auckland Letters. Bird demonstrated considerable interest in, if not accurate knowledge of, the Ganges project when he testified before a parliamentary committee on 2 June 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 29-44.

Board in Calcutta, who deducted from it the total amount of the extra expense, to which Government had been put by the temporary appointment of an officer to carry on Colonel Cautley's current duties, as superintendent of the Doab Canal, while he was employed in the survey of the Ganges Khadir".²¹

Although the Court had approved the project, it wisely insisted on the appointment of commissioners to assist Cautley in finding the "best method of carrying their enlarged views into effect". Appointed were W. E. Baker (A-'26) and Frederick Abbott (A-'22),²² who unequivocally expressed confidence in Cautley's survey of the "Khadir". They estimated that 6,750 cubic feet of water per second could be drawn off the Ganges at Hardwar, taken along the Solani aqueduct, and eventually channelled so as to irrigate the length of the Doab. They calculated that enough water would be available for navigation purposes in both the river itself and an additional navigation channel.²³

²¹Baird Smith, 152. The term Khadir refers to recent alluvial bordering a large river. Hobson-Jobson. Auckland used the term to refer to the river beds over which the aqueduct would carry Ganges water.

As to the honorarium for Cautley, Thornton confirmed that Cautley received only 6,000 rupees on 2 March 1842. See Thornton to Davidson, a Calcutta secretary, 25 July 1845, NWPGP, Vol. 69.

²²Baker worked under John Colvin, succeeding him in 1835 as superintendent of Canals at Delhi. In 1843 he transferred to Sind under C. Napier, while from 1844 to 1848 he officiated for Cautley while the latter was on furlough, Vibart, 417.

F. Abbott, after serving as indicated above, retired in 1847, only to find himself appointed Governor of Addiscombe in 1851, where he remained ten years. DIB. See also Thackeray, 87-91.

²³Smith, 152, and The Report of the Committee (Agra, 7 February 1842). The 1841 plan calculated that the artificial channel above Kanpur (Cawnpore) should be made completely navigable, while the River itself should be so everywhere except above Kanpur during the dry season.

Ellenborough's criticisms, see below, were based on doubts about the possibility of guaranteeing such navigation, as were those of the Manchester School critics later.

Despite the three years that had elapsed since Cautley's first feasibility study - prompted by famine conditions - its promoters thought they had cause for optimism on the eve of Lord Ellenborough's arrival. Thomason undoubtedly had no inkling that Ellenborough would relegate irrigation to a secondary consideration, giving navigation top priority. Nor had any responsible person warned that stagnant sections of water channels at certain seasons could become breeding grounds for malaria.

Not long after his arrival in India, Ellenborough acquired an overriding concern for retrenchment, as indicated in views he shared with Henry Thoby Prinsep.²⁴ Writing from Allahabad, where he first met Thomason, he expressed a keen interest in seeing reports of the Ganges project, if not the area itself. In retrospect, his first pronouncement, albeit a private one, appears somewhat ominous. He said that while he did not want "present exigencies" to dictate the postponement of works of "public utility", he insisted that there be no unnecessary expenditures either. In another letter he indicated strongly that canals of navigation and irrigation would have to "await surplus revenues".²⁵

Meanwhile Ellenborough had appointed a committee, on which C. G. Mansel and Thomason were members, to report on the Government's finances and to take measures to ensure the surpluses of which he wrote Prinsep

²⁴Ellenborough, at Allahabad from April 1842, literally flooded Prinsep with requests for historical, financial, and other information, partly because of the relative military and political "mess" in which Auckland left India. See E - 32, and an Auckland Minute, 28 February 1842 in E - 15.

²⁵Ellenborough to Prinsep, May 1842 (E - 32). Cf. Chapter Two, reference # 62, 63.

in Calcutta.²⁶ Worried in part by the committee's discovery that the 'civil list' had grown disproportionately - at least in his view - under Auckland, Ellenborough issued positive orders on 21 June 1842 that 'pending a further test to the scientific and financial calculations on which the [Ganges Canal] was based, all further expenditure was to be discontinued'.²⁷ If indeed he took into consideration any action taken before his arrival in India - the Cautley reports, their confirmation by other professionals, and the approval of the Court - he brushed all aside. He made one concession to pressure from Thomason and others in August 1843, when he appointed Cautley full-time superintendent of the Ganges project. At the same time, however, he ordered the chief engineer's staff reduced to one assistant, when in fact twelve engineers were apparently needed.²⁸ At that point it was only the special pleading of Robertson which induced Ellenborough to allow at least £20,000 to be spent on the project annually. This was only one third of the amount sanctioned by the Court.²⁹

The replacement of Robertson by Clerk in 1843 resulted only in adding yet another voice to the lobby for the vigorous prosecution of

²⁶Ellenborough to Prinsep, 24 April 1842. Ibid. This concerned calling Mansel to Allahabad to look at finance.

²⁷Ellenborough to Prinsep, 23 June 1842 (E - 30/7). Ellenborough gladly took up suggestions for reductions from Auckland. The latter's 'civil list' looked disproportionate beside Bentinck's of an earlier day. Quoted from Muir, 499.

²⁸Baird Smith, 153; Ellenborough Memo, about 28 August 1843 (E - 93).

²⁹Muir, 499. Robertson to Ellenborough, 14 and 20 August, and 16 September 1842 (E - 67). One lac amounted to 100,000 rupees or £10,000.

the survey and the construction of the canal. Clerk did everything in his power to support Cautley. He commented as he was leaving India that "the importance of the work, whether for navigation or irrigation is immense, and as a human means to mitigate the lamentable effects of drought . . ., we owe it to our people to push on this work with vigour". Thus Clerk joined a series of eminent administrators - Metcalfe, Auckland, and Robertson - who, for humanitarian and revenue reasons, called for works of irrigation.³⁰

As noted elsewhere, Ellenborough had more than the Ganges Canal to worry about. Taken up with costly military and political affairs in Sind, Gwalior, and Afghanistan, it was hardly surprising that he would bring the work to a halt. But Ellenborough also came to espouse the cause of those who had nagging doubts about the practicability of the Ganges line as well as the danger of disease. Anxious as he was about surplus revenue, he insisted on guarantees that the canal would ultimately serve navigation needs on the one hand, and not become a breeder of germs on the other. Navigation and sanitation, his two prime considerations, combined to delay action on the project after his departure, except for the continuation of Cautley's survey, with his skeleton staff, to Allahabad.³¹

On 23 August 1843, when some of his political affairs were settled, Ellenborough urged that an "early decision" be reached on the canal. Writing to Thomason, his foreign secretary, he said:

³⁰ Clerk's Minute, 4 December 1843, see NWPGP, Volume 60.

³¹ This was completed, so to speak, when Cautley went on furlough in 1844. Smith, 153.

The first question which arises is whether it should be a Canal of Navigation or one of Irrigation only. It should be in the first instance of Navigation, and all the water not required for that purpose may be distributed for the purpose of Irrigation.

But there are no probable benefits to be derived from the Canal as one of Irrigation only, which would justify the increasing of the risk of putting an end to the Ganges as a navigable river above Allahabad. . . .

The substitution of a navigable canal for the Ganges above Allahabad would in itself be a great object, but it is still desirable to know what quantity of water would be disposable for the purpose of irrigation after the demands for the purpose of navigation had been amply provided for.

Unconvinced as he was by the findings and arguments of the engineers - Cautley, Baker, and Abbott - Ellenborough not only questioned their calculations regarding an adequate water supply for navigation under their order of priorities, but also the soundness of the projected Solani aqueduct. Above all, he seemed to fear the "probable effects of the Canal upon the health of the inhabitants of the country through which it would pass". Once these questions were satisfactorily answered, he assured Thomason, "the Government might proceed to allot a much larger annual sum to the works projected".³²

According to Muir, however, Ellenborough, in appointing Thomason to the highest offices, had effectively neutralized his own views, for Thomason would not shrink from exposing their fallacy. But Muir failed to emphasize that this was possible only after the Governor-General's recall.³³ Nevertheless, in taking up his representation of the canal interest in earnest, Thomason eventually persuaded Government to remove

³²Ellenborough's Note to Thomason, 23 August 1843 (E - 105).

³³Muir, 497-9; Temple, 165. Ellenborough was recalled, as is commonly known, because the Court found him unmanageable on a number of issues. See H. H. Dodwell, Cambridge History of India (Delhi, 1964) 13-4. Cf. Ellenborough letter to Ripon, 4 July 1844 (E - 25/10).

the restrictions. He began by admitting, in response to Ellenborough's note, that there had been conflicting reports about the amount of water available for irrigation and navigation, but only until Baker and Abbott had joined Cautley in a thorough investigation.³⁴ Having satisfied himself with the findings of the commission, Thomason pleaded for an adequate survey crew to expedite the project on the grounds that Cautley was ill and wished to complete the survey before leaving India. Ellenborough came back vigorously:

I have read your Memo relative to the proposed Doab Canal. It is necessary to know the direction, width and depth of the Canal of navigation. To establish that must be the first object, and it should be of ample size to carry the whole future trade of a great and I hope improving country. It must not be slurred over as a condition extorted from the patrons of irrigation and to be nominally not executed.

The application of the surplus water to the purposes of irrigation must be considered the secondary, not the primary object.

I cannot divest my mind of the fear of unhealthiness to be engendered . . . and I doubt how far we are justified in affecting the health of a people for the purpose of increasing the produce of the soil, and improving the revenue.

Then he returned to the subject of navigation:

The whole plan for a Canal of Navigation must be different from that of a Canal of Irrigation. The latter must be above the general level of the land. The former may be much below it. The former may drain the whole country - the latter makes a swamp of it. It matters little what the level of a Canal of Navigation, ending at Allahabad, is, for there in any case vessels coming up the River with Cargoes must generally discharge them for shipment into boats drawing less water.

Believe me, my dear Thomason.³⁵

³⁴This is from an unsigned and undated memo attached to Ellenborough's of the 23 August 1843. Although not in his handwriting, it is presumably by Thomason, because Ellenborough responded to this note on 2 October, as below. There had been much discussion about a "still-water" canal from Kanpur to Allahabad rather than a "flow-water" canal, which would be more expensive.

³⁵Ellenborough to Thomason, 2 October 1843 (E - 105). Emphasis mine.

Thomason was not to be put off by these arguments on behalf of trade and health considerations. He took courage and replied to this letter in the most forceful terms. After repeating his plea for an adequate engineering staff to complete the survey, Thomason maintained that he had never lost sight of the advantages of achieving both an irrigation and navigation canal. "The expediency of making the canal navigable as well as for irrigation" he wrote, "is what I have myself most strongly advocated from the first. . . ." Then he added this warning about the conflicting aspects of Ellenborough's position:

I shall be happy if it is laid down in the strongest possible terms that navigation is to be the primary object, and assure your Lordship that as far as in me lies I will honestly and zealously carry out this instruction. I only trust that no other party will turn round upon its advocacy and, because the expense may be somewhat heavier, and the return directly from water-rent less in proportion to the expenditure, therefore pronounce the undertaking a failure.

Admitting that the sanitary question was difficult, Thomason added:

If a reference to the healthiness of the country near Saharanpur of the [Eastern Jumna Canal] is not considered sufficient - it can only be said that we have to balance the possible contingency of fever against the experienced calamity of famine. The latter has slain its thousands, with no compensating boon; if the former does call for some victims, we may console ourselves with a redundant population in abounding wealth. In the very country where the effects of the canal are considered most noxious, population and wealth rapidly increase. The economist can scarcely hesitate to introduce a new population, or guarantee the present one from starvation lest some of them should die from fever.³⁶

In this fashion Thomason balanced Indian fatalism and his ideal of a

³⁶ Thomason to Ellenborough, 3 October 1843, *Ibid.* This was a week after Ellenborough had decided to give Thomason the Agra lieutenancy. Muir and Temple considered this a masterpiece of argumentation which Ellenborough had either to accept or reject to his own detriment.

healthy arcadian economy against Ellenborough's plea for a canal of navigation whose economic value above Allahabad was in doubt, especially if irrigation were not also guaranteed.

