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### Supplementary Notes to Chapter Two Imagining a British India: history and the reconstruction of Empire

**Note to Reader:** These supplementary notes consist primarily of extended references and explanations that were cut from the original book manuscript for reasons of space. In a few instances, however, they constitute more extended subordinate narratives (with accompanying references), which are related to the book's themes, but were left out because they would have deflected from the central argument and analysis of the volume. These supplementary notes are coordinated to the footnote numbers for chapter two of *Liberalism, Imperialism and the Historical Imagination: Nineteenth Century Visions of a Greater Britain*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011).

1. In a letter to John Morritt, dated October 11, 1812, Scott describes his meeting with "John Malcolm – the Persian envoy the Delhi Resident, then poet, the warrior the politician and the borderer." "He is really a fine fellow," Scott continues, "I met him at Dalkeith and we returned together [presumably to Abbotsford] he just left me after drinking his coffee. A fine time we had of it talking of Troy town and Babel and Persepolis and Delhi and Langholm and Burnfoot with all manner of episodes about Iskendar Rustan and Johnnie Armstrong, Do you know that poem of Ferdusi's must be beautiful. He read me some very splendid abstracts which he had himself translated. Should you meet him in London I have given him charge to be acquainted with you for I am sure you will like each other." "To be sure," he continued, "I know him little but I like his frankness and his sound ideas of morality and policy." Herbert Grierson ed. *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, in twelve volumes, (Constable, London, 1932-7), III, 170. For Malcolm's surviving letters to Scott, see Scottish National Library, ms 869, f. 204; ms 3881, ff 99-105; ms 3884, f 291; ms 866, f 64; ms 885, f120; ms 995, f312. Most of Scott's letters to Malcolm have not survived, although the one in which Scott urges him to consider purchasing a neighboring estate is reprinted in *Letters of Scott*, IV, 133.

5. Ironically, when Burke, in 1788, accused Hastings of violating the historical precepts of India's traditional constitution, he was enunciating exactly the same principles that Hastings had tried to implement a decade earlier, in political practice. Peter Stanlis ed., *Edmund Burke: Selected Writings and Speeches*, (Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass., 1968), 338-415.

7. When Jones arrived in Calcutta, in 1784, he was already well prepared for this historiographical task. Born in 1746 to a family of moderately prosperous Welsh intellectuals, he obtained a first rate education, not only in the standard Greek and Latin classics, but also in such then exotic tongues as Arabic and Persian. Variously employed as a writer, an aristocratic tutor, and a practicing barrister, he devoted as much time as possible to oriental studies, in which he gained a reputation for first-rate scholarship. Due to his political allegiances as a radical Whig, however, Jones was initially thwarted in his desire to obtain an appointment in India. Finally, he was granted a Calcutta judgeship, and departed for the east. Garland Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990); and S.N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitudes to India*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968).

Thrust, like so many others, into the minutiae of legal precedents and evidence, Jones felt the need to learn Indian languages, including Sanskrit, as a precondition for mastering his craft. As he delved ever deeper into the Vedic and Vedantic literature, however, he became increasingly enamored with the ancient civilization that had produced such texts. "My principal amusement is botany, and the conversation of the pundits," he wrote back home, "with whom I talk fluently in the language of the gods." In his early dealings with Bengali intellectuals, such as Jasantha Tarkapanchanan, Radhakanta Sarman, and Ali Ibrahim Kahn, Jones genuinely enjoyed a relationship of mutual advantage and spontaneous give and take. With the assistance of these and other erudite Brahman pandits and language experts, translations, papers, and prefaces flowed from Jones's pen. Readers both in India and in Europe were exposed to the finest specimens of classical Indian epics, poetry, and drama for the first time. In particular, see his translation of Sakuntala in Satya S. Pachori, ed., *Sir William Jones: A Reader*, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1993), 89-130.

Yet, for Jones, the truest key to Indian history lay hidden in the secrets of language itself. Through painstaking examination of etymological relationships, he showed that the ancient Hindu king Chandragupta was the same person as the Sandrocottus, reported by Greek chroniclers of Alexander of Macedon's Asiatic campaigns. By synchronizing western and Indian chronologies in this manner, Jones's discovery paved the way for accurately dating many of the leading periods and episodes in Indian history. Mukherjee, *William Jones*, 73-141; O.P. Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Discovery of India's Past, 1784-1838*, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1988), 1-75.

