possible, and therefore I take all possible means of communicating to you what I know to be facts.. . . . We have no communications with Bengal, and the troops on this side Benares are at present too much separated to yield one another timely assistance. I hope to God a sufficient force is ordered for the reduction of Cheit Sing, *for the people who are daily sent to him, horse and foot, from Fyzabad is very great.*' On the 13th he wrote: 'It is impossible in the general insurrection, which now reigns almost universally, for me to get the force together the Nawab demanded, or to force my way to you without a loss. The greatest anarchy prevails; the present insurrection is said and believed to be with an intention to expel the English.'[1] And subsequently: 'I have already and repeatedly informed you of the dispositions of those in favour at Fyzabad, which has in fact been one of the great sources of the insurrection, and the place of all others in the Vizier's dominions which has supplied Cheit Sing with the greatest number of troops. The old Begum does, in the most open and violent manner, support Cheit Sing's rebellion and the insurrection, and the Nawab's mother's accursed eunuchs are not less industrious. Capital examples made of Jower Ali Khan and Bahar Ali Khan would, I am persuaded, have the very best effects.'[2]

These statements of Colonel Hannay were fully confirmed by the Resident, Mr. Middleton, an old and experienced servant of the Company. He said of the Begum that, 'strengthened by her immense wealth, which is entrusted to her two chief eunuchs, she is become one of the most serious internal evils that bid fair to give great disturbance to this country.' He described her as a woman of uncommonly violent temper: 'Death and destruction is the least menace she denounces upon the most trifling opposition to her caprice. By her own conduct, and that of all her agents and dependents during the Benares troubles, it may with truth and justice be affirmed, she forfeited every claim she had to the protection of the English Government,

[1] *State Papers*, Vol. III, p. 1004. [2] Ibid., p. 1005.

as she evidently, and it is confidently said, avowedly espoused the cause of Rajah Cheit Sing, and united in the idea and plan of a general extirpation of their race and power in Hindostan.'[1]

These were the grounds on which the Governor-General believed in the guilt of the Begums, and acted on that belief. He was justly of opinion that when the Begums committed themselves to an act of war against the Bengal Government, they forfeited the guarantee which that Government had given them. It is a maxim of international jurisprudence that a state of war voids all treaties between the belligerent parties. It was not the Governor-General who violated the guarantee, it was the Begums who annulled it by their own act. When they, through their warlike eunuchs, sent troops to assist Cheit Sing, and fomented the Benares outbreak, they themselves abolished all claim on English protection. To Warren Hastings the resumption of the jagirs was not only a measure of sound policy but also just. He likewise considered it both impolitic and unjust to leave the Begums in the possession of a large amount of treasure.[2] On this he wrote to the Council: 'It may be necessary in this place to inform you that in addition to the former resolution of resuming the Begum's jagir, the Nawab had declared his resolution of reclaiming all the treasures of his family which were in their possession, and to which, by the Mahomedan law, he was entitled. This resolution I have strenuously encouraged and supported, not so much for the reasons assigned by the Nawab, as because I think it equally unjust and impolitic that they should be allowed to retain the means of which they have already made so pernicious a use by exciting disturbances in the country and a revolt against the Nawab their sovereign. I am not too sanguine in my expectations of the result of these proceedings, but have required and received the Nawab's promise that, whatever acquisition shall be obtained from the issue of them, it shall be primarily

[1] *State Papers*, Vol. III, p. 51. [2] Ibid., Introd., p. lxxiv.

applied to the discharge of the balance actually due from him to the Company.'[1] In making this stipulation the Governor-General only discharged his duty to the Administration of which he was the head.

There remained, as concerning the Begums, the duty of carrying out the resolutions arrived at in Chunar. A military force, accompanied by the Vizier, was moved up to Fyzabad; the followers of the Begums were assembled there in resistance, but their leaders durst not defy the English power, and these retainers were speedily, without bloodshed, disarmed and disbanded, and the palace was closely invested by the troops. No more provisions were allowed to enter than were necessary for the food of the princesses and their attendants. They were, in fact, imprisoned in their own palace; but no intrusion was made on the zenana, and no personal indignity was offered It is probable that the Begums suffered a little inconvenience, and may have felt some humiliation. But that was all, and the situation could have been terminated at any moment by yielding what they had no right to keep. For some weeks the ladies obstinately refused to surrender, but ultimately the treasure was given up to the Vizier, who discharged thereout the debt due to the Company.

Before this took place the Governor-General had left for Calcutta, and was certainly not answerable for anything more than the express orders he gave to the Resident that there should be no negotiation nor compromise. But the Vizier, acting on his own authority, though no doubt with the acquiescence, tacit or other, of the Resident, went further, and removed the two eunuchs to Lucknow, where they were treated with some severity; and it was in consequence of that treatment that the treasure was given up. The remark of Mr. Forrest upon this episode in the story is as follows: 'The cruelty practised by the Nawab and his servants has been greatly exaggerated, but it was sufficient to have justified the interference of the Resident. To have

[1] *State Papers*, Vol. III, p. 836.

countenanced it by transmitting the orders of the Vizier was a grave offence. But for what took place Hastings at Calcutta cannot be held responsible.'[1] This may be safely taken as a true and just comment by an impartial inquirer into the facts.

The tale of the Begums, simply told in the preceding pages, without either concealment on the one hand, or embellishment on the other, differs widely from the fiction of Macaulay. Let us take the statement in the *Essay* by steps. It begins by thus describing the treaty of Chunar. 'At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money. Asaph-ul-Dowla wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course in which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and Bengal; and that course was adopted. It was simply this, that the Governor-General and the Vizier should join to rob a third party; and the third party whom they determined to rob was the parent of one of the robbers.'

Now the first article of the treaty was occupied with an arrangement to relieve the finances of Oude by reducing the number of the Company's troops and of the English officers in the service of the Nawab; and also with regulating the amount of his private income, and securing the management of the public revenue. The second article was directed to the abolition of the great fiefs of territory owned by various feudatories, which had been found to produce confusion and disorder in the country. It is true that the Begums held some of these fiefs, and were, in common with many other landholders, made to suffer resumption under the treaty; but it is also true that Warren Hastings stipulated, in discharge of the guarantee given by the Company, that full compensation should be paid. That compensation was

[1] *State Papers*, Introd., p. lxxv.

secured to the Begums by way of pensions, and those pensions are to this day, according to Sir Alfred Lyall, paid to their representatives. So far, at any rate, it is surely an abuse of language to speak of the treaty as 'robbery'.

But then the *Essay* comes to deal with the question of the treasure. 'They' (the Begums) 'had possessed great influence over Sujah Dowla, and had at his death been left a splendid dotation. The treasure hoarded by the late Nawab, a treasure which was popularly estimated at near three millions sterling, was in their hands. . . . Asaph-ul-Dowla had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length appealed to the English; and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to commit any further invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the Government of Bengal But times had changed, money was wanted; and the power which had given the guarantee was not ashamed to instigate the spoiler to excesses such that even he shrank from them. . . . A pretext was the last thing that Hastings was likely to want. The insurrection at Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These disturbances it was convenient to impute to the Princesses. Evidence for the imputation there was scarcely any, unless reports wandering from one mouth to another, and gaining something by every transmission, may be called evidence . . . It was agreed between him' (the Governor-General) 'and the Vizier that the noble ladies should, by a sweeping confiscation, be stripped of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company, and that the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the Government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the Government of Oude.'

The politest thing to say of the sentences above quoted is that from beginning to end they are unhistorical. Macaulay was a great writer, and probably his most

cherished ambition was to be thought a great historian. Yet it would seem that in his desire to write brilliantly, to write dramatically, he continually missed the truth that the foundation of all history must lie in accuracy as to facts.

Judged by that standard, it is difficult to find much history in the above quotation. It is not true that the treasure in the vaults of their zenana was a 'dotation' of the princesses. It was money belonging to the State, of which the first and proper use was to pay the State debts. That it was in the actual hands of the Begums is correct, but it was so in defiance of law and custom, and therefore wrongfully. It could be justly reclaimed by the legal owner.

Nor is it true that Asaph-ul-Dowla had 'extorted' sums from his mother. On the contrary, it was she who had extorted from him jagirs to the extent of four times the value of the money she had advanced to him.

It is equally untrue that the Begum 'had at length appealed to the English'. It was Asaph-ul-Dowla who appealed to the Resident in his distress; and the Resident strongly expostulated with the lady on her conduct to her son. In this respect the statement in the *Essay* is a complete inversion of the facts.

But again; to say, in reference to the disturbances in Oude and Benares, that it was a 'pretext' on the part of Hastings, that it was convenient to impute those disturbances to the princesses, and that there was no evidence for the imputation, is an unjustifiable slander, as well as a denial of plain facts. Are the dispatches of Colonel Hannay not evidence? Are the statements of the Resident to go for nothing? Of course that was the policy of the authors of the Impeachment; every one who did not support their accusations was a liar and an accomplice; but was it the business of a distinguished public man, fifty years after, to cast, or to insinuate, unworthy libels on honourable servants of the State, and on their illustrious Head?

Lastly, it is not true that there was any measure of con-

fiscation, sweeping or other, put in force against 'the noble ladies'. For the resumption of their domains the Begums were fully compensated, at the time and in perpetuity; and to speak of the enforced surrender of the late Vizier's hoard, which had never been theirs legally or morally, and of its restoration to the owner, as confiscation and robbery, is to misuse words. Nor is it true that this treasure was accepted by the Government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the Government of Oude (which implies that it took the whole), whereas the Bengal Government took nothing but the sum long due to it, and took that sum from the Vizier, in whose hands the residue of the treasure remained. Was there ever, let the reader say, a greater travesty of historical statement than this?

