A life of General Colin Macaulay

Soldier, Scholar & Slavery Abolitionist

by

Colin Ferguson Smith

Lieutenant Colin Macaulay

Miniature by John Smart in India, 1792

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Published in 2019

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Lieutenant Colin Macaulay, by John Smart. By Permission of the Provost and Fellows of King's College, Cambridge

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Illustrations

Foreword

Firstly, I want to thank my cousin Jamie Babington Smith for allowing me to borrow and use his archive of documents, of which he owns the copyright; these papers represent the learned study and extensive researches undertaken by his late father and mother, Bernard and Helen. Without their achievement, this book could not have been embarked on.

I want to express my gratitude to my niece Lucinda Smith for her excellent work of gathering research and drafting text during 2018. To my regret she was obliged this year to discontinue, owing to the pressure of her job. I was lucky that another cousin, Jamie's son David, volunteered to take over, and he has done an equally excellent job at the cost of a lot of his time. Without Lucinda and David this book would not have materialized.

I am grateful to Jamie and his brother Hugh for sparing time to read an earlier version of the text and correct errors.

I thank David Parker OBE, Professor of Digital Philology at Birmingham University for his kind help with the final chapter; equally Michael Trenchard of The Trenchard Partnership for his expert research mainly on General Macaulay's military career in India.

I alone am responsible for any defects or errors. In this context I prefer to quote from the nineteenth century historian Henry Hallam's foreword to his work on the Middle Ages in Europe, since his words are so much better than mine: '...I dare not, therefore, appeal with confidence to the tribunal of those superior judges who, having bestowed a more undivided attention on the particular subjects that have interested them, may justly deem such general sketches imperfect and superficial; but my labours may not have proved fruitless, if they shall conduce to stimulate the reflection, to guide the researches, to correct the prejudices, or to animate the liberal and virtuous sentiments of inquisitive youth.'

Colin F Smith
November 2019

Ranks and Appointments of Colin Macaulay

In the East India Company Army

Ranks

11 Feb 1777	Cadet
12 July 1778	Ensign
10 Mar 1782	Lieutenant
1 June 1796	Captain
31 July 1799	Major
19 May 1803	Lieutenant-Colonel
1 Jan 1812	Colonel
4 June 1814	Major-General
22 June 1830	Lieutenant-General

Other Appointments

1782 – 1792[5]	Aide-de-camp to Commander-in-Chief, Madras Army
1795 – 1803	Barrack Master, Southern Division
1800 – 1802	Commander of Palamcottah Fort, Tinnavelly
1800 – 1810	Resident of Travancore

Notes

1 The source for list of ranks is Madras Service Records, British Library, MS IOR-L-MIL-11-38.

2 Regiments in which Colin Macaulay served were the Native Infantry Nos. 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 10th, 20th, 21st, 27th & 52nd.

3 From October 1810 till his death in February 1836 Colin Macaulay was on furlough in Europe (mainly England), from which he never returned to India.

4 Promotions of Officers in the EIC army were made strictly by seniority.

5 Exact year of Colin Macaulay's termination as ADC to CIC of Madras army is not known.

Southern & Central India at the time of Colin Macaulay's arrival in 1778

Notes

1 This map is indicative only; it is based on originals published in 1763 and 1790, but must not be taken as definitive or accurate.

2 After independence from the UK in 1947, the territories of Travancore and Cochin were united, from which in 1956 the modern state of Kerala was formed: this in turn incorporates other pieces of previously different states.

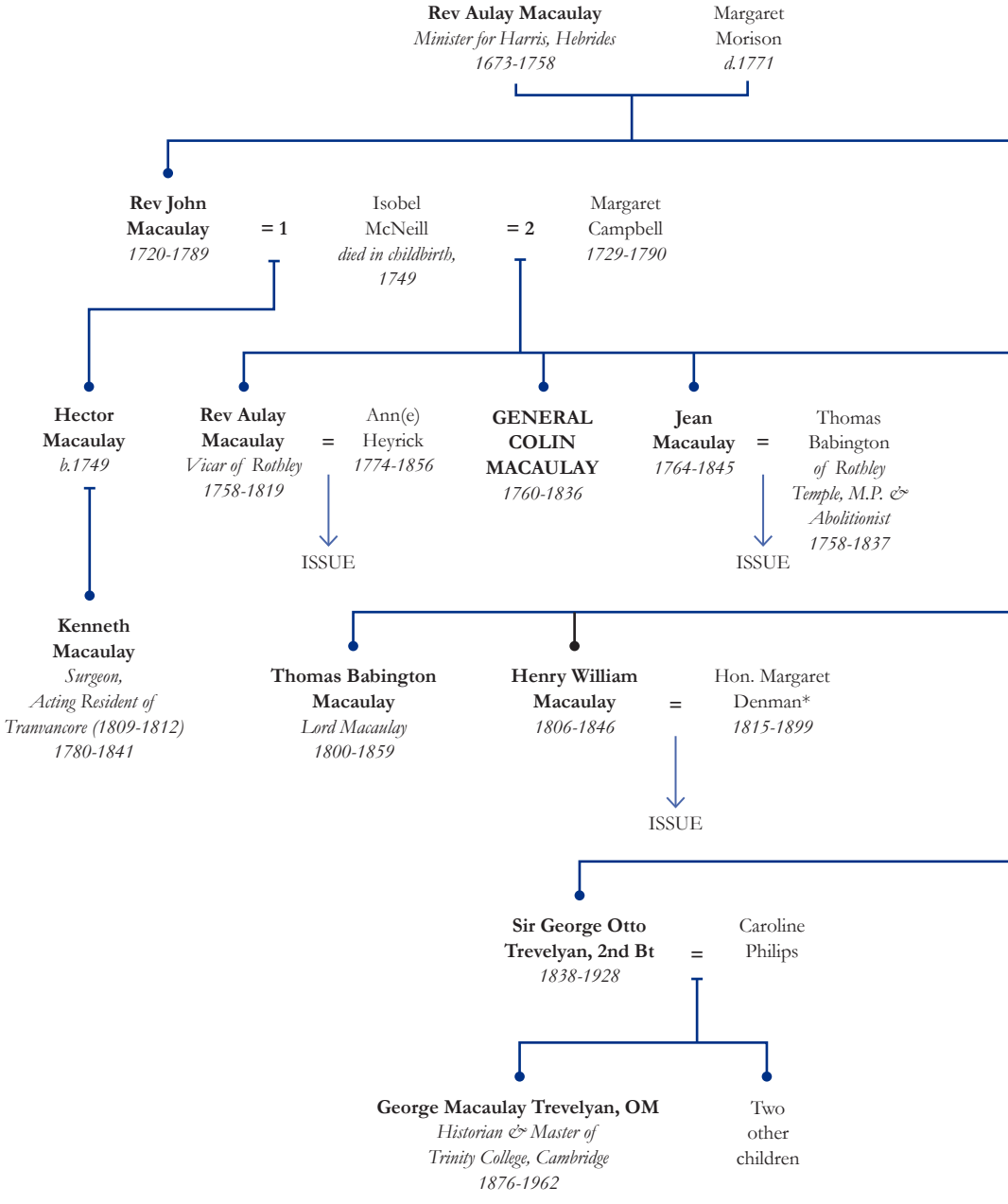
Indian Place Names (Anglicised)

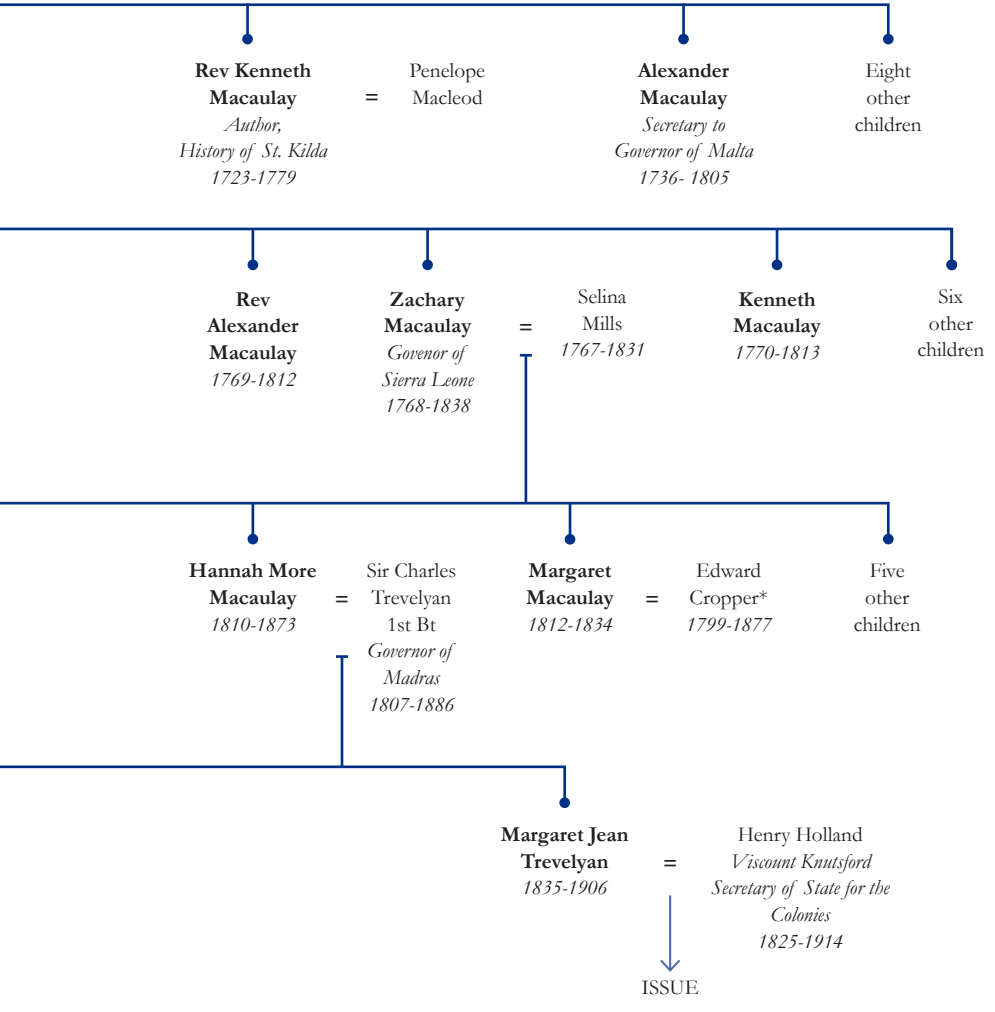
Old Style (Contemporary to Colin Macaulay)	Modern
ARCOT	ARCOT
BANGALORE	BENGALURU
BOMBAY	MUMBAI
CALCUTTA	KOLKATA
CALICUT	KOZHIKODE
CAPE COMORIN	KANYAKUMARI
COCHIN	KOCHI
GOA	GOA
HYDERABAD	HYDERABAD
MADRAS	CHENNAI
MALAVELLY	MALAVALLI
MANGALORE	MANGALURU
MYSORE	MYSURU
PONDICHERRY	PUDUCHERRY
QUILON	KOLLAM
SERINGAPATAM	SRIRANGAPATNA
TANJORE	THANJARUR
TINNAVELLY	TIRUNELVELI
TRAVANCORE*	KERALA*
TRIVANDRUM	THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

* After independence of India in 1947 the previous states of Travancore and Cochin were united. In 1956 the state of Kerala was formed out of Travancore, Cochin and other territories.

