Conjecture, Orientalism and Empire: The Writing and Reading of Alexander Walker, 1764-1831

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in History by Hannah Dominique Kelly

Word Count: 99,560

19 January 2024

Contents

Abstract 3
Introduction 4
Conjectural History and Colonial Readers 4
Book History, Discourse Analysis and Alexander Walker of Bowland (1764-1831) 10
Conjectural History and Colonial Policy 15
Biography, Enlightenment and Orientalism 21
Intellectual Orientalism and the Limits of Enlightenment Anti-colonialism 25
Thesis Structure 29
Chapter 1: A Biography of Alexander Walker, 1764-1831 33
Introduction 33
Collessie and St. Andrews, 1764-80 37
Malabar and America, 1780-1801 43
Gujarat, 1801-1811 50
Bowland House, 1811-1823 55
St. Helena, 1823-1831 61
Conclusion 66
Chapter 2: Locating Discourse in Eighteenth-Century India 68
Introduction 68
Imperial Expansion, East India Company Governance and India's 'Ancient Constitutions' 69
Conjectural History in Orientalist Texts 76
Race and Nationhood in the Enlightenment 79
Attitudes towards India's Climate, 'Barbarism' and Religion 85
The Distribution of Texts and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century British India 90
Conclusion 95
Chapter 3: Travel Writing and Histories on India 98
Introduction 98
'Farrago Libelli' 100
'Voyage to America' 103
Walker's Unfinished History of India 109
The 'History of Malabar' 114
'Ancient Intercourse with India' 120
Conclusion 126
Chapter 4: Conjectural History in the Service of Empire 128
Introduction 128
The Malabar Commission 131
'Memoranda of Alexander Walker on the state of India in 1800' 138

‘Considerations on employing negroes as soldiers in India’, 1805 143
Understanding Infanticide 148
Legislating Against Infanticide 157
‘Memoranda on the Theme of Government’, 1812 163
Conclusion 170
Chapter 5: William Robertson’s *Historical Disquisition* 172
Introduction 172
The Life of William Robertson’s *Historical Disquisition* in India 174
Informational Reading 178
Walker’s Reading of the *Historical Disquisition* 182
Ancient Names in the Enlightenment Present 186
Tracing Walker’s Focus 192
Conclusion 195
Chapter 6: James Mill’s *The History of British India* 197
Introduction 197
The History of British India 199
Meeting James Mill 203
Epistemology, Generalisation and Specificity 207
Enlightened Inheritances 213
Communication Breakdown: ‘Taunting Terms’ versus ‘Candour and Benevolence’ 219
Conclusion 224
Conclusion 226
The Limits and Possibilities of Thought on ‘the great bodies of mankind’ 226
Alexander Walker in Review 228
Conjecture, Orientalism and Empire 231
Appendices 233
Appendix 1: Literature and Biography on Alexander Walker 233
Appendix 2: Evidence on Walker’s Upbringing 234
Appendix 3: Catalogues of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Manuscripts 235
Bibliography 240
The Walker of Bowland Papers 240
Primary Sources 244
Secondary Sources 247

Abstract

This thesis biographizes the reading, private historical discourse and administrative writing of Alexander Walker of Bowland (1764-1831), a Scotsman who served as a soldier and diplomat in the East India Company's (EIC) Bombay Army from 1780-1811. It examines Walker's lifelong interest in Scottish Enlightenment histories, along with how his reading of 'theoretical or conjectural history' in particular shaped his experience of imperial military service and informed him in the construction of colonial policy. Popularised in Scotland during the long eighteenth century, conjectural history is known for its close association with 'stadial theory', a model of human social evolution which speculated that societies passed through three or four distinct stages during their progress from a 'state of nature' to civil society. Walker was versed in history through his education at St. Andrews University, and frequently wrote in the mode of conjectural history in a vast body of private, unpublished historical monographs and essays. He also adopted ideas from conjectural history in much of his surviving administrative writing, which includes voluminous letters, reports and memoranda. These materials survive in a collection named 'The Walker of Bowland Papers' in the National Library of Scotland (NLS), to which they were donated by Walker's descendants in 1952.

Recent studies by historians of reading have already begun triangulating the influence of conjectural history on individual Scottish encounters with India in the eighteenth century. In line with this scholarship, this thesis melds biography and discourse analysis to reconstruct the ways in which it was possible for individual imperialists in British India to interface – often simultaneously – with the languages of conjectural history and Orientalist governing ideology. Furthermore, by examining the ambivalences, contradictions and slippages that occur in the narratives emanating from Walker's archive, this thesis contributes to debates over how to define the Enlightenment, especially regarding its relationship to constructions of racial difference and the discourses that emerged to justify British colonialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rather than interpreting the Enlightenment through its constitutive texts, I use Alexander Walker's archive to demonstrate how conjectural history was one among the number of Enlightenment discourses which came to be involved in the daily practice of imperialism as mediums through which ideas of racial hierarchy were formulated. While Walker's cultural activity did sometimes reflect strands of anti-colonialism, conjectural history nonetheless empowered him to meter out expansionist policy, as well as to rationalise his own participation in empire as a vehicle for the promotion of social progress.

Introduction

Conjectural History and Colonial Readers

By the end of the long eighteenth century, the attempts of Scottish Enlightenment intellectuals to study humankind and society using methodologies inspired by the natural sciences had produced a body of discourse retrospectively described by Dugald Stewart as 'theoretical or conjectural history'.[1] Also referred to as 'philosophical history', the best known Scottish authors to engage in this undertaking were Adam Smith, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, William Robertson, John Millar, Lord Monboddo, Lord Kames, James Dunbar and William Falconer. For Scottish Enlightenment historians such as the above, Jane Rendall explains, the scientific study of human history 'involved the formulation of general laws on the basis of observation, and the available evidence about the history, economy, culture, and political institutions of different societies.'[2] In this vein, 'philosophical history' regularly entailed analyses on the relative development – or lack thereof – of different civilisations, sometimes expressed through 'stadial theory', a framework outlining three or four distinct stages in the evolution of civil societies. This approach was adapted from continental thinkers including Montesquieu and Grotius, along with Jesuit travel writers including Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix and Joseph-François Lafitau.[3] In Scotland, it was most famously articulated in Adam Smith's 1763 lectures at the University of Glasgow, later published as the *Lectures on Jurisprudence*. Within, Smith stipulated that there were 'four distinct states which mankind pass thro:- 1st, the Age of Hunters; 2ndly, the Age of Shepherds; 3dly, the Age of Agriculture; and 4thly, the Age of Commerce.'[4]

'Philosophical history' as a whole, both in Scotland and in Europe, was contested ground which played host to wider religious debates between competing monogenic and polygenic conceptions of human origins and human nature. While many Scots authors (like their Jesuit counterparts) hinged their methodologies upon the universality of 'human nature', others, such as Lord Kames, challenged this approach with a worldview that separated the

[1] Harro M. Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman: Conjectural History in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of British* Studies, 17 (1978), pp. 19-20; Dugald Stewart, 'Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Smith', in Adam Smith, *The Works of Adam Smith, LL.D.* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811), Vol. 5, p. 449.
[2] Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *The Historical Journal*, 25.1 (1982), p. 43.
[3] Robert Launay, 'Lafitau Revisited: American "Savages" and Universal History', *Anthropologica*, 52.2 (2010), p. 337.
[4] Adam Smith, *Lectures On Jurisprudence*, ed. by Ronald L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 14.

different peoples of the world on the proto-racist grounds of their innate qualities and distinct origins.[5] Elsewhere, conjectural historians postulated on the prehistory from which they supposed the human movement toward civil society to have originated, generating competing imaginings of 'mankind' in a 'state of nature'. This was sometimes accompanied by a collapsing of distinctions between the natural world and human artifice, and the view that the history of civil society constituted an extension of the natural history of humankind, a position argued by Adam Ferguson.[6]

Critically, in the works of Scottish Enlightenment historians 'human nature' regularly served as a metric for explaining human behaviour; a natural, immutable phenomenon, the operations of which the Scots crucially presumed they could understand and describe.[7] From this assumption, it followed that the usual or 'typical' course of human social progress could be traced based on predictions of the natural responses of human beings to contingent social, commercial, material and climatic conditions.[8] This supported speculation upon subjects of history for which there was little or no recorded evidence, based on imaginings – or 'conjectures' – of what 'must have' or 'typically' occurred as societies advanced through the known stages of human economic and social development.[9] As Dugald Stewart put it in his *Account of the Life and Writings of Adam Smith* (1795):