Sir Alfred Lyall, whose clearly-written account of these transactions is in close accordance with what appears in the preceding pages, makes a remark at the close with which it is impossible to agree. He condemns any 'measures of coercion against women and eunuchs as unworthy and indefensible'. Unless it is meant that all members of the gentler sex, and those of no sex at all, are to be at liberty to do what they choose irrespective of law and justice (which would be a strange doctrine), we cannot understand this expression. To bring the question home, let us consider it by the light of English usage, and, we may add, of English common sense. We do not believe that in fundamental ideas of truth and equity the East can differ much from the West. Let us suppose that these ladies of the zenana had been Englishwomen of noble birth and position, and that they (as such English ladies have done before now, and may come to do again) refused to give up to its owner property which did not belong to them. The records of the High Court of Justice will show what happens to Englishwomen, be they duchesses or be they washerwomen, who will not obey the law. They go to prison till they comply with the order of the Court. No doubt this coercion would be disagreeable, and some possibly would agree with

Sir Alfred Lyall, and think it 'indefensible'. But it would be necessary, and it would be enforced. What more did the Begums suffer? In some respects much less, for though imprisoned it was in their own palace, and they were never moved from their secluded apartments.

With regard to the two eunuchs it is another matter, and no English writer can do otherwise than condemn the severity practised upon them by order of the Vizier. That severity was grossly exaggerated by the orators of the Impeachment, but, whatever it was, Warren Hastings knew nothing of it, and, as Mr. Forrest has said, 'cannot be held responsible'. But the notion that the eunuchs, like their mistresses, should have been sacred from coercion, is absurd. Sir Alfred Lyall himself says of them that they 'were certainly not infirm effeminate guardians of the harem, but the chief advisers and agents of the Begums, men of great wealth and influence in the palace, and in command of the armed forces'. It was they who had actively helped the outbreak at Benares, and had stirred up insurrection in Oude. There are abundant instances to be found in history of the prominent part which such persons can play in public affairs. To give one for example: Narses, the intrepid and victorious defender of Italy against northern invasion, was, as Gibbon narrates, a eunuch. It would be grotesque to suppose that he therefore held himself to be free from the obligations of loyalty and law.

There is a curious piece of testimony in regard to one of these two Fyzabad eunuchs to be found in *Voyages and Travels* by Viscount Valentia, who met that personage at Lucknow in 1803. Lord Valentia describes him as a venerable old woman-like being, upwards of eighty, full six feet high, and stout in proportion. 'After all the cruel plunderings which he is stated to have undergone, he is supposed to be worth half a million of money.' Lord Valentia also writes in another place: 'Almas the eunuch paid me a visit. He is held here in much consideration from the prominent part he has borne in politics; from

having once held above half the province of Oude, and from his consequently great riches.' He had afterwards the honour of a visit from Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General. There is no mention of his having made any complaint, and, judging from the account given by Lord Valentia, he had not suffered much, either in purse or person, from the alleged torment and confiscation.

# CHAPTER VIII

## SUMMARY

MACAULAY was by no means the worst of Warren Hastings' accusers. Unconsciously no doubt, he misrepresented here, and embellished there, and wrote injustice when he believed he was recording history. But he was a man of too clear political vision and too statesmanlike a mind to swallow all the calumnies of Burke. This was the more to his honour because his admiration for Burke was extremely high. Macaulay was a Whig of the old school, and to the Old Whigs Burke was a prophet. But the true Whig mind has always been moderate, and Macaulay, while unfortunately adopting much of Burke's view as to the political conduct of Warren Hastings, shrank from his violent and prejudiced abuse of the great Governor-General.

Those who care to undergo the labour of perusing the nine days' speech in reply made by Burke at the close of the Impeachment will certainly be astonished, and perhaps be disgusted, by the scurrility of his language and the incoherence of his accusations. It would seem that to his mind the gifted man who had ruled British India for thirteen years, who had brought it through a great war, and secured for it an honourable peace, was not a statesman at all; he was nothing but 'a fraudulent bullock contractor'. He was not to be spoken of as anything important; he 'was not a tiger or a lion, he was a weasel and a rat'. He was 'captain-general of iniquity', and that of the baser sort. All that he had done was to put money into his own hands, and to pile up riches by the starvation of the people of India. Again and again Burke declared his profound admiration for Clavering, Monson, and Francis, the only wise and incorrupt administrators, as it would appear, that

India had ever seen. No doubt he had adopted their story that Warren Hastings had accumulated four hundred thousand pounds in two and a half years by sheer robbery and peculation. A man who believed this would believe anything, and would never ask for the evidence of facts, nor indeed credit them when they were produced.

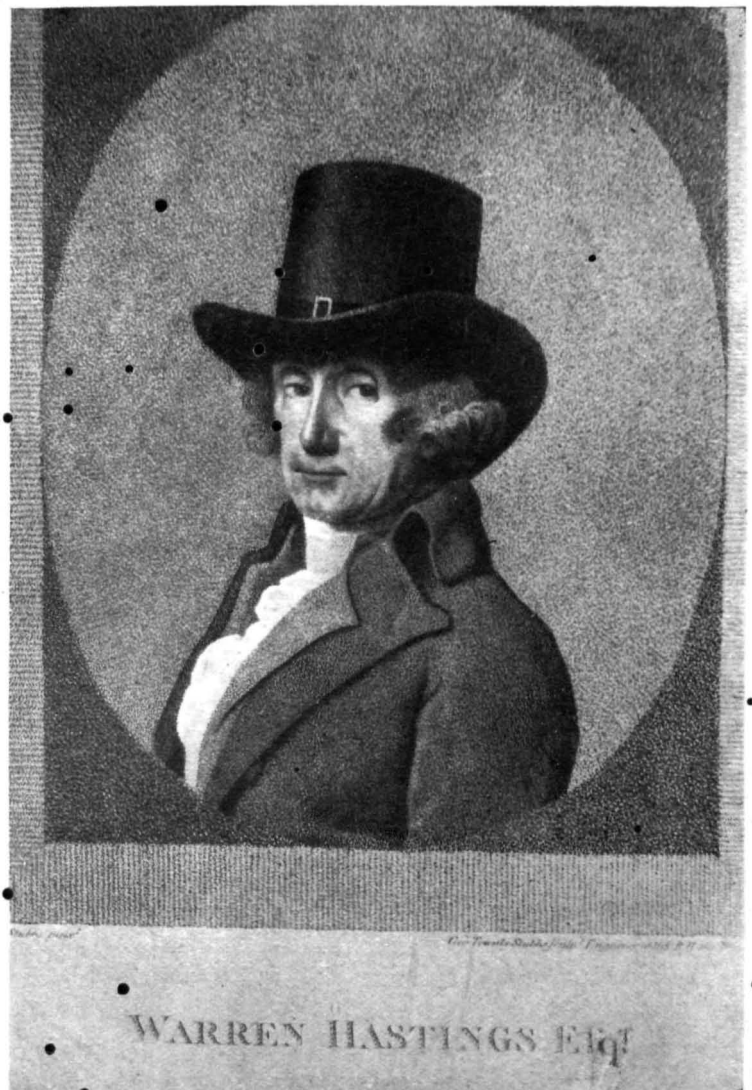
Burke affirmed that Warren Hastings was bribed by the Munny Begum to appoint her as the personal guardian of the young Nawab of Bengal. He admitted that there was no proof of the bribe; but there was no need of any proof; it was plain on the face of the transaction that the Governor would never have appointed her unless she had paid him to do so. Again, for what purpose did Warren Hastings cause a new assessment to be made of the landed property in Bengal? Merely to enrich himself; whenever the valuation was raised, of course he put the difference into his pocket. For what did he establish new provincial courts? Simply to grind money out of the people. For what did he go to Benares? To levy a fine enormous in its amount, so that the portion which he might appropriate to himself should be the larger. Why did he harry the Begums, noble ladies who were models of feminine amiability and patience? Of course only to add to his own immense wealth. For what purpose had Oude been misgoverned under its unhappy and persecuted ruler? Solely to satisfy the personal greed of Warren Hastings. And so on through nine days of weary iteration and angry invective, till the impatience of the Lords more than once (as the verbatim report shows) broke through the traditional decorum of their House. The entire accusation, in all its branches, was based on the hypothesis of personal corruption. The details were, mainly, from that mint of lies at which Philip Francis worked with the energy of personal hate; but the substructure throughout was the belief, held by Burke with sincerity as much as with blind passion, that Warren Hastings had had, during his whole period in office, no object but that of making money.

Now what did Macaulay, strong accuser as he was on many other points, say to the charge of corruption? Speaking of the character of Warren Hastings in this regard—we quote from the *Essay*—'There is, we conceive, no reason to suspect that the Rohilla War, the revolution of Benares, or the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude added a rupee to his fortune. We will not affirm that in all pecuniary dealings he showed that punctilious integrity, that dread of the faintest appearance of evil, which is now the glory of the Indian civil service. But when the school in which he had been trained and the temptations to which he was exposed are considered, we are more inclined to praise him for his general uprightness with respect to money, than rigidly to blame him for a few transactions which would now be called indelicate and irregular, but which even now would hardly be designated as corrupt. A rapacious man he certainly was not. Had he been so, he would infallibly have returned to his country the richest subject in Europe. We speak within compass when we say that, without applying any extraordinary pressure, he might easily have obtained from the zemindars of the Company's provinces and from neighbouring princes, in the course of thirteen years, more than three millions sterling, and might have outshone the splendour of Carlton House and of the *Palais Royal*. He brought home a fortune such as a Governor-General, fond of state and careless of thrift, might easily, during so long a tenure of office, save out of his legal salary.'