The Family of General Colin Macaulay

Particularly including those mentioned in this biography





* Margaret Denman and Edward Cropper subsequently married each other in 1848, after the deaths of their earlier spouses, the siblings Henry William Macaulay and Margaret Macaulay.

Chapter One
Lineage and Boyhood

The names Aulay and Macaulay are generally considered to be of Norse origin – perhaps a Gaelic form of Olaf. The clan was never one of the power-bloc groupings of Scotland – indeed in 1591 a tribe of Macaulays centred on Ardincaple, Dumbartonshire, was said to pay one calf a year as tribute to their kinsmen the MacGregors – but they were scattered through western Scotland from Sutherland to Dumbarton and over the western isles and Orkney. Doubtless during medieval centuries they played their part in the feuds and violence of Scotland's turbulent history, but so did they during the pacification that evolved during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One particular tribal grouping lived on the island of Lewis, especially on its western coast around Uig; after the chaos of previous centuries it typifies those changes to find that one of these clansmen, born in 1673, became ordained – he was the Reverend Aulay Macaulay, Minister for Harris. He had seven sons, five of whom were educated for the church. One of his grandsons was the Colin of this book.

Colin Campbell Macaulay was born 13 April 1760 at the manse of Lismore – the island lying at the mouth of Loch Linnhe – the second son of the Reverend John Macaulay (1720-1789) and his second wife Margaret, daughter of Colin Campbell[1] of

1 '…a small Argyll proprietor'. *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser*. 10 July 1849.

Inveresragan, Argyllshire. Colin was one of a family of twelve (six boys and six girls) and he had one additional half-brother, Hector, the only child of their father's first marriage to Isobel McNeil. John had been educated at King's College, Aberdeen; he had been ordained Minister for South Uist (1745), Lismore (1755), Inveraray (1765) and finally Cardross (1774), where he died.

John had a younger brother Kenneth (1723-1779), Minister for Cawdor who became well known when he wrote and published 'The History of St Kilda' in 1764, following an extended mission he made to that island in 1758; it was widely read, including by Dr Johnson, who admired it, although doubting its authorship. Both John and Kenneth figured in James Boswell's famous account of his and Dr Johnson's tour of Scotland and the Hebrides in 1773. On 25 October, when they were breakfasting at their inn at Inveraray, John arrived and, by previous invitation, conducted them on a tour of the castle, to dinner with the Duke of Argyll and his Duchess, and to stay for tea afterwards. John spent the later part of that evening in conversation with the two guests at their inn, received the rough edge of Johnson's tongue, but apparently having taken no offence revisited them for breakfast the next morning.

Earlier, on 27 August, Boswell and Johnson had stayed the night with Kenneth and his family. The main event was to view ruined Cawdor Castle. They liked the manse, found the library tolerable and dinner 'good and hospitable'. Johnson complimented his host on his St Kilda book, but Kenneth's adverse views on the lower English clergy made Johnson cross. The person who Johnson was particularly impressed by was the eleven-year-old son of the family, Aulay, for whom Johnson offered to use his influence to obtain a servitorship at Pembroke College, Oxford

– an opportunity which the College later offered – but Aulay preferred to join the Marines and become Lieutenant Paymaster.

Another of John's younger brothers was Alexander, who became an extensive traveller round Mediterranean countries. In Palermo he met Nelson and Sir William and Lady Hamilton, following evacuation of the royal family from Naples by British warship in December 1798. In 1800 Alexander was appointed Secretary to the Governor of Malta, following its recapture from the French in that year.

Colin's eldest brother via his mother Margaret was Aulay (1758-1819). As a young man Aulay travelled in Northern Europe, during which he briefly became tutor to Princess Caroline of Brunswick, who was already betrothed to the Prince of Wales, the future George IV. Due to the way that disastrous marriage turned out, Aulay's expectation of the reward of a bishopric stood no chance. In 1796 he obtained the living of Rothley in Leicestershire, presented by the local landowner Thomas Babington of Rothley Temple who was MP for Leicester from 1800 to 1818 and a prominent leader of the slavery abolition movement.

Colin's younger brother Zachary (1768-1838) became one of the most notable slavery abolitionists. He worked with Wilberforce and drafted several of his speeches. He was made Governor of Sierra Leone, the new colony created to house the escaped slaves who had fought for the British during the American War of Independence and after Britain had refused George Washington's demand that they be returned to their owners. Zachary married Selina Mills; their eldest son Thomas Babington Macaulay became famous – after a brilliant career in public life in both Britain and India, he devoted the remainder of his life

to history and literature, and remains one of our best-known historians – he was Lord Macaulay. Zachary has his monument in Westminster Abbey; his son lies nearby in Poets' Corner.

Colin's sister Jean married the above-mentioned Thomas Babington in 1787, thereby cementing relationships between the two families and becoming mistress of Rothley Temple.

There is little reliable information about Colin's younger brother Kenneth (1770-1813) except that he died in the East Indies. Colin wrote to his niece at the time of Kenneth's death saying that he barely knew him as they had not been brought up together.

Colin's half-brother Hector (born 1749 and still alive in 1812) had a son also named Kenneth (1780-1841) who pursued a career in medicine in India. As will be seen, this Doctor Macaulay became closely associated with his uncle Colin later, particularly in Travancore.

Returning to Colin himself, research has revealed nothing about his childhood; only facts about the man provide inferences about the boy. Self-reliance, initiative and determination he had and must have developed in youth. He became an outstanding linguist with extensive knowledge of classical and modern languages, history and literature and wrote with a polished literary style. Colin later referred to his 'school days' and it is probable that these were at the parish school at Inverary, where standards were high and fees low, and probably afterwards at Cardross.

Colin's father had a large family and money must have been in short supply; there is evidence that at least some of the younger children never went to school. There exists a memoir penned by brother Zachary, quoted at length in his biography written

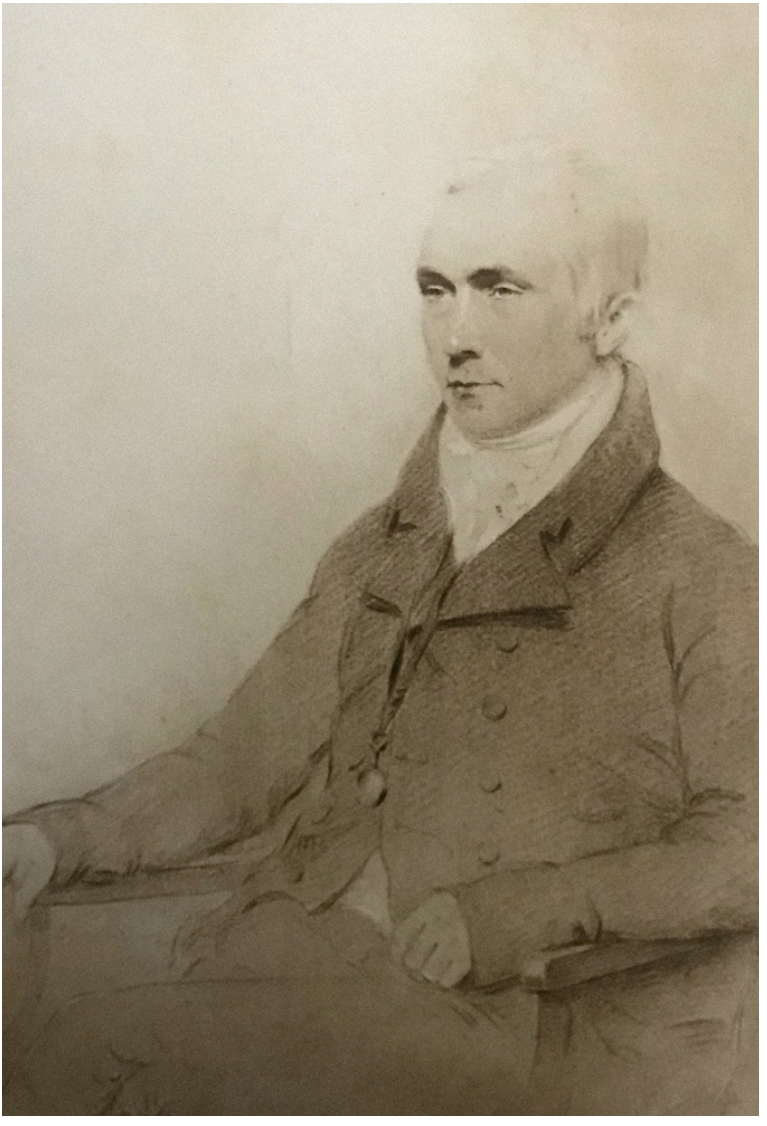
by his grand-daughter Margaret[2]. For him there was no school: only education by his father, which was intermittent owing to professional preoccupations. The elder siblings helped the younger ones. There was at home a well-equipped library; self-motivation and love of learning drove him on. At age fourteen, his father entered Zachary into a commercial firm in Glasgow, where he learnt business methods and accounts. Aged sixteen, he was ready to face the world on his own, and went abroad.

It is not known whether Colin in his teens received commercial training like Zachary; however, aged not quite seventeen, he decided to join the East India Company Army and was enrolled as Cadet at India House on 11 February 1777[3]. He embarked in the East Indiaman 'Calcutta' at Portsmouth and set sail on 27 April 1778[4].

2 Knutsford, Margaret Jean Holland, Viscountess. *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay.* (London, 1900).

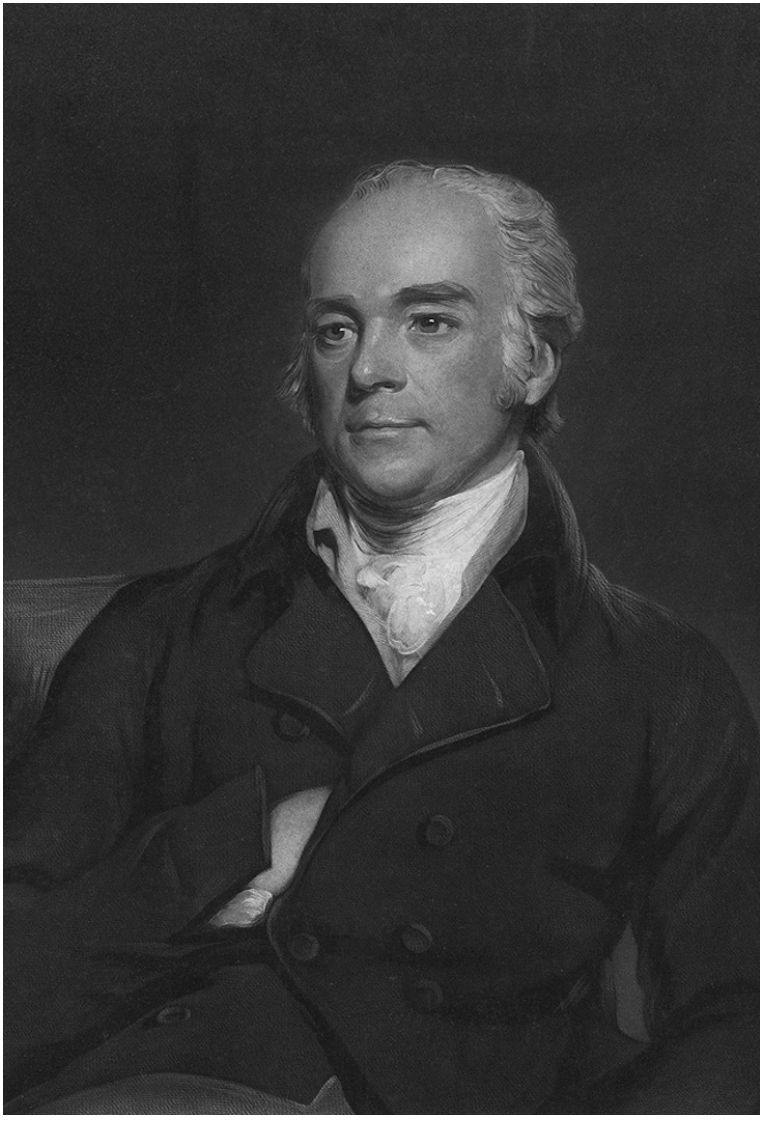
3 British Library, MS IOR/L/MIL/9/255/16, 19 (4).