> In examining the history of mankind, as well as in examining the phenomena of the material world, when we cannot trace the process by which an event *has been* produced, it is often of importance to be able to show how it *may have been* produced by natural causes.[10]

This mode of conjecture also shared in the broader terminology of 'philosophical history' at large, which predominantly gendered 'humankind' as 'mankind' and humans in a 'state of

[5] Silvia Sebastiani, 'Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: The Polygenetic Discourses of Kames and Pinkerton', *Cromohs*, 8 (2003), pp. 1-14; Christopher Berry, 'Rude Religion: The Psychology Of Polytheism In The Scottish Enlightenment' in P. Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays In Reinterpretation* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000).
[6] Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 8-9; Paul B. Wood, 'The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment', *History of Science*, 28.1 (1990), pp. 89-90, 92.
[7] Esther Engels Kroeker, 'The Science of Human Nature in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, 18.3 (2020), pp. 227-32.
[8] Christopher Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 68.
[9] Frank Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society: Enlightenment Conjectural History and Modern Social Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), p. 16; Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 1997), p. 26.
[10] Stewart, 'Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Smith', p. 449.

nature' as examples of 'natural man'. This language also honed on the 'rudeness' or 'refinement' of particular social, cultural and economic behaviours and institutions. Such historical factors, once identified, could then be posited as determinate reflections and/or natural outcomes of the relative 'state of society' of different groups of people, who were variously conceived of as 'tribes', 'nations', 'peoples' or 'races'.[11]

In practice, however, Scottish Enlightenment historians were more concerned with writing evidence based histories using the analytical lens of the 'theoretical' approach than they were with non-evidence based conjecture, following more in the footsteps of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) than strictly adhering to the descriptions of Smith's more speculative work offered by Dugald Stewart.[12] While the scientific methodology of 'philosophical history' opened the possibility for historical conjecture, and 'philosophical history' predominantly operated with a linear-progressive understanding of human social development and the assumption of European superiority, the conjectural aspect of 'philosophical history' – while, I argue, of broad cultural significance – should not be conflated with the whole. Indeed, recent scholarship on conjectural history in and of itself has increasingly emphasised its irreducibility as a historical genre, notwithstanding long identified national textual canons, such as the collective 'conjectural histories' of the Scottish, French and German Enlightenments.[13] Frank Palmeri's *State of Nature, Stages of Society* in particular has questioned the view that conjectural history was a specifically Enlightenment movement which died out by the nineteenth century, and instead challenges the 'reduction of the conjectural form' by tracing its influence on and continuation within the fields of political economy, sociology and anthropology well into the twentieth century.[14]

While the 'philosophical histories' of the Enlightenment Scots indeed contained some of the first and most influential iterations of the conjectural mode, conjectural history can also be usefully understood as a form of historical research, narrative and analysis which exists independently from any specific genre. With regards to the specific nature of this form, in this thesis I have chosen to analyse 'conjectural history' as being the practice of historical speculation in the absence of known evidence, albeit my analyses of constructions of social

[11] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26; Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, pp. 47-48.
[12] Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', p. 46.
[13] Mark Salber Philips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 171-73.
[14] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, p. 12.

evolutionary and racial hierarchies and frameworks are frequently related to conjectural history as a wider genre and historical discourse. Indeed, the practice of conjecture was made possible by a reliance upon the broader language and logic of 'philosophical history', such as through the use of presupposed historical constants (i.e. human nature, and hypothesized common trajectories of human social evolution) to supply likelihood in the absence of fact. Understanding conjectural history as such a practice, however, rather than as a necessarily discrete genre, Palmeri states, opens the possibility of outlining its influence upon global intellectual history in ways 'that go beyond the tracing of a single explicit motif or concept'.[15] In addition, this understanding of conjectural history is adopted in the present study in part because the reconceptualization of conjectural history as a form of practice poses helpful questions about how historical individuals appropriated conjectural history for themselves in ways that crossed literary and social boundaries.[16]

However, where Palmeri has distanced his understanding of conjectural history from the Enlightenment to capture its wider intellectual legacy, this study is concerned with a historical individual for whom the conjectural history associated with the Scottish Enlightenment was specifically significant.[17] Scottish Enlightenment histories – and Scottish readings of history during the long eighteenth century – were often deeply informed by debates over Scotland's status as a 'nation' and its place within the United Kingdom and the modern world.[18] While Scots men and women played a proportionally leading role in British imperial expansion, making up, for instance, roughly a quarter of the European diaspora in Bengal at the end of the long eighteenth century, Scotland itself occupied an ambiguous position as both a province of the British Empire and a leading partner in its imperial heartland.[19] In addition, conceptions of Scottish identity were further complicated by a broadly perceived rift between

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[16] JoEllen DeLucia, *A Feminine Enlightenment: British Women Writers and the Philosophy of Progress, 1759-1820* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 6-7.
[17] Andrew MacKillop, 'Locality, Nation, and Empire: Scots in Asia, c. 1695-1813', in John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, *The Oxford History of the British Empire Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 54-55.
[18] T. M. Devine and Angela McCarthy 'Introduction', in Devine and McCarthy (eds), *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c. 1700 to the Present: Settlers and Sojourners* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 13.
[19] George K. McGilvary, 'The Scottish Connection with India, 1725-1833', *Études Écossaises*, 14 (2011), pp. 25-27; James Gerard Livesey, *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 11.

lowland Scotland's bustling metropolitan cities and the provincial backwardness of the Scottish highlands.[20]

Conflicting concerns over the nature of Scottish society were expressed in Scots histories in a gamut of likewise conflicting ways: at times through ambivalent stances toward the supposed immutability of human progress and a cosmopolitan acceptance of human difference, including in Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition on India* (1791); at others, through strong identifications with European modernity and the idea of progress, such as in Robertson's *History of America* (1777) and Lord Kames' *Historical Law Tracts* (1758); and often through a keen focus on the commercial challenges Scotland faced as a developing European nation, as evidenced in Robertson's *History of Scotland* (1759) and John Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1778).[21] Opening his *History of Scotland*, Robertson remarked that during the sixteenth century and onwards 'the affairs of Scotland were so mingled with those of other nations, its situation in the political state of Europe was so important… that its history' had become 'an object of attention to foreigners'. If William Robertson's career, in particular, can be taken as demonstrative of the wide range of different perspectives and agendas Scottish Enlightenment historians took up, his observations on Scotland's modern history – which he defined as beginning with the ascension of James VI to the English crown – are equally telling of the extent to which this intellectual diversity derived from the recent integration of Scotland within the United Kingdom and, consequently, eighteenth-century European movements toward globalization and imperialism.[22]

Onni Gust has demonstrated how for a number British imperialists with Scottish backgrounds, identification with the modernity, progress and metropolitan social life of the

[20] Onni Gust, ''The Perilous Territory of Not Belonging': Exile and Empire in Sir James Mackintosh's Letters from early nineteenth-century Bombay', *History Workshop Journal*, 86 (2019), p. 32; Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, p. 13.

[21] Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Edinburgh: A. Kincaid, 1767), pp. 1-2, 112, 312-13; William Robertson, 'An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India', in *The Works of William Robertson, D.D. To which is Prefixed, An Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, by Dugald Stewart* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1817), Vol. 12, pp. 171-76, 284-87; William Robertson, 'The History of America', in *The Works of William Robertson, D.D. To which is Prefixed, An Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, by Dugald Stewart* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1817), Vol. 9; Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Historical Law Tracts* (Edinburgh: A. Kincaid and J. Bell, 1758), Vol. 1, pp. vi-vii, 222; John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks; or, An Inquiry into the Circumstances which Give Rise to Influence and Authority in the Different Members of Society* (London: J. Murray, 1779), pp. 3, 284-85.