That is a clear and, taken as a whole, a just statement of the case. It proves, at any rate, that Macaulay did not credit the gross imputations brought by the Managers of the Impeachment. Warren Hastings once made a deliberate declaration that he was never, at any period of his life, worth more than a hundred thousand pounds; and there are known facts which bear out the statement. He had bought Daylesford just at the time when the Impeachment proceedings began, and his outlay on the property had

probably commenced in the earlier years of the trial. This may possibly have accounted for some twenty thousand pounds. It cannot now be ascertained with any certainty what were the costs of the defence, but it has generally been assumed that they amounted to at least seventy thousand pounds. He was left practically insolvent when he was discharged from the bar of the House of Lords, and nothing but the munificence of the East India Company saved him from ending his days in absolute penury. It is evident, then, that he could not have had more than a hundred thousand pounds on his return to England, and, reckoning that he may have saved some six or seven thousand a year in Calcutta, the estimate of Macaulay is pretty accurately borne out.

But the passage from the *Essay* quoted above cannot be left without some further observations. It was given at length for the sake of complete candour, but it must not be supposed that its language is acquiesced in throughout. Macaulay's style, in all his writings, is apt to slip into generalities when specific statements are called for, and to evade proof by raising up a cloud of words. When, in speaking of Warren Hastings' public conduct, he intimates a want of 'punctilious integrity' in certain 'pecuniary dealings', he was bound in truth and justice to state with precision what these dealings were. He admits that the Governor-General did not take bribes and did not peculate. What then did he do? Macaulay could not have meant that he took presents in money, for the same paragraph of the *Essay*, in its continuance, expressly contrasts his conduct in this respect with that of his wife, who, it says, 'accepted presents with great alacrity.' But it is added that she did so without the connivance of her husband. This portion of the passage is quoted with reluctance; but it is necessary to make things clear. If, then, Warren Hastings took neither bribes nor pecuniary presents, and kept his hands free from misappropriation, in what way was he other than 'punctilious' in his integrity?




PORTRAIT OF WARREN HASTINGS

Taken and engraved by George Chubb in 1795. (It formed the upper part of an equestrian portrait.)

We dwell on this imputation the more because, in an earlier part of the *Essay*, it is said of him that 'he was not squeamish in pecuniary transactions'. This is given as a bare assertion; no commentary is added to elucidate the text. Now if it is meant that in Warren Hastings' time a Governor-General received, in addition to a large salary, lavish allowances for table money and receptions, or that his journeys in the provinces and visits to neighbouring princes were defrayed liberally out of public funds, all this may be true, but such expenditure was open and avowed, known to all men, and wholly free from the taint of malversation. These were the customs of a past time, it may be not entirely non-existent in the present, and looked upon then, perhaps, as a necessary lubrication of the somewhat difficult mechanism of government.

Or, if any allusion was intended to the large sum offered to Warren Hastings at Calcutta, as a personal present, by the agent of the Rajah of Benares, the allusion should have been open and explicit. That affair, viewed in the light of circumstances subsequently disclosed, did nothing but honour to the Governor-General, though maliciously distorted in the tales told by his enemies. He at once refused the offer; but when it was again pressed upon him he agreed to receive the money, not as a present to himself, but as a gift to the Company. At that moment the treasury was desperately empty of cash, the expedition against Scindia (on the success of which the question of making peace turned) was urgently in need of funds, as was the secret service in some other places; and Warren Hastings took the twenty thousand pounds, used it for the public necessities, and subsequently acquainted the Board of Directors with the fact.[1] It was a strong thing to do,

[1] In a letter, dated November 29, 1780, he wrote—'The money was not my own, and I neither could nor would have received it, but for your benefit.' Mr. Forrest says: 'The acceptance of this present was one of the charges of bribery brought against Hastings, but after the various and frank avowals which he made of having

and required a strong man to do it. He was well aware that he ran the risk of misunderstanding and misrepresentation; but he faced the risk, at that critical time, as he faced many others, not in his own interest, but in the interests of British India, to which, by afterwards carrying through the negotiation with Scindia, he restored peace and prosperity.

It was necessary to give a plain reply to the loose intimations of misconduct, or want of proper conduct, in pecuniary matters, made as above by Macaulay. But it is not intended to carry controversy further on the point. What is intended is to deny categorically that any money transaction, public or private, conducted by Warren Hastings was other than punctilious in its integrity, and to challenge contradiction thereon by any testimony of recorded facts.

There are other expressions used in the Essay which cannot be passed by without asking from every impartial reader of the preceding chapters a verdict of repudiation. More than once Macaulay attributes 'crimes' to the Governor-General. When, for instance, he refutes the imputation (assuredly not made herein) that Burke was animated by unworthy motives in his attacks: 'Why

received it, it is impossible to believe that he could have had an idea of converting it to his own use. The perpetual dissensions in Council and the almost unremitted opposition made to the measures proposed by Hastings induced him to do many unconstitutional acts which he would not have done had he been free and unshackled. If he received sums of money without the consent of his colleagues, it must be borne in mind that he also expended sums of money without their participation or consent. He paid without their knowledge three lakhs of rupees for the uninterrupted passage of our army to the coast. Hastings had also often to spend sums of money on secret service which he had every reason to believe the majority would oppose.'

Sir Alfred Lyall (p. 128) speaks of some transaction with the Vizier of Oude, and enlarges the amount to a hundred thousand pounds; but we apprehend that the story is in reality the same as that narrated and commented on in the Introduction to the *State Papers*, Introd., pp. lv, lvi.

should we look for any other explanation of Burke's conduct than that which we find on the surface? The plain truth is that Hastings had committed some great crimes and that the thought of those crimes made the blood of Burke boil in his veins.' So also when speaking of the fate of Nuncoomar: 'While therefore we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt whether with justice it can be reckoned among his crimes.' And again, at the commencement of a general review (highly laudatory) of his long administration, the *Essay* says: 'it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes with which it was blemished, we have to set off great public services.' It is clear, therefore, that Macaulay imputes crimes, and in the name of justice and truth, it is asked, *what* crimes?

Now it will be found that there are six leading charges laid against Warren Hastings at one time or another, which are enumerated below; one of them is not pressed as a crime by Macaulay, though strongly condemned.

1. The Rohilla War.
2. Trial and execution of Nuncoomar.
3. Treatment of the Nawab and Emperor.
4. Wars with Mahrattas and Hyder Ali.
5. Affair with Cheit Sing.
6. Affair with the Begums.

We propose to briefly reproduce, under each head, the circumstances narrated above in our pages. To the reader we shall leave it whether in any one instance the word 'crime' is justly applicable.

The Rohilla War is represented in the *Essay* as an unscrupulous device employed by Warren Hastings to obtain money for the Company; as a bargain which he drove with Sujah-ul-Dowla, the Vizier of Oude, to lend him English troops for the conquest of Rohilcund and the extirpation of the Rohilla tribes, in consideration of a sum of four hundred thousand pounds paid by the Vizier.

The real facts were very different. They are stated at

length (with authorities) in our second chapter, and, put shortly, they are these. The Rohillas brought on the war by their own perfidious and dangerous conduct. When their territory was invaded by the Mahrattas, whom they were unable to resist, they were glad enough of help both from Oude and from Calcutta. Help was given and the Mahrattas were driven off. The Rohillas covenanted, in a treaty witnessed and countersigned by the English Commander, to pay the Vizier the sum of forty lacs. They never paid a rupee; and it was discovered that they were secretly intriguing with the Mahrattas in order to evade the obligation. Their perfidy gave the Vizier a just provocation to war, and gave us a valid reason for assisting our ally. Of all this Macaulay says nothing. When Warren Hastings was at Benares, arranging with Sujah-ul-Dowla the terms of the treaty by which Korah and Allahabad were ceded to the Vizier, a proposal was made by the latter that he should, in order to punish the Rohilla treachery, have the aid of some English troops, for which he was ready to pay. Warren Hastings discouraged the idea, contented himself with saying that, if such an arrangement were made, the terms would necessarily be heavy, and went back to Calcutta without giving any assent. The Vizier subsequently wrote, renewing the proposal. Warren Hastings was by this time fully informed of the plots of the Rohillas; he concluded that war against them was just; he foresaw the danger to our own territory if they allied themselves with the Mahrattas; and perceived that the annexation of Rohilcund to Oude would carry out his policy of strengthening the north-western frontier. He laid the letter of the Vizier before the Council, and explained the whole situation. After long and anxious consideration the Council resolved to assist the Vizier, and ordered a brigade to advance into Oude for that purpose. The war was cut short by one sharp conflict, which broke the Rohilla power, usurped some sixty years before. The atrocities so luridly described in the *Essay* were contradicted by eye witnesses

at the time, and may be dismissed as gross exaggerations or malicious inventions. The net result, as given by Mr. Forrest, is, that 'about seventeen or eighteen hundred Rohillas, with their families, were expelled from Rohilcund, and Hindu inhabitants, amounting to about seven hundred thousand, remained in possession of their patrimonial acres, and were seen cultivating their fields in peace.'[1] This is the true statement of the case, and its difference from the rhetorical account given by Macaulay is the difference between fact and fiction.

2. The charge made in the matter of Nuncoomar, a high priest of the order of Brahmins, and a man of marked ability and influence, though of evil character, was this: it was alleged that Warren Hastings, having been accused by Nuncoomar before the Council of taking bribes and other peculation, suborned the prosecution of his accuser on a charge of forgery, the transaction out of which the charge arose having taken place six years before; that Nuncoomar was, under this accusation, brought to trial before Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, who was described as in collusion with the Governor-General, arraigned before an English jury, found guilty, sentenced to death, and hanged. All this being brought about by Warren Hastings to silence a dangerous enemy.

The entire story has been shown to be absolutely untrue. Years ago, Sir James Stephen, a Judge of the English High Court of Justice, who had, when serving as a member of Council at Calcutta, the opportunity of looking into the history of the case, proved conclusively in his *Story of Nuncoomar* that Warren Hastings was innocent of the conduct imputed to him. The account given in the Introduction to the *State Papers* shows also that the accusation was not only untrue but was impossible. It proves that the proceedings which led to the arrest and trial of Nuncoomar were commenced six weeks before he made any charge

[1] See also the explicit and authoritative statement by Sir John Strachey, given in our second chapter.

against the Governor-General, who could have had, therefore, no motive or interest in the matter.