4 British Library, MS IOR/L/MAR/B/308G.



Zachary Macaulay, brother of Colin

By Joseph Slater



Thomas Babington of Rothley Temple MP

By John Hoppner

Engraved by Charles Edward Wagstaff

Richard, 1st Marquess Wellesley KG

By Sir Thomas Lawrence

Tipu Sultan

Chapter Two
Early Career in India and Prisoner of War

The 'Calcutta's voyage was via Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope; she arrived at Kedgeree, a basin of the River Hooghly near Calcutta on 6 December 1778. Macaulay presumably took a boat or travelled overland down the coast to reach his destination Madras, where he was to be posted. He had been promoted Ensign on 12 July during the voyage.

The political situation in India when Macaulay arrived was complex and confused; the sub-continent was divided up into numerous individual states, large and small, with a variety of languages and religions. The Mogul Empire, which had been founded in 1526 following centuries of Muslim conquests and infiltrations, continued in being but had sunk into impotence. Between the Emperor's nominally vassal princedoms were frequent wars and alliances, of changing patterns.

The European trading 'factories' and depots which were progressively established mainly from the 17th century by the Portuguese, Dutch, French, British and Danish, also became involved in treaties and defensive wars; an invisible line emerged between defensive and offensive wars.

The British East India Company, already well established when Macaulay arrived through its three presidencies in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, was ruled by a Court of Proprietors (major shareholders) and Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street, London, through their three respective governors, although since 1773 by Lord North's Regulating Act the Governor of Bengal in Calcutta was given pre-eminence, and from then on became Governor-General of (British) India. By Pitt's India Act of 1784 a Board of Control was established – a sub-committee of cabinet ministers – which operated in Westminster and effectively took over from the Directors the political as opposed to the trading governance of the Company.

Bearing in mind the slowness of communications (a message from London to Calcutta took at least three months) the Governor-General had to be allowed a substantial degree of power and initiative. During Macaulay's Indian career there were six successive holders of the office, three of these being of exceptional importance, namely Warren Hastings (1773-1785), Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793 and then again briefly till his death in 1805) and Lord Mornington (1797-1807), created Marquess Wellesley in 1799.

Wars in which Britain was engaged on the world stage had a crucial corresponding effect on events in India – in particular the wars against France. The first, arising from the American War of Independence (1775-1781) was the mainly naval struggle between allied France and Spain against Britain from 1777 to 1783; the second, and by far the longest was the war against revolutionary France which began in 1793 and continued against Napoleon, with the interlude of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, until the latter's abdication in April 1814 – and finally ended after the 'Hundred Days' and Waterloo the following year.

Indeed from India's viewpoint the fact of Napoleon's presence with his army in Egypt for more than a year (1798-1799), from where he proclaimed his ambition to create a French empire of the east, was a critical event. Although – like the invasion scare of England a few years later – it never happened, that does not negate the crisis which loomed at the time.

The centre of French power on the east coast of India was Pondicherry, south of Madras; threatening the west coast were the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon (Réunion), which were bases sheltering troops and a detachment of the French navy. France also had mainland allies – particularly the major states of Hyderabad and Mysore, with French officers and soldiers stationed in each.

The state of Mysore became a chief aggressor to neighbouring smaller princedoms, some of which were under the protection of the Company, and therefore a threat to the Company itself. Mysore had been under the usurped leadership of Hyder Ali since 1759, when that Muslim career soldier assumed power over the Hindu state, reducing the rightful Rajah to a virtual prisoner. His attacks and conquests provoked the First and Second Mysore Wars against the British (1767-1769 and 1780-1784) which both ended in treaties, the first favourable to Mysore, the second inconclusive. Hyder Ali died in 1782 and was succeeded by his son Tipu Sultan. Tipu's enmity against the British was bitter and his ambition was to expel them entirely from India. His corresponding favour of the French encouraged him to start a third war (1790-1792) by invading neighbouring Travancore, but ended in defeat for his armies inflicted by Lord Cornwallis, who imposed a treaty which deprived Tipu of most of the conquests previously gained by himself and his father.

Ensign Macaulay is listed among those officers serving on the Coromandel Coast on 31 March 1780, shortly before being involved in action and taken prisoner; but this did nothing to defer his promotion to Lieutenant on 10 March 1782 or his appointment on the same date as aide-de-camp to Major-General Medows, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army – a position he retained for at least ten years.

It was during the course of the Second Mysore War that Ensign Macaulay, with other brother officers, was captured. There is some confusion about dates and exact circumstances of the event, and there seem to be two versions. The first is that he was captured during the first Battle of Pollilore, fought on 10 September 1780. In July that year Hyder Ali had invaded the Carnatic with a well-equipped French trained army of 90,000 men, laid waste the country, besieged Arcot and threatened Madras. The British in Madras were unprepared. Their forces amounting to 11,300 men were under the command of Sir Hector Munro, a senior general with an excellent record. However, on this occasion his decision to divide his small army into three units has since involved him in controversy, because one of these, of 2,800 men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, due to a combination of accidents and errors, was attacked by Hyder, defeated despite stout resistance, and almost annihilated. Among the few survivors who were taken prisoner were Baillie, Captain David Baird (a subsequent military hero) and Lieutenant John Lindsay, both of the latter seriously wounded.

These captives with other fellow officers were sent off to prison in Hyder's fortress capital of Seringapatam. Macaulay (in company with Captain Lucas, who subsequently died in the prison) joined them according to one contemporary account on 29 January 1781. He was unwounded and had been sent first to

Bangalore, where he had been kept in irons since October. But in a book later published in London, the author W. Thomson stated that Ensign MacAuley (sic) arrived at Seringapatam on 29 January 1782[5] – which date is probably a mistake.

The second version of Macaulay's capture (also related in Thomson's book) was that it was during the defence of Fort Gingee (or Chenji) taken by Hyder in November 1780. Gingee had previously been a stronghold of the French in the Carnatic, captured by the British in 1761.

Conditions suffered by the imprisoned officers at Seringapatam were allegedly dreadful; food was meagre and unpleasant, amenities rudimentary. The details were later described to the British public in Thomson's Memoirs, John Lindsay's journal and Theodore Hook's Life of Sir David Baird. But, unsurprisingly, some descriptions of cruelty and barbarism became inflated by time. Macaulay himself, writing as 'Investigator' in a letter to the editor of the Asiatic Journal in 1833, gave a more prosaic version, rejecting the most highly coloured instances of barbarism.

In particular:

(i) The prison was a building, not a dungeon, 'open to the winds of heaven'. (ii) Although deaths from dysentery and other illnesses were frequent, medicines were available in the bazaar and there was a qualified doctor – Dr White – among the prisoners. (iii) A small allowance of cash was made to the captives. Servants were also available to carry out basic tasks and make purchases from the bazaar. A baker attended the prison daily, selling mediocre unleavened bread. (iv) One day, 10 May 1781, all the prisoners (except the ill and wounded) were shackled by both legs with 9lb

5 W. Thomson, *The Memoirs of the Late War in Asia by an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment*. (London 1788), Vol 2, p. 45.

weights and 8 inch chains; their irons were not knocked off till the day of their release. The story later given out that the men were shackled together in pairs was untrue. (v) It was incorrect that the prisoners were denied books and writing paper.

The war ended by the Treaty of Mangalore. The British officers at Seringapatam were released on 22 March 1784, to begin the trek back to Madras. For Macaulay, the ordeal had lasted 3 years and 5 months.

What the officers did not know was the fate of crowds of men and boys whom they had often seen in the prison courtyard, both Oriental and European, and who had been forcibly circumcised and converted to Islam. It seems likely that few, if any, of these people ever returned to their homes.

We know Macaulay served in the third Mysore War. Otherwise, between the end of the second and preparations for the fourth Mysore Wars – a gap of some fourteen years – information about him is sparse; admittedly he was on furlough twice during this period. An additional post he did occupy between 1795 and 1803 was Barrack Master, Southern Division. This was a senior management role of a quasi-civilian nature which did not conflict with his active military career.

Macaulay was granted leave to go on temporary furlough three times during his career. The first was in 1788, when he left Bombay in March in the 'Sir Henry Dundas'[6] and anchored off Weymouth on 15 July[7]. His return to India was partly overland

6 The Calcutta Gazette, 27 March 1788.

7 The Leeds Intelligencer, 15 July 1788.

through France and Egypt, by sea through the Mediterranean[8] and at Port Said he boarded the Royal Naval frigate 'Vestal', carrying Major-General Medows with his staff and she reached Madras 4 March 1790[9].

On 5 October 1792 he sailed from Madras, arriving in England 8 March 1793[10]; the reason for leave was ill health, but Macaulay was able to travel during the course of his holiday to France and the Low Countries (at the time they were at war). His voyage back to India started February 1794[11]. The third furlough was also on health grounds and was during his Residency of Travancore; it took place in 1803.

8 Minutes, EIC Court of Directors, 1789, British Library, MS IOR/B/109.

9 The Calcutta Gazette, 4 March 1790.

10 The Calcutta Gazette, 1 November 1792; Minutes, EIC Court of Directors, 8 March 1793, British Library, MS IOR/B/1116.

11 British Library, MS IOR/E/4/880 and Minutes, EIC Court of Directors, 1794, British Library MS IOR/B/118.

Chapter Three
Battle of Seringapatam

The fourth and final war between The East India Company and Mysore in 1799 was conclusive; exceptionally it was an attack by the former on the latter. It was also exceptional in lasting a few months only. The credit for the masterly planning and organisation of its success must be given to one man, the new Governor-General Richard Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, who arrived in India in May 1798. He was the eldest of a family of brothers, each of whom achieved fame from his own abilities, and three of whom had careers which included India: these two younger siblings were Colonel Arthur Wellesley, whose talents showed promise of future renown as Duke of Wellington, and Henry (later Lord Cowley) who served his eldest brother in a number of capacities.

Mornington disembarked at Madras to meet General Harris, the new Commander-in-Chief of that Presidency's army. Here he decided that his pre-eminent task must be to defeat French ambitions against the British in India. To this end, soon after arriving in Calcutta, he cemented a triple alliance with two major powers: these were the confederacy of Maratha states – a traditional Hindu hierarchy which dominated central portions of India – and Hyderabad, whose Muslim ruler the Nizam had been employing a French army of 16,000 men and officers, which was a clear threat to British interests. Mornington and

Colonel Wellesley by clever diplomacy backed by veiled threat of force obtained from the Nizam not only his French army's disbandment without bloodshed, but also agreement to send his own troops nominally under his own commander (but in fact led by Colonel Wellesley) to join Harris' army. Mornington saw clearly that the occurrence of the French Revolution in 1789 had done nothing to quell France's determination to drive the British out of India; the emergence of Napoleon Bonaparte as her foremost general had enhanced her ambitions.