[22] William Robertson, 'The History of Scotland', in *The Works of William Robertson, D.D. To which is Prefixed, An Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, by Dugald Stewart* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1817), Vol. 1, pp. 213-14, 426-28; See also Donald Bloxham, *Why History? A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 167-68.

modern British nation often trumped the romanticisation of their Scottish heritage. While some Scottish elites turned to highland history and culture to identify and articulate Scottishness, others, like James Mackintosh, found the embarrassment of highland 'barbarity' fundamentally undesirable in a world in which London increasingly came to stand as a central 'pinnacle of civilization'.[23] More recently, in their *Unhomely Empire*, Gust has connected eighteenth-century discourses on 'exile', 'belonging' and 'homesickness' to the imagining of Scots and British national identity, and has further demonstrated how 'British-imperial configurations of 'home' were constituted in relationship to ideas of racial difference and white supremacy.' Though this kind of discourse existed independently from the cultural forms of the Enlightenment, stadial theory and conjectural history did serve as mediums for its expression. In Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), for instance, Gust has shown how – in eschewing the materialist groundings of much of his own work – Smith's deployment of stadial theory worked to construct 'an absolute binary between 'civilised' and 'savage' societies that was characterized by the ability or inability to sympathize with others.'[24]

Stadial visions of the world as being cut across by different societies at varying states of civilizational development served as powerful touchstones for British and Scottish individuals seeking to realise constructions of European nationhood, to perform white European nationalities and, by extension, to define their racial opposites. For some, they served as a means to demarcate civilised, uncivilised and uncivilisable spaces, and to locate themselves vis-à-vis the imperial centres from which they believed civilisation was propagated around the globe.[25] For others, conjectural history served as an informational mode through which to interpret and understand unfamiliar surroundings.[26] Mark Towsey's recent study of readings of conjectural history by agents of the East India Company in his *Reading History in Britain and America* has demonstrated how the reception of history in imperial spaces was frequently inflected by the informational and identitarian demands of colonial readers. Gusty

[23] Onni Gust, 'Remembering and Forgetting the Scottish Highlands: Sir James Mackintosh and the Forging of a British Imperial Identity', *Journal of British Studies*, 52.3 (2013), pp. 624, 636; Gust, ''The Perilous Territory of Not Belonging'', pp. 24, 32.
[24] Onni Gust, *Unhomely Empire: Whiteness and Belonging, c. 1760-1830* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), pp. 3, 28-29.
[25] Susan Bayly, 'Race in Britain and India', in Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann (eds.), *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 81; Siobhan Carroll, *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 6-7; Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 5-6.
[26] Mark R. M. Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America, c. 1750 – c. 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 223.

Ducarel, Thomas Turner Roberts and Robert Cater Oakley, each of them relatively young EIC servants and soldiers, all looked to the content of William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* – a book on India's ancient and classical history – as a source of useful information on their present Indian surroundings, resulting in the tacit appropriation of an otherwise progressive text as a tool for the rationalisation of imperialism.[27]

Book History, Discourse Analysis and Alexander Walker of Bowland (1764-1831)

With regards to how the influence of book genres such as history (and forms such as conjectural history) on historical individuals can be traced, Towsey's work has also moved to disrupt previous assumptions by intellectual historians that 'evidence of the widespread distribution and circulation' of texts can serve as 'a proxy for the influence of the ideas within them.'[28] While models such as Robert Darnton's 'communications circuit' have demonstrated that the meaning of historical texts was created and contested at all points in their production (from author, to publisher, printer, shipper, bookseller and reader), new emphasis on the manner in which individual readers read highlights the political, social and personal concerns and practices readers brought to and took away from books.[29] This focus on the agency of the historical reader offers, in fact, to illuminate a great deal about the broader intellectual and discursive patterns – previously identified in texts and publisher practices by intellectual historians – which readers have been envisioned as subject to.[30]

When attempting to understand discourses through historical readers, Roger Chartier's conceptualisation of how readers navigated the normative systems of knowledge and belief embodied by the 'order of books' – the literary landscapes and indicators of approval and possibility they encountered as consumers – highlights two avenues of interpretative approach:

> Even when it is hemmed in by differences in competence and conventions, liberty knows how to distort and reformulate the significations that were supposed to defeat it.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[29] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111 (1982), p. 67; William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 99; See also Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books: Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).
[30] Richard Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and the Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 34.

> The dialectic between imposition and appropriation, between constraints transgressed and freedoms bridled, is not the same in all places or all times for all people.[31]

While on the one hand, for Chartier, 'imposition' represents the limits imposed on what it was possible for historical readers to think through the contents – and inherent finiteness – of discourses, 'appropriation' constitutes the evolutions in and divergences from imposed meaning brought about by the imaginative resistance of historical readers.[32]

Examining the personal worlds of historical readers from the stand point of what was 'imposed' on them and how they 'appropriated' this for their own purposes reveals a sense of both the historical extra-textual concerns which sometimes superseded dominant intellectual and literary discourses, and in turn how discourses such as those attached to the practice of conjectural history structured and guided readers through processes of individual knowledge formation.[33] Throughout this thesis I have adopted a mode of biography which hones on such moments, and which privileges moments of discursive reception and contribution as the building blocks of the life writing narratives which emanate from the Walker of Bowland Papers. Within this remit, I trace the appropriation of ideas derived from Enlightenment histories by Alexander Walker of Bowland – a military officer, political resident and later Governor in the East India Company who served a thirty-year career in the Bombay Army from 1780-1811 – in a variety of contexts, including his private study as well as his career as an imperialist. Likewise, I trace the significance of what his immersion in conjectural history imposed on him, how his ideas were guided by and jostled against the intellectual constraints of the Enlightenment literary canon. Through this, I aim at establishing a sense of the importance of both 'philosophical history' and the conjectural mode as popular forms of research and debate in the Anglophone eighteenth century, ones which had a profound impact on the political and social landscape of Britain's Indian Empire, and upon, therein, British constructions of racial difference and justifications for imperialism.

---

[31] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. viii; See also Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), p. 3.

[32] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (eds), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 7.

[33] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 11.

To understand the lived significance of Walker's contributions to historical discourse further, this thesis also adopts a perspective influenced by Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), and seeks to actively acknowledge Walker's agency as a cultural consumer and producer. This is done in order to more accurately map out the discourses I seek to describe by gleaning a sense – from Walker's archive – of the ways in which he was interfacing with intellectual and imperialist discourses, and how he himself perceived this activity.[34] It is by focusing on the everyday practices that joined and intersected most closely with his historical interests and work within the EIC that I hope this thesis will produce its best insights into the nature of the historical discourses which were attendant to the creation, expansion and maintenance of the British Empire. In addition, I have also chosen to base my understanding of the discourses in which Walker partook on elements of the theory on discourse outlined in Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. In viewing discourses as entities constituted by but existing independently from the utterances of individuals like Walker and the authors they read alike, this thesis seeks to, as Foucault puts it, describe the 'relations between [such] statements.'[35]

This work also occasionally borrows from Foucault particular units of historical discourse analysis – discursive objects, modes, concepts and strategies. These have been chosen for use here not so much because of their descriptive ubiquity but instead for the shift in perspective which their use provides. Foremost, to begin seeking to taxonomize speech acts, it is first necessary to make the crucial step of reconceptualising speech acts and their written historical traces, reframing them not just as things which were principally done by and inextricably linked to historical individuals, but rather also as fragmentary artefacts which now exist independently from the historical subject, notwithstanding their creative agency. In the case of Walker, I posit that his written materials, in as much as they are indeed a record of his thoughts and feelings at historical moments, are also the traces of broader conversations in which he was circumstantially and relatively fleetingly one among many speakers.[36]

Following this shift toward a narrative framework premised on discourse analysis, the historical narrative from a no longer becomes just a question of what Walker did, said or thought at a particular time, even though these questions do fall within the focus of this thesis.