Most profound in their intellectual implications were Jones's insights into the nature of Sanskrit itself. "The Sanskrit language," he portentously proclaimed, "is of a wonderful structure: more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity . . . than could possibly have been produced by accident." "No philologer," he concluded, "could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung

from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists." See "Third Anniversary Discourse to Asiatic Society of Bengal," in *William Jones: A Reader*, 175. As Mukherjee demonstrates, Jones was not the first to note similarities between Sanskrit and western languages, although he was the first to propose a clear genealogical relationship, *Sir William Jones*, 90-7.

Over the next few years, Jones began to build on the implications of this epochal hypothesis, which was destined to become the starting point for modern linguistics and Indological studies alike. Examining the myths and deities of the Greeks, Romans, and Hindus, he found a remarkable correspondence. This indicated not only that the languages, but also that the entire cultures, were genealogically linked. Finally, examining the relationship between the Bible and ancient Hindu texts, Jones concluded that the Hindus were *not* related to the Hebrews. Rather, they belonged to the same ethnological family as "the old Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks, and Tuscans, the Scythians or Goths, and the Celts." The British and Indians, in other words, turned out to be distant cousins. British India could be regarded as an anthropological re-union, in which two peoples of vastly different culture and color might rediscover their common origins and consanguinity. Sir William Jones, "On the Hindus," in Marshall ed., *British Discovery of Hinduism*, 260.

Nevertheless, in the last analysis, Jones was in India to serve as a British judge. Inevitably, his exercise of legal authority took precedence over the informal bi-cultural activities that he sponsored on the side. In the end, all of his erudite Bengali friends became government employees or pensioners, and the nature of his relationship to them was subtly changed. It speaks volumes that the Bengal Asiatic Society, which Jones had founded in 1784, always depended on the research of dozens of Bengalis. Yet, none were invited to become actual Society members before 1829. David Ludden, "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge," in Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1993), 250-78; Kejariwal, *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 152-3.

8. Trautmann is certainly right to dispute the charge – made by Said's less nuanced followers – that the denigration of Asians and Africans is somehow inherently encoded in western orientalist discourse. Yet his own account of the Aryan theory as a philological "love story," killed off in the late nineteenth century by bad racial doctrines, is equally problematic. *Aryans and British India*, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997), 15. By locating the source of imperial subjugation in the inherent qualities of a racialized discourse, Trautmann also gives too much weight to the power of ideology. My argument is that what made orientalism in general -- and the Aryan hypothesis in particular – into instruments of oppression were not any qualities of epistemological violence that inhered within them. Rather, it was the growing power imbalances between Britons and Bengalis, which ensured that any dialogue between these parties would be conducted on unequal terms. Although Trautmann seems to make this point on page 228, his substantive analysis

treats the shift from philology to racial science purely in intellectual terms. This result was not inevitable, and might have been averted had the British succeeded in their original intention of raising up an indigenous class of capitalistic landlords, who might have dominated Bengal in British interests, much in the manner that the English gentry and aristocracy ruled at home. These efforts, which began in the 1760s, culminated in the Permanent Settlement of 1793, which attempted to endow the Bengali *zamindars* as propertied landowners on the English model. Had the same energy invested in deciphering Indian antiquity been directed towards understanding the sociological complexities of Indian land tenures, British officials might have been less captivated with this scheme. Under the Mughals, the *zamindars* had not been landlords in the modern English sense, but quasi feudal retainers, who also served as patrimonial officials in collecting revenues for the state. Because it flew in the face of rural social relations, the effort to turn these prebendial officials into loyal, territorial hereditary aristocrats was probably doomed from the start. The high revenue demands that were made during years of bad harvests compelled many of the old *zamindars* to sell out to urban traders. Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal: An Essay on the Permanent Settlement*, (Duke University Press, Durham, [1963] 1996); Battacharya, "Eastern India," *Cambridge, Economic History of India*, II, 270-331.