Mornington believed that a crisis was imminent and he decided to make a pre-emptive strike. Documentary evidence that Tipu planned joint action with the French was the decisive factor, and particularly as Tipu ignored Mornington's diplomatic approaches. He ordered the Company's armies on both east and west coasts to prepare for a campaign to destroy Tipu's power. Mornington's success in obtaining the contribution of 20,000 troops[12] from the Nizam reinforced General Harris' army to 42,000 men assembled at Vellore about 85 miles westward from Madras. The objective was to advance on Seringapatam, some 270 miles further to the west. Cornwallis' previous attempt to take the city in 1791 had failed due to the onset of the monsoon (which usually begins in that area in mid May) and to insufficient equipment and supplies. With that example in mind, the march to Seringapatam in 1799 began on 11 February.

The campaign was to last three months, and adequate resources were vital. Bulk quantities of grain were bought from bazaars along the army's initial route with forward purchasing arrangements, but adequacy of supplies remained a constant anxiety when the march continued through enemy territory.

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12 Marshman, John Clark. *A History of India from the Earliest Period to the Close of Lord Dalhousie's Administration*. 1867-1869, Vol 2, p. 87.

The baggage and supply train was substantial, involving grooms, water-carriers and camp followers. Bullocks dragged the heavy artillery and supply tumbrils; a rear guard of several battalions was required to protect them. The route took the army through areas of difficult country; water was in short supply, and the mass, which could only move at bullock pace, was under intermittent threat from enemy pickets and cavalry. Thousands of the bullocks were lost through accidents, disease and attack, and had to be replaced.

During the campaign Macaulay was appointed Harris' private secretary. He was also secretary to a Military Commission headed by Col. Arthur Wellesley, which was appointed by Mornington to accompany the army, conduct any negotiations which might be originated by Tipu and to report events directly to himself.

According to Macaulay, writing an open letter to Harris seventeen years later on the subject of the Major Hart affair discussed in Chapter 6, he (Macaulay) 'arranged and prepared the important instructions transmitted for the movements and positions of the Bombay army... And you may recall the circumstance of the Governor and all the Council coming over from the council-chamber to your (Harris') house in the Fort, to hear me read and explain those instructions'[13]. He also recalled that Harris 'relied on me entirely for the commissariat... It was well known at Madras, and in the army... that to me was confided by your Lordship the charge of regulating and arranging the supplies of every kind required for the great armies assembling under your command for the siege of Seringapatam: and this charge was not confined to the force assembled in the vicinity of Madras, but extended to that moving from Hyderabad, and from the coast of Malabar.

13 Macaulay, Major-General Colin. *Two Letters to General Lord Harris.* (Ellerton and Henderson, Fleet Street, 1816) pp. 11-12.

'Not only was the quantity to be provided and carried, whether by the public or by Binjarries (grain merchants and carriers) or others, subject to my superintendance and directions; but the price even to be paid for such grain as should be delivered by the inhabitants, or from the public stores to dealers in grain or others, was regulated by me under authority from your Lordship'[14].

Meanwhile, the second army of 6,000 men was to advance from the west coast under General Stuart to synchronise its arrival with Harris, which it was successful in doing; this army was attacked by Tipu en route, but without significant interruption of its advance.

Tipu endeavoured to halt Harris' march with an engagement at Malavelly 25 miles from Seringapatam, equally unsuccessfully. Thereafter, Tipu seems to have concentrated his effort on defending the Citadel itself. He had expected Harris to use the direct northern route taken previously by Cornwallis, and had ordered laying waste the adjacent country by burning of crops and fodder. Harris marched for only a day along this expected road; that evening, he instructed Macaulay and a fellow officer to reconnoitre an alternative and more southerly route[15].

On their return late that night, the two reported that this alternative was clear of opposition, and that the river Cauvery could be forded at Sosily 15 miles east of Seringapatam, which itself (comprising fortress, town and palace all surrounded by ramparts) stood on an island formed by a division of the Cauvery into two courses. This geographic situation would have made Seringapatam impregnable during the monsoon, when flooding

14 *Two Letters to General Lord Harris from General Macaulay,* pp.11-12.

15 Lushington, Rt. Hon. Stephen Rumbold. *The Life and Services of General Lord Harris GCB.* J. W. Parker, London, 1845 p. 284.

caused the river to burst its banks. The alternative southern route also provided additional advantages of surprise and of plentiful forage for animals. The next day Harris advanced safely along it and successfully forded the river, reaching the far side on 5 April.

Stuart's Bombay army arrived nine days later, completing the junction as planned. That same day a sudden emergency occurred when it was discovered that there was an alarming shortage of rice[16]; however, this situation was soon resolved by additional purchases but with repercussions which led to a heated controversy in which Macaulay was still involved nearly twenty years later.

Harris wrote to Tipu on 28 April demanding final terms: that Tipu should cede half his territory to the triple alliance, pay a large sum in compensation, renounce his alliance with the French in perpetuity, dismiss every Frenchman from his service, and hand over hostages[17]. This letter received no reply, and Harris completed his preparations for the commencement of the siege.

On 1 May Macaulay wrote from the camp: 'This morning the breaching battery, completed, opened with great effect. Tomorrow the breach may be practicable; at all events, the assault will not be delayed beyond the 4th. The more arduous the enterprize, the greater the glory... Our breaching battery opened partially yesterday morning: this morning it is completed, and tonight the guns will be got in; notwithstanding which, Tippoo (sic) indicates no symptom of serious alarm: he has not even deigned to answer General Harris' letter of the 28th. It would appear as if he had thoughts of pushing matters to the last extremity, and trying the

16 Salmond, James. *A Review of the Origin, Progress and Result of the Late Decisive War in Mysore.* (1800) p. 22.

17 *Ibid.* p. 20.

issue of an assault. This will probably take place in two or three days, unless the river prematurely swells'[18].

It having been decided that the outer fortifications had been sufficiently breached, the storming of the walls was ordered on 4 May, led by Major-General David Baird. The storming party made its attack from pre-prepared trenches at the surprising time of midday maximum heat, and achieved total success within six hours. Macaulay described the attack many years later: it 'came by surprise upon Tippoo and his garrison; consequently, the defence was of the feeblest kind ever witnessed in a great fortress on a great occasion'[19]. Before dark the battlements were occupied by the British, and Tipu's forces entirely dislodged. The attack then centred on the fort; Macaulay described a 'lovely night, clear, still and balmy' with a full moon 'rendering every object distinctly perceptible to a considerable distance'[20]. The fort was captured. Tipu fought to the death rather than surrender; he was buried the next day with full British military honours in his family mausoleum beside his father Hyder Ali[21]. The final stage of the operation within the walls was entry into the palace. General Baird accomplished this himself and encountered two young sons of Tipu, whom he treated with respect and escorted to General Harris' tent. Tipu's many sons were later dispersed into exile – the four elder to Calcutta, and the younger to Vellore.

When the palace was searched the following day, among the masses of treasure, documents were found confirming Tipu's negotiations with the French[22]. Details of the French garrison

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18 *Asiatic Annual Register*, Supplement to the State Papers pp. 212-213.

19 *Asiatic Journal* Vol XI 1833 p. 196.

20 *Asiatic Journal* Vol X 1833 p. 264.

21 Carter, T. *Medals of the British Army, and how they were won.* (London. 1861) p. 4.

22 Wellington Arthur Wellesley, Duke of, and Owen, Sidney J (ed). *The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, KG, During His Administration in India.* (Oxford, 1877) pp. 62-67.

stationed within the Fort with documents dated using the French Revolutionary calendar were later published, revealing to the British public the potential disaster which had been pre-empted. The rightful Hindu Rajah, whose dynasty had been usurped for 40 years, was restored.

Following Harris' dispatches to Madras describing the victory, Mornington (who had stationed himself there for the duration of the campaign) issued a General Order officially expressing his appreciation to the army and its Commander-in-Chief. Among particular officers mentioned by name, he thanked Macaulay for the 'essential services' he had rendered, referring particularly to his identification of the southern route[23]. Macaulay also received a personal letter from Mornington saying that he had wished to say more in the General Order but was prevented from doing so for official reasons[24]. Macaulay was awarded the Seringapatam Gold Medal as a reward for his services.

The fall of Seringapatam established Britain's position in southern India. Following its capture, Colonel Wellesley was appointed its Governor with the task of restoring order and the pacification of Mysore; he was based in the town for the next three and a half years.

Visiting Seringapatam 35 years after the siege, the future Lord Macaulay reported that the mosque with its white minarets was in good condition but the palace had fallen into disrepair; he had grown up with stories of his uncle's imprisonment, and was interested to see that the prison building still stood[25].

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23 *The Life and Services of General Lord Harris* pp. 270-272.

24 *Two Letters to General Lord Harris from General Macaulay* pp. 66-67.

25 Trevelyan, Sir George Otto. *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.* (London, 1889) p. 325.

Official anniversary dinners were held to celebrate the victory for many years subsequently; in 1832 General Macaulay was guest at a dinner presided over by King William IV at St James's Palace with others including the Duke of Wellington, cabinet ministers, East India Company directors and high-ranking military officers.

Chapter Four
Resident of Travancore

The state of Travancore was situated on the south-westerly coast of India. Approximately the size of Wales, it occupied the narrow strip of territory running north from Cape Comorin at the extreme southern tip of the sub-continent with the coast as its western border and the thickly wooded Cardamom hills, reaching 6,000 feet, as a natural frontier to the east. In between was a fertile area, irrigated by rivers and lagoons, allowing two crops to be raised annually of paddy, pepper, ginger, spices, coconuts, cashews and fruits. Macaulay described it later as 'a country so favoured by Providence, wherein crops never fail'. In his time the northern frontier bordered the state of Cochin, also in a 'subsidiary alliance' with the British after they had seized it from the Dutch. Travancore's capital, Trivandrum, was located at its southern end; its language was Malayalam; the predominant religion devout Hinduism. Today, post Indian independence, both Travancore and Cochin are incorporated in the modern state of Kerala.

Throughout its history the rulers of Travancore had generally been keen to encourage international trade, and shown themselves remarkably friendly to foreigners, particularly those from Arabia and the Roman Empire. The substantial minority populations of Jews and Syriac Christians established in Travancore may have originated from those connections. Later Portuguese, Dutch,

English, Danish and French were welcome as traders. Such a summary is not intended to suggest a history of calm prosperity. As far back as history dissolved into mythology, Travancore and its neighbours exhibited turbulent centuries of warfare and discord. Although the invasions of the sub-continent by Islam had not reached so far south, unrest with neighbouring states in more modern times had involved successive treaties with the French against the Dutch (1741), with the Dutch themselves (1753), with Cochin (1763) and with the British East India Company (1765). In 1741 a Dutch prisoner-of-war, Eustachius De Lannoy, gained the favour of the Rajah, was promoted to reorganise Travancore's army on European bases, and commanded it in battle with notable success until his death in 1777.