---

[34] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. xviii.
[35] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Oxford: Routledge, 2002), pp. 31-33.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

Rather, it expands to include how he was shaped by the professional and ideological discourses he engaged in, through texts, letters, and face-to-face conversations.[37] The objects, or the things, places, persons or ideas subject to discourse, could be either familiar or unfamiliar to – and in need of incorporation into – Walker's coterminous engagements with discourses on Indian history and the management of empire. In either instance, rules existed – implicitly, subtly, but as social imperatives nonetheless – with regards to the meanings and significations assigned to these objects, the modalities of speech (description, argumentation, narration, etc.) in which they could or should have been spoken about, the logical relationship of one object with other individual or fields of objects (or conceptual orders), and the strategies of self-presentation a speaker such as Walker might deploy pre-emptively to or as a consequence of their engagement in discourses framing the subject-objects of imperial rule with meaning.[38]

Even sources as surprising and unconventional as the records of the Inquisition, as Carlo Ginzburg famously showed in *The Cheese and the Worms*, can offer rich windows into past minds.[39] David Allan's work on commonplace books has also – despite prior assumptions that the practice had died out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – identified commonplacing as a prominent part of the reading practice of eighteenth-century English readers.[40] It is moreover significant that this practice (and this might also be said for, to a lesser extent, all kinds of writing), as Allan and Towsey's work on the dissemination of Enlightenment in rural England and Scotland has demonstrated, is reflective of high degrees of literary 'activity' and self-reflexivity in reading.[41] On a more general level, since the publication of Kelly's *Women, Writing and Revolution*, it has been widely understood that eighteenth century readers viewed themselves as highly subject to the influence of their reading. This was more so especially true for certain kinds of readers, such as women and children.[42]

That said, examples of intensive forms of reading and self-reflexivity survive specifically as examples of exceptional influence, and so cannot simply be taken for granted as normative. What I intend to do to account for this, then, is to make the more detailed evidence

[37] Williams, *The Social Life of* Books, pp. 254-55.
[38] See again Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, and also Said, *Orientalism*.
[39] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, pp. xx-xxi.
[40] David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[41] Mark R. M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
[42] Gary Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

of what kinds of reading Walker got up to work in tandem with the quantitative evidence outlined above. If evidence of Walker's reading is the best and most vivid way of tracing which authors and ideas appealed most to him in 'passive' settings, his vast written material can also provide us with the means to gauge how the subconscious operation of these influences played out in other more 'active' settings. It also opens potential to explore how life as an EIC soldier and administrator reciprocally predisposed him to textual influence.[43]

It makes sense, then, to insist that serious attention needs to be paid to the importance of textual forms such as books, letters, notes and commonplace books as physical objects, and reading as an activity which happened amidst the material worlds and daily practices of historical individuals. Questions to do with the importance of certain ideas and ways of thinking in the past have generally been dealt with by historians in highly specific contexts (both social and intellectual) which, by nature of the aim of the historian being to make legible and coherent sense out of the past, are often limited in their scope to the literary and discursive realms from which such ideas are presumed to have emerged. To be sure, reading events and texts against contexts chosen for their relevance does more often than not produce insight towards how such things may have been understood in the past; the New Historicist trend towards thick description – which has also previously been recommended for use in library history by Raven – has of course yielded fantastic results, with John Pocock's *Barbarism and Religion* (6 vols., 1999-2015) series being a good example, having pressed the weight of six full monographs almost solely on subjecting Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to rich and expansive contextualisation.[44]

In the instance of Walker, I wish to analyse evidence of his reading with questions to do with how his reading influenced his experience of and perspective on life as an imperial soldier and administrator in mind. This is where I see the proposed utility of Foucauldian discourse analysis, particularly in relation to Walker's relationship with the disciplinary and ideological conventions of Scottish Enlightenment 'philosophical history'. As a company agent interested in Indian history, Walker's stock of familiar discourse objects included the conjectural historical categories hitherto used to describe and categorise social and racial difference – 'races', 'nations', 'societies' and 'peoples', their 'national character' and

[43] Raven, Small and Tadmor (eds), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, pp. 7-8, 15; Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xv.
[44] John G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-2015), Vols. 1-6; see also James Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 5.

'manners', the 'civil institutions' which structured their societies, and the 'rudeness' or 'refinement' of all the above.[45] When communicating to his EIC colleges, moreover, Walker often adopted modes of speech reminiscent of the forms of short essays or memoranda, likely aimed at suiting the confines of letter-writing. He furthermore positioned himself and what he had to say with deference to his administrative superiors. Meanwhile, outside of this context, and particularly during his retirement, Walker's tone and choice of form suitably changed to better support a strategy of self-presentation which was intended to fulfil his ambitions of historical authorship and intellectual authority.[46]

Conjectural History and Colonial Policy

Across the Walker of Bowland papers, one discursive episode in particular best demonstrates the ways in which Enlightenment intellectualism and the daily practice of imperial governance overlapped. In 1825, Brigadier-General Alexander Walker, then recently installed as the East India Company governor of St. Helena, finished writing his 'Ancient Intercourse with India'.[47] This was likely styled after William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, which, like Ducarel, Roberts, and Oakley, he had kept notes on in 1814 (see Chapter 5).[48] Much as Robertson's *Disquisition* brought together ancient knowledge on India, Walker's 'Ancient Intercourse' represented an attempt to collate accounts by Classical Latin and Hellenic historians with his own observations on India. In particular, Walker drew on his experiences on a military expedition in Kathiawar as the basis for qualifying the historical knowledge of the ancient historians:

> The great school of politics and war is still to be found in the study of Ancient History. But the pleasure and advantage of that study, are often made obscure and imperfect, by the difficulty which we experience in tracing the people, and in identifying the various situations of countries, as they are described by the Historians. In the year 1808 the British Government in India directed a considerable force to proceed into Kattywar, for purposes of some importance which it is unnecessary here to explain; but as it was the

[45] Nicholas Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race": The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought"', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29.3 (1996), p. 248.
[46] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 168.
[47] Alexander Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', 1825, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Walker of Bowland Papers (hereafter NLS), MS.13888.
[48] Alexander Walker, 'Account book, 1787, begun by Barbara Montgomery, later wife to Alexander Walker, but also used for notes, 1814, from 'Historical disquisition on India' by William Robertson', 1787, 1814, NLS, MS.14908A.

> first Military expedition that had been made under our authority into this part of India, and the only European force that had penetrated in this direction since the time of Alexander, the circumstances that attended it were new and interesting.
>
> Alexander Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', 1825, p. 1.

From here, Walker's first-hand observations on the state of civilisation in early nineteenth-century Kathiawar provided him with a means to predict how the manners, customs and social institutions of India's peoples might have developed or stayed the same across time. This was even, as he pointed out, despite the material, evidence-based challenges he faced in 'tracing the people' and 'identifying the various situations of countries' in India in the past. By comparing the state of Kathiawar as he found it in 1807 with accounts of India from antiquity, Walker gave himself a beginning and end between which to project the course of Kathiawar's unrecorded history. During this process, his vast reading on India, spanning histories by authors classical and modern, European and Indian, helped him to contextualise and voice his observations.[49]

By 1825, Walker had already long since concluded a thirty-year career in the East India Company. Between his appointment as a young soldier to the Bombay Presidency in 1780 to his return to Scotland in 1811, he had served in the final three of the four Anglo-Mysore wars; led a military detachment on an exploratory voyage to Nookta Sound on the Northeast Pacific coast of the Americas; and served an eight-year Company residency at Baroda (modern day Vadodara), all while steadily rising in military rank. Importantly, that he should have continued to write history on India even after ceasing to be directly involved in the manufacture of Indian policy indicates he had ambitions and interests beyond rising in station within the Company or serving as a military hero. Although Walker's work was never published, as will be explored in more detail in chapter 1, there is a clear sense throughout much of his writing that he perceived himself to be widely knowledgeable about Indian history, and moreover that he saw his own experiences in India as a potentially fruitful source of knowledge to add to Britain's collective historical information on South Asia.[50]

[49] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 76; Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of* Society, pp. 34-35.
[50] Jack Harrington, *Sir John Malcolm and the Creation of British India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 5.