The Thomason-Allenborough exchanges over the canal continued after the Governor-General had imposed a new treaty on Gwalior.³⁷ On 10 January 1844 Thomason returned to the question of the survey: "Captain Cautley is vigorously prosecuting his survey down the Doab towards Allahabad. He will be much pressed to complete his survey before the close of the present season. If an engineering officer or two could be spared to assist him, his survey would be more complete and satisfactory".³⁸ Thomason added he would have a complete statement prepared for Allenborough shortly.

The latter replied, with some brusqueness, a few days later: "I can very ill spare the officer (of the 12th Native Infantry) to aid Captain Cautley, however you shall have him". Then he returned to his navigation theme:

Do pray remember, I will have no canal built which is not primarily [one] of navigation. I cannot sacrifice the navigation of the Ganges to the Revenues and I assure you I now fear that the navigation between Allahabad and Benares will be seriously affected by taking away much water above for irrigation. I believe the Jumna is now very much lower than it used to be and the navigation is already as you know very precarious and difficult.³⁹

One altercation followed another, on the same theme. Ellenborough, for

³⁷ See R. C. Majumdar, British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance (Part I) 222ff. Thomason of course took residence at Agra on 12 December 1843, when Ellenborough was in the general area in order to be close to Gwalior.

³⁸ Thomason to Ellenborough, 10 January 1844 (E - 59).

³⁹ Ellenborough to Thomason, 19 January (E - 105).

example, went so far as to insist in the very next month that the Court's sanction of September 1841 had expressly called for navigation and only secondarily for irrigation.⁴⁰

By 11 April 1844, only four months after taking office at Agra, Thomason had ready a comprehensive statement on the subject of Cautley's project. He had gone north to Saharanpur, Rurki, and Hardwar to see for himself. Undoubtedly this was the first of many tours, as a result of which he was able to write effectively and authoritatively on the subject, not only of irrigation, but also of education and revenue collection. Thomason began by criticizing Ellenborough's policy of restricting the engineering staff. Could this policy be justified on any grounds, whether of "sound policy, of economy or of humanity"? Thomason claimed, moreover, that he had discovered a new political reason for carrying the project through. He said that the fame of the proposed irrigation canal had spread among the people of upper Meerut to the extent that the reputation of the government was pledged to its successful completion.⁴¹

Thomason's visit coincided with the great Hardwar fair. He was impressed with the considerable interest aroused in the predominantly Hindu population. It appeared to Thomason that the religious apprehensions arising from Cautley's project had been removed by his assurances that this favourite place of pilgrimage - where the sacred waters issued from the Himalayas - would be improved as a result of the proposed construction. Moreover, if orthodox Hindus were alarmed by this invasion of technology,

⁴⁰Muir, 499.

⁴¹Ibid., 499-500.

they tolerated it because of the irrigation that it promised. On the other hand, irrigation canals were not bound to disturb them to the same extent as the railway or telegraph, as canals had been with them since Mughal times. In 1854, at the opening of the Canal, the Friend of India observed that "the most fanatical devotees" of the sacred Ganges showed no signs of hostility, and eventually ran before the stream of water as it discharged. The great impulse was "to bathe at once in the hallowed waters", in spite of the intervention of European science and English skill.⁴²

Thomason also argued that the Government was pledged to proceed, not only for political, but for humanitarian reasons. At the present pace the canal would not be built in thirty years. During such a long period, it was feared, more than one drought would devastate the area. From this it was not difficult to turn to economic arguments. When these inevitable droughts came, to be followed by famines, what would happen to the "Revenues"? And had Ellenborough considered that the two lacs he had assigned to the project were no more than the water-rents on the Jumna canals, which together were much smaller than the scale of the new project?⁴³

As a result of such prodding, the Governor-General who, as Muir wrote somewhat acidly, "could lavish his thousands upon the Somnath gates, and the 'favourite sweetmeats' of the sepoy" merely granted "the

⁴²Cf. Thomason letter to the Court (about December 1845) quoted in Muir, 500, and Baird Smith, 155; FI, 20 April 1854.

⁴³The reader should not entertain the idea that Thomason was in any way indifferent, for on 21 May 1844 he also wrote the Military Board that, should any substantial engineering errors be made, the failure of the waters due to such could cause artificial famine. Muir, Ibid.

petty subsidy of ONE lac more for one year!" Moreover, he remained adamant on the point of navigation. His secretary wrote to Thornton, Thomason's secretary, to bring to Cautley's attention - presumably since Thomason also appeared firm in his position - that there was to be no risk to navigation "for any prospective increase in Revenue which might be desirable from a canal . . . of irrigation. . . ." ⁴⁴

Ellenborough's strictures on the Ganges project only added one more cause for the widespread dislike in which he was held by civilians and military alike. Baird Smith, writing only five years after Ellenborough's recall, voiced the widely-held view that, with his coming, a "dreary and distasteful chapter" in the history of the canal had commenced. "It is not our intention to withdraw the veil that now conceals the details from public view", he added; "we will best consult the feelings of those interested, by consigning the particulars of Lord Ellenborough's proceedings to that oblivion, which best befits them." ⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Smith claimed that the Governor-General's position on the canal opposed the views of everyone "who knew anything either of the true necessities of the country, or of the nature of the works projected". To have implemented Ellenborough's plan - which both Cautley and Thomason admitted was viable from an engineering viewpoint - would have sacrificed

⁴⁴ Muir quoted Ellenborough's Minute to the Government of the NWP, dated 23 April 1844, NWPGP. Muir's criticism was indicative of the deeply-rooted antipathy in which Ellenborough was held.

The Somnath gates incident refers to Ellenborough's grandiloquent attempt to avenge 'the insult of 800 years' by restoring them to Somnath from Afghanistan to which they had been removed in 1025 A. D.. There was only one problem. The gates brought back were not the right ones, hence the ridicule, see R. C. Majumdar, 198.

⁴⁵ Baird Smith, 152.

the best of the original plan which was designed to benefit the agricultural interest. It was Smith's argument that a canal on Ellenborough's terms would merely provide, in that railway epoch, "a second-rate means of transport to its commerce".⁴⁶

In spite of extended delays to the project under Hardinge, his presence in India allayed much of the apprehension in which Thomason, the engineers, and other supporters of the canal had been kept under his predecessor. Muir mixed sarcasm and hyperbole when he commented that Thomason's "masterly State paper" of 11 April now received "worthier treatment from more discriminating hands" and that, after the Sikh campaign of 1845-46, Hardinge "nobly compensated for all the inaction, illiberality, and error that had preceded".⁴⁷

Under Hardinge the project was delayed by war, the dearth of engineers, and the question of sanitation. When Hardinge took up arms against the Sikhs in 1845, and most of the engineering personnel in the NWP was drawn away, Hardinge commented on the situation in one of the few private references to the canal. About to visit Hardwar in early March 1847, he wrote: "I am now as eager about aqueducts, as bombs and shelters, etc., a year ago." He appeared genuinely sorry that the war had interrupted a grand and beneficent project already underway. He hoped that a canal, when completed, would mitigate, if not altogether prevent, a

⁴⁶ Ibid., 153. Smith was thinking in English terms. In India no railway was opened before 1853, and then only between Bombay and Thana. Six years later there were only 432 miles of rail. After that there was rapid expansion, T. B. Desai, Economic History of India (Bombay, 1968), 154; Kaye, Administration, 313ff.

⁴⁷ Muir, 501.

famine brought on by drought.⁴⁸

Hardinge's attitude toward the engineers also appeared more favourable than Ellenborough's and resembled that of Auckland's earlier. In November 1846 Hardinge despatched an urgent request for twelve qualified engineers "in order that [the Ganges canal] works, so conducive to the prosperity of the Country may advance with as much expedition as is consistent with good workmanship and economy." Having observed the work of Frederick Abbott and Robert Napier in Sikh country, he came to the conviction that Addiscombe-trained military engineers were more than adequate for the civil engineering needs of India.⁴⁹ Given this kind of co-operation, it was no wonder that Hardinge's administration provided a welcome change for the Services.

Hardinge's stand on the sanitation question was formed by his view of the relative merits of canals and railways. In a letter dated March 1845 he expressed hope of obtaining "four or five million sterling" for a railway because canals, he thought, "are out of favour - they produce so much malaria on their banks, that they neutralize the benefits of free transport and cheap irrigation".⁵⁰ Partly because Ellenborough had placed the health issue prominently before the Services and the Court, Hardinge felt he had no choice but to appoint another committee to make this the subject of investigation. Appointed were Baker, who had re-

⁴⁸Hardinge to Lady James, wife of Walter James, a frequent correspondent, 5 March 1847, Hardinge Papers. He referred of course to the Satlaj campaign portrayed so graphically by Cust in his Journals.

⁴⁹Hardinge Memo, about 4 November 1846, Military Papers of Hardinge. He also requested six engineers for the Punjab.

⁵⁰Hardinge to Walter James, 21 March 1845. Hardinge Papers.

placed Cautley on the Ganges project while the latter was on furlough (1845-48), and a Dr. Dempster of the Horse Artillery. This "medical" committee, unfortunately, had hardly begun its investigation in November 1845 when they were summoned to aid the Army on the Satlaj. They resumed the study about a year later and submitted their report to Hardinge at Rurki in March 1847.⁵¹

In effect, Baker and Dempster stated that they could not accept the argument - taken up by Ellenborough - that because disease factors appeared in certain areas on existing canals taking water from the Jumna, that the same results would flow from the Ganges. They were aware of variations in soil as these affected drainage. Nevertheless they acknowledged the need for adequate supervision, particularly of private channels.⁵²

Having inspected the works and having been convinced by the report of the medical committee, Hardinge appeared pleased to recommend to the Court that the whole project be taken up with vigour. To his family he wrote: "I have for the last twenty months had doctors visiting Canals to inspect on the malaria and disease which they are said to engender - the report is now before me . . . but on a comparison of blessing and of evils, the balance is immensely in favour of securing food for the people." In line with this view, which corresponded to that of both Auckland and Thomason, he definitely abandoned navigation, except as a "subsidiary object", and enunciated the principle "that irrigation was

⁵¹Smith, 153.

⁵²See Smith, 176-181, where he discussed the hazards and preventive measures known in 1849.

a grand design before which everything must bend". Above all, he wanted to construct something, as he said, "expressive of our character, for hitherto we have done very little for the people - and our constant [pre-occupation] wherever we establish ourselves is a Barrack and a gaol."⁵³

Hardinge arrived at this position, so different from Ellenborough's, after receiving the report of Cautley's completed survey. It had offered three alternative projects, each of which was designed to maximize irrigation for the benefit of agriculture. When faced with the financial estimates, Hardinge had no alternative but to suggest that a budget of about twenty lacs annually would be required. As for himself, he seemed prepared to authorize 'as large a sum for future years as the director [Cautley] could expend with due regard for economy'. In spite of the considerable outlay required, the Court sanctioned the project under the revised estimates on 7 July 1847. Baird Smith wrote: "Twelve years after the first line of levels for the project had been taken, the Ganges canal may be said to be fairly in progress, on a scale commensurate with its importance and on a plan, which its projectors advocated from the first and, amidst all opposing influences, never ceased to advocate."⁵⁴

⁵³Hardinge to Lady James, 5 March and to Walter James, 15 March 1847, from his camp at Hardwar. He calculated that a canal might indeed cost a million, but the army estimates were that high, as well as a famine. Kaye compared the costs of public works and those of warfare and found the ratio about 1 to 5. See his *Administration*, 275ff.

G. C. Ghose of the *Hindoo Patriot* on 4 May 1854 blamed the English for spending millions on war while the former magnificent civilization was permitted to crumble. The Ganges canal was their only great achievement, and the glory was not Hardinge's. See M. Ghosh, ed., 148-9.

⁵⁴Smith, 153-4, and Hardinge's Minute of 20 April 1847, quoted in Muir, 501, and italicized as here. The sum recommended by Baker was

These references to Cautley and his concern to construct a canal of irrigation to benefit the agricultural classes merit further attention at this point. While it appears undesirable to become involved in detailing the engineering argument in 1864 between Cautley and his chief critic, Arthur Cotton, an Addiscombian classmate of '19,⁵⁵ it may be helpful to indicate from that dispute to what degree Cautley and Thomason concurred in this view. Writing in reply to Cotton's strictures against the Canal, as completed, Cautley referred to the original and continuing aim as one of irrigation:

Originating in the famine [of 1837-38], and under the auspices of Mr. Thomason, a Lieutenant-Governor whose views were entirely devoted to land revenue and whose every thought was in making a Canal for irrigation, not only to produce plenty in the districts through which they passed, but to be accessories to railroads in furnishing the means of distributing plenty elsewhere; navigation was a secondary object entirely.