In 1766 Travancore came within the sights of aggressive Hyder Ali, usurping leader of Mysore, who invaded and took possession of several smaller states to the north of Malabar, made Cochin submit as his vassal, and threatened Travancore. The latter strengthened its northern fortifications and, under protection of the British, induced Hyder to withdraw. Hostilities in the area persisted until Hyder died in 1782. However, his son and successor Tipu Sultan proved even more aggressive, although the Treaty of Managalore in 1784 between the British East India Company and Mysore provided a respite. The Madras governor sent two Company regiments to reinforce Travancore's northern border and an English official, George Powney, to become the first British Resident at the Rajah's court. However, when Tipu invaded Travancore in March 1790, the Madras Government did nothing to fulfil its promises, and the two regiments stood idly by. Tipu's army ravaged the country until the monsoon broke, when his operations were paralysed by floods.

The Governor-General Lord Cornwallis castigated the Madras Government for its bad faith in abandoning the Company's ally and he put in train preparations for the Third Anglo-Mysore war. Tipu retreated in disorderly fashion, but the struggle against him only ended with the Fourth war and his death in 1799. A new formal alliance had already been concluded between the Rajah of Travancore and the Company in 1795, which was ratified by the Court of Directors in 1797.

On 7 January 1800 Major Colin Macaulay was appointed Resident of Travancore at a salary of 400 pagodas per month[26]. In this role he acted as the Governor-General's ambassador and advisor. One particular function was to see that Travancore paid to the Company the sums due to it under the terms of the 1795 treaty – especially under Clause 3: to pay 'both in peace and war a sum equivalent to the expense of three battalions of the Company's troops'.

There were two other main actors on the stage of Macaulay's Residency. The first was the Rajah, Balarama Varma, who had succeeded his uncle on 18 February 1798 at the age of 16 years. To begin with he was on good terms with the Resident, although inexperienced and under the sway of favourites. The second was his Dewan (First Minister) Velu Thampi, appointed 1801 – a self-made man who had risen to power – and who was also initially well-disposed toward Macaulay. Velu Thampi was a strong and forceful administrator who could be unscrupulous and vindictive.

Macaulay at the same time held a military post as Commander of the Palamcottah Fort in Tinnavelly[27] some 100 miles east

26 This sum is estimated as equivalent to over £9,000 per annum at the then exchange rate. In 1809 Macaulay's salary was doubled to 800 pagodas per month – British Library, MS IOR/O/6/4 p 85 and MS IOR/O/6/9. The sterling exchange rate of the day has been calculated via www.pierre-marteau.com/currency/converter.html – accessed 15 August 2019.

27 *Two Letters to General Lord Harris from General Macaulay* p. 110.

of Travancore. This post he resigned 17 February 1802. In that locality during 1799 occurred a revolt of Poligars (local land-owners and feudal chiefs) who refused to pay arrears of alleged taxes; the Company had apparently pacified the situation and imprisoned the ringleaders in the fort. But on 2 February 1801 by a well-prepared plot these prisoners escaped and made their way to join a waiting gang of some 4,000 fellow conspirators[28]. It was lucky that they did not head off in the opposite direction, where a mile away Macaulay was dining in his residence in the company of some 20 guests, including officers and senior civilians of the station with their wives[29]. The following morning he collected as many troops as were available (only a few hundred), set off in pursuit and found the gang walled up in a ruined mud fort which they had surprisingly well repaired. He gave the order to attack, but was hopelessly out-numbered and ill-equipped and forced to retire. The fort was stormed on 24 May by a larger better-equipped force under Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew[30], who had been military secretary to General Harris during the Seringapatam campaign.

In 1804 a mutiny occurred in the Travancore army, in protest against retrenchment measures which had been agreed by Thampi and Macaulay to save money and reduce the deficit due to the Company. The rebels marched on Trivandrum demanding among other measures the dismissal of the Dewan. Both he and Macaulay, who had been promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1803, retired to Cochin; from here Macaulay summoned help from Tinnavelly. The revolt was quelled with severe reprisals.

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28 Wilson, William John. *History of Madras Army, Vol III.* (Madras, 1883) pp. 37-52.

29 Welsh, Colonel James. *Military Reminiscences; Extracted from a Journal of nearly 40 years active service in the East Indies.* (London, 1830) pp. 51-53.

30 *Ibid.* p. 75.

Following that episode Lord Wellesley decided that the existing treaty needed to be reinforced, and he instructed Macaulay to draft and agree with the Rajah and Dewan a new treaty with a new Clause 3, which would impose on the Rajah the obligation to accept a doubled subsidy to pay for the permanent upkeep of one regiment, and to delegate to the Company the future responsibility of keeping order in Travancore in time of peace. Macaulay was entrusted with the difficult task of negotiating such expense and humiliation on the Rajah, but eventually succeeded and the treaty was amicably signed on 12 January 1805[31].

There was another, much more crucial, reason for Wellesley to wish to strengthen relations with Travancore. This related to the Treaty of Amiens, which in March 1802 halted the war between Britain and France. For whatever motives of the Addington/ Castlereagh administration, clauses of that treaty applied to India, and these provided for some previous French and Dutch possessions to be relinquished by Britain and restored to their previous 'owners'. The Netherlands however no longer existed; it had become the Batavian Republic – vassal state of Napoleon. Macaulay realized that (previously Dutch-ruled) Cochin with its formidable fortress would effectively be handed to the French, and be an excellent springboard for Napoleon's ambitions for his proposed Eastern Empire. The French in Mauritius were mobilizing; their 'intriguers' were already at work on the mainland – one was holding secret conversations with the Rajah of Travancore. Another crisis impended.

Macaulay went to Calcutta to confer with Wellesley. Wellesley shrewdly suspected that the peace would not last long. He was right and war recommenced in May 1803. He had delayed

31 Macaulay, General Colin. *Desultory Notes on a cursory view of some papers extracted from the records of the East India House.* (London, 1832) p. 8.

implementing the Amiens Treaty; but he took precautions and gave Macaulay powers and instructions accordingly.

In 1803 the Madras Government by proclamation prohibited 'all persons in the service of the Honourable Company and all others enjoying the protection of the British Government … from holding any communication, correspondence or any personal intercourse whatever with His Highness the Rajah of Travancore or with any of the Ministers or Officers of that Prince without the express consent and concurrence and through the official channel of the British Resident'[32].

The following is Macaulay's own account of what happened[33]: 'To be prepared for the arrival of French and Dutch, I was appointed the sole commissioner on behalf of the British Government, for delivering over to the French and Batavian Republics the fortresses, factories, and quondam possessions of each situated within the province of Malabar, on the side of the Ghauts, and the province of Tinnavelly, on the other. As also those within the territories of the Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore, which had been restored to those Republics by the definitive treaty of peace concluded at Amiens. But providentially we were rescued from our danger by the rupture of that treaty and the renewal of war. A great reparation, it must in fairness be acknowledged, for the inexcusable weakness of the British cabinet in having laid open India to France. Intelligence of this joyful event no sooner reached us, than I urged upon the government the expediency of ordering the instant demolition of the fortress of Cochin, to avoid its becoming on any future possible occasion of impolitic restitution, a point d'appui for France.

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32 *Ibid.* p. 8.

33 *Ibid.* pp. 9-11.

'Authority was accordingly conferred upon me to use my discretion in the means to be employed for blowing up the defences and works of Cochin, a measure which I undertook con amore, and soon accomplished.

'The state of Travancore, if judged merely by geographical dimensions, might justly be termed petty, in comparison with the extended territorial possessions of the greater Indian rulers. But in the years 1803 and part of 1804, it might be shown by fair induction from facts, that this petty state was perhaps of more importance in its actual and prospective bearings upon the vital interests of Great Britain in India, than many of those that immeasurably exceeded it in size...

'No sooner, however, were we relieved from our perils temporarily by the renewal of war, and permanently by the peace of Paris, subsequent to the abdication of Buonaparte, and more especially by the battle of Waterloo, leaving us the undisputed masters of India; than the state of Travancore shrunk into its pettiness, and might thenceforward be securely left to manage its own concerns, so long as it fulfilled its subsidiary engagements.'

Relations between the Rajah, Dewan and Resident had become strained. From this time forward the situation deteriorated. The main point at issue continued to be the subsidies due to the Company. They were constantly in arrears, and anger and arguments became the norm. Two requests from the Rajah that Macaulay be recalled were refused. Macaulay unsuccessfully petitioned the Rajah to dismiss Thampi.

It is difficult today to judge whether the subsidy claimed by the Company was equitable. Macaulay estimated the Rajah's annual revenue at about 25 lacs of rupees, and the East India Company

annual subsidy at 7 lacs, which he thought fair, although admitting that a large part of the revenue got stolen. Some later British historians decided that the Company was too greedy – even though it did offer the concession that for the first two years until 1807 the subsidy should be reduced by half.

Animosity all round escalated and Thampi intrigued with the French. Macaulay had warned of the danger of an anti-British plot which might involve a French invasion of Travancore since 1804; by the end of 1808 he expected that invasion imminently, and it became known that Thampi had urged the Rajah of Cochin to combine forces with Travancore and the French to drive the British out[34]. Only when it became evident that anti-Company military preparations were under way, and that ambassadors from Thampi had been sent to Mauritius, did the Government in Madras react, when troops were ordered to assemble at Quilon.

Thampi responded by professing alarm at the situation (of which he claimed to be innocent) and asked permission to retire. On 27 December 1808, final arrangements were made to effect his apparently willingly proffered resignation. However his actions behind the scenes had been completely contrary: ammunition had been stockpiled, fortifications strengthened and troops recruited. A simultaneous attack was planned on Macaulay in his residence at Cochin and on the new British garrison at Quilon.

According to Macaulay's own account of the events of 28 December[35], he was awakened in the night by the sound of musketry and found his house being attacked by hundreds of men. His life was saved by his Portuguese clerk who conducted him to a secret room, where the two stayed hidden for the rest

34 Thornton, Edward. *The History of the British Empire in India, Volume IV.* (London, 1843) p. 119.

35 Macaulay, General Colin. *Desultory Notes...* pp. 24-26.

of the night while the Residency was ransacked and all the other servants killed. At daybreak the pair escaped; by good fortune, the frigate 'La Piedmontaise' (captured from the French the previous year) was anchored in the harbour; Macaulay was safely on board her by midday. He remained on board for several weeks, and 'La Piedmontaise's guns contributed to the quelling of the rebellion.

On the same day the British garrison at Quilon was attacked by combined Travancore and Cochin rebels; the attack was repulsed and the garrison's losses were not large. The Dewan's conspirators were disconcerted by this failure and the botched assassination attempt on the Resident. Macaulay immediately dispatched his report to Madras calling for reinforcements, which was promptly answered. On 18 January 1809 Colonel Chalmers defeated Thampi's rebel forces near Quilon in a six-hour battle[36].

Another larger army under Colonel St Leger invaded mid Travancore through a mountain pass in February and speedily crushed all opposition. Meanwhile the Madras Government had issued a proclamation on 17 January assuring Travancore citizens that they had nothing to fear from the Company, which only wanted a peaceful solution.

Velu Thampi fled from Trivandrum and committed suicide[37]. Macaulay returned to the capital to a salute of seventeen guns. Some of the reprisals on the leaders of the rebellion were savage, leading Lord Minto (the new Governor-General since 1807) to express his disapproval[38]. On 15 March 1809 Macaulay received an extension of his authority over Cochin which authorized him

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36 Menon, P. Shungoonny. *A History of Travancore from the Earliest Times* (1878). Kessinger Legacy Reprints, 2010 p. 344.