11. The attitudes of these students, as expressed in their course essays, are very revealing of the direction in which British orientalism was headed. On the one hand, most of the students dutifully praised the high achievements of ancient Indian civilization. "It must be allowed," wrote Terrick Hamilton, "that no nation can boast of an origin so ancient," as that of the Hindus. "While the European world were hordes of barbarians" W.P. Elliot acknowledged, "learning and science flourished in high perfection in the east." Yet these *pro forma* endorsements were usually offered as foils to show how far the modern Hindus had degenerated from the high civilization of their distant ancestors. Given the normal tendency for human society to advance, this deterioration spoke very poorly for the Indian character, according to T. Newman. "To vegetate in sloth is the delight of the Hindoo: and he is never roused to exertion but by the calls of necessity, or to glorify his ruling passion, avarice" *Primitiae Orientales: Essays by Students of the College of Fort William*, vol I, (Calcutta, 1802), quotes on 22, 40, 54, and 132.

Yet, for all their indictments of the decadence and degeneracy of modern Indians, none of these budding imperialists believed that Indians were hereditarily inferior. Edward Wood attributed Hindu 'effeminacy' to the effects of a hot climate, but all the others saw it as rather the social product of a corrupt *social* order. The Indians would never advance, they argued, as long as Hindu institutions prevailed. The caste system, gross superstitions, the Brahman monopoly on learning, barbaric customs like Sati, all would have to be completely abandoned before there could be any progress in Indian society. The very fact that the ancient Hindus had been so civilized, argued W.B. Martin, was testimony to the Indians' inherent ability. To realize this potential, however, they had to embrace the cultural imports of the

British; secular education, capitalist economics, and Protestant Christianity. *Primitiae Orientalis*, I, quote on 115-8. See also, essays by Richard Jenkins, William Chaplin, James Hunter, and William Oliver, vol. II, (Calcutta, 1803), 28-33, 43-47, 60-66. 88-92.

15. To provide an instructional staff for Fort William College, thirteen English teachers and professors were hired at salaries ranging from 12,000 to 31,200 rs (£1475-3840) per year. They were supported by staff of fifty native munshis, who were paid 480 to 2400 rs (£60 -288) per year. Sisir Kumar Das, *Sahibs and Munshis: An Account of the College of Fort William*, (Orion, Calcutta, 1978), 1-67.

David Kopf has argued that the native assistantships did provide valuable opportunities for a small number of indigenous Bengali intellectuals to collaborate with their British superiors in translating texts, publishing original works, codifying transliterations, and developing printing fonts for the various modern Indian vernaculars. Nevertheless, the College made little or no original contribution to the study of Indian history. Moreover, its inequalities of pay and position made it clear just how much the Hastings ideal of collaborative orientalism had fallen prey to the realities of colonial hierarchy. David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835*, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1969), 1-126. Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993), 77-85, analyzes the case of Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, who produced his *Rājābali*, a chronological arrangement of Bengali annals and legends about the succession of kings, which is sometimes referred to as the first Bengali history. According to Vidyalankar, political legitimacy (including that of the British Raj) is deemed to rest on divine will. One need not doubt the sincerity of this judgment to see how it might be mistaken for sycophancy by his EIC employers who were, after all, subsidizing his book. Das concludes that Indian teachers, like Vidyalankar, were hired in a strictly subordinate capacity, as language instructors, and were allowed little autonomy in the performance of their jobs. Moreover, they had to put up with the arrogant, supercilious behavior of the students, many of whom resented being confined to a classroom, when they might have been drinking, whoring, or gambling their way into debt. *Sahibs and Munshis*, 36-120.

22. The contents of Mackenzie's collection are fully described by H.H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue*, (Higginbotham, Calcutta, 1828). For Munro see G.R. Glieg, *The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Bart*, two vols., (Colburn, London, 1830); and Thomas Munro, *Selections from his Minutes and Other Official Writings*, two vols., (Kegan, Paul, London, 1881)

28. The afterlife of Tod's *Rajasthan* in constructing the place of the Rajputs in the British colonial state has recently been explored in Jason Freitag, *James Tod and the Rajputs of Rajasthan*, (Brill, Leiden, 2009).