The solemn declaration made by Warren Hastings on oath before the Supreme Court, that he had never interfered in any way with the trial, or had anything to do with the prosecution, was absolutely true.

3. Treatment of the Nawab of Bengal, and of the Emperor of Delhi. These matters embodied the charges made by Macaulay when speaking of the need of bettering the finances of Bengal, and there can be no doubt that he reckoned them among what he termed the great crimes of Warren Hastings' administration. It is best to give the accusation in Macaulay's own words: 'A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious scruples,[1] speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the Government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand a year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near three hundred thousand pounds a year to the great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had entrusted to their care; and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Corah and Allahabad. The situation of these places was such that there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. . . . Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob Vizier, was on excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an

[1] The reader will observe this imputation of motive, unsupported by proof, and unwarrantable.

understanding, and the provinces which had been torn from the Mogul were made over to the Government of Oude for about half a million of pounds sterling.' This passage is a grave misrepresentation of the real facts, and was written, probably enough, in reliance on the distorted statements made by Burke, who in turn was indebted for his information to the inventions of Philip Francis.

The reduction of the income allowed to the Nawab of Bengal (at that time a minor under the guardianship of the Munny Begum) was made, quite equitably, in consequence of the abolition of the double government in Bengal, one of the most salutary measures which the statesmanship of Warren Hastings ever achieved. It was one thing to pay the Nawab a lavish allowance when he was the ruling prince of Bengal; it would have been quite another to continue such a payment when he had become simply a great noble. In his changed position an allowance of a hundred and sixty thousand pounds a year can hardly be considered other than liberal. It is curious that Macaulay, who counted the abolition of the double government among the conspicuous merits of Warren Hastings' administration, did not perceive that the one change in the Nawab's position was naturally consequent on the other.

The supersession of the payment to the Delhi Emperor was on different grounds, but was equally defensible. When the Emperor was driven from Delhi by the menace of the Mahratta hordes, the provinces of Korah and Allahabad were secured to him by the Company, as a sure refuge and a means to maintain his dignity. It is true they had also agreed to pay him a yearly revenue of about three hundred thousand pounds in return for his grant of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. All this was before the time of Warren Hastings' rulership. When he became Governor the relations of the Emperor to the Mahrattas, and consequently to the English, had greatly changed. The Mahrattas, always restless, had found it politic to make friends with the Emperor. They had restored him to his

palace at Delhi, had themselves occupied Korah and Allahabad, and were swaying, for their own purposes, the policy of the Court at Delhi. This was a state of things, which Warren Hastings refused to tolerate.[1] Through all the years of his government he was specially sensitive to the safety of the north-western frontier of the Company's provinces. He knew Mahratta ways; he knew their habit of secret intrigue, as he knew their custom of predatory invasion. He was resolved, in protection of the territory committed to his charge, to oust them from Allahabad and Korah. He moved up a force for that purpose, and the Mahrattas prudently retired. It was not Warren Hastings who had torn these districts from the Emperor; it was the Emperor himself who had ceded them to the Mahrattas. It is true that the Governor sold them to the Vizier, on whose territory they abutted, and who was in a position to defend them. In that respect the constant object of strengthening the frontier was pursued. The sale was as wise in policy as it was financially opportune.

The revenue paid to the Emperor was for the maintenance of his independence, and also to preserve the common interests of the Empire. It was never intended, and it could not be borne, that it should be used to subsidize a lawless and rapacious power, and to furnish arms for aggression. Warren Hastings refused then, as he always refused, to supply out of the revenues of the Company, either to

[1] On October 12, 1773, Warren Hastings stated the case clearly to the Council, in answer to Sir Robert Barker: 'The Government bestowed the districts of Corah and Allahabad upon the King Shah Allum of its own free will "for the support of his dignity and expenses." He first abandoned, and afterwards, by a solemn grant, he gave them away to the Mahrattas. We disapproved of the grant, because it frustrated the purpose for which these lands were bestowed on the King, and because we saw danger in admitting so powerful a neighbour on the borders of our ally. It was therefore resolved to resume the possession of those lands, not from the King, whose property and right were annulled by his own alienation of them, but from the Mahrattas, their new proprietors.'—*State Papers*, vol. I, p. 71.

known enemies or to dubious friends, any pecuniary resource. He cut off the payment to the Emperor, because the position of that potentate had become, in respect to English interests, of doubtful augury.

4. The Mahratta War owed its origin to the rashness of the Governor and Council of Bombay. They espoused the cause of one Raghoba, a claimant to the office of the Peishwa, the virtual head of the Mahratta Confederacy. To support the pretender's claim, and in hopes of thus establishing a control over the Confederacy, the Bombay Government ordered a military force to advance towards Poonah. Against this act, as being beyond the powers of a subordinate Presidency, and in itself unjust and impolitic, Warren Hastings protested vigorously. He wrote a dispatch, ordering that the expedition sent should be recalled, unless it had already obtained some decisive success; which, as it turned out, it had actually done. But the hostile majority in the Council at Calcutta overruled the Governor-General, and resolved that the force should be recalled unconditionally. This fatal course was the beginning of much misfortune The Mahrattas, encouraged by the show of weakness, refused for some time to make peace; and when they did so, the treaty of Purandhar, approved by the majority of the Council, was of such a nature that it was signed against the wish, and with no more than the reluctant assent, of Warren Hastings.

When the Governor-General, owing to the deaths of Monson and Clavering, recovered the control of his Council, he discovered that a French agent[1] was at Poonah, openly received by the Mahratta Government, and believed to be engaged in secret negotiations with them. Warren Hastings, in accordance with his usual policy, determined to strike the first blow. He sent a military force across India to menace Poonah, and he withdrew the interdict against the action of the Bombay Government. For this he was afterwards fiercely denounced by Burke, and the long and doubtful

[1] The Chevalier de St. Lubin.

contest which ensued was laid with much malediction at his door. But looking at the relations then existing between France and England, the course pursued seems to have been both statesmanlike and salutary. Macaulay expresses the opinion that if other circumstances (such as the invasion by Hyder Ali) had not intervened, Warren Hastings would have seen his measures against the Mahrattas crowned with success. As it was, though faced by herculean difficulties, he held his own against all odds, triumphed finally over all reverses, and obtained by persistent efforts an honourable peace.

The provocations given to Hyder Ali and the Nizam were most unfortunate, resulting as they did in the terrible invasion of the Carnatic, and in a desolating though, in some respects, glorious war. But these errors and misfeasances were in no way due to Warren Hastings. It was his misfortune at this crisis that while on the one side of India he had to meet and remedy the shortcomings at Bombay, he had on the other to deal with the mistakes and misconduct at Madras. It was not he who engaged in a discreditable intrigue against the Nizam, nor he who neglected all preparation against the hosts of Hyder. But he had to face the consequences of both blunders and of much else beside. He had not only to guard Bengal when threatened with foreign invasion, and beset with treacherous revolt, but he had simultaneously on his shoulders the two subordinate Presidencies, helpless alike in policy and finance. The dangers and difficulties due to others were confronted by him with matchless courage and address. It was owing to his administrative skill, diplomatic adroitness, and rare tenacity of purpose, that a great combination of opponents was overcome, and that rest was finally given to India.

5. The answer to the charge made in relation to Cheit Sing is short and simple. It is that the charge was founded originally and rests to this day on a mistake in fact. It was assumed by the Managers of the Impeachment, and has been believed by thousands of readers, that Cheit Sing was an independent and sovereign prince, not accountable

to the Calcutta Government in any way, so long as he paid his fixed tribute.

Macaulay, we are convinced, thought otherwise. In a carefully reasoned passage he intimates his opinion that the correct course was to acquit on the Benares charge. Yet in an earlier page he had these words: 'The English government now chose to wring money out of Cheit Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat him as a sovereign prince; it was now convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find, in the general chaos of laws and customs, arguments for either course.' A more misleading statement was never written. No one in India, or possessed of any knowledge of India, ever could, or ever did, think of Cheit Sing as *a sovereign prince, for the good reason that all the facts*, plain on the surface of things, defied such a supposition. Grandson of an adventurer, son of a farmer of the revenue, himself a vassal of the Vizier of Oude, who fined him at pleasure, handed over in his position of vassal, with all its customary obligations, to the Company, which thenceforth became his suzerain; what title to independence had Cheit Sing? None in any way; except, indeed, in his own fatal dreams, when he fancied that the English were about to be driven from India, and he hoped to be elevated on their ruin.

In effect, Cheit Sing was a zemindar, though a great one, of the Company, and was justly treated as such by the Governor-General. It is true that the fine imposed was heavy; but it was intended as a punishment for his contumacy and intrigue, as well as a contribution required by the State in its urgent necessity. The whole proceeding was legal; it was approved by the only other Member of Council available at the time; and no candid inquirer into its history will find, on the part of Warren Hastings, anything in the nature of a crime.

It may be recorded as noteworthy that after all the fervid oratory of Burke, only six peers could be found to vote in support of the Benares charge.

6. The charge brought against Warren Hastings in regard to the Begums of Oude, was nothing less than this; that he conspired with the Vizier, Asaph-ul-Dowla, to rob two helpless ladies, Princesses of Oude, mother and grandmother to one of the conspirators, despoiling them of a large sum of money, besides depriving them of their landed estates. It has been widely believed that this charge was true.

As a fact, the money in question was not the lawful property of the Begums. It was the treasure that had been accumulated by the former Vizier, Sujah-ul-Dowla, and by the law of the Koran it belonged to his son and successor. The Begums had kept him out of most of it, relying on the protection of the Zenana, and had received in return for the comparatively small portion they gave up, jaghires (i. e. landed estates) of far greater value. For the rest they set the Vizier at defiance, and maintained a considerable armed force under the command of their two chief eunuchs. They might have retained all undisturbed, had they remained quiet. But when the Benares insurrection broke out, the Begums, through their agents and followers, aided the insurgents; in fact, waged war against the Company. Warren Hastings thereupon withdrew the guarantee that had been formerly given to them, and treated them as open enemies.