37 Macaulay, General Colin. *Desultory Notes...* pp. 29-30.

38 Aiyav, V. Nagam. *The Travancore State Manual.* (Travancore, 1906) p. 445.

to negotiate a treaty with that state similar to the one previously concluded with Travancore in 1805. In September 1809 the Court of Directors in London minuted its appreciation of Macaulay's integrity, ability and firmness in dealing with the recent troubles affecting Cochin and Travancore.

Since 1806 Macaulay had intended to retire from India due to poor health. On 4 March 1810 he wrote to the Government in Fort St George, Madras, notifying them of his wish to resign and saying that he had delivered over the functions of Resident to his nephew Dr Kenneth Macaulay[39] (son of his half-brother Hector). Kenneth had arrived in India as an Assisting Surgeon in 1802[40] and from then on his career prospered. He became Superintending Surgeon at Fort St George, and then first member of the Medical Board. He married in 1813, had five legitimate and four illegitimate children and stayed in India until his death in 1841.

Meanwhile, the loss of all Macaulay's belongings in the assassination attempt had been reimbursed him by the Travancore state in February – a sum of over £21,000; amongst many items stolen had been his Seringapatam Gold Medal (he recalled later that the worst irreparable loss had been his books and papers). On 23 March Macaulay's resignation was accepted[41] and that month he sailed for England. Subsequently Colonel John Munro was appointed Macaulay's successor. On 17 November 1810 Rajah Balarama Varma died aged 28, in the 12th year of his reign.

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39 Kenneth Macaulay in fact received payment for this post between January 1809 and September 1812. India Office Records & Private Papers, MS IOR/F/4/354/8290.

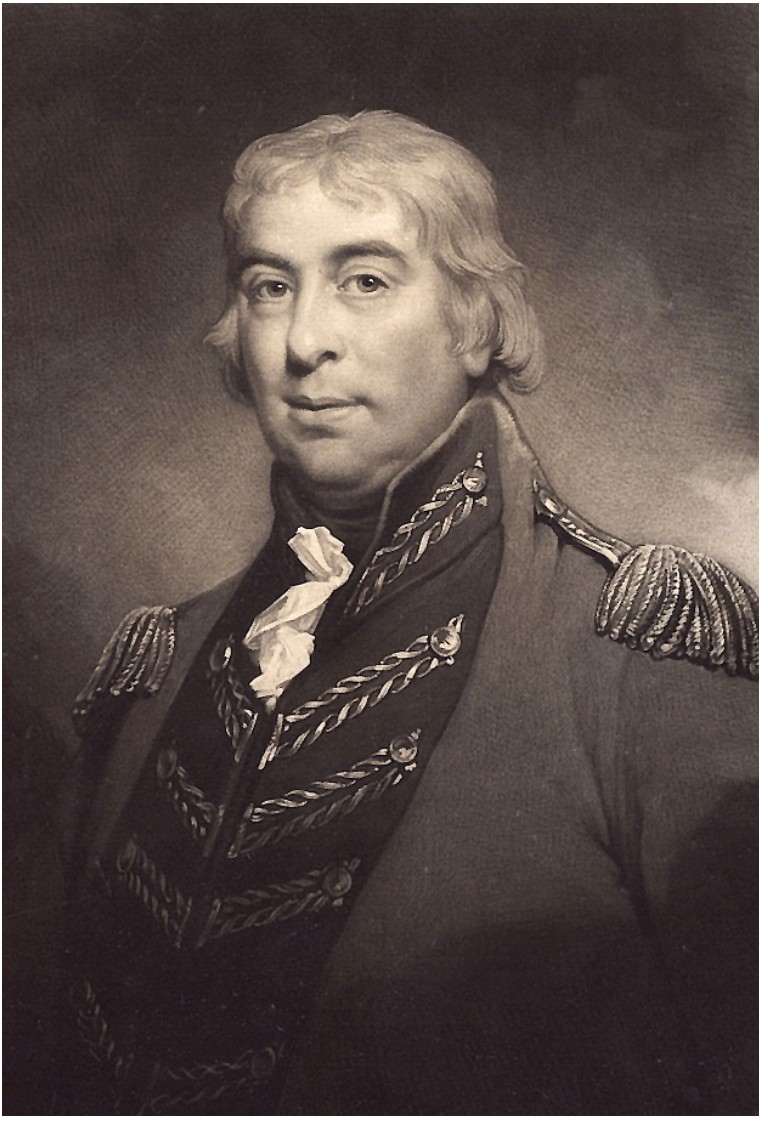
40 *Curriculam Vitae of Kenneth Macaulay*, 1841, Senate House Library, University of London, MS 797/I/5624.

41 British Library, MS IOR/P/317/34.

A verdict on Macaulay's Residency might be that between an ineffective Rajah, an unscrupulous Dewan and an over-demanding East India Company, he did as well as possible in a difficult situation; he had consistently been a loyal servant of the Company. In 1816, he himself summed up his experiences as Resident of Travancore:

'...between Tinnavelly and Travancore I remained nearly ten years, in a constant conflict with perverse principles, and bad and perverse men; some of them in high places: but I triumphed over all... To triumph over perverse men, however high in station, was not so difficult for a subordinate officer, so long as the Governments gave him support'[42].

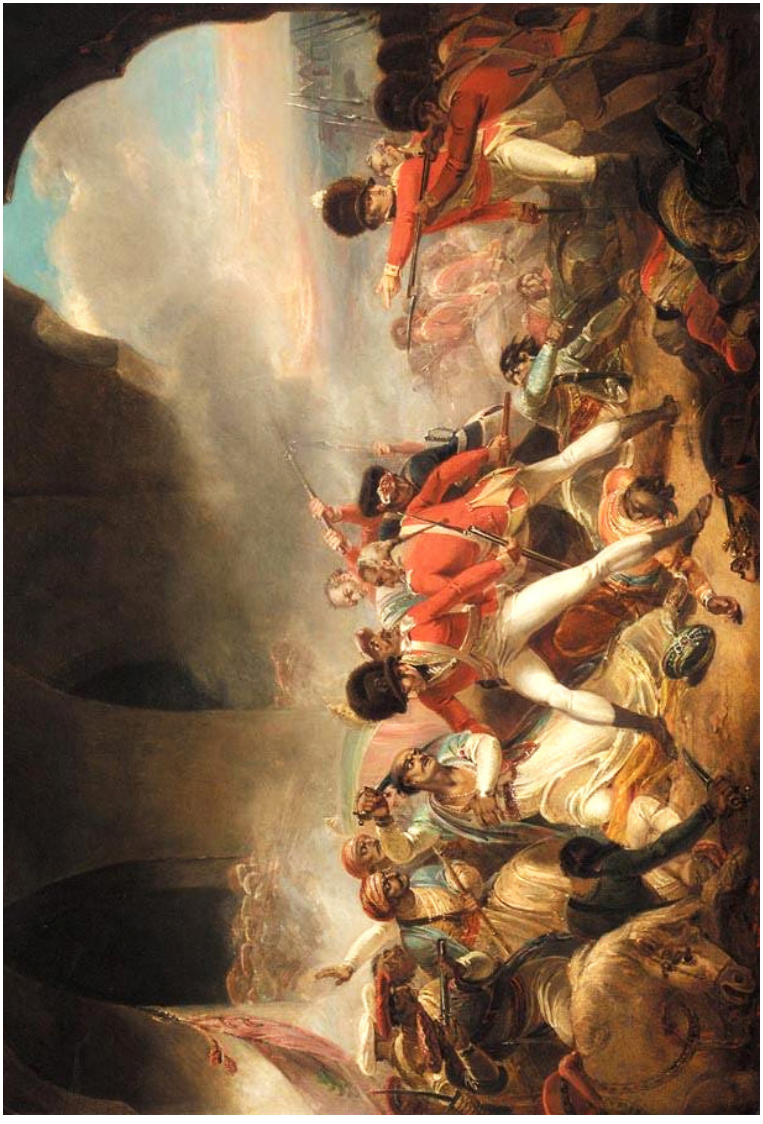
42 *Two Letters to General Lord Harris from General Macaulay.* pp. 110-12.



General George Harris, 1st Baron Harris

By Arthur William Devis

Engraved by Samuel William Reynolds



The Battle of Seringapatam

By Henry Singleton

'The Last Effort and Fall of Tippoo Sultaun'

The Rev. Claudius Buchanan DD

Tipu's Tiger

Automaton of a British soldier being savaged by a tiger.
When the handle is turned, the tiger growls and the soldier shrieks.
Found in the Palace, Seringapatam.
Now located in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

Chapter Five
Christianity in Travancore

At the time of Macaulay's Residency one unique aspect of Travancore was the substantial proportion of the population who were Christian (amounting to more than 20%) having been established there as long ago as the 6th century. They believed that their founder was the Apostle St Thomas who was said to have landed on the Malabar coast and to have originally preached to the indigenous Jews who had arrived at a much earlier date. These Syriac Christians' faith and liturgy were derived from Antioch rather than Rome. Their religious observance seems to have declined over the centuries up to the arrival in India of Europeans, although their members often achieved high status and were strongly part of the rigid caste system – untouchables were not welcome in Christian churches.

After Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1502, the Portuguese began a crusade of conversion to Roman Catholicism from their headquarters at Goa, employing the dreaded Inquisition until it was abolished in India in 1808. The majority of Roman Catholic churches extended south along the coast of Travancore, while the main area of the old Syriac churches was concentrated further inland and particularly in the mountains.

Macaulay was greatly interested in the history and current state of the Syriac Christians, and of the Jews of Cochin and Travancore,

some of whom believed they had settled there as early as the 6th century BC to escape captivity by Nebuchadnezzar. When Dr Claudius Buchanan – an Anglican priest who was vice-provost of the College of Fort William, Calcutta, and favoured by Lord Wellesley – was travelling through India to gain first-hand knowledge of local religions, he wrote as he approached Travancore in 1806: 'although I am just on their borders, I can get no information about them (the Syriacs and Jews) from any European; everybody refers me to Colonel Macaulay'[43]. Buchanan and Macaulay shared a knowledge and interest in languages and ancient texts. Anticipating the former's arrival, Macaulay gathered together manuscripts in Syrian, Aramaic and Hebrew. Buchanan's stated opinion of Macaulay was that he was an 'intelligent officer, who possesses a better knowledge of the South of India than I suppose any other European. He is a gentleman of a highly cultivated mind, of much various learning, and master of several languages'[44].

One of Macaulay's achievements at this period was his re-discovery of ancient long-mislaid Christian Malabar tablets (otherwise known as the Quilon, or Kortan or Tarisapalli Plates). These, which possibly date from the 9th century, bear inscriptions in Tamil and other ancient scripts, setting out old privileges apparently granted to the Syriac Church, including administrative, judicial and trading rights[45]. The then Bishop of Malabar was believed to have deposited them for safe-keeping with the Portuguese Governor of Cochin in the 16th century. They had probably disappeared during the capture of Cochin by the Dutch East India Company, or in the subsequent unrest

43 Pearson, Hugh. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of The Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D.* (United States, 2019) p. 36.

44 Buchanan, Rev. Claudius. *Christian Researches in Asia.* (T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 5th Edition, 1812) p. 133.