The way he imagined his own passage into Kathiawar in his 'Ancient Intercourse' reflects this self-perception, insofar as within its pages he tacitly positions himself as a historical discoverer. Whilst in Kathiawar, he implied, he was retracing the steps of none other than Alexander the Great. This was a fantasy he shared with a number of his contemporaries who, as Rachel Mairs explains, sought both at once to 'be Alexander and to find Alexander', drawing on imaginings of Alexander the Great as a means of defining their own activity on the periphery of the British Empire.[51] In correspondence with this self-imagery, not only was Walker's activity in Kathiawar of moment to British economic, political and territorial interests in India, but it also opened up a new realm of knowledge. The path to Kathiawar, a place which since Alexander the Great was only to be known to Europeans through imperfect sketches and historical fragments, was now open once more.[52]

When Walker described himself as being in Kathiawar 'for purposes of some importance which it is unnecessary here to explain', he was referring to an expedition he led to outlaw female infanticide in Jadeja Rajput communities.[53] Walker's expedition is partly documented in a printed volume of parliamentary papers on infanticide issued by the EIC, a copy of which was also kept along with the rest of Walker's materials at his estate on the Scottish Borders, Bowland House.[54] This document includes a lengthy report by Walker on his activities, within which he provided historical information about the religious and cultural practices of Kathiawar's notable Jadeja families, as well as a conjectural explanation as to why Jadeja communities had continued practicing infanticide into the then present day. Additionally, he also used this information to justify his establishment of treaties with local princes as a suitable means to stamp out infanticide.[55]

Written when Walker was still the Company resident at Baroda, these numbered recommendations, dated 15 March 1808, reached Jonathan Duncan (Governor of the Bombay Presidency, 1795-1811) and Sir George Barlow (Acting Governor-General of India, 1805-07) through Francis Warden (Secretary to Government, Bombay, 1805-22). Initially, Walker set

[51] Rachel Mairs, 'The Men Who Would be Alexander: Alexander the Great and His Graeco-Batcrian Successors in the Raj', in Kenneth R. Moore (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 577.
[52] Norbert Peabody, 'Knowledge Formation in Colonial India', in Douglas M. Peers and Nandini Gooptu, *India and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 88-89, 94.
[53] Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', 1825, NLS, MS.13888, p. 1.
[54] Unknown, 'Catalogue of the Library at Bowland House [Circa. 1830]', 1830, NLS, MS14053B, f. 1 (Reverse).
[55] Alexander Walker, 'Manuscript concerning Hindu Infanticide, containing the Parliamentary paper 'Copy of all correspondence which has taken place on the subject of Hindoo infanticide … 1789-1820', 1816-1817, NLS, MS.13898.

out to establish an epistemological position upon which to ground his observations; given that his account was to be drawn from local oral histories, he assumed that he needed to prove to the Bombay Government that his own reorganisation and retelling of Jadeja history was accurate:

> 8. The traditionary and legendary account of the Hindus, although sometimes ingenious, are often the wild and extravagant fictions of a rude and superstitious people; but the oral account of the savage and atrocious custom of Infanticide is comprised in a simple narrative, and exhibits under a slight disguise a remote historical event.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 31.

Notwithstanding Walker's blithely racist characterisation of Hindus as a 'rude and superstitious people', and his subsequent uncertainty about the historical authenticity of Hindu folk lore and oral custom, he asserted that he had managed to conjecture a useful historical account by deductively piecing together unreliable second-hand historical fragments into a wider, factually accurate picture.[56]

Walker's reconstituted Hindu folklore narrative traced the origins of female infanticide back to the story of a Jadeja Rajah who put his unmarried daughter – for whom he could not find a suitable husband – to death 'to avoid the censure and disgrace which would attend the princess's remaining unmarried' (Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 32). From the information he gleaned from this story, Walker then inductively conjectured about potential historical circumstances in Kathiawar which might have inspired it. He proposed that despite the likely mendacity of this specific narrative, the Muslim conquest of a historical Jadeja holding, 'Scind', may have produced similar historical circumstances, namely by limiting the number of Jadeja boys and men available for marriage (Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 33).

From this explanation of historical causes, Walker then developed an approach to preventing the development and continuation of undesirable Hindu social practices. He sought to do this by enjoining Kathiawar's local rulers as signatories to written treaties forbidding infanticide. Walker justified his treaties through reference to Hindu religious script, making use of injunctions against infanticide in the Hindu shastras and puranas (Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 26, p. 49). Because they were based in Hindu law and cultural

[56] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 76.

custom, Walker assumed his treaties carried sufficient legal credence to be properly observed, and that Kathiawar's Jadeja communities would punish violations of their terms without the need for further British intervention.[57]

Like how Walker seized upon historical social factors as a means to explain the origins of infanticide in Kathiawar, his treaties were further rationalised using precepts of cause and effect drawn from the logic of the 'philosophical history' of the Scottish Enlightenment. As we have seen, in the pages of authors such as Hume, Smith, Kames, Ferguson and Millar, Baconian scientific method was leveraged to understand human society and social behaviour, and facilitated the identification of general, 'natural' patterns in human history resulting from the operations of 'human nature'. And while identifying such patterns these authors also often relied upon further mainstays of the 'philosophical' historical vocabulary, in particular upon the conceptual category of 'motives', coined to describe individual aspects of human nature and behaviour. As Harro Höpfl puts it, to 'explain the conduct of men, whether individuals or in groups, the Scots had recourse to a somewhat narrow range of motives which they deemed capable of serving as the springs of action. A representative selection of these is Hume's: "Ambition, avarice, self-love, vanity, friendship, generosity, public spirit…"'[58]

In Walker's work this exact kind of language was brought to bear, along with the assumption that he could accurately predict the behavioural responses of societies – if not individuals – to both historical and present social and economic circumstances:

> 284. It seems to be incontrovertible that the Jahrejahs continued Infanticide from motives of interest or convenience; and the same motives are now brought forward to counterbalance their former prejudice; for if they were to relapse and kill their daughters they would be liable to the disgrace of expulsion from their families, and to an arbitrary punishment, exposing themselves evidently to much greater disadvantages and vexations than can possibly arise from preserving their children.

This he ascribed as the likely short-term impact of his proposals. In the long-term, he further imagined that:

---

[57] Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg, 'Alexander Walker of Bowland's "Account of the Jeyn": A Starting Point for British Encounters with the Jain Community in Gujarat', in Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg, John E. Cort and Leslie C. Orr (eds), *Cooperation, Contribution and Contestation: The Jain Community, Colonialism and Jainological Scholarship, 1800-1950* (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 2020), p. 145.

[58] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', p. 34; See also David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects*, Vol. 1 (London: J. Noon, 1740), p. 6.

290. Even a temporary disuse of Infanticide would assist towards its entire abolition, by allowing reason and natural feelings to recover their ascendancy.

Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 51.

After constructing ideas of the nature of Kathiawar Jadeja Rajputs and of their cultural practices as having development unnaturally, and as revolving around religious and caste interests and the associated 'passions of avarice and pride', Walker assumed that they could be prevented from practicing infanticide in the short term by manipulating these motives. He also assumed that after this, and the cessation of infanticide, the 'natural' manifestation of reason and feeling among Kathiawar's Jadeja rulers – in accordance with the advancement of their social practices – would take due course, in future removing the need for the treaties altogether.[59]

In Walker's writing there is a palpable sense that his opposition to infanticide was partly inspired by a desire to see the ascendancy of civilised behaviours, and thus the proliferation of positive technologies of individual self-formation, among Kathiawar's Rajput communities.[60] Furthermore, Walker's omission of the particulars belying his fact-finding mission in Kathiawar in his 'Ancient Intercourse' obscures the connection between his historical texts and his activity as an agent of the British Empire. This particular silence likely reflects an unwillingness to spare mention to measures which, he later lamented in 1825, had proven only partially effective, as opposed to betraying a sense of incongruity between the tenets of Enlightenment philosophy and ethics and colonial expansion.[61]

Viewed through the lens of a reader from the post-colonial world, Walker's advocacy for the lives of Kathi female infants clearly came at the expense of Rajput autonomy. It also brought with it a number of deeply problematic ways of framing and understanding Indian societies, including a highly racialized view of Hindu society as having strayed from the 'natural' course of human social development and as being dominated by religious practices and interests. Moreover, within the remit of this depiction came also the attribution of undesirable 'motives' to the Hindu mind.[62] But, from the vantage point of a British eighteenth-century observer, his vision of himself as a polite student of history will have aligned with this kind of action, which he imagined as advocating for humane social practices and, by extension,

[59] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, pp. 34-35.
[60] Williams, *The Social Life of* Books, pp. 31-32; Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827*.
[61] Alexander Walker, 'Copies of private letters, 4 August 1824-24 December 1827, of Alexander Walker.', 1824-27, NLS, MS.13754, ff. 7-8.
[62] Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 90-93.

social progress.[63] Alongside this also came a schema of human behavioural sociology that presupposed that civilized social practices correspondingly promoted and supported the ascendancy of 'reason and natural feelings' within the individuals of Jadeja Rajput communities.[64] As practicably questionable Walker's vision may have been with regard to the psychological impact of his proposed measures, it did form a clear part of his administrative and diplomatic strategy, and it was informed by conjectural history.[65]