In fact it is doubtful, how far irrigation and navigation can be carried on conjointly without one clashing with the interest of the other.

Thus Cautley gave Thomason credit for aiding his efforts, both in his Report of 1854, first published in 1860, and his Disquisition of 1864.⁵⁶

two million rupees or £200,000. According to Muir, Thomason kept running accounts of the mounting expenditure. By 2 June 1852 the Court had authorized over 1½ million sterling for the Canal. See Thornton to Elliot (Dalhousie's foreign secretary), 3 July 1851, in Thomason Despatches: Selections from the Records of the Government, NWP (Calcutta, 1858), II, 133-44. (Hereafter Despatches).

⁵⁵Arthur Thomas Cotton, 1803-99, joined the Madras Engineers and became Cautley's engineering counterpart in the South. He became an unbending advocate of canals of navigation in preference to railways. He was knighted in 1861 and made K.C.S.I. in 1866.

⁵⁶See the end of the chapter for another reference to the dispute. For the quotation used here see The Ganges Canal, A Disquisition on the Heads of the Ganges and Jumna Canals, NWP, In Reply to Strictures by Sir Arthur Cotton (Private Circulation, 1864), 49.

When one considers all the witnesses to Thomason's solid support for this large-scale project, it comes as a total surprise to read Charles Stewart Hardinge's account of the Ganges canal. Writing in 1891, the young Hardinge, who acted as A.D.C. to his father, stated entirely erroneously that Thomason, during the years of Cautley's absence, had opposed the plan. The young Hardinge strongly suggested that it was his father's firmness alone, in the matter of the malaria danger, which had decided the issue. It must be stated firmly that this imputation of opposition from Thomason appears contrary to all other facts on this question presently known to the writer. For Muir, writing only seven years after the events referred to, stated that Lord Hardinge "thoroughly entered into all Mr. Thomason's sentiments" and then penned his Minute of 20 April 1847.⁵⁷

While there is no evidence that Thomason thought of developing a training school for engineering assistants before 1843, the accounts leave little doubt that the staff restrictions Ellenborough had placed on Cautley helped in the evolution of the idea. Temple suggested in 1850 that "the germ of the Rurki college" presumably lay in George Clerk's Minute of 8 August 1843, in which he wrote of "civil engineering" as a "department of science" which is daily rising in practical value. He thought that the young civil engineer might help landowners in well-digging and draining swamps.⁵⁸ Forty-three years later Temple did not

⁵⁷C. S. Hardinge, Viscount Hardinge (1891), 163-4; Muir 501. One may conjecture that Hardinge confused Thomason with a promoter of canals of navigation. Curiously enough, there is no criticism of Hardinge's statement in Temple's biography of 1893.

⁵⁸Temple, "Village Schools", 182-3. See Chapter Five, reference # 43.

return to this suggestion. In fact, he wrote then: "If providence had not made [Thomason] a Governor, he might have been a great civil engineer."⁵⁹ According to Temple, Thomason was original in this area to an unusual degree. And Thornton wrote in 1845 that Thomason had "long been anxious" to raise up a corps of engineering assistants.⁶⁰

The site for the future institution was determined to some extent by an action Cautley took in 1843. He chose Rurki as the headquarters of the entire project, moving warehouses and workshops there. He appealed to Thomason for a large number of well-educated and "skilful artificers". Not only would they be useful in themselves, but would, in effect, compose "a school for the supply of efficient workmen to the whole line of the canal". What he appeared to have in mind was an in-service training programme for engineers' helpers.⁶¹ Perhaps this is what Clerk had reference to in August 1843.

Thomason undoubtedly had some of these suggestions in his mind when he planned a curriculum for a new appointment in civil engineering at Agra College.⁶² On a visit a short time later to Baird Smith at Saharanpur, not far from Rurki, Thomason formulated a plan whereby lallas on the Eastern Jumna Canal and students from the Agra College might receive training under Smith's guidance by assisting in surveying, cartography,

⁵⁹ Temple, Thomason, 162-3.

⁶⁰ Thornton to Military Board, 17 January 1845, Despatches, 383.

⁶¹ Cautley to Thomason, 4 October 1843, in Muir, 502.

⁶² Thornton to Local Committee of Public Instruction, Agra, 9 September 1844, NWPGP, Vol. 64.

and estimates.⁶³ "All these are operations", Thornton wrote the Military Board, "for which the native mind is well adapted, whilst it would greatly facilitate the labours of European Officers to be able to throw off upon their native subordinates much of this work" Thornton animated on the opportunities that would multiply for such assistants, or "Sub-Assistant Surveyors". He hoped to encourage indigenous contributions to those engineering undertakings "on which the wealth of the country, the revenues of the Government, and the lives of the people are dependent. . . ." He requested that the Military Board work out a scale of remuneration for such engineering assistants, as well as suggestions for academic standards. He hinted that once the Military Board had resolved these points, Thomason would find "the machinery for giving instruction" to such students, as well as employment opportunities. To illustrate, on 31 March 1845 Thomason granted permission for a young student from Delhi to join Smith at Saharanpur at fifty rupees monthly on the condition that he return after a year for further theoretical training. Another was to join Smith from Agra. By mid-July 1847 this piecemeal approach had given way to the formation of a board to examine applicants for sub-assistantships. Those deficient in various skills were required to undergo further training.⁶⁴ By 1847 the location had been changed from Saharanpur, however, to Rurki, where W. E. Baker was in charge, in Cautley's absence.

⁶³A lalla was a native clerk who kept records in the vernacular. Hobson-Jobson. On the Jumna they were paid in part by the government, in part by the zamindar whose water-courses they supervised.

⁶⁴Thornton to Military Board, 17 January 1845, Despatches, 383; see 31 March 1845, NWPGP, Vol. 67, and 19 July 1847, Ibid., Vol. 76.

Encouraged by Hardinge's vigorous support, Thomason perceived how the magnificent undertaking might provide a "nursery of such an engineering body as he longed to raise up from amongst the indigenous materials of the country." Not waiting for a tardy Military Board⁶⁵ to act on his request of January 1845, Thomason sought permission from the Hardinge Government to establish at Rurki "an institution for the education of Civil Engineers, which would be immediately under the direction of the Local Government in the Education Department".⁶⁶

As soon as Thomason found formal support, he lost no time in opening the school. R. E. Maclagan (A - '39)⁶⁷ was appointed principal on 19 October 1847 before the formal opening on 1 January 1848. Thus before Hardinge left for England, the Ganges Canal as well as the civil engineering college were fairly launched. In the first of these Thomason had played a persuasive role; in the matter of the engineering college, an originating one. The further sophistication of Rurki in association with his educational policy for village schools may be left to a later discussion.

Dalhousie's annexation of the Punjab briefly posed a threat to

⁶⁵Thomason's Despatch of 10 September 1847, PP, LXXIV (1852-53). Item # 407. See Muir, 502.

⁶⁶From an extract of Thomason's Despatch to the Government of India, 23 September 1847, in Richey, 357-8. Thomason had a ten-point rationale for his request. Civil engineers were needed in the land survey, irrigation, water power, navigation, railway lines, architecture, as well as specifically on the Ganges.

⁶⁷See "The Account of the College of Civil Engineers at Roorkee (Rurki)", 29 August 1851, in Despatches, 299-332; and E. W. C. Sandes, The Military Engineers in India (1935), II, 347-368.

construction on the Ganges project. Public works in that new acquisition could not help but stand high on a list of priorities. For when demands on the available engineers in the Punjab became excessive, Robert Napier requested qualified assistants from Thomason's jurisdiction. Thomason in effect denied the request, arguing that the Ganges must have priority and that Napier would have to get along with his limited staff of Addiscombe-trained engineers and Indian helpers.⁶⁸ Dalhousie replied sharply at that point. While he agreed that the Provinces were "most important, they are not more so, either financially or politically than those in the Punjab. Some help I therefore look for, and as I have obtained for your Canal everything that was practicable, I cannot consider myself unreasonable in requiring aid in my turn."⁶⁹ To Henry Lawrence, however, a month later, Dalhousie wrote that Napier's request for the transfer of engineering officers had "disturbed" Thomason. Because he wished to avoid "creating unpleasant

⁶⁸ Thomason to Dalhousie, 7 July 1849 (D - 453). Thomason told Dalhousie (both were at Simla) that Napier needed to get his accounts in order and leave clerking jobs to trained assistants such as would come out of Rurki. Dalhousie had complained about Napier's accounts.

Robert Cornelis Napier (1810-90) is not to be confused with Charles Napier, who was Commander-in-Chief from May 1849 to December 1850. R. C. Napier attended Addiscombe 1825-6, then joined the Bengal Engineers. After a stint on the Eastern Jumna Canal from 1831 he studied engineering in Europe, 1836-39. From that time he served mainly in the Punjab until 1856. There he became attached to Henry Lawrence and is identified popularly with the school of Henry. See the references to Mark Naidis and R. Bosworth Smith. Known as a suppressor of the Mutiny, he eventually became military member of the Viceroy's Council (1861-65). In 1868 he was made a peer, Lord Napier of Magdala (his London statue is near the Queen's Gate to Kensington Gardens); in 1883, Field Marshal. DIB. See also Thackeray, 191-213.

⁶⁹ Dalhousie to Thomason, 10 July 1849 (D - 78).

feelings and unsettling officers' minds", Dalhousie suggested that Napier and Lawrence have patience in the matter. "I should consider it unfair and unhandsome" to make such a transfer at the expense of the Canal operations in the Provinces.⁷⁰

This issue once more brought up the problem of obtaining engineers. Dalhousie said that they were as scarce as "freshly-descended angels".⁷¹ As a result of discussions between Thomason and Dalhousie at Simla in August 1851, the former prepared a plan whereby Rurki might be expanded to meet the critical shortage of engineers and trained assistants. When completed, Thomason's 'prospectus' comprised a history, a statement of purpose, a proposed curriculum, an admissions policy, and a fairly adequate rationale. This was prefaced by a letter in which Thornton stated:

There is every wish to avoid overstraining the advantages to be derived from such an institution, or under-rating the expense which it must entail to render it really efficient. Meanwhile every inducement to perseverance in maturing the project is derived from the constant applications which are made, from all parts of British India, for information as to the mode of instruction pursued in the College, for the publications which already have commenced to issue from its press, and for the services of men who have been trained within its walls.⁷²

Here in Thomasonian fashion was the maturation of another policy which

⁷⁰ Napier was relieved of all his duties connected with military works in order to bring his civil engineering projects into an efficient state. See Dalhousie to Thomason, 10 July (D - 78); to H. Lawrence, 11 July (D - 97); his secretary to Napier, 23 October 1849 (D - 11). Cf. Dalhousie's Minute of 20 September (D - 21) and 17 December (HM - 760), 217-355 on the question of his wholehearted support for the Canal.

⁷¹ Dalhousie to Thomason, 11 December 1849 (D - 78).

⁷² Thornton to Elliot in Calcutta, 29 August 1851. Despatches, 147-9.

attracted wide attention, formed the model or pilot project for others to follow, and which had immediate utility for the engineering projects underway.

Moreover, included in the plan were the village schools in and around Rurki, from which Thomason hoped to draw youthful aspirants into the engineering profession, even if at subordinate levels. This plan and the education resolution of February 1850 coincided at this point.⁷³

Motivated by his desire to improve the "social condition" of the people of the Northern Doab, Thomason had the temerity to recommend to Dalhousie and the Court that, apart from the outlay for construction, approximately £9,000 should be earmarked annually for Rurki's administration and staffing costs.⁷⁴ Not only did he want adequate buildings for his engineering establishment, he desired qualified personnel to teach the courses required by the three departments of the College. Moreover, his project, ambitious as it was, included a laboratory of scientific instrumentation, a "museum of economic geology", a publishing house and press for the preparation and printing of scientific materials, and an observatory.⁷⁵

Dalhousie, like Hardinge before him, visited the Ganges works at Hardwar and also Rurki. He commented privately to Thomason: "Rurki

⁷³ Despatches, 299-332; see Chapter Five, reference # 79.