45 www.nasrani.net/2007/02/16/the-plates-and-the-privileges/ accessed 11 August 2018.

caused by Hyder Ali and Tipu. How Macaulay located and rescued these plates remains a mystery. He presented them to the Syriac Church authorities, who still treasure them to this day; he also had replicas made, one set of which he gave to Buchanan, and these are now in the Cambridge University Library.

Buchanan and Macaulay cooperated in making exploratory expeditions to visit Syriac churches, particularly those in the mountains, and they were successful in gaining the approval of local senior clerics to support a scheme of translating the Bible into the local language – Malayalam. This work was facilitated by Macaulay, who had previously arranged for his visitor to be granted several audiences with the Rajah; Buchanan was presented by the Rajah with an emerald ring as a seal of approval and with a royal escort to accompany him on his excursions.

One of the places also visited by Macaulay and Buchanan was the Roman Catholic diocese of Verapoli, just north of Cochin, where Macaulay had a house. They were admitted to the Church's archives, where they found many volumes marked 'Liber hereticus; prohibitus'. Prior to this visit Macaulay had been lent some books from the library which were marked as heretical; he declined to return these, believing that they would be destroyed.

Macaulay undertook the task of supervising the translators of the Bible;[46] by early 1808 the manuscript was complete and awaited printing. In March Buchanan departed for England, leaving Macaulay in sole charge of the operation. Buchanan's account of his travels 'Christian Researches in Asia' was published in Britain in 1811, and became an immediate bestseller, being republished twelve times over the next two

46 Pearson, Hugh. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of The Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D.* (United States, 2019) p. 97.

years. In December 1810 Buchanan, whose health was failing, had asked Macaulay, who had recently returned to England, to revise any parts of the manuscript of his book he thought appropriate, and also to choose the book's title. Buchanan since his arrival in England had became a celebrity: in 1809 he was awarded a Doctorate of Divinity by Cambridge University. He corresponded with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Prime Ministers Spencer Perceval and Lord Liverpool, and also with Zachary Macaulay and Thomas Babington. He died aged 48 on 9 February 1815.

One direct aspect of Buchanan's influence was in furthering the movement to allow British missionaries into India. This was in direct opposition to the established policy of the East India Company, which had refused admission of Christian missions. This clash culminated in parliamentary debates on the 1813 East India Bill to renew the Company's charter for the following 20 years. The emotional speeches of William Wilberforce were largely inspired by Buchanan, and despite the East India Company's continued opposition, the ensuing Act incorporated clauses permitting the establishment of missions in British territories in India (the first official missionaries arrived in Travancore in 1816) and a bishopric at Calcutta. Three archdeacons were to superintend the Church of England clergy, who had previously been allowed to minister only to British people who were either in mercantile, government or the armed services.

Macaulay had used his role as Resident to involve elements of religious jurisdiction. This action was solely for political motives, as one of the measures taken to deal with the crisis caused by the Treaty of Amiens discussed in the previous chapter: he followed precedents adopted from previous Portuguese and

Dutch administrators. He encouraged the Rajah of Travancore to regard all Christian churches as falling under British authority in relation to interior management and appointments. A new Syriac Bishop of Cochin was unable to take up his post until Macaulay officially recognized him and gave him authority to be presented to the Rajah.

Chapter Six
Return to England

Macaulay's voyage home was prolonged by several stop-offs which resulted in his arrival in England being delayed till October 1810, when he received a warm welcome from family and friends; these particularly included his brother Zachary and his brother-in-law Thomas Babington and their respective children. To his nephews and nieces he was a hero. Zachary's ten-year-old son Tom addressed him with a congratulatory ode beginning with the couplet

> 'Now safe returned from Asia's parching strand,
> Welcome, thrice welcome to thy native land'[47].

Babington offered him a London base at his house in 17 Downing Street, which Macaulay continued to use until 1820 when the two men had a serious falling-out for an unrecorded reason. Macaulay had previously enjoyed an affectionate correspondence with his Babington nieces Jean and Mary and in 1816 had taken them, their brother Matthew and their mother Jean on an extensive holiday in Scotland. But so serious was the breach that Babington forbade his girls from ever again communicating with their uncle; he tried the same embargo on Matthew and Zachary – but without success. This breach with Babington proved irreversible.

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47 Trevelyan, Sir George Otto. *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.* (London, 1889), p. 47.

Although he never again returned to India Macaulay did not resign from the Company's army; he therefore continued in the service of the Madras army until he died. He also in England received promotions by seniority to full Colonel, Major-General and then Lieutenant-General and was given commands of regiments. He was considered to be on extended furlough due to ill health (furlough was normally granted for two years only). The furlough payment records show that from 1814 Macaulay was paid £456.5.0. per annum until the end of his life[48].

Macaulay had become a rich man, but his health was a continuing cause of anxiety. Zachary wrote that he had arrived 'in a very emaciated and enfeebled state. He had been very ill during the passage.'[49] After an initial recovery, he suffered many more bouts of ill health.

Macaulay also felt the cold badly; consequently – combined with his love of travel – he often spent the winter months in southern France or Italy and made many other expeditions around the Mediterranean. During these years he retained several notable friendships, including with the Duke of Wellington, General Lord Harris, William Wilberforce, Hannah More, Sir John Malcolm (soldier and diplomat in India, afterwards historian, who was elected MP for Launceston in 1831) and the anti-slavery MP for Norwich, William Smith. Overseas he developed significant other friendships, including with Mme de Stael, the Duc de Broglie and Baron Alexander von Humboldt. He paid several lengthy visits to Paris, where his presence was welcome in high society, and his anti-slavery efforts commanded attention.

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48 British Library IOR/L/AG/20/6/4 and 5.

49 *Letter from Zachary Macaulay to K. Macaulay*, 21 November 1812, Booth Family Papers, Senate House Library, University of London, MS 797/I/5624.

Macaulay purchased in 1812 a 247-acre farm near Lowesby in Leicestershire, though he did not live in the farm house as it was let to a tenant from at least 1812 until his (Macaulay's) death; presumably it was only an investment. He never appears to have bought or leased a residence for himself in England; it seems therefore that his joking remark that his travelling carriage was his only freehold should be taken literally[50]. On two occasions he put himself forward as a candidate for Parliament. He was persuaded to stand in a by-election for Lewes in 1812[51], but withdrew realising that his opponent had more support. In December 1826 he was elected MP for Saltash as a Whig; he made no recorded speeches but voted several times on anti-slavery and other issues. He did not stand again at the general election in 1830.

Macaulay continued to pursue an active public life in other directions. Both at home and during his travels abroad he furthered the interests of the British and Foreign Bible Society in its aim to promote translation of the Bible into vernacular languages. His other chief occupation was to support the campaign for abolition of slavery in British overseas territories, which continued to be a matter of increasing public concern after the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807, and until it finally succeeded by Act of Parliament in 1833. He worked closely with Zachary, Wilberforce and Thomas Babington (until the quarrel in 1820) on slavery issues of other countries – notably France.

The Congress of Verona in October 1822 was convened as the final meeting of the Quadruple Alliance between Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia (initiated in 1815) to discuss several issues –

50 Trevelyan, Sir George Otto. *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* p. 47.

51 Caused by the death of Henry Shelley, one of the 'staunch friends' of the abolition of the slave trade www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/shelley-henry-1767-1811.

the main one being France's request for support of her policy of intervention in the domestic politics of Spain. The British delegation was led by the Duke of Wellington, who opposed any support for such a request and also any support for Spain in her measures hostile to liberation by her South American colonies. The Tsar of Russia attended in person. Macaulay attended in an unofficial capacity with reference to the anti-slavery issue representing Zachary and Wilberforce, who valued Macaulay's fluency in French and Italian. He shared accommodation with the Quaker abolitionist William Allen and had several discussions with the Duke, urging him to obtain agreement of the French government to end the French slave trade in practice as well as in theory. The French trade had been officially abolished in 1818, but since then there had been virtually no enforcement; in fact France's slave trade had expanded in volume after the British abolition in 1807. The Duke agreed with Macaulay's and Allen's aims, but warned that they needed to consider what was practical as well as desirable; Wellington's view was that the majority of French people were completely uninterested in the subject of the abolition of their slave trade. Macaulay's and Allen's efforts were fruitless.

Macaulay had had an earlier encounter with Wellington on the same subject when the Duke was in Paris as Britain's ambassador in 1814; that meeting also was at Wilberforce's request. While there, Macaulay formed the view that Wellington was in danger of kidnap or assassination and he subsequently communicated this fear to Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister[52], who told him that the Government took the matter seriously[53]. Macaulay had delivered the following letter from Wellington to Liverpool:

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52 Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of, and Wellington, Arthur Richard Wellesley, 2nd Duke, (ed). *Supplementary despatches and memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K.G.* (London, 1858), pp. 368-369.

53 *Ibid.* pp. 404-407.

'General Macaulay, who will deliver this letter to your Lordship, is perfectly acquainted with the public opinion in France, and particularly at Paris, regarding the slave trade, and will communicate to you details upon that subject which will be useful to you. I am much mistaken likewise if he will not be of use in opening the eyes of the friends of the abolition to the state of the question here, and I recommend to you to communicate with him confidentially on that point.'[54]

Macaulay became involved in two long-running public controversies. The first of these was the case of Major Thomas Hart. Macaulay had accused Hart of misappropriating a large quantity of rice during the march to Seringapatam in 1799 and communicated this suspicion at the time to General Harris, and within the hearing of Colonel Arthur Wellesley. Hart protested his entire innocence, although agreeing he had not followed strict military orders; the Governor-General subsequently decided that Hart should be dismissed from the army. The case was later considered by the Company's directors who confirmed the dismissal; on further appeal the Board of Control decided that Hart was innocent, but the Court of Directors reconfirmed his dismissal, which concluded the matter. The Court remarked that Macaulay in this issue had conducted himself in a highly creditable manner; he never withdrew his allegation.

The second controversy was a case which became known as the Hutchinson Affair. This involved an alleged debt mainly related to trade in pepper going back to the 1790s between successive Company commercial agents and Travancore state officials. Macaulay while Resident had intervened by disallowing payment of the debt, and the claim dragged on until the mid-1830s, involving the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, who

54 *Ibid.* pp. 368-369.

again differed. A parliamentary select committee then called Macaulay as witness on behalf of the Company; the committee recommended that the debt be paid but cleared Macaulay of the petitioner's accusation of obstruction[55]. A parliamentary bill to enable payment of the debt followed, but it was rejected at second reading on 31 May 1833. Once again, Macaulay's view was upheld.

Relating to another much more important and long-standing issue of national political dissention, Macaulay on 31 May 1828 wrote the following letter to the Duke of Wellington, who had become Prime Minister in January:

'I took the liberty of addressing Your Grace from Clifton. Ill health again forces me abroad to the springs beyond Pau, midst the Pyrenees, and then to Italy to winter in Rome.

'A strong united administration has now been formed which with the King's support nothing can shake. Would God that advantage were seasonably taken of it to settle that question that unsettles every other! I well remember Your Grace saying at Verona that were a satisfactory concordat established between our government and the Pope, you yourself would go down to the House of Peers and move Catholic emancipation. If that were your view of the question then, how much more imperiously ought it not to guide you now? The minister that happily concludes that most vital matter will be hailed by an admiring world by a name:

'Which every wind to Heaven will bear;
Which men to tell and angels joy to hear.'

'To all your other universally admitted claims upon the gratitude of your country and of the truly wise and good of all countries may this, the highest of them all, be added.'[56]

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55 *Asiatic Journal 1834, Vol XIII* pp. 270/286.