Biography, Enlightenment and Orientalism

We will return to this episode when Walker's administrative documents are taken up again in chapter 4. For the time being, however, Alexander Walker's use of conjectural history in Kathiawar poses significant questions about the social and intellectual world he inhabited. To begin with, to what extent was he representative of the thought and practices of EIC agents in India at large, and what broader impact did Scots Enlightenment history have on the management and expansion of the British Empire? To what extent was his heavy reliance upon ideas from the Scots Enlightenment literary canon representative of the Scottish experience of empire? And, among those who embraced the specific methodology of conjectural history as closely as he did, how representative is Walker of the typical permutations and usages of Enlightenment historical thought, both in India and in Scotland? In order to establish a tentative precedent for answering these questions, throughout this thesis I use Walker to represent some of the discursive possibilities that arose when conjectural history met with the languages and practices of empire.[66]

This thesis also speaks directly to scholarship concerned with whether the Enlightenment was a colonialist or anti-colonialist movement, and whether or not it is possible to trace the origins of modern colonialism back to the Enlightenment. While historians such as Jonathan Israel have spoken of the so-called 'Radical Enlightenment' as an intellectual movement committed to liberal democracy and anti-colonialism, critics of colonialism have consistently emphasised the ideological ties between Enlightenment rationalism and imperialism.[67] It is not, however, within the scope of this work to provide a definitive answer

[63] Sven Trakulhun, 'Europe in an Indian Mirror: Comparing Conceptions of Civil Government in Abu Taleb's *Travels* (1810)', in D. Tricoire (ed.), *Enlightened Colonialism: Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 180.
[64] Bloxham, *Why History? A History*, p. 166.
[65] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, pp. 229-230.
[66] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, p. xxi.
[67] For examples of texts which emphasise the anti-colonialism of the Enlightenment, see Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Robert Darnton, *George*

to these questions. Rather, I aim toward nuancing the postcolonial thesis that 'Enlightenment rationalism helped delegitimize non-European cultures' by providing insight into the ways in which this occurred.[68]

As Damien Tricoire puts it, both sides of this debate have previously 'focused on literary and philosophical texts' over analysing the 'political and social practices' through which imperialism was manifested.[69] Alternatively, I have adopted a biographical focus on Alexander Walker in order to detail the processes in which Enlightenment texts shaped the attitudes and behaviours of British imperialists through lived practices such as reading, writing and associational culture.[70] Biography has already proven an invaluable tool to post-colonial historians seeking to reconstruct the subaltern experience of empire, hitherto obscured by imperialist narratives and excluded from the imperialist archive. For example, Gillian Whitlock's *The Intimate Empire* has used women's autobiographical writing from various imperial settings to question the categorization and generalization of the female experience in the so-called 'third world', and to access, more holistically, 'the implications of different gendered, racial and class markings in colonialism's culture'.[71] Likewise, a number of postcolonial scholars including Suleri, Gates and Said have used autobiography to enact processes of postcoloniality in their own life writing, while also questioning received imperialist notions of canonicity and historicity.[72]

Washington's False Teeth: An Unconventional Guide to the Eighteenth Century (New York: Norton, 2003); Daniel Carey and Sven Trakulhun, 'Universalism, Diversity, and the Postcolonial Enlightenment', in Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (eds.), *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 240–281; Jonathan Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); For texts which critique the Enlightenment's connection to colonialism, see John Gray, 'After the New Liberalism', *Social Research*, 61. 3 (1994), 120–124; Malick Ghachem, 'Montesquieu in the Caribbean: The Colonial Enlightenment Between 'Code Noir' and 'Code Civil'', *Historical Reflections*, 25.2 (1999), 7–30; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Sunil M. Agnani, *Hating Empire Properly: The Two Indies at the Limits of Enlightenment Anticolonialism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003); Anthony Strugnell, 'Diderot's Anti-Colonialism: A Problematic Notion', in James Fowler (ed.), *New Essays on Diderot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 74-85.

[68] Damien Tricoire, 'Introduction', in Damien Tricoire (ed.), *Enlightened Colonialism: Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 2-5, 8.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[70] Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xiii.

[71] Gillian Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), pp. 3-6, 9.

[72] Philip Holden, 'Postcolonial auto/biography', in Ato Quayson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 107-136; Sara Suleri, *Meatless Days* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Henry Louis Gates, *Colored People: A Memoir* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Edward Said, *Out of Place* (New York: Knopf, 1999).

While this thesis focuses on the life of an imperialist rather than on how victims and subjects experienced empire, it does so for a number of reasons. By examining how Alexander Walker received and contributed to the discourses of Enlightenment conjectural history and imperial governance, this thesis aims to uncover the real lived experience of the intersection between Enlightenment and colonialist discourse. Throughout, I take an interest in how Walker experienced Enlightenment and colonialism in India (traced through archival slippages and hints), and in how Walker played an active part in generating and mediating these experiences through his own attempts at historical and life writing. Subsequently, this thesis presents a tentative case for redefining the extent to which the Enlightenment influenced imperialist activity in the eighteenth century, by taking a measure of the costly ideological potentials that could and sometimes did manifest when Enlightenment history discourses and practices, including conjectural history, were acted out in India.

As Dan Edelstein has argued, the Enlightenment was not a static constellation of ideas that simply existed as it was written in the long-eighteenth century, but was, like imperialism, a multiplicity of narratives that were brought into being through practice.[73] Likewise, as Partha Chatterjee has argued, 'empire was not just about power politics, the logic of capital, or the civilizing mission but instead was something that had to be practiced, as a normal everyday business as well as at moments of extraordinary crisis, by real people in real time.'[74] By focusing on the life of Alexander Walker, this thesis tracks the influence of the Enlightenment on colonialism through episodes and forms of lived experience, during which Walker created and drew upon Enlightenment narratives of European selfhood and non-European otherness alongside (and in order to make sense of) the daily practice of imperialism.[75] It is through Walker's attempts to write his own histories, his collection of a vast library of historical tracts, and his reading of historical texts that I want to trace some of the possible shapes of individual engagement with the Scottish Enlightenment, and even more particularly with conjectural history. Likewise, it is through evidence of his application of the information and ways of thinking he gleaned from conjectural histories in the context of EIC service that I want to

[73] Dan Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 2, 5, 13-15.
[74] Partha Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. xi-xii.
[75] Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xviii.

illustrate a sense of how these discourses might also have influenced the activity of other colonial administrators.[76]

Edward Said's famous arguments regarding the continued relevance of Orientalist discourse on West and Central Asia in the modern world, and his distinction between orientalism (lower-case) and Orientalism (upper-case), are highly relevant here, not least because they shed light on two distinct forms of discourse in which Walker participated. Shifting focus towards South Asia, by Said's definition lower-case orientalism refers to intellectual discourse produced by networks of scholars in British India with interests in Indian history, literature and antiquities. Orientalism (upper-case), on the other hand, instead refers to a series of discursive tropes and rules (often present in orientalism, but just as often connected to centres, usages and the cultural dissemination of colonial power) which ontologically framed and constructed the 'West' as superior in relation to its 'Eastern' racial other. Although the structures of Orientalist language and their power over Indian subjects were by no means absolute – as sustained postmodernist critique of Said's conception of Orientalism as a totalising metanarrative has borne out – Orientalism was a discourse which was made possible by, reflected and reinforced imbalances in power between colonizer and colonized, and which moreover often subsisted upon the conversion of Asian histories and literatures into objects of European knowledge.[77]

Orientalism, in the upper-case, Saidian sense, is not so much taken here to refer to a more or less static or monolithic assortment of characteristically and thematically connected discursive objects, modes, concepts and strategies, but is used to refer to such artefacts which, when in use, performed a particular series of discursive functions. As argued above, many of Walker's surviving contributions to Orientalist discourses emanated from the intersection of the language of Enlightenment history with the language which accompanied the day-to-day activity powering and propagating the British Empire. With this in mind, this thesis envisions Walker's surviving life writings as fragments of his own (and wider) Orientalist discourses, left behind after moments in which he put historical knowledge to use in ways fundamental to the realisation of the EIC's political, cultural and territorial expansion. Accordingly, although this thesis does not strain to depict Orientalism as having a particular point of origin, or as having been an entirely stable and uniform cultural force, I do contend that Orientalism is a

[76] Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory*, 8 (1969), p. 38.
[77] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 5-6; John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 7.

suitable concept with which to describe discourse events in Walker's archive in which the logics of Imperialism and European racial supremacy were asserted and sustained.