⁷⁴ This was a small amount compared with the land revenue income from the NWP and the Punjab in 1849-50, which amounted to about £7.5 million, Ibid., 325-28.

⁷⁵ Ibid. By a museum of economic geology Thomason intended a complete display of building materials available among the mineral resources of the country; by observatory he meant one for astronomy and meteorology..

and the Canal transcended all I have heard or looked for. The practical benefits which will result from Canal and College will be enormous and both, I truly believe, will exercise a very wholesome influence on the prospects of this Empire and on our national reputation."⁷⁶

Encouraged by Dalhousie's support, Thomason in that year acquired an ample site of fertile land at Rurki and began the construction of a new building to house the expanded college. For by 1851 the "little bungalow" in which Principal MacLagan met his first students in late 1847 had proved inadequate. Three years later the building - in the "Renaissance style" and facing the Himalayas and the Solani aqueduct - was well underway. After Thomason, its founder, died, it was fitting to name the school the Thomason College of Civil engineering. Its subsequent history has been told by E. W. C. Sandes in The Military Engineers of India.⁷⁷

From the beginning there were three departments in MacLagan's establishment, the first designed to prepare, as noted, sub-assistant engineers drawn from government colleges; the second, European overseers taken from the military ranks in India, that is, non-commissioned officers and soldiers; the third, engineer's helpers in surveying, levelling and draughting, drawn from the indigenous vernacular schools. Subjects in the first department included mathematics, materials, construction, hydraulics, mechanics, surveying and geology, and the students were required to have a knowledge of English. Subjects in the other two were scaled down to levels appropriate for the students enrolled. From the

⁷⁶Dalhousie to Thomason, 23 December 1851 (D - 81). Dalhousie permitted construction to proceed apace, as the money was pledged by Hardinge and the Court.

⁷⁷Sandes, Chapter 18, 359-60. The buildings were completed in 1856.

outset the college expected to graduate annually four sub-assistant engineers, fifteen assistant (European) overseers, and twenty-two junior and senior (Indian) surveyors, although a commission report dated 21 December 1850 recommended that these numbers be substantially increased. As to staff, Thomason envisaged a principal, two other masters, eight scholars and about fifty assistants, costing about £4,000.⁷⁸

A significant aspect of the expansion at Rurki was the introduction of a class for officers of the Company's armies. Thomason hoped to enroll men who were "well-informed and highly-educated", and who had "a taste and capacity for Civil Engineering". Here he followed a suggestion from Charles Napier, who was then Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. This course was intended to resemble the senior department in the Royal Military College at Sandhurst where many Addiscombiants went before they were commissioned for service in India.⁷⁹

The most striking aspect of Thomason's policy, however, was his aim to raise "a cheap and effective subordinate [engineering] agency". He saw an opportunity to use the village schools within a radius of forty or fifty miles around Rurki as feeders for the engineering school, particularly in the third department. As indicated, Thomason had discerned, especially in that geographical area, a "spirit of industry and enterprise" in the people which had not existed before. He hoped to stimu-

⁷⁸From Public Works Papers, Bengal and Madras, PP, LXXIV (1852-53), 24 and 252-55, respectively; also Despatches, 299-332.

⁷⁹Ibid., 318-19. For a comment on Charles Napier's favourable view of Thomason, see Chapter Three, reference # 62.

late this spirit "and give it a right direction". He explained it thus:

The pupils in the third department of the College, who study science through the medium of the vernacular languages are drawn from the class of people, whose condition it is intended by this measure to improve. In fact, it was from observing that several of the native students came from villages in the neighbourhood, that the idea of this scheme of operations arose.⁸⁰

Naturally, as indicated earlier, Thomason had no intention of preventing Indian boys from other areas taking advantage of the opportunity for upward mobility into this one professional area. Youth from the model schools established elsewhere would be eligible to apply, particularly if they had also been successful in one of the colleges. Thomason argued, in any case, that since the interest of the rulers and the ruled were identical, he felt obligated to aid the sons of the agricultural classes to qualify themselves for professional employment designed to serve the agricultural interest of the Doab. No where else, he felt, was this common interest as crucial as in his Provinces, where the prosperity of the people depended on the soil and the well-being of the government on the annual land revenue, which made up about eighty percent of the total income of the government.⁸¹

Thomason was convinced that incorporating village schools as well as H. S. Reid's inspection system on the pattern of the model schools

⁸⁰Ibid., 320. William Muir on a speaking tour as Lieutenant-Governor in 1872 noted, however, that Thomason's expectations had not been realized in spite of the availability of six scholarships, Muir, ed., Speeches, 46. By 1924 nearly all the students of the Thomason College were Indians, the last "batch" of non-commissioned officers leaving the school in that year, Sandes, 364.

⁸¹Despatches, 329.

into the total concept of Rurki could not help but improve the people industrially and socially. He concluded:

Whether we look to the improvement of the moral and social condition of the people, or to the material interests of the country, and whether we regard the disbursement in its relations to the value of the property, which is to improved, or to the extent of the operations which are now actually in progress, or which in all probability will shortly be undertaken, there are ample grounds to warrant the proposed expenditure of about £9,000 per annum upon the College for Civil Engineers at Roorkee [Rurki].⁸²

In this way Thomason interrelated the education of the mind with the irrigation of the soil. He appeared as concerned about the improvement of the social and material condition of the people as he was privately about their eternal destiny.

It was not unusual that the subject of Rurki's meeting the requirements of the public works' demand in India should come before parliamentary committees in 1853. Thomas Love Peacock, an examiner of correspondence in the India Office, stated that Rurki, still in its infancy, promised to meet the demands for increased numbers of engineering assistants to the Addiscombe corps of engineers.⁸³ He inferred that Thomason's development of Rurki was hampered in part, because public works came under the jurisdiction of the Military Board.⁸⁴ Nevertheless,

⁸²Ibid., 331-2.

⁸³For a review of Addiscombe, see the testimonies of F. Abbott and W. Cotton, 28 February and 2 May 1853, in PP, XXVII (1852-53). Meanwhile the engineering institution at Cooper's Hill was under construction. But Muir, at Rurki in 1872, assured that College that its staff had nothing to fear from Cooper's Hill. Both institutions were needed. Muir, Speeches, 45.

⁸⁴Dalhousie in 1854 brought public works under a new department of Public Works, Majumdar, 386. The Hindoo Patriot on 4 May 1854 held the defunct Military Board responsible for British India's paltry accomplishments in public works. See reference # 53.

Thomason hoped to develop engineering talent both in the Army and among the indigenous peoples. Peacock saw Thomason as having significantly integrated the Doab's irrigation requirements with the Indian need or desire to rise in the scale of opportunities. He also remarked that Thomason had aroused strong interest in the other presidencies in developing potential engineering resources.⁸⁵

Meanwhile Thomason had passed away at Bareilly, a chief city in Rohilkhand, about 150 miles from Agra. He had gone there to visit his daughter Maynie, who had married the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Hay.⁸⁶ When Dalhousie learned of Thomason's death, he naturally wished to honour Thomason's contribution to the Canal in some suitable way. Eventually of course the College was named after Thomason. More immediately Dalhousie recommended that a Thomason scholarship or prize be offered to candidates entering Rurki. Convinced that Thomason's "unpretending modesty" would have rejected a monument, the Governor-General felt that the scholarship would be more fitting as the College was "peculiarly his own creation and justly his pride". Dalhousie wanted a memorial associated, as he said, "with some of those schemes for the instruction of youth" which occupied so much of Thomason's thought.⁸⁷

It remains to indicate briefly how the superintendent of what

⁸⁵Peacock, 11 July 1853, PP, XXVIII (1852-53), 59. The commissioners of public works in Madras reported they had not hesitated to adopt Thomason's system as outlined in August 1851 as a "commencement, leaving it to time and experience to suggest amendments", 23 December 1852, PP, LXXIV (1852-53), 253. A civil engineering college was opened in Calcutta on 24 November 1856, see Hindoo Patriot, M. Ghosh, ed., 231.

⁸⁶Temple, Thomason, 199-201.

⁸⁷Dalhousie's Minute, 25 October 1853 (D - 34).

was considered a magnificent achievement in irrigation was rewarded, for the issue brought criticism on Dalhousie. P. T. Cautley naturally found his reward, in part, by seeing the main works completed and their grand opening on April 1854. There were times when Cautley had found himself, even during Dalhousie's term, in a "cribbed state" as to engineering staff. During the Burmese War of 1852 Dalhousie found himself at "wit's end" regarding engineers. Nevertheless he wrote Thomason that he would not interfere with the construction of the Canal. Nothing short of an exigency requiring "little Cautley to turn out and do duty as a Bombardier" would be used to halt the work.⁸⁸ Given this kind of co-operation, Cautley planned the Canal's official opening for 8 April 1854, so that he could be present for the occasion. After that he planned to leave India turning the Ganges over to his successor, Baird Smith.⁸⁹

In view of what was to be a momentous occasion for the people of the Doab, Cautley invited Dalhousie to be present. Because he had other

⁸⁸ Dalhousie to Cautley, 30 August 1852 (D - 14); also to Thomason, 17 and 27 September 1852 (D - 82).

⁸⁹ Baird Smith was Thomason's choice to succeed Cautley, if and when the latter were forced to leave. Thomason made a forceful representation to Dalhousie in order to prevent Smith's transfer to the Punjab. He argued that the "advanced works of the Ganges Canal" could not afford to be jeopardized by retaining anyone but the most qualified, in his estimation Baird Smith. See Thomason-Dalhousie exchange, 8 and 14 June 1852; also Dalhousie's Minute, 6 January 1853, deputing Smith as a deputy to Cautley (D - 31).

Richard Baird Smith, 1818-61, left Addiscombe in 1836, served as Cautley's assistant from 1840, left in charge of the Eastern Jumna in 1843, joined Hardinge's army in 1845, went on furlough 1850 only to go to Italy to study irrigation there, eventually came to succeed Cautley. For other details, including a list of his publications, see Thackeray, 100-21. See also Vibart.

commitments that prevented him from making plans to attend, Colvin, who had succeeded Thomason as Lieutenant-Governor, was asked to preside.⁹⁰ For the event itself, Baird Smith prepared a brochure for the "tourists" expected. Everyone in the Services not required at his station at that moment gathered at Rurki for the ceremonial occasion. The waters of the Ganges, dammed at Hardwar, were to be artificially channelled for the first time. The great expectations for the alleviation of drought conditions leading to famine as well as the self-congratulatory mood of the English brought them together from all parts of India.

Colvin in his address on this occasion paid tribute to Dalhousie, Lord Hardinge, and to the chief engineer, Cautley. When he spoke of Thomason's role, the reporter on the scene observed that Colvin appeared deeply moved at the thought of the late Lieutenant-Governor who had "exhausted all the means at his command" to promote the Canal. In fact, Colvin implied strongly that Thomason's life had been shortened because he had postponed the trip home that his health demanded in order to be present at the opening. Cautley in his statement, no less than Colvin, praised Thomason and Dalhousie for their private as well as official support.⁹¹

It was Marshman who brought up the matter of honours suitable for Proby Thomas Cautley. He wrote:

⁹⁰ See Cautley to Dalhousie, September 1853 and the response, 26 November 1853 (D - 31). Auckland Colvin in his John Russell Colvin (1895) does not mention the opening of the Ganges.

⁹¹ For a complete account of the event see a copy of the Delhi Gazette, 12 April 1854, available in D - 420.

After [six] years of persevering labour, after overcoming all the obstacles which nature and routine [red-tape] could raise, he has been successful at last. With that success, and its effect upon the welfare of millions, he must remain content. It is a misfortune of his position that a work which in Europe would give him the fame of a Viscounti will scarcely be appreciated beyond the limits of the Indian Empire.