56 MS 61, *Wellington Papers,* WP1/934/33, University of Southampton Archives.

It is interesting that Macaulay chose to write this letter at that particular juncture. He had as recently as on 12 May divided against Roman Catholic emancipation in the House of Commons and presumably must have known that Wellington had spoken and divided against the same issue in the House of Lords only a few days after. It seems that Macaulay had subsequently reconsidered his stance and decided to inform the Prime Minister accordingly[57].

There occurred in fact only a few weeks afterwards (on 5 July) the event which caused Wellington – and separately Robert Peel, Leader of the Commons – to change their views; that event was the County Clare by-election having been won by Daniel O'Connell, an Irish Roman Catholic, which raised possible ominous repercussions – at worst civil war in Ireland. Wellington then decided to lead what proved to be a long struggle against strong opposition (which included the King, George IV) to enact Roman Catholic emancipation; this eventually succeeded when the Act was passed on 13 April 1829.

Macaulay stayed at various health resorts in England from time to time, including Cheltenham and Harrogate. One of his favourite places was Clifton near Bristol, and it was there that he died on 20 February 1836.

His funeral was held in St Andrew's Church, Clifton on 27 February and he was buried in its churchyard[58]. The church has since been demolished and the graveyard converted into a public park called Birdcage Walk Park (with headstones rearranged). It is located adjacent to the Fosse Way.

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57 Taken from www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/macaulay-colin-1759-1836 Author David R. Fisher, accessed 22 August 2019.

58 Grave 5, Row 4 on Plan D.

It is not known what was the value of Macaulay's estate at his death. By his Will, executed in December 1832, he left a substantial legacy of £10,000[59] to his favourite nephew Tom (later Lord) Macaulay. In addition to small bequests, he left £1,000 to the widow of his brother Aulay and the residue and all his personal possessions to Zachary. His executors were Zachary, Tom and another nephew Matthew Babington.

Whether the provision for Zachary represented a brother's concern for a sibling who had been financially ruined by the gross mismanagement and dishonesty of his nephew Thomas Gisborne Babington (to whom in 1823 Zachary had delegated management of his previously prosperous business trading between London and Sierra Leone) and whether the gift to Tom represented an uncle's appreciation of Tom's subsequent years of financial support for his impoverished father and siblings, can only be a matter for supposition.

Macaulay had a long and successful career in India in the service of the East India Company as soldier (rising to the rank of Lieutenant-General following his return to England) and as administrator, particularly during the Seringapatam campaign as General Harris' private secretary and afterwards as Resident of Travancore. He had experienced many remarkable events – not least being a shackled prisoner of war for years in Seringapatam and being nearly murdered towards the end of his Residency. In general, despite occasional rebuffs, he was highly regarded by his contemporaries and in particular by Governor-General Lord Wellesley.

59 Equivalent to over £8m in today's money, using as an index the increase in relative average wages or income worth (see measuringworth.com – accessed 5 July 2019).

Macaulay never married. In his private life he had the reputation of an exemplary character with a genial disposition. He was generally beloved by children, especially by his nephews and nieces. He could take controversial views, and admitted to being somewhat short-tempered. There long continued to be a rumour amongst his family that he had once been aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, and it seems possible that he may not have contradicted the compliment. This misconception may have originated by confusion with the fact that he had been aide-de-camp to General Sir William Medows in Madras, or it may have risen from a letter from Hannah More to John Harford (undated) which includes the comment: '…The Col. has just received a letter from Lord Wellington, earnestly entreating him to join him in the Peninsula; were the south of France open I think he would be tempted to go. He was Lord Wellington's aide-de-camp in India so that they knew each other's values. Having to entertain my interesting guest causes me to abridge my letter...'[60]

Macaulay's outstanding attribute must be his amazing linguistic ability: he was famous amongst contemporaries for the many modern and ancient languages in which he was proficient.

Let us leave the last word to his great-nephew Sir George Otto Trevelyan who, although born too late to know Macaulay personally, was certainly acquainted with many who did. In his biography of his uncle Lord Macaulay, Trevelyan says that Colin 'was generous in a high degree, and the young people owed to him books which they otherwise could never have obtained, and treats and excursions which formed the only recreations that broke the uniform current of their lives. They regarded their uncle Colin as the man of the world of the Macaulay family.'[61]

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60 London School of Economics: Women's Library and Archive, GB 106 9/16/06. Letter from Hannah More (living at Barley Wood, Wrington near Bristol) to John Scandrett Harford junior, Quaker, abolitionist and friend of William Wilberforce.

61 Trevelyan, Sir George Otto. *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.* (London, 1889), p. 48.

Chapter Seven
Codex Zacynthius

In 2014 a manuscript was bought by Cambridge University Library for £1.1 million. This treasure, known as the Codex Zacynthius, had been offered for sale by the Bible Society in order to fund building a new visitor centre at Bala in North Wales.

The Codex Zacynthius is a palimpsest: a 13th century lectionary with passages from the Gospels written over an older manuscript. The writing which lies beneath, and which is illegible or barely legible to the naked eye, is the text of Chapters 1-11 of the Greek New Testament Gospel of St Luke, and it is this under-text which is of chief interest. Believed to date from around 700 its importance is further enhanced by a commentary around the edges of the text. It is the earliest known of its kind and contains excerpts from early Christian commentators including the Patriarch of Antioch who was head of the Syriac Orthodox Church in the 5th century.

In 1820 Macaulay had visited the island of Zakynthos (Zante) on behalf of the (then) British and Foreign Bible Society. Whilst there, he became acquainted with Prince Comuto (Antonios Dimitriou Komoutos, 1748-1833) who had been President of

the Septinsular Republic, the league of Ionian islands formed in 1800. Comuto's palace was famous for its library and its works of art, including an ornamental lion from the stern of a Greek galley which fought at the Battle of Lepanto.

Comuto gave the Codex to Macaulay during his visit, and inscribed it as a token of his esteem. On his return to England Macaulay gave it to the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Forty years later an edition was produced by the theologian Doctor Samuel Prideaux Tregelles[62], who succeeded in deciphering most of the underlying text but not all of the commentary. In 1950 an American scholar, J. Harold Greenlee, made a full transcription, which was not published but is available to scholars.

It is impossible to say whether Macaulay knew exactly how important the Codex was – his nephew Thomas Macaulay of Leicester (third son of Macaulay's older brother Aulay) certainly thought that he did. Replying to an enquiry by Tregelles, Thomas wrote 'General Macaulay was an extremely good scholar of literary habits, with exquisite taste, and highly polished manners; and I have no doubt that he had a keen perception of the valuable nature of the document which he brought from Zante'.

A joint project between the Universities of Cambridge and Birmingham, based in the latter's Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing, has recently begun to study the Codex using advanced conservation techniques and specialist imaging equipment. The project includes plans for a future exhibition of the manuscript, to be shown both in Cambridge and elsewhere.

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62 Tregelles, Samuel Prideaux. *Codex Zacynthius.* (London, 1861).

The new building funded by the sale of the Codex is located at Bala as this was the destination of Mary Jones, a young girl who in 1800 walked 26 miles over rough hillsides to buy a Bible, after saving up the required money for six years. It was this episode which originally inspired the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, and a story with which Macaulay was quite probably familiar.

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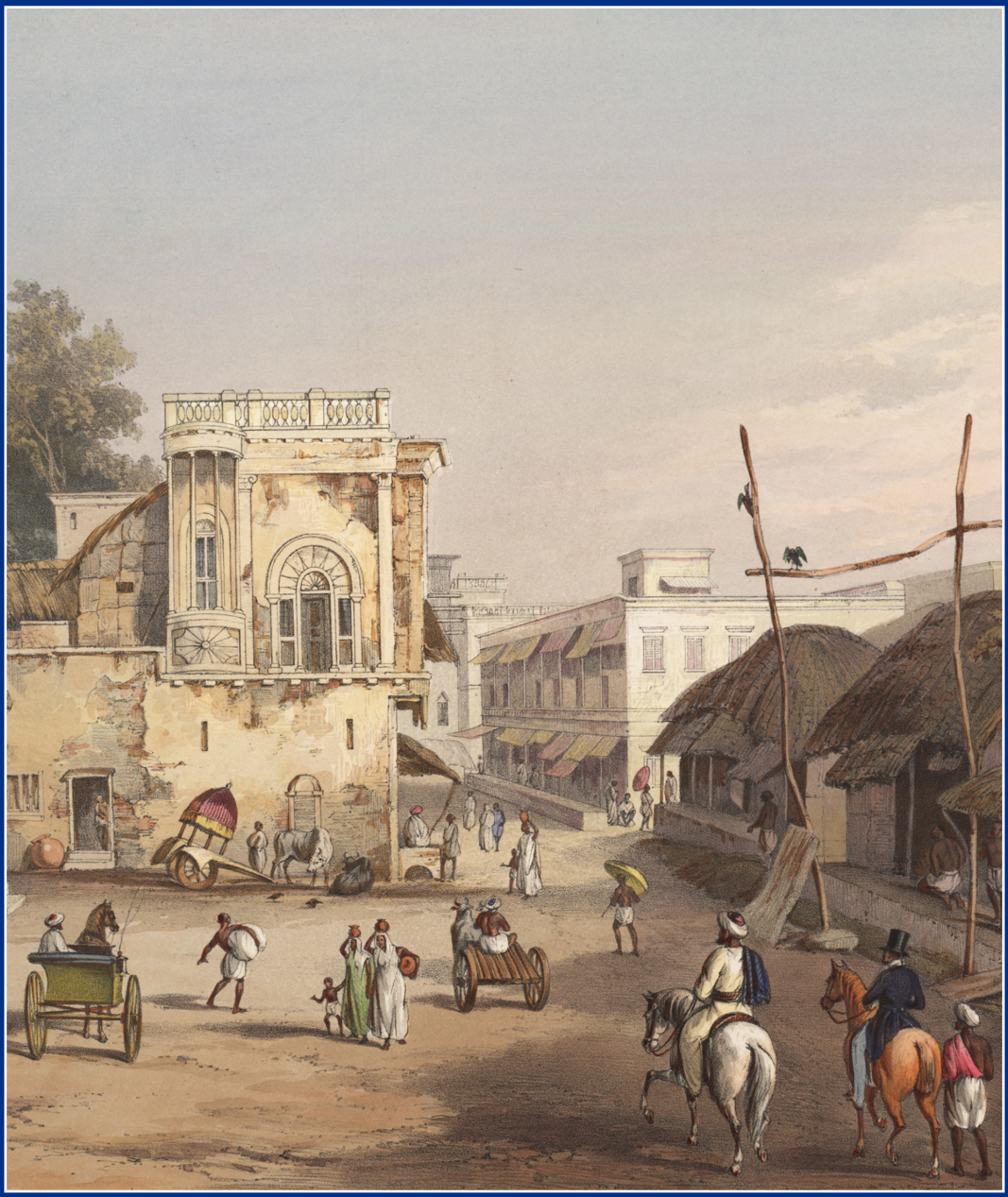

Colin Ferguson Smith is a retired Member of the London Stock Exchange; earlier, after reading Law at Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, he had worked in industry and been Group Company Secretary to a quoted engineering firm.

He is a great-great-great nephew of General Colin Macaulay

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Endpapers: Fort William in the Kingdom of Bengal, 1754 by Jan Van Ryne

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