At this time the Vizier owed a large amount to the Calcutta Government. He explained that owing to the detention of the treasure by the Begums, he had no means to pay. As the Governor-General represented the chief creditor of the Vizier, he agreed to assist in the recovery of the money. This was done. The Begums' forces were disarmed, their jaghires were resumed, and their palace blockaded by English troops. After a stubborn resistance, in which, however, no blood was shed, the treasure was given up to the Vizier by the eunuchs, and out of it the obligations due to the Company were discharged. The Begums received pensions in compensation for their jaghires.

They were never personally molested during the whole affair.

The treatment of the eunuchs, contumacious as they were, is not defensible; but for this the Resident at Lucknow was alone responsible.

Unless it be criminal to assist in compelling persons illegally possessed of property to restore it to its lawful owner (a proceeding which is habitually carried out by our Courts), it is difficult to see how Warren Hastings can be charged with crime in this matter.

The short summaries given above of the circumstances out of which the six principal charges originated, have been written with careful candour, with no other object than that of stating the real facts, and it is believed that in every instance they will stand the test of impartial inquiry. It is submitted that in no case can any proof of crime of any kind be established. To suppose that in every transaction above described there was no error, no fault in design, no imperfection as to detail, would be to believe that human nature was absent from the history. But to suppose shortcoming, or, if you will, frailty, is not to suggest crime, unless you are to expel moral justice from the consideration of public acts. It is this want of moral justice which condemns Macaulay for the repeated assumptions of guilt in his estimate of Warren Hastings' character and services.

It may be easy, for example, to find fault with the details of the Benares business. As it turned out it is clear that a more powerful force than the slender escort of the Governor-General should have been summoned, before such a step as the arrest of the Rajah was attempted. Warren Hastings was accustomed to obedience from the Natives, and was probably encouraged by the almost abject submission shown at first by Cheit Sing. It must, however, be admitted that he did not exhibit his usual judgement in the subsequent proceeding. Lamentable results followed; but it would surely be preposterous to charge him with

crime, because he made one of his few mistakes. Take the case of a military commander. If he surrenders a fortress which he knows to be defensible, still more if he does so corruptly, he is shot, and no man questions the justice of the sentence. But if what he does is to make a mistake in tactics, such as Beresford made at Albuera and Gough made at Chilliawallah, what critic does not feel that gallant services outweigh even a grave mistake?

The same just and generous rule applies equally to civil affairs, and it should be observed, if history is to be written with fairness. Certainly it should be observed as to such a man as Warren Hastings, in considering not only the leading charges made against him with so much virulence, but the whole story of his official life. It would be strange indeed if during thirteen years of Governorship, marked by events of strenuous difficulty, in foreign policy, in domestic administration, and not least in finance, no mistake was ever made. A wide administration necessitates a large patronage, and it would be idle to suppose that the best man was invariably selected, or that merit was never postponed to favour in Bengal any more than in England. A strenuous war, waged over half a continent, called continually for a choice of the best officers, and the choice made was usually wise, but, no doubt, instances may be found, as at the commencement of the Mahratta war, after the treaty of Purandhar had been swept away, where the choice may have been unfortunate. In other words, Warren Hastings was a mortal man, and his administration, whether in war or in peace, was subject to the incidents of human imperfection. Was the management of successive Ministries in Great Britain, at the same period, distinguished by greater success? Was it not rather that the star of England sank everywhere save where Warren Hastings upheld her flag?

Granting, then, in the thirteen years, many occasional imperfections and mistakes, are these more than spots on the sun when weighed against the extraordinary services

of the Governor-General? It is well to turn to the pages of Macaulay, and see what a critic, sometimes hostile, often misinformed or mistaken, but not wanting in generosity, says on this point. He, as we have shown some pages back, disdained to approve the coarse imputations of peculation and corruption. He was able in this respect to do justice to the statesman who saved India.

Thus, in speaking of the many losses sustained by England in the war she had waged against a combination of powers, he says: 'The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected, the Nabob Vizier reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied with hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.'

He spoke, too, in the highest terms, of the internal administration of the Governor-General. 'He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organization by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis the Sixteenth or of the Emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. . . . Whoever seriously considers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole of a machine so vast and complex as a government will allow that what Hastings effected deserves high admiration. . . . It must be added that, while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammelled by orders from home, and frequently borne down by a majority in council. The preservation of an Empire from a formidable combination

of foreign enemies, the construction of a government in all its parts, were accomplished by him, while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes from his colleagues.'

We have, in other places, been compelled to quote passages from the *Essay* in order to confute errors or to comment on unfairness. It has been painful to do so; and it is all the more consolatory now to give these sentences, worthy of a great writer, in just appreciation of a great statesman. It is only to be regretted that Macaulay did not consult more and study carefully 'the records' of which he speaks. Those Minutes of proceedings in the Council contain the true history of Warren Hastings' Governorship, and it is they which testify of him. Had Macaulay, during the years when he had ample opportunity, searched them thoroughly and looked up other documentary evidence at Calcutta, he would have been saved from many errors. He would not have described Nuncoomar's trial as taken before Sir Elijah Impey alone. He would not have affirmed that Warren Hastings made a bargain at Benares with Sujah-ul-Dowla to extirpate the Rohillas, nor would he have written an extravagant account of (supposed) horrors perpetrated on that people. He would not have stated that Korah and Allahabad were 'torn from the Mogul.' He would not have said that Cheit Sing had been treated by the English authorities as a sovereign prince; nor would he have depicted the Begums as 'robbed' of treasures which were never theirs, except by deceit and violence on their own part.

In one respect Macaulay did look carefully into the facts; he did so as to the conduct of the war. It is observable that on this point he has nothing but praise for Warren Hastings. It would be difficult indeed to arrive at any other opinion; for it is certain that when France declared war and when Hyder Ali broke into the Carnatic, the salvation of British interests in Hindustan

was due to the Governor-General. It was not simply that he was foremost in the effort; he had neither companion nor competitor; he stood alone. When others hesitated and shook; when Philip Francis quailed before the storm and counselled the abandonment of the Carnatic; Warren Hastings, 'with Palinure's unaltered mood,' at once rose to the emergency, shipped off Coote with troops and money to Madras, calmly faced the danger to Bengal, by sheer courage and firmness carried the ship of state through the hurricane, and brought her safe into port. He was a great war minister, and yet it is to be observed that he never made war except in defence. During his thirteen years of rule he never annexed a single province. His policy was never aggressive; it was habitually prudent and watchful, though, when needful, it was bold. His leading idea was to unite, by pacific treaties, the various Native states around the centre of our government, and thus to make British influence predominant throughout India. It may be noted, too, that he desired to see the Company's territories placed under the direct rule of the Crown, and he opened his views on this subject to the Prime Minister of the day. It was three-quarters of a century before that idea was realized; but it is probable that the prescience of Warren Hastings foresaw the future day, and it is certain that if he could have lived to hail it, none would have rejoiced more when the crown of Timour was placed on the head of our Sovereign.

But it may be confidently averred that nothing in his whole career was more remarkable that the moral elevation which he gave to Indian administration and policy. He had been in Calcutta during the governorship of Vansittart, and in that welter of corruption had kept his hands clean. When he returned as Governor his first effort was to substitute civilized rule for anarchy. He succeeded. He raised the service of the Company from the low level of a sordid scramble for wealth to the high plane of statesmanship and patriotism. It was a moral revolution; and the glorious

history of Anglo-Indian administration dates from that change.

Warren Hastings was, in sober truth, the founder of British India; and whatever the merits of his successors, it is owing to him, alike in peace and war, that England now holds her vast Eastern empire. He said no more than was his right when in Westminster Hall, after enduring the flood of calumny and insult poured on him by the orators of the Impeachment, he at length burst out with indignant words, that should be known and remembered by all Englishmen:—

'The valour of others acquired, I enlarged, and gave shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there; I preserved it; I sent forth its armies with an effectual but economical hand, through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions; to the retrieval of one[1] from degradation and dishonour; and of the other[2] from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation, or that of others, not of mine. I won one member[3] of the great Indian confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution; with another[4] I maintained a secret intercourse, and converted him into a friend; a third[5] I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace. When you cried out for peace, and your cries were heard by those who were the object of it, I resisted this, and every other species of counteraction, by rising in my demands, and accomplished a peace, and I hope everlasting, with one great State,[6] and I at least afforded the efficient means by which a peace, if not so durable, more seasonable at least, was accomplished with another.[7]

'I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace and a life of impeachment.'[8]

Such were his services, and such was the return! It was

[1] Bombay. [2] Madras. [3] The Nizam. [4] Moodajee Boosla.
[5] Maharajah Scindia. [6] The Mahrattas. [7] Tippoo Sahib.
[8] *State Papers*, Introd., p. xc.

with good reason that the Prince Regent, when, in 1814, he presented Warren Hastings to the Allied Sovereigns, described him as 'the most ill-used man in the dominions of the Crown'.

That ill-usage will continue so long as it is believed, and suffered to be written or said, that the founder of British India, its preserver in war and its lawgiver in peace, committed crimes, great or small, during his illustrious sway. That belief cannot continue, it will not be tolerated, when the truth is once popularly and fully known. The three Volumes of State Papers, so carefully collected and so ably commented on by Mr. Forrest, demonstrate the moral integrity of Warren Hastings as clearly as they do his intellectual greatness. It is on the incontrovertible evidence of those State Papers that the foregoing Vindication mainly rests.

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It may not be inappropriate to subjoin here a chapter on Daylesford, bound up as its name must be with the memory of Warren Hastings. That secluded spot was the nursery of his race, the dream of his boyhood, the hope of his strenuous life. It became the shelter of his declining years, and is now the guardian of his dust.