He returned to the attack on 4 May because Calcutta had failed to honour Cautley at an official dinner. This instance of ingratitude was just another mark to be held against those whom James Long described as living in the "Ditch". Marshman scathingly berated Calcutta's indifference and ignorance. "So long as the Grand Trunk Road is kept open and Bass's ale and Wilson's confectionery can travel without material damage, the North West may be prosperous or ruined as best pleases itself [!]"⁹²

While it is unlikely that Dalhousie's Minute of 5 May was penned in response to criticism in the Friend of India of the day before, the Governor-General nevertheless addressed himself to the question of honours suitable to Cautley's achievement. Certainly he viewed the Canal as a scientific wonder of the mid-nineteenth century, coinciding as it did somewhat with the Great Exhibition in England. He lamented the fact, however, that the Government had no other honours to bestow on one like Cautley than "gratitude and public compliment". He announced that Cautley would be honoured by being conveyed past Fort William on the Governor-General's yacht and by having a thirteen-gun salute fired in his honour. Moreover, he urged the Court to bring Cautley's achievement before the

⁹²FI, 20 April and 4 May 1854. Marshman complained when he observed the reception given to the "bayard" of India, James Outram, who had "fought somebody or other". (Calcutta did not know whom, Marshman implied!).

home government. He agreed that it was calculated "to increase the earthly happiness of millions of his fellow-subjects [Indians]". Also, the Ganges Canal had brought honour to the British name - for which Ellenborough had hoped in vain - and had "gloriously signalized Her Majesty's reign in the annals of the Indian Empire".⁹³

In closing this chapter, something must be said about the criticism to which the Ganges was subjected in subsequent years. The Canal itself was not put to the supreme test until 1860-61 when recurring drought conditions coincided with the completion of the Canal as projected by its chief promoters. Before that J. S. Mill could report in his Memorandum of Improvements that the Canal was in operation for part of its ultimate length and irrigating about 55,000 acres.⁹⁴ Despite this rather modest accomplishment, there prevailed a widespread belief that the work stood "unequalled in its class and character among the efforts of civilized nations".⁹⁵

⁹³Dalhousie felt bound by the rule which stated that no special notice was to be taken of retiring officers, except in the official gazette. Thomason by comparison was given a 17-gun salute at each presidency. See Dalhousie's Minute, 25 October 1853 (D - 34); and 5 May 1854 (D - 37).

Marshman, still dissatisfied, grumbled that a man like Thomason who had governed a population as great as all of England for ten years ought at least to be treated as well - with honours - as some "lucky London physician" who might be titled. "Surely some means must be found to honour a select few!" FI, 18 May 1854.

On 28 February 1856 Dalhousie was able to announce that Cautley was to receive the K.C.B.. Furthermore, his bust was placed in the Calcutta Town Hall and from 1856 to 1858 he sat as a member of the Council of India. See Baird, 436-7.

⁹⁴Usually attributed to John Stuart Mill, Examiner of India Correspondence, The Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India, was compiled from reports received and published in 1858. 54-5.

⁹⁵Dalhousie quoted in Bhanu, 313.

Cautley published his three-volume Report on the Ganges Canal in 1860.⁹⁶ When drought conditions struck the Doab about that time, the question was naturally raised: would these new irrigation facilities, unparalleled in the world, meet the exigencies for which they were designed? What actually happened at the time led to the widespread belief that the Canal was a relative failure. According to the secretary of the India Reform Society, John Dickinson,⁹⁷ the Ganges Canal turned out to be what its critics in Calcutta had predicted all along - so much 'humbug'! As Dickinson had the story, the exceptionally strong flow of water above Hardwar swept away part of the dam. In consequence much of the precious water needed to irrigate the lands along the route of the Canal was lost into the River. Although the dam was repaired in due course, the Canal, meanwhile, had not prevented the recurrence of famine conditions. Moreover, for lack of adequate financial resources, Dickinson discovered, the branch channels [rajbuhas] had not been constructed as planned.⁹⁸ Therefore, instead of irrigating an eight-mile strip of land on each side of the main courses, as envisaged, the actual effective irrigation was limited to one mile on each side. While Dickinson wrote from the perspective of a free trade interest which all along had demanded canals

⁹⁶Report on the Ganges Canal Works (1860). Volume Three, an oversize one, contains all the appendices, maps, and charts.

⁹⁷John Dickinson, 1815-76, educated at Eton, son of a paper-maker, became involved in the India Reform Society of which John Bright was chairman until 1861, when Dickinson succeeded him.

⁹⁸Thornton informed Cautley fully of Thomason's policy respecting these branch canals, 31 July 1851, Despatches, 144-7.

of navigation for commercial purposes, his somewhat prejudiced account nevertheless may not be ignored. In fact, his statement raised two issues prominent in this dissertation: Ellenborough's concerns about navigation and Robertson's about the levelling of the taluqdars. That Thomson refused to follow laissez-faire principles to the extent demanded by the Manchester School merely reinforces the position taken that he was not in that class of reformers. His outlook demanded policies designed to foster the well-being of the broad base of the agricultural interest.⁹⁹

It was at this point, after the Canal had failed - at least in the minds of a significant segment of observers - that Cotton launched his attack on Cautley, who was then seated on the Council of India. Cotton, who had constructed the Godavery anicut (1847-52), argued that the Ganges should never have been dammed at its source, but rather at its mouth.¹⁰⁰ The latter method would ensure irrigation and navigation at less expense and provide greater financial returns as well. The altercation became bitter in 1864, though the dispute was kept as private as possible. Cautley maintained his position that, since "every drop of water" in the Doab was needed for irrigation purposes, he had designed

⁹⁹Dickinson, The Famine in the NWP of India: How We May Have Prevented It and May Prevent Another (1861), 5-36. Reprinted in Tract 139 - IOL.

¹⁰⁰See reference # 55. The dispute was published under the by-line of both engineers, entitled The Ganges Canal: A Discussion Regarding the Projection and Present State of the Ganges Canal and the Measures Required to Make it Reliably Useful and Profitable (1864). Brought together in Tract 136 - IOL. 136pp.

To the pertinacity of Cotton's strictures, Cautley responded with another volume entitled A Disquisition (1864).

the Canal with that in mind. While he appeared willing to see defects in the Canal corrected, he refused to yield place to criticisms based on the viewpoint of navigation for commercial purposes.¹⁰¹

In conclusion, one can only speculate on what Thomason would have done, had he been alive. There is no doubt in the writer's mind that he would have struggled to have the Canal completed so as to guarantee irrigation for the sixteen-mile sweep of land that Dickinson wrote of. In due course defects in the Ganges system were rectified so as to irrigate about one and a third million acres of land above Allahabad.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Cotton of course claimed that if the Ganges was not designed for navigation then that constituted its fatal error. See particularly Cautley, A Discussion, 46, and A Disquisition, 49. For an account of Cotton's campaign for canals of navigation in the 1870s see Romesh Dutt, Economic History of India in the Victorian Age (New York: 1969 Kelley reprint of 1904 study), 360-70. [George Campbell is quoted here as saying he thought Cotton must have water on the brain!].

¹⁰² H. H. Dodwell, The Cambridge History of India (Delhi, 1964, prepared first in 1932), VI, 85.

Bhanu described the Canal, as completed, in the following succinct way: starting from 2½ miles north of Hardwar, the Canal proceeded in its circular course to the south-east of Aligarh - 180 miles. At Aligarh the Canal bifurcated, one going towards Kanpur - 170 miles, and the other towards Hamirpur - 180 miles. From Hardwar to Aligarh, three branch lines took water: to Fatehgarh - 170 miles; to Bulandshahr - 60 miles; and to Koel - 50 miles, thus making a total of 810 miles for the whole Canal. Including the distributaries and branches its total length, however, was 3,800 miles. Bhanu, 313-4.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The INTRODUCTION suggested a justification for a serious study of the biographical and administrative aspects of the James Thomason school within the context of the ICS and raised some problems of interpretation. The CONCLUSION summarizes the major themes which have been developed in the chapters of this dissertation and suggests others for continuing research.

According to the primary and contemporary sources, James Thomason, the master administrator, must be placed among the modernizers rather than the westernizers. Hence this study reinforces the interpretation of Richard Temple, who in 1893 wrote that Thomason was in effect a reforming conservative. His aim to improve the condition of the arcadian element in Indian society by building on existing institutions had a wide appeal. His modernizing tendency did not remain uncontested, however, even within his school, for there were those whose apparent westernizing tendencies were really dictated by an unequivocal evangelical stance which demanded the conversion of Indians to Christianity.

The general theme of Chapter One is that Haileybury approximated the school that Wellesley thought was needed to train 'writers' to become statesmen. In other words, in practice Haileybury performed its task as well as any school might have done in England or perhaps India, given its hybrid nature, the adolescence of its students and the prevailing patronage system. It was not Haileybury alone, however, which brought Thomason, the Thorntons, the Muirs, Edwards and Temple up to the

mark required for service in India. There were other elements as well. One should not discount the home life of the Haileyburians and its influence. Among the common elements in that environment was an evangelical tone. There was also their cohesiveness as a class which helped to foster - in Haileybury's environment - that esprit de corps not manifest in other comparable task forces in imperial history. Thus it was that the East India College, which tended to reinforce early nineteenth century modes of thought and endeavour, combined with the character-forming element in the crucible of Indian service and climate to shape the covenanted civilian who joined the ranks of the Thomason school.

Another thesis is that these (Old) Haileyburians, led by Robert Bird and James Thomason, who went to India under the patronage system came off rather well in any comparison with those who went out under the competitive system. For this appeared to be the consensus in the 1870s. In other words, using the ICS as 'outdoor relief' for the upper middle class (or squirearchy) was not wholly an evil thing. In fact, leaving aside judgment based on hindsight or post-Mutiny considerations, the Thomason school, engaged as it was in the implementation of land settlement, education, and irrigation policies, proved to be a welcome instrument for that segment of English public opinion which favoured expansion, reform, and evangelization in India.

As a generalization, one may argue that Haileybury fitted men for India. One is at a loss, however, to say precisely what that experience did for an individual like Thomason. If Haileybury was a meaningful preparation for an Indian career, its significance often went unarticulated. For example, if the 'official doctrine' meant ruling India

in trust for the Indians, very few Haileyburians seemed to have had occasion to acknowledge that the principle was derived from their training at the East India College. Be that as it may, there was no consensus about a deadline for the implementation of self-government, hence they committed themselves to the good government of India for the indefinite future. In any case, they were all too aware that every twenty years there was a parliamentary review for the 'better' government of India.

In Thomason's case it is clear from Chapter Two that factors other than his outstanding academic record accounted for his acknowledged eminence in the Service and his elevation to a position of considerable civil power. Among these were the almost unqualified support he received from Metcalfe, Auckland, and Dalhousie, not to mention the Supreme Council. He came to be recognized as one of the aristocracy of the Service. Moreover - and this was significant to Thomason's peer group - he was appointed by Ellenborough, the 'most fastidious' governor-general, who recognized in 1843 that Thomason had become an authority in all branches of government. In the second place, most of his peers favoured his administration of the NWP. In fact, Dalhousie and many lesser men in the Court, the Services, and the Anglo-Indian press regarded his Provinces as the 'model farm of the East', just the pattern to follow in the Punjab. Finally, even though he had a decade in which to consolidate his superior position, it was his personal character which was his saving grace. Unlike the arrogant Ellenborough, who was despised by the Service, Thomason remained unassuming and accessible to subordinates and peers, while toward superiors he always retained the attitude of a 'disciple'. These factors which made him the first of a

new kind of lieutenant-governor, when added to his undoubted genius for administration, gave him the leadership of a school of civilian administrators second to none in the ICS.

Thomason's predominance was indeed remarkable when it is compared with the vicissitudes of his opposition. Once he came to power in the NWP, hardly anyone who dared oppose Thomason attained high office or was moved to the Punjab. On the other hand, those who generally sided with his and Dalhousie's views were elevated to commissionerships in Northern India; a surprising number became lieutenant-governors of the NWP or the Punjab. And some found themselves appointed to the Council for India after the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 in spite of the fact that their land settlement came under fire because of the taluqdari rebellion in Oudh. As all ambitious Haileyburians were anxious about promotion and also imbued with an exaggerated sense of duty, they came and remained under the sway of Thomason and his chief followers until the Mutiny shocked some into an attitude of revaluation. In effect, it was only after Thomason's passing from the scene and Dalhousie's annexation of Oudh in 1856, and the coming of the Mutiny to the upper Ganges, that opposition became vocal. Then there were those who saw in the rise of the taluqdars in Oudh a disaffection with British rule which went deeper than a mere revolt against a military regimen insulting to caste. There were critics external and internal to the school, who then acknowledged that the Thomasonians had been too indifferent about the fate of the so-called 'native gentry'.