33. Malcolm argues that Nanak's original doctrine was perpetuated for several generations through an ascetic sect. However, it caught fire only during another period of chaos (late seventeenth century) when it was transformed by barbarian warlords into a militant dogma of neo-Hindu revival. John Malcolm, *A Sketch of the Sikhs*, (Murray, London, 1812).

34. Walter Scott read Malcolm's "very interesting" *History of Persia* and thanked him for "a history so much wanted in our literature, and which may be said to form the connecting link between that of Greece and that of Asia." "I cannot enough admire the pains which it must have cost you, among many pressing avocations and duties, to collect and compose the materials of so large and important a work." *Letters of Scott*, IV, 133. A few months later, he confided to his friend Morritt, "John Malcolm's Persia has been also part of my winter reading. The succession of so many hard named tyrants through a course of events strikingly varied unless when the turbulent tribes emigrated and like a migration of Solway moss overran and ruined Indistan does not sound [?] a varied or amusing subject. Yet I found it very interesting and I think Sir John has succeeded very well: his own remarks are always naturally and aptly introduced, and show knowledge of mankind both in theory and practice." *Letters of Scott*, IV, 185.

35. Malcolm envisioned the Holkar family as potential counterweights to the Sindias. He paints an attractive picture of the honest soldier Tukoji Holkar, and is similarly enamored of the pious and sagacious princess Ahalya Bai, for whom he has nothing but unqualified praise. The vagaries of Jeswant Rao, however, made the Holkars unreliable as allies. After his descent into madness, followed by the misrule of Tula Bai and Amir Kahn, even the Holkar retainers, according to Malcolm, began to secretly hope for their defeat by the British -- a secret wish with which the British of course promptly complied. John Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, (Sagar, New Delhi, [1820], 1970), I, 58-348,

36. Continuing this analysis, Malcolm cited the warlord Bapu Rangunath, as a former troublemaker who "is now displaying as much zeal and energy in promoting cultivation and tranquility, as he did two years ago in plundering the country and disturbing the general peace." "I was delighted to find" he wrote elsewhere, "that the head of the Jahrijah tribe was a most promising young prince." Even Malcolm's former antagonist, Daulet Rao Sindia, "is personally of a good disposition, and is now free from the counselors who betrayed and corrupted his youth [now] sees in their true light the motives that have actuated the British Government." "He

appears," Malcolm hoped "to have submitted to the great revolution that has arrived; and . . . is forward to recognize the paramount sway of the British government." Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*, I, 58-348.

38. "We have subdued nations -- we have overcome difficulties apparently insurmountable -- we have braved many dangers successfully," Malcolm noted, "but I will say that we have at this moment to encounter a greater danger than we have ever before encountered -- the danger arising from ourselves." *Speech of Sir John Malcolm, in the Court of Proprietors, on the East India Company Charter*, (Murray, London, 1833), 6.

41. Elphinstone had a deep and long-standing appreciation for the works of Scott. In 1805, he was charmed by the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, when it arrived in a shipment of books from England, and noted reading his *Life of Dryden* a few years later. However, in 1815, when Scott published his "Field of Waterloo" Elphinstone acidly remarked: "There is something so much beneath the dignity of so great a poet in posting over to Waterloo for materials for a saleable epic poem, like a fourth-rate landscape painter setting off to the lakes to sketch for the print shops." T. E. Colebrooke, *The Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, in two volumes, (John Murray, London, 1884), I1-229, quote on 315; James Sutherland Cotton, *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1896), 52-82.

42. Walter Scott, for his part, enthused that Elphinstone's book on Afghanistan was "by far the most interesting of the kind that I have ever read." *Letters of Scott*, IV, 169, see also 151. A few months later, he advised his friend Morritt "to read Elphinstone's Cabul if you have not already done so. It is the best account of shepherd tribes which we have had for a long time & drawn with a discriminating and spirited pencil." However, Elphinstone and Scott appear to have met only once, late in life, when Scott was already well advanced in his final illness. *Letters of Scott*, IV, 185; Cotton, *Elphinstone*, 209, 211.