# CHAPTER IX

## DAYLESFORD

DAYLESFORD is a parish of great antiquity in the county of Worcester, but one outlying from the bulk of the shire, and forming an island in the surrounding borders of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. Its old Saxon church, built and endowed by Ethelwald, King of the Mercians, and restored in its identically ancient form by Warren Hastings, was an object of much interest to antiquarians, as one of the few undoubted Saxon churches remaining in the country. It was, lamentably, destroyed some fifty years since, but the chancel arch of the original structure has been preserved in the vestry of the exceptionally beautiful modern church. The parish seems, for some reason now unknown, to have been favoured by ecclesiastical authority; for when, in King John's time, the whole of England was placed under interdict by the Pope, four parishes were reserved in which burial could take place with the rites of the Church, and one of those four was Daylesford.

As early as the reign of Henry the Second the manor was held by one of the Hastings family,[1] and Nash has

[1] Macaulay, in his *Essay on Warren Hastings*, treats the claim made by Penyston Hastings, no mean antiquary, that the family were descended from Hastings the sea-king, as fabulous. 'The undoubted splendour of the line of Hastings,' says he, 'needs no illustration from fable.' But is it certainly a fable? It is known that the famous sea-king, after his submission to Alfred and his conversion to Christianity, settled in Normandy, having obtained a grant of lands from Duke Rollo. The late Duchess of Cleveland, in her classic work on the Roll of Battle Abbey, points out that the Hastings who fought in the battle and was 'progenitor' of his race in England, appears in the Roll under the name of his property in France. Was this the land granted by Rollo? If so, the descent from the sea-king (the period that had elapsed was not much more

shown in his *Worcestershire* that it was for more than 400 years in their continuous possession. The ancient manor house, of which no trace now remains, stood near the church. It is mentioned in the *Biographical Illustrations of Worcestershire* by Chambers, who says the remains showed that it had been a grand structure; but this statement must be taken with some reservation. Daylesford was a small manor, and though it be true that its owners were lords of other manors (John Hastings the Cavalier is reputed to have sold four of them during the Civil War) yet, if we are to judge by their manor of Yelford-Hastings, situated south of Oxford, a favourite residence of John Hastings, these estates were of no great size. Yelford was made over to Speaker Lenthall in composition for the fine levied on John Hastings by the Long Parliament, and the house has been preserved by the Lenthall family in the same state in which it was handed over to their ancestor. It consists of a good-sized hall, manifestly the living-room, with the arms and monogram of John Hastings[1] over the mantelpiece, and a withdrawing room or parlour. This, of course with offices and bedrooms, is all; and supposing that the manor house at Daylesford was double the size, it could hardly have presented many features of grandeur. Moreover, Chambers' work was published in 1820, more than a century after Daylesford had been sold to a Mr.

than a century and a half) may have been direct. The word Hastings is Danish, and it is believed that there is still on the coast of Denmark an ancient port, now sunk to a fishing-village, of that name. As the town and castle of Hastings were in existence at the date of the Conquest, and gave name (among the Normans) to the battle, it is quite conceivable that the descendant of the sea-king recognized his ancient patronymic and resumed it thereupon.

[1] John Hastings retired to France at the close of the Civil War, and lived for some time at the little border town of St. Jean de Luz, close to Spain. When he returned after the Restoration he brought with him some seeds of the sainfoin grass, and Daylesford was the first parish in England in which that grass was grown. He thus conferred no small boon on English agriculture.

Knight, a merchant of Bristol, who treated the manor house much as the church was treated in a future century, in other words pulled it down totally. How any 'remains' could have testified to its former character it is difficult to understand. In its stead Mr. Knight, who was evidently a man of his age, erected a square-built house.

The last Hastings who, for some eighty years, was connected with Daylesford, was the rector of the parish, Penyston Hastings, a younger son presented to the living by his father before the estate was sold. The name of Penyston was derived from an inter-marriage with the Penystons of Cornwell Manor, a picturesque old house situated in an adjacent parish. The rector soon found himself in a disagreeable position with reference to the new lord of the manor, who involved him in legal disputations, familiar enough to any one versed in the country life of those days, over the payment of his tithes; and Penyston eventually, though retaining the benefice, moved to the village of Churchill, a few miles distant from Daylesford, and there rented a comfortable house. In that house Warren Hastings was born.

There is no doubt that the history of the family at this time is involved in much obscurity. The cause of this obscurity may have been the dispersion of its members consequent on the sale of Daylesford; most of them went elsewhere to seek their fortune; several, probably, to that perpetual refuge for all hunters after prosperity, the metropolis. But whatever the cause, the result was sure; when the name began again to attract attention a growth of legend and mistake had enveloped the original facts. The accounts of the marriage which produced so celebrated a man as Warren Hastings, and of the married life (short as it was) of his parents, are worthy of mediaeval romance. Gleig stated and Macaulay adopted and other writers have reproduced the figment that Penyston Hastings the younger, as we call him to distinguish from his father, was only fifteen years old when he married Hester Warren. Macaulay

HOUSE AT CHURCHILL

In which Warren Hastings was born, 1732.

may be partly excused; he naturally conceived that Gleig, writing as was supposed in the interest of the Hastings family, must have had correct information; and the later retailers of this nonsense may plead that they were misled by Macaulay. But for Gleig there can be no excuse. Of course he was at Daylesford when preparing for his coming biography, and we must suppose heard something on the subject from somebody; though it is difficult to conjecture what he heard and from whom he heard it. It is certain that Warren Hastings left no such statement in writing, for had he done so Gleig, who was great at quoting, would assuredly have given it. Mrs. Hastings, if she were living at the time of Gleig's visit, which perhaps is doubtful,[1] must have been far advanced in age, was a foreigner by birth, not wholly perhaps proficient in the English tongue, and little likely to be informed as to the previous history of the family. Her son, Sir Charles Imhoff, then residing at Daylesford, knew nothing but what he heard from others, and could be no authority. Possibly Mrs. Hastings had misconceived something that had been said to her, or Gleig mistook the meaning of some conversation.[2] Of course no one imputes any untruth or bad faith. But the point is this: however he may have picked it up, it was the clear duty of Gleig to investigate so strange a tale. The village of Churchill is within an easy drive, nay, within a good walk of Daylesford. Gleig knew that Warren Hastings was born at Churchill, for he states the fact himself; and if he had gone there and consulted the parish register, he would have found that Penyston Hastings the younger was a clergyman in holy orders of the Church of England at the time that his son was baptized, two years after the marriage; that is, when according to the legend Penyston could have been only seventeen years of age. As a fact he was in holy orders when he married,

[1] She died in 1838. The biography was published in 1841.

[2] Or it may have been given in figures and 25 been mistaken for 15.

and was then twenty-six years of age, having been born in 1704, probably in the old manor house.[1] The 'idle, worthless boy,' as Macaulay describes him, did not at any rate commit any remarkable imprudence in his marriage.

But it is possible that circumstances connected with that event may have led to some misconstruction at the time, and some traditional stories thereafter. Hester Warren was the daughter of a Mr. Thomas Warren who owned the small estate of Stubbs Hill, in the parish of Twyning, in Gloucestershire. He was, it may be safely surmised, of a respectable yeoman family in that neighbourhood, and Hester seems to have had some money of her own which, after her untimely death, led to unpleasantness.[2] In what way she and Penyston became acquainted, where and when their confidences were exchanged, and how far their matrimonial intentions were communicated to either of their families, lies in complete obscurity. What is known is this: they were not married at Twyning, which would have been the usual course, but in the church of St. Andrew in the city of Worcester, situated at a considerable distance from Twyning. The entry in the register is as follows; '1729. July 30. The Rev. Mr. Penniston Hastings, of the parish of Dailsford in the county and diocese of

[1] One account says at Cornwell Manor.

[2] The social position of the Warrens may perhaps be gathered from the circumstance that another Thomas Warren, we may suppose the eldest brother of Hester, established a tea-garden at Stubbs Hill, the management of which gave cause for complaint. It seems that the Earl of Coventry of that day wrote to Warren Hastings, who thereupon settled an annuity of £100 on Thomas Warren on condition that he gave up the tea-garden. On the other hand it has been stated that the Rev. John Warren, who was rector of Ripple in Worcestershire, and also Archdeacon of Worcester, was another brother of Hester. The present vicar of Twyning, the Rev. William Wordsworth Hoyland, has been good enough to supply information as to the Warrens. The certified copy of the entry in the register at St. Andrews', has been in the possession of the Hastings family since 1841.

Worcester, and Hester Warren, of Twinning in the county and diocese of Gloucester. Licence.' There is no hint of the presence of a relative on either side. Hester was of full age, rather younger than her bridegroom; she could do as she chose; but whether she acted with the consent of her father, who lived till 1745, or whether it was a runaway match, must be matter of conjecture. One thing is certain; the young couple went to live with the bridegroom's father, Penyston Hastings the elder, in the house which he rented at Churchill.