Chapter Three indicates how the Thomasonians - seen as a group - took over the administration of the NWP and the Punjab. The primary

and contemporary sources point incontrovertibly to the conclusion that the Punjab system was an extension northward of the ideas and ideals of James Thomason, modified of course by the imperious Dalhousie, who nevertheless relied on Thomason to a degree never before indicated in a serious study, and the clash over policy between the Lawrence brothers. While there is no attempt to debunk Henry Lawrence, he must be placed in his proper perspective as only one in a peer group of rulers. Thomason's career and school has an equal claim to fame as one, if not the, main link between the NWP and the Punjab.

Part Two illustrates the degree to which Thomason towered over the land settlement after the departure of Robert M. Bird. While their settlement was new to India in the sense that it was entirely different from and more complex than the Cornwallis and Munro settlements, it was not new to India because it was essentially a revival of the system used by the Mughals. It was of course elaborated to a workable policy by English pragmatism over several decades prior to 1833. If there was any Benthamite influence, it was not overtly expressed by Haileyburians at the time. While there was some opposition to the inherent pro-village bias in the 1833 settlement, Thomason persevered and wrote up Directions for a whole generation of settlement officers in the NWP and the Punjab. That there would be a small avalanche of criticism after the Mutiny was certainly not foreseeable in Thomason's lifetime.

The tarnishing of his image by later criticism and the downgrading of John Lawrence because of his tenacious adherence to the Bird-Thomason school was the work of post-Mutiny critics and historians who

took up the pro-aristocratic position held earlier by T. C. Robertson. Before the Mutiny there was every reason to believe that the restoration of the peasant proprietor at the expense of the exploitive taluqdar was made mandatory by the 'official doctrine', which implied doing justice to the village communities. Thomason as the reforming conservative had no intention of uprooting the social structure that he found. He wanted to 'engraft' on the Indian tree new branches of Western values including Christian truth. He hoped that his civil administration would produce a 'richer mould', a 'new verdure', which would bear fruit in the elevation of all levels of Indian society, particularly at the broad base of the social pyramid.

Chapter Five attempts to show the close connection between education and the elevation of the peasant proprietor. While Thomason's educational policies were partly derivative, he was the first to implement a coherent plan. Moreover, since there were forceful promoters of education for the élite, it was all the more remarkable that his plan was so widely adopted as a workable model for other parts of India. Thomason's educational policy may thus be seen as a reforming measure which presupposed the readiness of the masses to welcome the opportunity for self-improvement through the acquisition of rudimentary learning with which the more aspiring and able could raise themselves. Unfortunately, it was a relative failure, not because the concept was wrong, but because of the enormity of the task in terms of personnel requirements and government expenditure, and the difficulty of gaining widespread peasant co-operation.

It is clear that most of the Haileyburians who became associated

with Thomason in his land, education and irrigation policies stood in the evangelical tradition of the Church of England. Many looked to the ultimate conversion of Indians to Christianity. Their evangelical convictions supplied the underlying motive for a civilizing mission. Some, like Thomason, found it relatively easy to accept the policy of religious neutrality whereas Carre Tucker did not. The former stood for neutrality without indifference to the evangelicals' mission; the other, finding even this too ambivalent, held out for an open Christian stance at all levels of government activity. Under John Lawrence this grew into a belief that 'Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen'. Just as critics in the post-Mutiny period blamed the mahalwari settlement, which implied the reduction of many taluqas, for the rebellion of 1857-58, so they - particularly Ellenborough - used the issue of Christianity as a stick with which to beat the Company and its leading covenanted servants who were dominantly evangelical.

There is little doubt that Thomason's role in the progress of the construction of the Ganges Canal was a key supporting one, crucial during the tenure of Ellenborough, encouraging to responsible personnel at other times. He was spurred on by personal knowledge of the need for irrigation to secure the benefits of the soil and enhance the value of property. Out of the need for a trained engineering establishment, Thomason originated a civil engineering school for both Indian and military persons which suggested another model for others to imitate.

While this study has not attempted to measure the degree to which Thomasonians may be held accountable for the Mutiny, the fact that it broke out in the very areas where they held civil sway for a quarter

century suggests an epitaph of tragic proportions. Although they had excited widespread admiration for their reflection of Anglo-Indian character, idealism, and efficient English administration, those associated with the NWP and Oudh came to be treated popularly either as scapegoats or as losers. For example, peasant proprietorship came into disrepute for the reasons mentioned. And quite apart from the Mutiny, even Thomason's educational programme for the agricultural people had hardly begun by the 1870s to enroll all those eligible for it. In the minds of many contemporaries the Ganges Canal was a relative failure at the time of its first real test in 1860-61. Nor had upward mobility worked as expected where incentive and opportunities for Indians in land, education, and irrigation policies coincided in the Thomason College of Civil Engineering.

All too often it has been forgotten or not recognized that those who 'saved' India for the Empire from their secure base in the Punjab were, after all, followers of Thomason. Lawrence and Montgomery, for example, became popular, but mainly because of British pre-occupation with heroic exploits such as theirs, and the determination to hold India in the competition for trade and Empire in Asia. These significant considerations suggest that some enterprising scholar should look at the two East India colleges - Haileybury and Addiscombe - vis-à-vis the Mutiny. Addiscombe has not been touched by scholars since the work of Vibart in 1894. The subject naturally suggests a fruitful field for a military historian. Such studies have become mandatory now that David Kopf has treated Wellesley's CFW as a vehicle for modernization. How do the England-based schools compare? Were they hotbeds of westernization

in which Thomason, the Thorntons, Clerk, and Hodgson, for example, stood out as exceptions, the impact of whose graduates had the cumulative effect, as Carre Tucker admitted to Stanley, of threatening the fabric of Indian society? And how far did these schools inculcate an Anglo-Christian civilizing motive which demanded the retention of the Number One imperial position in the world, by expansion and conquest, if necessary?

It is obvious from this dissertation that there are a number of 'forgotten men' deserving of serious study: Thomas C. Robertson, R. M. Bird ('08), G. R. Clerk ('17), and H. M. Elliot ('27), not to mention those who became lieutenant-governors in the NWP and the Punjab. Undoubtedly, a thorough land revenue study of each of the thirty districts settled by Bird and Thomason (based on the revenue proceedings in the IOR) would bring to light much material on these civilian administrators. There is no telling what other sources might reveal about any one of them.

In conclusion, one can only repeat the expressed hope that this dissertation in some way suggests new paths of research and enquiry for those interested in the pre- and early Victorians in India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary and Contemporary

Manuscript Sources

British Museum Additional Manuscripts

Auckland Letters, 37,689-37,707.
Auckland Minutes, 37,709-37,713.
Cust Journals, 45,390-45,406.
Broughton Papers, 36,476-36,477.

Church Missionary Society Archives, Church Missionary House

Papers of the North India Mission, CI 1/0.

Commonwealth Relations Office

India Office Library:

Lawrence Papers, Mss. Eur. F. 90.
Temple Papers, Mss. Eur. F. 86.

India Office Records:

Haileybury, Bonds and Agreements, O/1.
Committee of College References and Papers,
J/1/1-107.
Personal Records, Bengal Civilians, O/6.

Home Miscellaneous Series, 236, 760, 790, 797.

Addiscombe, L/Mil/9/333, 334, 341, 345.

North-Western Provinces, General Proceedings, 1843-1853.

National Library of Scotland

Minto Papers, M 643-646.

Nottingham University Library, Manuscripts Department

Bentinck Papers in the Portland Collection, PwVf.

In Private Hands

Henry Hardinge Papers, registered in the National Register of Archives.

Thomason Papers, registered with the Keeper of the India Office Library.

Public Record Office

Ellenborough Papers, PRO - 30/12/6-105.

Scottish Record Office

Dalhousie Papers, GD - 45/6/1-499.

Thomason-Dalhousie Letters, GD - 45/6/78-83 and 171, 453.

University of Edinburgh

Muir Letters, DK 2.13.

Printed Sources

Note: London, England is the place of publication of all books unless otherwise indicated.

Official Publications:

Barkley, D. G., Directions for Revenue Officers in the Punjab. Lahore, 1875.

Christian, G. J., Report on the Census of the NWP. Calcutta, 1854.

Colvin, Auckland, A Settlement Manual for the NWP. Allahabad, 1868.

Hill, S. C., Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records. H. M. Stationery Office, 1927.

The India Register.

[Mill, J. S.], Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India During the Last Thirty Years. EICo. 1858.

Montgomery, Robert, Abstract Principles of Law Circulated for the Guidance of Officers Employed in the Administration of Justice in the Punjab. Lahore, 1854.

Muir, William, ed., Papers Relating to the Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service. Calcutta, 1876.

NWP, Collection of Official Papers Regarding the Permanent Settlement.
Allahabad, 1869.

NWP, Land Settlement Reports [based on Regulation IX, 1833]. Tract
208 - IOL.

Nevill, H. R. ed., District Gazetteers of the United Provinces. Alla-
habad, 1911.

Parliamentary Papers, Series 1831-32, Vol. 9, 12; 1852-53, Vol. 27,
28, 29, 31, 32, 74, 75; 1854, Vol. 47; 1854-55, Vol. 40; 1857, Vol. 6,
18; 1857-58, Vol. 42, 43; 1859, Session I, Vol. 19; 1860, Vol. 52.

Reid, H. S., Report on the State of Indigenous and Vernacular Schools
in Agra, etc. Agra, 1850-54. [Microfilmed by the IOL of the CRO].

Richey, J. A., and H. Sharp, eds., Selections from Educational Records.
2 vols. Calcutta, 1920 and 1922.

Shakespear, A., Comparative Tables of Districts Established in the
NWP. Calcutta, 1853.

Smith, V. A., The Settlement Officers Manual for the NWP. Allahabad,
1881.

[Temple, Richard], Report on the Administration of the Punjab. Copies
for the years 1849 to 1853 were seen in the Dalhousie Papers.

Thomason, James, Despatches: Selections from the Records of Government,
NWP. 2 vols. re 1844 to 1853. Calcutta, 1856 and 1858.

-----, Directions for Settlement Officers and Collectors of Land
Revenue. Agra, 1849.

-----, Report on the Chuklah Azimgurh. Agra, 1837.

Thornton, Edward P., Report of the Settlement of Seharanpore. Agra,
1840.

Tracts, 43, 91, 136, 139, 163, 198, 208, 631, 5311. IOL.

Contemporary Books, Articles, and Pamphlets:

Adam, William, Reports on the State of Education in Bengal, 1835 and
1838. Edited by A. Basu. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1941.

Allen, Charles, A Few Words Anent the 'Red Pamphlet'. J. Ridgway, 1858.

Arnold, W. D., Oakfield, or Fellowship in the East. [Fiction]. 2 vols.
Longmans, 1854.

