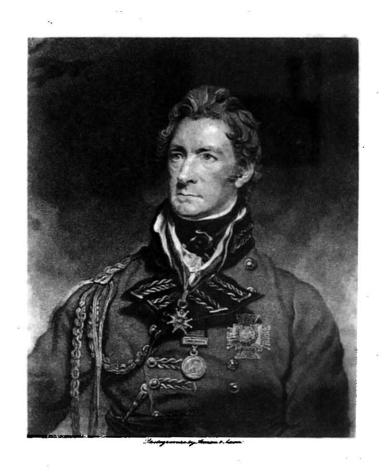
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GOVERNOR OF MADRAS

A MEMOIR

BY

SIR ALEXANDER J. ARBUTHNOT, K.C.S.I.

LONDON KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE 1889 V2,48y7 L61 B9 922

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PREFACE.

THE following pages are a reprint, with but few alterations, of the Memoir which was prefixed to the compilation of Sir Thomas Munro's Minutes, edited by me in 1881. It has been more than once suggested that the Memoir should be published in a separate volume for the use of those readers who would be interested in the career and opinions of the distinguished Soldier-Statesman of whom the Memoir treats, but might not care to peruse at length the official writings which are contained in the larger work. In this Memoir, as I said in the preface to the larger work, I have drawn largely, not only upon the Minutes and other official papers, but also upon the private letters published by the late Mr. Gleig in his Life of Munro; for the Minutes, without the aid of the private letters, would furnish a very inadequate account of Munro's opinions, or of the extent to which he influenced the views of his official superiors on the great political and military questions, with which, in the time of Lord Cornwallis, of Lord Wellesley, and of Lord Hastings, the Government of India had to deal, inasmuch as up to 1820, when Munro became Governor of Madras, his situation was a comparatively subordinate one, and it was only by means of private correspondence that he was in a position to urge his views on matters beyond the scope of his official duties. Under this category must be included

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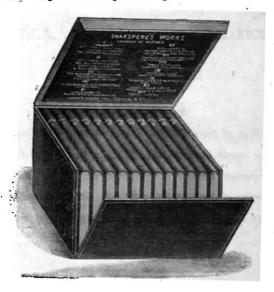
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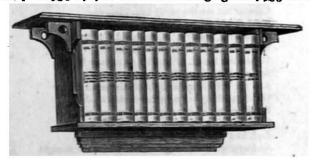
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Salar. My wind, cooling my broth, Would blow me to an ague, when I thought. What harm a wind too great might do at sea, I should not see the sandy hour-glass run But I should think of shallows and of flats, And see my wealthy Andrew, dock'd in sand, Vailing her high-top lower than her ribs To kiss her burial. Should I go to church And see the holy edifice of stone, And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks, Which touching but my gentle vessel's side, Would scatter all her spices on the stream, Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks, . And, in a word, but even now worth this, And now worth nothing? Shall I have the thought To think on this, and shall I lack the thought That such a thing bechanc'd would make me sad? But tell not me: I know Antonio Is sad to think upon his merchandise. Ant. Believe me, no: I thank my fortune for it. My ventures are not in one bottom trusted, Nor to one place; nor is my whole estate Upon the fortune of this present year: Therefore my merchandise makes me not sad. Salar. Why, then you are in love.

Ant. Fie, fie!

Salar. Not in love neither? Then let us say you are sad,

Because you are not merry; and 'twere as easy
For you to laugh, and leap, and say you are merry,
Because you are not sad. Now, by two-headed
Janus.

Nature hath fram'd strange fellows in her time: Some that will evermore peep through their eyes And laugh like parrots at a bag-piper; And other of such vinegar aspect everything that he wrote on the policy to be pursued towards Tippoo and the Mahrattas, on the question of subsidiary forces, and generally on the political prospects and requirements of British rule in India up to the date of its consolidation by the war with the Mahrattas in 1817 and 1818.

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I have quoted on page 153 the language used by the Duke of Argyll in connection with the Act of 1870. Not less worthy of being cited in support of Munro's opinions is the following remarkable passage, which occurs in a paper written by the late Lord Lawrence shortly after the suppression of the Mutiny:—

'Placed as we are, widely separated from the consti'tntional Governments of England or America, our Govern'ment is established, as all Governments should be, for the
'good of the people; but while in their case the popular
'will is generally taken as the criterion of the public good,
'that is not always the case in India. We are not elected
'or placed in power by the people. We are here by our
'moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, and by
'the will of Providence. These alone constitute our
'Charter of Government in India, and in doing the best
'we can for the people, we are bound by our conscience,
'not by theirs.'

A. J. ARBUTHNOT.

The Indian armies in the different augmentations that have been made since the fall of Scringapatam, have received no proportionable increase of Europeans, and the European force is in consequence much below the proportion which it ought always to hold to the native battalions. Though we have but little reason to apprehend any danger from our native troops, yet it is not impossible that circumstances may induce them to listen to the instigations of enterprising leaders, and support them in mutiny and revolt. After seeing what has happened among our own soldiers and sailors in England, we cannot suppose that it is impossible to shake the fidelity of our sepoys. The best security against such an event would be an increase to our European force, which ought to be, I think, to our native in proportion of one to four, or at least one to five.

The facts of the Vellore mutiny are well known, at all

'and that he might possibly join you in the morning, and this assist-'ance alone would, I have no doubt, have induced them to retreat in 'the night. Your mode of attack, though it might not have been the 'safest, was undoubtedly the most decided and heroic. It will have 'the effect of striking greater terror into the hostile armies than 'could have been done by any victory gained with the assistance of 'Colonel Stevenson's division, and of raising the national character, 'already high in India, still higher.

'I hear that negotiations are going on at a great rate. Sindia 'may possibly be secure, but it is more likely that one view at least 'in opening them is to encourage his army, and to deter his tributaries from insurrection. After fighting so hard, you are entitled to diotate

your own terms of peace.

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

'Believe me, dear General,
'Yours truly,
'THOMAS MUNRO.'

The whole of the Minute from which the foregoing passages have been extracted, is well worth perusal, as containing the ablest statement that has been put forward of the views of those who at different times have considered the freedom of the Indian press, European as well as native, to be a source of danger to the State. There are many persons who hold that the apprehensions expressed by Munro as to the effects of a free press upon the fidelity of the native army have been borne out by the events of 1857. To them Munro's language appears in the light of fulfilled prophecy; * but it is extremely doubt-"ful whether the writings of the public press, European or native, had anything to do with the Mutiny. The preponderance of opinion is certainly opposed to this theory. And as to the restrictions which were imposed upon the English press in the earlier years of British rule in India, the truth seems to be that it would have been as impossible to maintain those restrictions permanently, as it was to maintain the Company's monopoly of the trade, or the interdict against the free settlement of unofficial Englishmen in the country. Anomalous as our position in India is, and true as it may be that the tenure with which we hold it 'never has been and never can be the 'liberties of the people,' it is now tolerably clear that the English nation would not have been induced to tolerate, except upon the strongest ground of proved necessity, a permanent withholding of the liberty of the press from their countrymen in India. That press, from the necessity of the case, both as regards its ability and its tone, is

^{*} Mr. Elphinstone, who was still living when the Indian Mutiny occurred, took this view. The following is an extract from a letter written by him at that time:—'The lest accounts from India are 'doubtless very gloomy. The risk of fresh interests and new feelings 'arising during the interval of inaction is certainly very great, and to 'one who has just read, Munro's admirable Minute, it appears that the 'full accomplishment of his prophocy is at hand.'