We come now to the second stage in the legend. If a boy of fifteen is foolish enough to marry, it is clear that he is likely to land himself in poverty. So Gleig, having committed himself to the figment of the immature marriage, proceeds to improve the occasion by describing the utter destitution and misery into which the rash couple fell. The readers of his pages might suppose that Hester gave birth to her renowned son in a doghole or a rabbit-hutch. Happily the public care of the Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, Lord Ducie, has caused a plate to be affixed to the house, commemorative of the birth. It is matter of eyesight that the house, though small, is respectable if not commodious; but it is believed on good grounds that it was something more. It seems pretty certain that, at the time of Warren Hastings' birth, the adjacent house formed with it one structure which has since been divided into two dwellings. It is a solid building of stone, and must have been a fit residence for a beneficed clergyman and his family. Gleig describes how the birth of Hester's son 'put an end to her own miseries'. What those miseries were he leaves us to conjecture. She was living in a comfortable house, under the protection of her husband and father-in-law, in circumstances that could not be called rich, but which certainly were nothing like abject poverty; probably much the same as those of the ordinary clergy, their neighbours. What is sad was the death of the young mother. Warren was born on December 6, and Hester

was buried on December 15, 1732. Sad too for the child. The greatest man of his race never knew a mother's care.[1]

The early years of Warren were passed in the village where he was born. The dame's school where he learned to read (it was the accustomed place for every one, gentle and simple, in those days) was in Churchill. What playmates he had must have been Churchill boys. It is not meant to suggest that he never saw Daylesford. The rector would be there on a Sunday to conduct the service, and his grandson, it may be supposed, would often accompany him. No doubt there would be other visits, perhaps many. The boy would know the place well enough, and be acquainted with its history and associations. Certainly he read in the churchyard the quaint inscription[2] on the tomb of his lineal ancestor, Simon

[1] Penyston Hastings the younger seems to have left Churchill soon after the death of his wife. It is believed that he went to the West Indies and died there. The only recorded observation made concerning him by his son seems to have been that he (Warren) had nothing satisfactory to say about his father. The only other child of the marriage, born in 1831, was a daughter, who married a Mr. Woodman, and has descendants.

With regard to Hester's money, mentioned above, a draft petition to the Lord Chancellor was prepared, apparently by authority of the Warrens, alleging that she was entitled to a sum of £500 out of a copyhold estate at Cheltenham, and also to some money from the will of a John Fletcher (one of her mother's family) and praying that her children should be protected in the matter. This draft is dated 1733. It does not seem to have been proceeded with.

[2] The inscription is as follows:—

Dost marvel, reader, that I here do lye
Who might have made this church my canopy?
Why, 'tis no wonder. Should a strong-built story
Hinder my corps in mounting to its glory?
My parting soul forbade it; and withall
Charged me to chuse this place of buriall,
That this my tomb each passenger might tell
They must expect the sound of passing bell.
Eightie two years compleat my days did make
Before my mother earth me home did take.

Hastings, and was shown the fine brass of a collateral relative in the chancel. His quick spirit would take it all in, and at the sight of Mr. Knight's square-built house, may well have burned with regret for the heritage of his fathers. But the tale he told in after years of his lying one summer day by a stream descending to join the Isis, and dreaming of the recovery of the estate, though true in itself, cannot be taken as Macaulay tells it. It was not a stream flowing through the domain of his ancestors, for there is no such stream in Daylesford. The incident must have taken place at Churchill, and the stream must have been the Evenlode. Just as fanciful is the pretty conjecture given by Macaulay at the conclusion of his *Essay* that on the very spot where the urn marking his coffin stands, 'the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the sons of ploughmen.' If he did, there was small harm in it, but he must have played with them at Churchill and not at Daylesford. The whole imagining is built on the idea that he lived in the parish where his grandfather was rector, which he did not; and is on a par with the old notion that his grandfather did not find him suitable clothes and did not give him enough to eat. The boy did well as long as he stayed at Churchill, and when he left it for his education, his uncle Howard Hastings looked generously after the orphan.[1] These dramatic

> And when her right in all mankind she leave
> Heaven to the blest my purest earth receive.

Sir Charles Lawson erroneously states that Simon 'was buried in the church'.

[1] Not only so, but he provided for Warren in his will, proved in 1747, in which Howard is described as of St. James' Parish, Westminster. By this, *inter alia*, he leaves £20 a year to his father, Penyston Hastings; legacies to his aunt, Honour Hastings, daughter of the Hastings who sold Daylesford, and to his sister Elizabeth Hastings; and then to his nephew Warren and his niece Ann, he leaves £2,000 South Sea annuities, Ann to give up to her brother her interest in the Plough Inn, Cheltenham, and the house adjoining. He also left £40 a year for the maintenance and education of Warren. In case Warren died without issue, Ann was made residuary legatee;

touches, which Macaulay could paint only too facilely, infect his *Essay* throughout with wild inaccuracy, and whisper strong suspicion of his real merits as an historian.

The dream of the recovery of Daylesford was destined to come true, though the dreamer went through as many tribulations as the patriarch of old before the augury was fulfilled. About three years after Warren Hastings finally

and failing her the two daughters of the late Harry Gardiner of Bremore, Hants (doubtless of the family of the Gardiner who married a daughter of Simon Hastings, and whose fine brass is to be seen in Daylesford church), and Anne, Mary and Eleanor Creswicke, daughters of Joseph Creswicke, of Stretham, Surrey, were entitled to the residue in equal parts. He recommends his nephew, Warren Hastings, to the care of his friend, the Hon. Henry Vane, and his niece Ann to that of Lady Grace. He appoints the Hon. Henry Vane, Henry Vane junior, Fairmedow Penyston of Cornwell, and Joseph Creswicke, his executors.

This will of Howard demolishes more than one mistaken statement. It shows that the condition of himself and his near relatives was not one of poverty, as represented by Gleig and Macaulay. It shows that Warren was not shipped off to India (as he was shortly after the will was proved) because he could not be maintained in England; but, probably, because Mr. Vane thought that the offer of a writership in the East India Company's service, obtained for him by Mr. Creswicke, was too good to be refused; an opinion which at any rate was abundantly justified by future events. The provisions of the will also suggest pretty clearly that Howard had no near male relative besides Warren. This was indeed the fact. His brother Penyston had vanished; and it is to be feared that the interest in the Cheltenham houses vanished with him. His brother Samuel, a Midshipman in the Royal Navy, of H.M.S. *Dursley*, had died in 1739 without issue, as is shown by letters of administration to his effects, granted to Howard. And his uncle, another Samuel, eldest son of the seller of Daylesford, died intestate and unmarried, in Jamaica, in 1718, as is proved by letters of administration granted to his brother, Howard's father, Penyston Hastings, Rector of Daylesford.

It may be observed that these last-mentioned letters of administration absolutely disprove the statement made by Sir Charles Lawson that this Samuel was the father of a William Hastings from whom Sir Charles deduces a genealogy. There was a William Hastings, of Milton-under-Wychwood, a hamlet of Shipton, but this William, as his will proves, died without issue, and his property at Milton passed to his widow.

returned from India, the manor and estate were bought for a sum under £12,000 from the grandson of the Mr. Knight who had built the square house, and thus returned for a time to the Hastings family. Of course the square house was speedily pulled down, and a mansion of a very different character arose in its stead. Warren Hastings left it on record that he spent on the property, counting in the purchase money, no less than £60,000. This of course included the building of the house. It was a sum quite disproportionate alike to the value of the estate and to the pecuniary resources of the purchaser. We have his own authority for the statement that he never, at any period of his life, was worth more than £100,000; yet he acknowledges that he spent more than half this amount in providing himself with a small manor, a mansion, park and grounds. As a fact, something like four-fifths of his fortune went in the costs of his defence during the Impeachment[1]; but the bounty of the East India Company, a bounty which assuredly had been fairly earned, relieved him from those embarrassments. It was well that he possessed so liberal a friend, for it is evident that he himself, accustomed to Oriental magnificence, and generously lavish by nature, had little knowledge of the value of money; while his wife, if no injustice has been done her by common report, had perhaps even less. However, it is well to know that the great Governor-General, the

[1] The impecuniosity under which he laboured soon after his acquittal may be measured by his reply to a friend who had urged him to go into the country for rest and quiet. He wrote back that he agreed with the advice but was so pressed for money that he feared he literally could not pay the expense of posting down to Daylesford. The East India Company proposed to grant him a pension of £5,000 a year, but this was opposed by Dundas, then head of the Board of Control, who was ill affected to Hastings. The proposal was then modified to a pension of £4,000 to commence from his resignation of the office of Governor-General. To this Dundas assented. As ten years had elapsed since his resignation, he obtained £40,000 at once, and the Company made him a loan of £50,000 without interest. This loan was in some part repaid, but the bulk of it was remitted.

statesman who preserved British India for his country, was able to live and die in honour on his ancestral domain; and it is only just to his memory to say that on the final, inevitable alienation and sale, Daylesford realized on the whole nearly what he had paid for and expended on it.

But it is not to be supposed that the place as it now exists is altogether the Daylesford of Warren Hastings. Visitors come and see, and imagine that his work lies before them. But much is changed, and that much includes what was most characteristically his. The fine façade of the house is virtually gone; the elevation, which commanded the admiration of young Denison in his *Letters*, has been dwarfed to about half its original height by the lofty terrace erected in its front. That has also obliterated the portico with its two grand pillars, and closed up the noble staircase which ascended from the outer hall. The present entrance, at the back of the house, is quite recent and comparatively poor. The terrace itself was erected in excellent taste, it displays a charming garden, and commands a fine view. There is no intention to criticize beyond saying that it had nothing to do with Warren Hastings, or with the original design of the mansion. It is an eyewitness who speaks, and he, sixty-six years since, approached Daylesford House by the drive which swept round where the terrace now stands, entered by the portal which the terrace now wholly obscures, and ascended to the reception rooms above by the staircase now made impossible.

In the days of Warren Hastings there were, on the first floor of the house, three reception rooms *en suite*, each rendered interesting to the intellectual or the curious by certain memorable things. The large room in the centre, commanding a view of the park and pleasure grounds, with the tower of Stow church in the distance, was the library. That on its right was the drawing-room, and the room on the left was the saloon. The drawing-room was occupied with the famous ivory furniture, carved by the

cunning hands of Indian artists, marvellous in the luxuriance and delicacy of its work, and upholstered in Eastern fabrics of surpassing tints. When this furniture was sold by public auction before the estate changed hands no single chair fetched less than ninety pounds, and the price of most of them ran towards a hundred. Some of them were purchased for Indian princes, and thus returned to their native land. Some quarter of a century ago a sofa of the set, with a small table, and another trifling piece, came into the market at Christie's, and were sold for fifteen hundred pounds in a single lot. The upholstering of the sofa still in a great measure retained its exquisite colouring. This furniture gave its peculiar Oriental stamp to Daylesford House, and was in unison with the history and the taste of its owner.