- Arnold, W. D., "The Indian Civil Service", CR. XXVII (1856).
- Auber, Peter, An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company. EICo., 1826.
- , Rise and Progress of the British Power in India. 2 vols. Wm. Allen, 1837.
- Birdwood, G. C. M., Competition and the ICS. H. S. King, 1872.
- Boulderson, Henry Smith, Minute on Talooqdaree Cases. Written 2 April 1844. Smith, Elder, 1858.
- Campbell, George, India As It May Be: An Outline of a Proposed Government and Policy. John Murray, 1852.
- , Modern India: A Sketch of the System of Civil Government, to Which is Prefixed Some Account of the Natives and Their Native Institutions. John Murray, 1852.
- , A Scheme for the Government of India. 1853.
- , "Tenures of Land in India", Reprinted in Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries. Edited by V. W. Probyn. Cassels, Petter, Galpin, 1881.
- Carnegy, Patrick, Notes on the Land Tenures and Revenue Assessments of Upper India. Truebner, 1874.
- , "Our Land Revenue Policy in North India", CR. LXIV (1877).
- , "The Talookdaree Tenure in Upper India", CR. XLIII (1864).
- Cautley, Col. Sir Proby T., Report on the Ganges Canal: From their Commencement until the Opening of the Canal in 1854. 3 vols. Smith, Elder, 1860.
- , The Ganges Canal: A Disquisition on the Heads of the Ganges and Jumna Canals, NWP., In Reply to the Strictures of Sir Arthur Cotton. Private, 1864.
- [A Civilian], A Letter to the Chairman [Re the East India College]. In Tract 43 - IOL. 1823.
- Clarke, W., "The Uncovenanted Service", CR. XXXVI (1861).
- Crawshay, George, Proselytism Destructive of Christianity and Incompatible with Political Dominion. Bound at HCL in "Diplomatic Review Pamphlets". Effingham Wilson, 1858.
- Cunningham, J. D., A History of the Sikhs. Edited by H. L. O. Garrett. Delhi: S. Chand, 1966. First published in 1849.

Cust, Richard N., "The Collector Revenue in the NWP", CR. XXIII
(1854) 136-161.

-----, "The Examination System", CR. XXXII (1859) 380-99.

Dickinson, John, The Famine in the NWP of India: How We Might Have Prevented It and May Prevent Another. In Tract 139 - IOL. P. S. King, 1861.

-----, India Reform: The Government of India Under a Bureaucracy. Saunders and Stanford, 1853.

Duff, Alexander, "Indigenous Education in Bengal and Bihar", CR. II
(1844).

Edwards, William, Morning Bible Readings. Wm. Hunt, 1878.

Ghosh, M., ed., Selections from the Writings of Grish Chandra Ghose, The Founder and First Editor of "The Hindoo Patriot", and the "Bengalee". Calcutta: The Indian Daily News Press, 1912.

Grant, Robert, A View of the System and Merits of the East India College, Haileybury. In Tract 91 - IOL. 1826.

Gubbins, M. R., An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh. Richard Bentley, 1858.

Hay, C. H., An Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain to India in Respect of the Education of the Natives and their Official Employment. Longmans, 1853.

Henley, (Rev.) H. Samuel, Directions for the Guidance of the Students of the East India College. R. Watts, 1814.

Hume, Denham, Magistrate's and Collector's Manual. The author offered this as a revenue and judicial guide and a perfect textbook to the examinations! Calcutta: G. Wyman, 1863.

Johnston, Elizabeth Thomason, The Rose and the Lotus or Home in England and Home in India. [Fiction]. Bell and Daldy, 1859.

Kaye, John William, The Administration of the East India Company. An Introduction by O. P. Bhatnagar. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1966. First published in 1853.

-----, Christianity in India: An Historical Narrative. Smith, Elder, 1859.

-----, The History of the Sepoy War. 3 vols. 8th ed. W. H. Allen, 1877. First published in 1864.

- Kaye, J. W., The Life and Correspondence of Henry St. George Tucker. R. Bentley, 1853.
- , ed., Memorials of Indian Government: A Selection from the Papers of Henry St. George Tucker. R. Bentley, 1853.
- , "The Patronage of the EICo", CR. XVIII (1852) 1-48.
- Lawrence, Henry M., Essays on the Indian Army and Oude. This includes five articles Lawrence wrote for the CR. Serampore Press, 1859.
- Leitner, G. W., History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab, Since Annexation. Calcutta, 1882.
- Long, (Rev.) James, "Christian Orientalism", CR, XXXII (1859) 279-307.
- , "A Brief View of the Past and Present State of Vernacular Education in Bengal", being an Introduction to William Adam's Report. Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press, 1868.
- , "Vernacular Education for Bengal", CR, XXIII (1854) 291-340.
- McLeod, Donald F., Reply to the Address of the Native Nobility and Gentry of Lahore and Amritsar, 2 February 1866. Available in the BM.
- Mahmoud, Syed, A History of English Education in India. Aligarh: M. A.-O. College, 1895.
- Malleon, Col. G. B., History of the Indian Mutiny, 1857-58, Commencing from the Close of the Second Volume of Sir J. W. Kaye's History of the Sepoy War. 3 vols. W. H. Allen, 1878-80.
- Malthus, (Rev.) Thomas Robert, A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord Grenville, Occasioned by some Observations of His Lordship on the East India College. J. Johnson, 1813.
- , "Statement Regarding the East India College, . . . in Refutation of the Charges Lately Brought Against It. . . ." from The Pamphleteer. IX (1817).
- Martin, Montgomery, ed., The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley. 5 vols. John Murray, 1836.
- Marshman, J. C., Letter to John Bright Relating to the Recent Debates in Parliament on the India Question. W. H. Allen, 1853.
- Medley, J. G., Memorandum on the Thomason Civil Engineering College. Roorkee: Thomason College Press, 1867.
- Mill, John Stuart, Autobiography. Longmans, 1873.

- Muir, John, The ICS and the Scottish Universities. Edinburgh: W. P. Kennedy, 1855.
- Muir, William, Addresses Made in the NWP. Simla: Government Central Brand Press, 1876.
- , ed., Selections from the Speeches of the Lieutenant-Governors of the NWP. In Tract 5311 - IOL, 1868-1874.
- Occasional Papers of India. Church Missionary House, 1858.
- Pincott, Frederic, Analytical Index to Sir J. W. Kaye's History of the Sepoy War, and Col. G. B. Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny. W. H. Allen, 1880.
- Prinsep, Henry T., The India Question in 1853. W. H. Allen, 1853.
- Prinsep, H. T., "The ICS: A Retrospect and Prospect". Nineteenth Century. (March, 1913).
- Raikes, Charles, The Englishman in India. Longmans, Green, 1867.
- , Notes on the NWP of India. Chapman and Hall, 1852.
- , Notes on the Revolt in the NWP. Longmans, 1858.
- Reade, E. A., Contributions to the Benares Recorder. Agra: Government Press, 1858.
- Roebuck, Thomas, The Annals of the College of Fort William. Calcutta: Philip Pereira, 1819.
- Seton-Karr, W. S., "The East India College, Haileybury", CR. IV (1845).
- , Speech at Haileybury Dinner, 23 January 1864, in Calcutta. In the Temple Papers - IOL, also MOHC.
- Shore, F. J., Notes on Indian Affairs. 2 vols. J. W. Parker, 1837.
- Smith, George, "Dr. Ballantyne and Government Education", CR. XXV (1855).
- , "The First Twenty Years of the 'Calcutta Review'", CR. LIX (1874).
- Smith, Baird, "Canals of Irrigation in the NWP", CR. XII (1849).
- Stephen, C. J., "The Land System of India", CR. XXXVIII (1862).
- Strachey, John, India: Its Administration and Progress. 3rd. ed. Macmillan, 3.

Temple, Richard, "Village Schools and Peasant Proprietorship in the NWP", CR. XIV (1850).

-----, "Objections to Mission Work in India Considered and Answered", A Speech given before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1881. Available in the BM.

Thomason, James, Speech at the Opening of the Benares New College. In Tract 631 - IOL. 11 January 1853.

Thornton, John, "The Settlement of the NWP", CR. XII (1849).

Tucker, H. Carre, "The Bible in India", in Tracts Relating to Missions. 1858. Available in the BM.

-----, ed., Conference on Missions. James Nesbit, 1860.

-----, Note Book of Rules and Regulations, Criminal and Revenue. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1857.

-----, Notes on Education. Calcutta: Serampore Press, 1839.

-----, A Letter to Lord Stanley. Dalton, 1858.

Whewell, William, Literary Remains Consisting of Lectures and Tracts on Political Economy of the Late Rev. Richard Jones. J. Murray, 1859.

Yule, Col. Henry, and A. C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms. 1903 ed. Kegan Paul reprint, 1968. First published in 1886.

Memoirs, Letters, Autobiographies, and Biographies:

Baird, J. G. A., ed., Private Letters of the Marquis of Dalhousie. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1910.

Beames, John, Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian. An Introduction by Philip Mason. Chatto and Windus, 1961.

Bonar, James, Malthus and His Work. 1924 ed. New York: Kelley reprint, 1966. First published in 1885.

J. M. B., "Our House Names: Thomason", from the Haileyburian. (1869).

Buckland, C. E., Dictionary of Indian Biography. Sonnenschein, 1906.

Campbell, George, Memoirs of My Indian Career. 2 vols. Macmillan, 1893.

Carus, William, (Rev.), ed., Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon. Harchard, 1847.

Colvin, Auckland, John Russell Colvin: The Last Lt. Gov. of the NWP Under the Company. Rulers of India series. Clarendon, 1895.

Cust, Richard N., Clouds on the Horizon: An Essay on the Various Forms of Belief which stand in the Way of Acceptance of Real Christian Faith by the Educated Natives of Asia. Hertford: Stephen Austin, 1904.

-----, Memoirs of the Past Years of a Septuagenarian. Private, 1899.

-----, The Sorrows of an Anglo-Indian Life. A book of poems. Elliot Stock, 1889.

Danvers, F. C., Memorials of Old Haileybury College. Constable, 1894.

Dictionary of National Biography.

Diver, Maud, Honoraria Lawrence. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1936.

Dunbar, Janet, Golden Interlude: The Edens in India. 1836-42. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1956.

Durand, Mortimer, Life of Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall. 1835-1911. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1913.

Edwardes, Emma, Memorials of the Life and Letters of Sir Herbert B. Edwardes. 2 vols. Kegan Paul, 1886.

Edwardes, H. B., and Herman Merivale, The Life of Sir Henry Lawrence. 2 vols. Smith, Elder, 1876.

Edwards, William, Personal Adventures During the Indian Rebellion. 1858.

-----, Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian. Smith, Elder, 1866.

Elsmie, G. R., Thirty-Five Years in the Punjab, 1858-1893. Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1908.

Embree, Ainslee T., Charles Grant and British Rule in India. Allen and Unwin, 1962.

Forsyth, Ellen, Autobiography and Reminiscences of Sir T. D. Forsyth. R. Bentley, 1887.

Frith, William, Sir Donald McLeod or Decision for Christian Ordinance. E. Stock, 1873. This pamphlet available in the BM.

Fuehrer, A. (Rev.), ed., List of Christian Tombs and Monuments of Historical and Archaeological Interest, and their Inscriptions in the NWP and Oudh. Allahabad: Government Press, 1896.

Hardinge, Charles S., Viscount Hardinge. Rulers of India series. Clarendon, 1891.

- Hunter, W. W., Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson. J. Murray, 1896.
- James, Patricia, ed., The Travel Diaries of Thomas Robert Malthus. Cambridge, 1966.
- Kaye, J. W., Lives of Indian Officers Illustrative of the Civil and Military Service of India. 2 vols. A. Strahan, 1867.
- Keene, H. G., "Critical Notice of MOHC", CR. XCIX (1894).
- , "Old Haileybury", CR. CXII (1901).
- , A Servant of John Company, Being Recollections of an Indian Official. W. Thacker, 1897.
- Lake, Major-General Edward, Sir Donald McLeod: A Record of Forty-Two Years' Service in India. Religious Tract Society, 1873.
- Lee-Warner, William, The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie. 2 vols. Macmillan, 1904.
- Lockwood, E. D., "A Glimpse of Old Haileybury", in The Early Days of Marlborough College. Simpkin, Marshall, 1893.
- E. L., "In Memoriam: Henry Carre Tucker", reprinted in Misc. Papers I, # 71, CMSA. CMI. (1876).
- MacLagen, Michael, 'Clemency' Canning, Charles John, First Earl Canning: Governor-General and Viceroy of India, 1856-1862. Macmillan, 1962.
- Mason, Philip (pseudonym, Woodruff), The Men Who Ruled India. I. The Founders. II. The Guardians. Jonathan Cape reprint, 1963. First published in 1953 and 1955.
- Merivale, Judith A., ed., Autobiography of Charles Merivale. Edward Arnold, 1889.
- Morris, Henry, The Life of Charles Grant. John Murray, 1904.
- Moule, Handley C. G., Charles Simeon. 2nd. ed. Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1948. First published in 1892.
- Muir, William, "The Honourable James Thomason, Late Lieutenant-Governor", CR, XXI (1853). Reprinted under the same title with a new introduction by the author, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1897.
- Naidis, Mark, "John Lawrence, Mutiny Hero", BPP. LXXXII (1963).
- , "John Lawrence and the Origins of the Punjab System", BPP. LXXX (1961).
- , "Richard Temple: Literary Proconsul", SAQ. LXV (1966).