Intellectual Orientalism and the Limits of Enlightenment Anti-colonialism

Alongside increasing British domination of the Indian subcontinent, the latter end of the eighteenth century also witnessed the rise to prominence of an influential generation of Scottish orientalist scholars, of which Walker was a part. John MacKenzie's recent survey of Scots missionaries, travellers, writers, merchants, soldiers and administrators in South Asia provides an excellent map of the leading orientalist circles in India, particularly in the East India Company's Bengal and Bombay presidencies. Closely associated with the Warren Hastings administration and the foundational orientalist scholarship of Sir William Jones, Scots such as Alexander Dow and George Bogle were among the first composers of Indian histories and language translations in Bengal, and were considerably influenced by William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, as well as other Enlightenment figures including Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart. Later Scottish orientalist linguists and historians included Alexander Hamilton, William Erskine, John Leyden, Alexander Murray and Vans Kennedy, all of whom hailed from diverse Scots social backgrounds.[78] Meanwhile, the notable Bombay-based leadership cadre of Thomas Munro, John Malcom and Mountstuart Elphinstone – who, as Martha McLaren has demonstrated, were influenced particularly by Scottish Enlightenment discourse on the history of civil society – adopted more practical applications of their studies in Indian history and language, which in turn informed their approaches to Indian governance.[79]

Intellectual orientalism could be, and frequently was, wrapped up in cultural imperialism and colonial violence, especially insofar as the production of orientalist knowledge tangibly reinforced the epistemic domination (and consequently the 'real' physical domination) of 'occident' over 'orient' by transforming India and information about it into objects of European discourse. Bernard Cohn – in his *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* – identified exactly this kind of phenomenon at work in the efforts of orientalist scholars such as Sir William Jones and Nathaniel Brassey Halhed to develop a genealogical understanding of Indian languages and texts. British attempts to categorise and reorder Indian literary traditions

[78] John M. MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions: A Distinction Scots Approach to Asia?', in T. M. Devine and Angela McCarthy (eds), *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c. 1700 to the Present: Settlers and Sojourners* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 53-55.
[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58; Martha McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780-1830: Career building, empire Building, and a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance* (Akron: University of Akron Press, 2001), pp. 2, 11, 65-66, 119-32.

through comparative linguistics brought with them, Cohn argues, the imposition of a sense of language as either progressing toward or regressing from a state of refinement. Down the line, particularly after the advent of James Mill's *History of British India* (1817), such perceptions helped to consolidate the notion that modern Indian literature was regressive and inauthentic, and had long since strayed from the heights of a presumed golden age in Hindu literature.[80]

This was also reflective of a particular conceptualization of language as being the product of history and as improving in a linear fashion. This, I suggest, in line with extant scholarship to do with the broad cultural significance of the conjectural form, constituted an important formal and discursive connection between the Scottish orientalists, the largely German field of comparative philology, and the 'philosophical histories' of the Scottish Enlightenment.[81] The linguistic works of continental Enlightenment figures including Gottfied Wilhelm Leibniz, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac and Johann Gottfried Herder were distinct from those of their Scottish Enlightenment counterparts with respect to their attention to language and its relation to human cognition and evolution, as opposed to sharing in a secular focus on the role played by social and commercial institutions in the advancement of civil society (notwithstanding the notable exception of James Burnett, Lord Monboddo).[82] And yet their fascination with the connection between language and society – and between language and humankind's emergence from a state of nature – betrays a shared desire and impetus to construct secularised, linearly coherent narrative histories of 'mankind' starting with 'natural man' as their point of origin.[83] Walker, besides sharing in the descriptive language of conjectural history in his own orientalist works, also had an interest in German authors alongside the leading Scottish Enlightenment historians, and adopted from their work an

[80] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 21, 54-56; See also Garland Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Modern Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 242-46; Haruko Momma, 'A Man on the Cusp: Sir William Jones's "Philology" and "Oriental Studies", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 41.2 (1999), pp. 163-64.

[81] Fania Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish Civic Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 24, 136-137, 177, 179-82; László Kontler, 'Translating Scottish Stadial History: William Robertson in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany', in Karen Newman and Jane Tylus (eds.), *Early Modern Cultures of Translation.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 240-42.

[82] Stefaan Blancke, 'Lord Monboddo's Ourang-Outang and the Origin and Progress of Language', in M. Pina and N. Gontier (eds), *The Evolution of Social Communication in Primates: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, Vol. 1 (London: Springer International Publishing, 2014), p. 36.

[83] Lia Formigari, 'Language and Society in the Late Eighteenth Century', Journal of the History of Ideas, 35.2 (1974), p. 275.

attention to tracing human history through comparative linguistic genealogy and etymological conjecture (see Chapter 3).[84]

That said, as Rendall has noted, the authors of conjectural histories, not least William Robertson, Jean Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith, were far from universally uncritical of the view that human history constituted a linear process of progress and improvement, and that the modern societies of eighteenth-century Europe had reached a relative apex in their historical development. French and German conjectural histories respectively stressed the historical importance of governing elites and the multilateral expression of distinct cultural potentials to the historical development of societies, in stark contrast to the emphasis of Scottish historians on the role of commerce in mitigating the harsh climatic and material conditions otherwise faced by humanity in its 'savage' state and environment. Even those Scottish authors who most closely upheld a progressive view of human history were acutely aware of the diversity of humankind and the vast divergences in historical trajectory between the different 'nations' and 'peoples' of the globe.[85]

Neither was Walker, nor the generation of orientalist scholars to which he belonged, entirely uncritically attracted to a perspective which positioned European 'nations' as the most developed in the world. And while throughout Walker's materials this notion did often underpin arguments in favour of British imperial expansionism in India, the reverse was sometime also true. For instance, upon his official retirement in 1812 Walker penned an essay for the EIC board of directors in which he argued that the desirable extents of Britain's Indian empire had long since been surpassed – albeit he argued this based on the economic maintenance empire in India demanded (see Chapter 4). Likewise, when he read James Mill's *The History of British India* in 1819 and 1820, Walker was navigating a text which he saw as going too far in its negative portrayal of Indian society, religion and history (see Chapter 6).

Yet despite efforts at cosmopolitanism and a pluralistic, cross-cultural acceptance of human difference, Scottish Enlightenment conjectural history often embodied highly Eurocentric and racialized views of the world. Silvia Sebastiani explains, in her *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, that:

[84] Avi Lifschitz, *Language and Enlightenment: the Berlin Debates of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 36.
[85] Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', pp. 43-44.

> …the explanation of human diversity in the ambit of the stadial scheme generated a dialectic between a universal image of progress and the enduring and profound differences that it described. The dialectic emerges not only in the complexity of the concept of progress elaborated by Scottish historiography, but also in its fundamental problematic tension.[86]

Where European societies were chiefly represented as existing in the latest, most advanced 'stage' of human social advancement, African and Amerindian societies were emblematically positioned at the beginning of the Scots' stadial schemes. India for the most part fared better in the Scots' appraisals, but likewise occupied a lower rung on the developmental ladder than Europe.[87] The lesser states of society of African, Amerindian and Asian peoples in the eighteenth-century present also implied a degree of developmental stasis, a firm contrast to the spirit of progress envisioned as having led Europe into the Age of Reason.[88]

One of the critical discursive functions of the Scots' framework of stages and the linear progressive temporality found in much 'philosophical history' was the implication of a global hierarchy of societal development centred around early conceptualisations of the modern European 'nation' as well as nascent racial and ethnic groupings. And while a number of Scottish conjectural historians may well have exercised caution towards unambiguous, self-congratulatory European assumptions of global ascendancy, this is to say nothing of the slippages that became possible when their ideas reached the minds of readers across the globe.[89] Throughout Walker's archive ideas of racial difference were predominantly expressed along the lines that Europe was superior in social and cultural advancement to India, and that Europeans were superior in the cultivation of their mental faculties to Indians.[90] Vitally, Walker's material is also as much a record of the intellectual discussions which accompanied

---

[86] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 8.
[87] Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 323.
[88] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 9; See also Jennifer Smalligan Marušić, 'Dugald Stewart on Conjectural History and Human Nature', *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, 15.3 (2017), p. 263.
[89] David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: The British Library, 2008), pp. 4-5; Robert Darnton, 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', in James L. Machor and Phillip Goldstein (eds), *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 161-62, 171-74; Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', p. 67; Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. xi; Hans Robert Jauss, and Elizabeth Benzinger, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', *New Literary History*, 2.1 (1970), p. 7, 12; Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretative Communities* (London: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 11.
[90] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, p. 10.