45. The necessity of intruding more directly into the lives of ordinary Indians was further reinforced by the severe unemployment that followed the dismantling of the Peshwa's army and state. In 1818, Elphinstone estimated that there were 25,000 to 30,000 discharged cavalrymen at large in his province, many of whom had turned marauders or social bandits. After expelling some and repressing others, he was willing to turn the best of them into British Sepoys. No sooner had this problem been reduced to manageable proportions, than a similar crisis erupted in the western Ghauts. Elphinstone, *Territories Conquered from Paishwa*, (Oriental, Delhi, [1821], 1973), 146-73; Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1957), 35-42, 77-83, 217-34.

46. "Our assumption of the Government is so great and radical an innovation that there is scarcely any institution in the country into which it does not necessarily introduce great changes," Elphinstone acknowledged. "Many rules thus hastily made can never be retracted & we may find many years hence that we have inadvertently destroyed some institution or some feeling essential to the system we wish to preserve." Elphinstone, *Territories Conquered from Paishwa*, quote on 37. A *History of the Maharattas*, in two volumes, (Times of India, Bombay, 1878) was eventually written by Elphinstone's assistant, James Grant Duff.

50. For a study of the curious alliance generated by the project of anglicization and modernization between secular utilitarians like Mill, and evangelicals like Charles Grant, see Ainslee Thomas Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1962).

53. Mill's redefinition of 'barbarism' from a socio-economic stage based on a pastoralist mode of subsistence in the Scottish four-stage model to an evaluative cultural category in a binary that juxtaposes it to "civilization" has gone unnoticed by most commentators on Mill, with the exception of Pitts. The point is important for reasons that Mill makes clear in Chapter 8 of *History of British India*. Discovering the correct ranking of the Hindus in the scale of civilization was not just an abstract exercise in historical investigation according to Mill. It was also a supreme obligation of imperial power, since "no scheme of government can happily conduce to the ends of government, unless it is adapted to the state of the people for whose use it is intended." *History of British India*, II, 135; *British India*, 225. That his ranking of the Hindus in the "scale of civilization" might have been chosen to justify Britain's despotic "scheme of rule" does not seem to have occurred to Mill.

62. According to H.H. Wilson, "In the effects which Mill's *History* is likely to exercise upon the connection between the people of England and the people of India . . . its tendency is evil: it is calculated to destroy all sympathy between the ruler and the ruled; to preoccupy the minds of those who issue annually from Great Britain to monopolise posts of honour and power in Hindustan, with an unfounded aversion to those over whom they exercise that power. . . . There is reason to fear that these consequences are not imaginary, and that a harsh and illiberal spirit has of late years prevailed in the conduct and councils of the rising service in India which owes its origin to impressions imbibed early in life from the *History* of Mr. Mill." Quoted in C.H. Phillips, "Mill, Elphinstone and History of India," in Phillips ed., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1961), 225-6. Too bad that instead of writing an alternative to Mill's *History*, Wilson simply chose to republish it in a critical edition with footnotes indicating exactly where he thought Mill had gone astray.

64. "Learning is greatly honoured throughout the code [of Manu] and the cultivation of it is recommended to all classes. It is true the Vedas, and the commentaries on them, with a few other books, are the only ones to which the student is directed; but he is to learn theology, logic, ethics, and physical science from those works." Mountstuart Elphinstone, *The History of India: Hindu and Mahometan Periods*, (Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1966), 47.

66. "There is something on the gigantic scale of the Hindu gods, the original character of their sentiments and actions, and the peculiar forms in which they are clothed, and splendour with which they are surrounded, that does not fail to make an impression on the imagination." Elphinstone, *History of India*, 96.

70. Exposed to the seedier side of Anglo-Indian life, Rammohun was initially contemptuous of this race of new conquerors whose main talent seemed to be the ability to gamble their way into debt. Nevertheless, as he became better acquainted with the range of British character, he began to revise his impression of their breed. S. D. Collet, *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, (Sadrahan Brahma Samaj, Calcutta, 1962), 1-16; Asok Sen, "The Bengal Economy and Rammohun Roy," in V.C. Joshi ed., *Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernization in India*, (Vikas, Delhi, 1975), 103-35.