O'Malley, L. S. S., "A Great Civilian: George Carnac Barnes", BPP.
 XLIII (1932).

Panigrahi, D. N., Charles Metcalfe in India, 1806-35: Ideas and Administration. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968.

Prinsep, Henry T., A General Register of the Civil Servants of the Bengal Establishment, 1790-1842. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1844.

Sargent, J., The Life of the Rev. Thomas Truebody Thomason. R. B. Seeley, 1833.

Scott, David, The Correspondence of David Scott. . . Relating to Indian Affairs, 1787-1805. Camden Series. 2 vols. Royal Historical Society, 1951.

Seton-Karr, W. S., Grant of Rothiemurchus: A Memoir of the Service of Sir John Peter Grant. J. Murray, 1899.

Spear, Percival, "Holt Mackenzie - Forgotten Man of Bengal", BPP. (1967).
 This is in the Diamond Jubilee Issue.

Temple, Richard, Lord Lawrence. Macmillan, 1893.

-----, Men and Events of My Time. J. Murray, 1882.

-----, The Story of My Life. 2 vols. Cassell, 1896.

-----, James Thomason. Rulers of India series. Clarendon, 1893.

Thackeray, Col. Sir Edward T., Biographical Notices of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers. Smith, Elder, 1900.

Trevelyan, George O., Letters of a Competition Wallah. Macmillan, 1866.

Vibart, Col. H. M., Addiscombe: Its Heroes and Men of Note. Constable, 1894.

Wedderburn, John, Allan Octavian Hume, 'Father of the Indian National Congress'. T. Fisher Unwin, 1913.

Woodward, Francis J., "William Delafield Arnold", in The Doctor's Disciples: A Study of Four Pupils of Arnold of Rugby. Oxford, 1954.

Contemporary Newspapers and Journals:

The Calcutta Review, 1844-1873. A List of the Contributors to the CR for the years 1844-1862 is available in the Temple Papers.

Church Missionary Records, 1830-75.

Church Missionary Register, 1845-55.

Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1849-60.

The Friend of India, 1843-54.

The Haileybury Observer, 1840-56.

Hindoo Patriot, Selections only from the year 1849 to 1869.

See under M. Ghosh.

Secondary Sources

NOTE: In addition to the reduction announced in the LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, the names Oxford, Duke, Princeton, for example, refer to the publisher, usually a university press, of that name.

Ali, M. M., The Bengal Reaction to Christian Missionary Activity, 1833-1857. Chittagong: Mehrub Publications, 1965.

Armytage, W. H. G., Civic Universities: Aspects of a British Tradition. Ernest Benn, 1955.

-----, The Social History of Engineering. Faber and Faber, 1966 ed.

Baden-Powell, B. H., The Indian Village Community. New Haven: HRAF Press, 1957 reprint. First published in 1896.

-----, The Land Systems of British India. 3 vols. Clarendon, 1892.

Ballhatchett, Kenneth, "The Home Government and Bentinck's Educational Policy", (C)HJ. X (1950).

-----, Social Policy and Social Change in Western India, 1817-30. Oxford, 1957.

Bal, S. S., "Cunningham's History of the Sikhs", BPP. LXXXVI (1963).

Beaglehole, T. H., Thomas Munro and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras. Cambridge, 1966.

Bearce, G, The British Attitudes Toward India, 1784-1858. Oxford, 1961.

Bhanu, Dharma, History and Administration of the NWP, 1803-58. Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala, 1957.

Bowen, John, "The EICo's Training of its own Civil Servants", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. (1955).

- Braibanti, Ralph, ed., Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition. Durham: Duke, 1966.
- Brown, Ford K., Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce. Cambridge, 1961.
- Bruce, G., The Stranglers: The Thuggee Cult and its Overthrow in British India. Longmans, 1968.
- Case, Margaret, South Asian History, 1750-1950: A Guide to Periodicals, Dissertations and Newspapers. Princeton, 1968.
- Chauduri, S. B., Civil Disturbances During British Rule in India (1765-1857). Calcutta: World Press, 1955.
- Cohn, B. S., "Recruitment and Training of the British Civil Servants in India, 1600-1860", in Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Tradition, edited by R. Braibanti, Durham: Duke, 1966.
- , "The British in Benares: A Nineteenth Century Colonial Society", CSSH. IV (1961-62).
- , The Development and Impact of British Administration in India: A Bibliographic Essay. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1961.
- , "The Initial British Impact on India: A Case Study of the Benares Region", Journal of Asian Studies. XIX (1960).
- Compton, J. M., "Open Competition and the ICS, 1854-76", EHR. (April 1968).
- Cotton, Evan, "The ICS", BPP. XLII (1931).
- Das, M. N., Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India, 1848-56. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1959.
- Davies, C. Collin, An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula. Oxford, 1949.
- Desai, T. B., Economic History of India Under the British. Bombay: Vora, 1968.
- Desika Char, S. V., Centralized Legislation: A History of the Legislative System of British India from 1834 to 1861. Asia Publishing House, 1963.
- Dodwell, H. H., ed., The Cambridge History of India. VI. Delhi, 1964.
- Dutt, Romesh C., The Economic History of India Under Early Victorian Rule (1757-1837). Kegan Paul, 1908.

- , The Economic History of India, In the Victorian Age (from 1837). New York: Kelley reprint, 1969. First published in 1904.
- Edwardes, Michael, A History of India: From Earliest Times to the Present Day. New York: Farrar, Straus, 1961.
- , The Necessary Hell: John and Henry Lawrence and the Indian Empire. Cassell, 1958.
- , The Orchid House: The Splendors and Miseries of the Kingdom of Oudh, 1827-57. Cassell, 1960.
- Frykenberg, Robert E., Guntur District, 1788-1848: A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India. Clarendon, 1965.
- Ghokale, B. G., "John Bright and India, 1848-61", JIH. XLI (1963).
- Ghosal, A. K., The Civil Service in India under the EICO: A Study in Administrative Development. Calcutta, 1944.
- Greenberger, Allen J., The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism, 1880-1960. Oxford, 1969.
- Griffiths, Sir Percival, The British Impact on India. Archon Books, 1965 reissue of 1953 work.
- Gupta, S. C., Agrarian Relations and Early British Rule in India: A Case Study, (1801-33). Asia Publishing House, 1963.
- Hambly, G. R. G., "The Growth in Bureaucracy in Indian Administration after 1858: A Private Criticism of A. O. Hume", BPP. LXXX (1961).
- , "Lord Lytton and the ICS", BPP. LXXIX (1961).
- , "Richard Temple and the Punjab Tenancy Act, 1868", EHR. LXXIX (1964).
- Hampton, H. V., Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education. Oxford, 1946.
- Howse, E. M., Saints in Politics: The Clapham Sect and the Growth of Freedom. G. Allen and Unwin, 1953.
- Husain, Imtiaz, Land Revenue Policy in North India: The Ceded and Conquered Provinces, 1801-33. Calcutta: New Age Publishers, 1967.
- Hutchins, Francis G., The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India. Princeton, 1967.
- Huttenback, R. A., The British Imperial Experience. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

- Ingham, Kenneth, Reformers in India, 1793-1833: An Account of the Work of Christian Missionaries in Behalf of Social Reform. Cambridge, 1956.
- Kopf, David, British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835. Berkeley: California, 1969.
- Lawrence, (Lady) Rosamund, Indian Embers. Oxford: G. Ronald, [about 1920].
- Lowell, A. L., Colonial Civil Service: The Selection and Training of Colonial Officials in England, Holland & France with an Account of the East India College at Haileybury (1806-1857) by H. M. Stephen. New York: Macmillan, 1900.
- Lunt, James, "Simla: The British in India", History Today. (1968).
- Lyall, A. C., The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India. 5th ed., 1910. New York: Howard Fertig reprint, 1968.
- McCully, Bruce T., English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism. New York: Columbia, 1940.
- Majumdar, R. C., ed., British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance. 2 vols. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1963-65.
- Mathur, Y. B., "Development of Western Education in the Punjab, 1849-75", JIH. XLIV (1966). 223-253.
- , "Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1849-75", BPP. LXXXII (1963) 43-56.
- Mayhew, Arthur, The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Policy in India, 1835-1920. Faber and Faber, 1926.
- , Christianity and the Government of India. Faber, 1929.
- Metcalf, T. R., The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870. Princeton, 1964.
- , "The British and the Moneylender in Nineteenth Century India", Journal of Modern History. XXXIV (1962) 391-7.
- Moore, R. J., Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy, 1853-1866. Manchester, 1966.
- , "The Abolition of Patronage in the Civil Service and the Closure of Haileybury College", Historical Journal. VII (1964) 246-57.

- Morris, James, Pax Britannica: The Climax of Empire. Faber and Faber, 1968.
- Neale, Walter C., Economic Change in Rural India: Land Tenures and Reform in Uttar Pradesh [NWP and Oudh], 1800-1955. New Haven: Yale, 1962.
- O'Malley, L. S. S., The ICS, 1601-1930. Frank Cass, 1965.
- , Modern India and the West: A Study of the Interaction of their Civilizations. Published by Oxford, 1941, reproduced by xerography, Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1967.
- Pal, Dharma, The Administration of Sir John Lawrence in India, 1864-68. Cassell, 1958.
- Philips, C. H., ed., Historians of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Oxford, 1961.
- , The East India Company, 1784-1834. 1961 ed. Manchester, 1968.
- Potts, E. Daniel, British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837: The History of Serampore and Its Missions. Cambridge, 1967.
- Qanungo, Bhupan, "The Promotion of Education under Canning, 1856-62", JIH. XLII (1964) 493-543.
- Raj, Jagdil, The Mutiny and British Land Policy in North India, 1856-1868. Asia Publishing House, 1965.
- Rawlinson, H. G., The British Achievement in India: A Survey. Wm. Hodge, 1945.
- Roberts, P. E., History of British India Under Company and Crown. 3rd. ed., 1952. Oxford, 1958.
- Roy, N. C., The Civil Service in India. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhapodhyay, 1958.
- Sandes, Lt. Col. E. W. C., The Military Engineer in India. 2 vols. Chatham: Institute of Royal Engineers, 1933.
- , Report on Civil Engineering Education in Great Britain in 1924, with Remarks on the Training of Indian Students in Engineering. Roorkee: Thomason College Press, 1925.
- Sandys, E. T., "One Hundred and Forty-Five Years at the Old Mission Church, Calcutta", BPP. X (1915) 306-331; XI (1915) 4-33, 244-57.

- Sen, J. M., History of Elementary Education in India. Calcutta Book Company, 1933.
- Sinha, D. P. The Educational Policy of the EICo in Bengal to 1854. Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1964. An enlargement of his M. A. thesis.
- , Some Aspects of British Social and Administrative Policy in India During the Administration of Lord Auckland. Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1969. An enlargement of his Ph. D. thesis.
- Spear, Percival, "Bentinck and Education", (C)HJ. (1938).
- , "Lord William Bentinck", JIH. XIX (1940).
- , "The British Administration of the Delhi Territory, 1803-57", JIH. XIX (1940) 235-248; 320-335.
- , ed., The Oxford History of India. 3rd. ed. of V. A. Smith's OHI., 1919. Part Three was rewritten entirely by P. Spear. Oxford, 1958.
- Stephen, H. Morse, "The East India College at Haileybury", in A. L. Lowell, Colonial Civil Service. New York: Macmillan, 1900.
- Stokes, Eric, The English Utilitarians and India. Oxford, 1959.
- Symonds, Richard, The British and their Successors: A Study in the Development of the Government Services in the New States. Faber and Faber, 1966.
- Woodward, E. L., The Age of Reform, 1815-70. 2nd. ed. Oxford, 1962.