The library, a noble room more than forty feet in length, hung with Persian chain armour, set with silver, on its walls, with Zoffany's famous picture of the cock-fight at Lucknow, containing portraits of distinguished Anglo-Indians, over the mantelpiece, and a wealth of valuable books on its shelves, was the favourite and fitting apartment of a statesman who all his life had been a lover of literature, and had courted its charms even in the most arduous hours of his public rule. It was here he sat and read, here he conversed with his friends; and we shall presently give an example of the sort of conversation that fell from his lips; here, to his intellectual mind, was the room of the house, and among relics of Eastern days, with paintings and authors, he passed the tranquil years of declining life. That room, long since turned into a drawing-room by another taste, must ever remain, with those versed in the history of their country, dedicated to the immortal memory of Warren Hastings.

The saloon, to which perhaps a still deeper interest attached, a room of the same size as the drawing-room, had over the mantelpiece the portrait, we may call it famous, by Sir Thomas Lawrence. The engraving there-

from is probably more generally considered to reproduce the lineaments of the Governor-General than any other. But the idea is erroneous. Go to Lawrence's portraits for the picturesque, the artistic, the pleasing; but go elsewhere if you want a likeness. It was always felt by those who knew, that the face which looked down from the saloon wall, for all its dignity and repose, for all the imposing accompaniments of draping and shadow, was not 'the counterfeit presentment of the man'. It was from the brush of Thomas Lawrence, and that was enough to give it perpetual fame, but it was not the Hastings who had faced a mutinous Council, had shown himself a match for Hyder Ali, and had left the lasting impress of his intellect on the political relations of Hindustan. A more speaking likeness, taken no doubt with the advantage of a much earlier age, is that by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and it may be that the miniature which Mrs. Hastings always kept in her boudoir, and which appears as the frontispiece to Gleig's biography,[1] is the most pleasing. But if an expression of personal opinion be permitted, the unpretending picture by George Stubbs, painted and engraved by him in 1795, bears more than any other the stamp of a faithful realization of the man. The eye quick and observant, the mouth fixed in resolution, the face worn, 'but more through toil than age,' yet still flexible, and the whole air of quiet power and purpose, speak the character of Warren Hastings. But this is a diversion. The saloon contained several other paintings of considerable interest and merit; notably one hanging on the wall opposite to the entrance from the library, which represented an Indian hill fortress captured by the brilliant exploit of his favourite officer, Major Topham.

Under this picture took place the closing scene of an illustrious life. During his last illness, borne with signal fortitude, he was carried down to the saloon, where a bed had been prepared for him, probably for the purpose of more convenient nursing. The head of the bed was placed

[1] And is also the frontispiece to this book.

against the south wall of the room; and it was there that, honoured by the Crown, enrolled among its graduates by the first of Universities, and acclaimed by the House which had once impeached him,[1] the true founder of the British Indian polity gave up his soul to God.

In the autumn of 1814 a conversation took place at Daylesford which is given here on personal authority, because it seems illustrative of the subject with which we have been dealing. A young naval lieutenant passed through Chipping Norton, when posting down from Portsmouth into Worcestershire. The *Undaunted* frigate, of which he was first lieutenant, had lately taken Napoleon to Elba, and had arrived at Spithead to be paid off on the general peace. Lieutenant Hastings bethought himself that he was within a few miles of the most illustrious personage of his race, and he turned out of his way to pay his respects at Daylesford House. He was cordially received by Warren Hastings, whom he described as 'a little old man, with a black velvet cap on his head, sitting by the fire in his library'. A good deal of conversation ensued. Warren inquired with interest where the young lieutenant had served; and he, after narrating his experiences in the Mediterranean, not forgetting we may be sure his acquaintance with the Emperor, went on to say that he had also cruised in the Indian Ocean, and had been for some time surveying in the Persian Gulf. At the mention of that sea Warren Hastings became voluble. 'Ah!' he said, 'that is the most important position in Asia, one of the most important in the world.' And then, after a short pause,

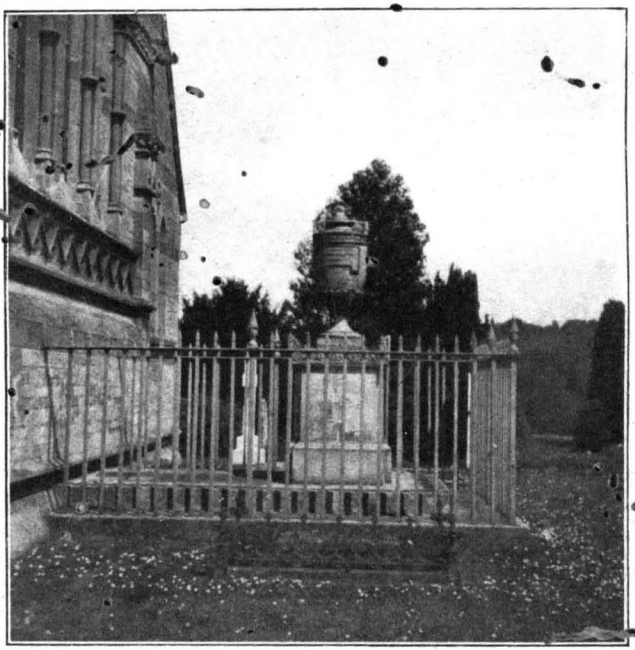
[1] When the renewal of the East India Company's charter was under discussion in 1813, the House of Commons directed that Warren Hastings should attend at their Bar as a witness. On his doing so, the whole House rose, uncovered, and remained standing till he was seated. The same compliment was paid to him when he withdrew.

Soon after this he was sworn of the Privy Council by order of the Prince Regent, who received him in private audience. In 1814 the University of Oxford bestowed on him the honorary degree of D.C.L.

and raising himself in his chair, 'If I were the War Minister of the Czar I should not spend time and effort in striving to get to Constantinople by way of Europe; I should endeavour to occupy Persia, and to establish myself at the head of the Persian Gulf. I should then be in a fine position; I could strike at India with the one hand and at Asia Minor with the other; I should take Constantinople in the rear.' These words were uttered with remarkable animation and clearness, and with a conviction which showed that the great diplomatist and ruler had mastered the facts and thought out the subject. No more striking example, perhaps, could be given of the width of view and grasp of policy which distinguished the man. In his old age and retirement he could still survey the field of international politics and calculate the struggles for empire. The prescience of his statesmanship has been vindicated by the vigilance with which our Foreign Office has long watched and still watches over British interests in the mouth of the Persian Gulf.[1]

The history of the ancient church, which stood near one of the entrances to the park, has been already alluded to. But it may be well to record here the personal interest, the unremitting care, and we may add the excellent taste exhibited by Warren Hastings in his preservation of antiquity. The usual idea of clerical restorers seems to be the destruction of the old, and the glorification of the new. Ancient things are swept away in order to show how much better the things of the present can be made. The purpose of Warren Hastings was the reverse. His reverence for old things, the sanctity which in his eyes attached to a building

[1] The Lieutenant Hastings mentioned above, ran a distinguished career in the Royal Navy. When in command of the *Excellent* at Portsmouth he introduced into the Navy the scientific system of gunnery which has now been brought to such perfection. He was subsequently for ten years a member of the Board of Ordnance. It was as Admiral Sir Thomas Hastings, Knight Commander of the Bath, that in May, 1869, he narrated the account given above of his visit to Daylesford. This took place on the terrace of Barbourne House, near to Worcester



URN IN DAYLESFORD CHURCHYARD

Marking the spot where the remains of Warren Hastings lie.
Taken by Miss H. H. Holdich, Morristown, Jersey, U.S.A.

of a thousand years, forbade the alteration of a single feature, or the intrusion of one novelty. The church had become so ruinous by lapse of time that entire renovation was necessary, but it was resolved that it should be renovation and not destruction. Every stone was numbered as it was taken out, and was, wherever practicable, restored to its original position; if not practicable, one similar was inserted in its place. The old foundations were retained; the precise proportions and limits were scrupulously observed. The work was done with such careful piety that if Ethelwald, King of the Mercians, could have returned to earth, he would have found the scene of his devotion and munificence unimpaired. Warren Hastings drove down from his house daily in a pony carriage to observe the work in progress. When it was done he placed a tablet in the church inscribed as follows:—

'This church derives its foundation from a grant of Ethelwald, King of the Mercians, who reigned between the years of our Lord 716 and 757. Sanctified by the prayers, rites, and oblations of its successive parochial members through a period exceeding 1000 years, it was rebuilt with such of the same material as constituted its primitive structure, and had escaped the mouldering hand of time, with its identity unchanged: and the uniformity of its Saxon architecture, which had suffered some encroachment upon it from the license of incidental reparations, was restored in the year of our Lord 1816.

'"For a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday, when it is past, and a watch in the night." Psl. xc. 4.'

This was the last work of Warren Hastings. It seems scarcely credible that it was swept away. In that respect, as in some others, the Daylesford of to-day is not the Daylesford of history.

against the Governor-General, who could have had, therefore, no motive or interest in the matter.

The solemn declaration made by Warren Hastings on oath before the Supreme Court, that he had never interfered in any way with the trial, or had anything to do with the prosecution, was absolutely true.

3. Treatment of the Nawab of Bengal, and of the Emperor of Delhi. These matters embodied the charges made by Macaulay when speaking of the need of bettering the finances of Bengal, and there can be no doubt that he reckoned them among what he termed the great crimes of Warren Hastings' administration. It is best to give the accusation in Macaulay's own words: 'A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious scruples,[1] speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the Government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand a year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near three hundred thousand pounds a year to the great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had entrusted to their care; and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Corah and Allahabad. The situation of these places was such that there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. . . . Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob Vizier, was on excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an

[1] The reader will observe this imputation of motive, unsupported by proof, and unwarrantable.