71. Indeed, as he wrote to his British patron Digby, "I have found the doctrine of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings than any others which have come to my knowledge: and have also found Hindus in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites and in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations on the earth." Collet, *Life of Roy*, 59-107, quote on 71; Roy, "Letter to John Digby," J.C. Ghose, ed., *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, (Cosmo, New Delhi, 1982), IV, 928-9. Yet this was an uncharacteristic indictment from a man who generally exhibited a strong concern for his peoples' dignity. Some years earlier he had stood up against racism in the EIC. When one of his superiors had failed to show him proper respect, he had successfully petitioned for official redress. Now he was emerging theologically victorious in his insistence that all the defects, which Christians found in his religion, were equally evident in their own.

Roy's departure from the orthodoxies of his brethren was accompanied by an astute understanding of why they found it so threatening. Hindu reluctance to embrace the universal truths contained within the dogmas of Christianity was due to the colonial power imbalance between them. "It seems almost natural that when one nation succeeds in conquering another, the former . . . laugh and despise the religion and manners of those that are fallen within their power." "To introduce a religion," Roy continued, "by means of abuse and insult, or by affording the hope of

worldly gain is inconsistent with reason and justice." "Brahminical Magazine," in *English Works*, I, 145-7. Because he had eschewed power, Roy hoped that he could provide a more effective conduit for what was valid in the English conquering ideas. Orthodox Hindu hostility showed that had not entirely succeeded in this aim.

72. Throughout his entire life, Roy remained a target of constant criticism from his own people. Periodically, he was threatened with physical violence, and was ground down over a period of years by a succession of frivolous lawsuits by designing relatives and malicious compatriots. This inevitably produced a reaction in his character, leading to what Dipesh Chakrabarty's has called a "doubling of the voice," which he identifies in such ambivalently situated colonial thinkers as Jomo Kenyatta, D.D. Kosambi, and Joseph Appiah, in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000), 236-43.

73. Roy's final trip to England was in many ways the culmination of his life work. After many years of representing Britain to Indians, he felt the time had now come (with the impending renewal of the EIC Charter) to represent India to Britons, by giving them a concentrated dose of himself. Characteristically, this bicultural exchange encapsulated a more complex situation, in which he tried simultaneously to serve as the Mogul Emperor's envoy to the British Government, the British Government's instrument against Hindu traditionalists, and modern Hinduism's advocate to Europe's Christian public. Collet, *Life of Roy*, 282-422.

74. In a satire, published under the pseudonym, 'Ram Doss', Roy issued an appeal to the missionaries to join with orthodox Hindus in a campaign against the Unitarian evil, pointing out their mutually shared polytheistic approach. "You must admit that the same omnipotence which can make three [gods] ONE, and one THREE, can equally reconcile the UNITY and PLURALITY of three hundred and thirty million." Roy, "Ram Doss's Reply to a Remark of the Editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*", *English Works*, IV, 892-5, quote on 893.

78. If Roy could never resolve his fundamental ambivalence about popular Hinduism, he could at least stand firm against the myriad of Christian missionaries and Dissenters, who each wanted to claim him for their particular brand of Protestant Nonconformity. At every point in his career, he repeated this declaration of spiritual independence, which his Christian interlocutors found remarkably difficult to understand. By the time of his death, he had finally succeeded in conveying the message that his respect for the human Jesus had *not* converted him to Christianity. At the final moment, when he expired, during his ill-fated visit to England, his Hindu attendants were enlisted as witnesses that the body had been appropriately buried, with the Brahmanical thread left undisturbed.

81. Like Elphinstone and Mill, Roy anticipated a future time (he envisioned a period of forty or fifty to one hundred years) when India would be ready for modern self-government. In assessing the attitude of existing indigenous elites to British rule, he distinguished between those traditional potentates who had been displaced (and were largely hostile) from those whose wealth depended on modern law and commerce, who were generally supportive – though desiring greater control over their affairs. “The only course of policy,” he concluded, “which can assure their [educated Indians’] attachment to any form of Government, would be that of making them eligible to gradual promotion, according to their respective abilities and merits, to situations of trust and respectability in the State.” Roy, “Additional Queries Respecting the Condition of India,” *English Works*, II, 300; Collet, *Life of Roy*, 321-2, 336-9, 366-7.