the many moments of imperial expansion in which Walker partook as it is of his private, disinterested thoughts. This thesis thus contends that the Walker of Bowland Papers (and hence the representations of Walker's life that emanate from them) reflect a crucial facet of conjectural history: that in the hands of readers and cultural agents such as Walker, conjectural history could form the basis for statements on racial hierarchy which simultaneously intersected closely with the Scottish and European Enlightenments, British Indian orientalism and Orientalism, and the day to day activity and violence powering of the British Empire.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into six main chapters. The first two of these are respectively contextual and methodological, the third and fourth hone on analysing Walker's activity as a cultural producer, and the fifth and sixth tackle evidence of Walker acting as a cultural consumer. The first two chapters of this thesis are intended to provide essential historical and methodological context for my close analyses of Walker's archive, particularly from the standpoint of relating his uses of and engagements with conjectural history to wider historical and political debates on the nature and appropriate extents of EIC activity in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century India. Chapter 1 will further flesh out my approach to biography while providing a short, summative biography of Alexander Walker. This serves to both ground subsequent chapters within a chronological narrative of his life and travels, and to map out the contours of his intellectual development. Close textual analyses of his use of conjectural history as an intellectual tool and informational lens are partly withheld here for later chapters. In lieu of this however chapter one explores how Walker experienced the cultures of the Enlightenment and colonialism, as well as how this experience shaped his identity, by tracing his intellectual influences and tracking his changing usages of conjectural and, more broadly, 'philosophical history'.[91]

This thesis then sets asides the chronological biographical approach of chapter one, interrogating texts in which Walker engaged with colonialist and Enlightenment narratives as individual but interrelated episodes within the wider framework of his lived experience. Chapter 2 provides a methodological basis for this by fleshing out an understanding of a number of the key discourses with which Walker engaged, in particular Orientalist discourse

[91] Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England*, pp. 4-5; Robert Darnton, 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', in James L. Machor and Phillip Goldstein (eds), Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 161-62, 171-74.

on India's supposed Hindu 'ancient constitutions' and the languages surrounding the concepts of 'race' and the 'nation'.[92] It also establishes a precedent for relating Walker's archive back to the broader social and intellectual British experiences of empire by examining patterns in reading culture and book ownership among Britons in India at the turn of the eighteenth century. In so doing, it demonstrates that Walker was far from alone in reading and using history in his capacity as an imperialist.[93]

Chapters 3 and 4 carry this turn toward bibliographic discourse analysis forward by analysing a series of thematically and historically important discourse fragments selected from Alexander Walker's archive. These chapters are interested primarily in documenting Walker's appropriation of ideas from Scottish Enlightenment history for use in a colonial context, although they also delve into the long period of private study which followed his retirement from India. Chapters 3 and 4 are not so much an attempt to capture the intersection of Enlightenment historical discourse and the conjectural mode with Orientalist governing discourses as a wholly fixed phenomenon, but rather aim at demonstrating that in the hands of individual cultural agents like Walker this kind of practice was in constant evolution and flux. This, I suggest, was also in no small part due to the ambiguity and imprecision of the language of 'philosophical history', and the vast variety of identities it was possible for writers and readers like Walker to take on in their engagements with it.[94]

Chapter 3 will also seek to tackle Walker's attempts at historical writing as evidence of a practice which occurred independently from (albeit alongside) his participation in instances of physical conquest and domination. The intention behind doing this before making any substantial comparisons with his use of conjectural history in EIC administrative contexts is to establish how the orientalist materials which shape Walker's archive in and of themselves played a part in the development of British power in India through the narrative appropriation, historicization and superseding of Indian knowledge formations.[95] Chapter 3 also, however, locates these materials as parts of Orientalist discourses, which were both historically tied to the construction of ideas of racial difference, instances of colonial violence, and which in other contexts – as will be demonstrated in chapter 4 – supported Britain's physical domination of

[92] Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: The British in Bengal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 7-8, 125-26; Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. xi-xii, 256-57; Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"', pp. 248-250.
[93] Chartier, *The Order of Books*, pp. 6-7.
[94] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, pp. 31-33.
[95] Cohn, *Colonialism and it's Forms of Knowledge*, p. 53.

India. Indeed, chapter four will shift towards an analysis of the presence of similar kinds of conjectural-historical ideas and practices in the kinds of documentation Walker produced when working in an administrative and governing capacity. While some attention will be paid to Walker's knowledge production prior to and after his time in Malabar and his tenure as resident at Baroda, this chapter focuses on the period from 1790-1812, because it was at this time that Walker was at the height of his military and administrative career in India.[96]

Chapters 5 and 6 will turn finally to analysing evidence of Walker's reading British histories on India. These two chapters act as a foil to chapters three and four, insofar as they shift the emphasis away from Walker's creative potential and instead situate him as an individual participant in a wider cultural dialogue. Through this I hope to characterise the facets, possibilities and limits of Walker's readings of Enlightenment history, and to trace the influence of Scottish Enlightenment 'philosophical history' upon him. In the process, Walker is offered as a model for how other imperialists might also have interfaced with history, even notwithstanding and acknowledging the ways in which he was an exceptional individual. Chapter five concentrates on Walker's commonplace book on William Robertson's *An Historical Disquisition of the Knowledge the Ancients had of India*, while chapter six analyses his correspondence with James Mill regarding Walker's suggested revisions on Mill's second edition of *The History of British India*. The onus throughout these chapters is not just on tracing from where Walker derived particular ideas, but also on examining the means and manner through which Walker sought out information for his own use in the service of empire.[97] Therefore, chapters 5 and 6 transplant the concept of the discursive mode – an analytical category used to distinguish between different forms of speech along with variations in the positionality of speakers to these forms – into analyses of cultural consumption as a means to interrogate Walker's self-identification as a historian, even if only in a private context, whilst both a reader and writer. These analyses attempt to demonstrate that Walker's attention (or lack thereof) to specific ideas and concepts in his reading also depended on a discursive strategy which was influenced by the bureaucratic, informational demands of his career in India even long after he left.[98]

[96] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), p. xvi; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: the Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 28, 34.
[97] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, pp. 226, 229-230.
[98] Kelly, *Women, Writing and Revolution*, pp. 21-22.

These last two chapters also connect Walker's reading experiences back to instances of him appropriating Indian knowledge formations (principally Indian literature and histories) and conjectural historical ideas in the service of empire, and vice versa. The intention behind doing this, and another of the wider functions of these chapters within this thesis, is to demonstrate the full gamut of ideological percolation through which conjectural history influenced not only Walker but also other imperialist readers, along with their perceptions of the realities of British imperialism. Using Walker's oeuvre as evidence of one important but nonetheless individual node in Enlightenment historical discourse, these chapters not only offer the story of how he engaged and interfaced with other participants in this discourse as a model for the experiences of other British imperialists, but by mapping out further aspects of this discourse beyond Walker (i.e. the positions of Robertson and Mill), they also gesture toward the broader linguistic shape of conjectural and 'philosophical' historical discourses, along with the contours of their practice in British India.[99]

[99] Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 9.

Chapter 1: A Biography of Alexander Walker, 1764-1831

Introduction

This chapter provides a short biography of Alexander Walker, offering essential historical context for the remainder of this thesis through a chronological overview of his life. It also explores how Walker experienced the social and intellectual cultures of the Scottish Enlightenment and the East India Company, along with moments in which these two cultures intersected. By providing a critical re-reading of Alexander Walker's life as it is represented in the Walker of Bowland Papers, this chapter questions the narrative authority and power of the colonial archive.[1] To do so, here I interrogate the Walker of Bowland Papers not so much as evidence of Enlightenment and colonial metanarratives (taken to be constituted by Walker's texts), but rather as evidence of how Walker subjectively engaged with and constructed these kinds of narratives during his lifetime.[2]

The Walker of Bowland Papers survive today primarily because they were deliberately preserved, first by Walker, then his descendants, and from 1952 in the National Library of Scotland. For this reason, I take the view that these papers – even and especially when taken collectively – constitute a variety of life writing. Although Walker's potential intentions with regards to publishing his historical writing remain ambiguous at best, compiling his private literary writings and his administrative papers did in itself constitute an act of self-representation, as did each of Walker's texts when taken individually.[3] By reconceptualising the Walker of Bowland Papers as such both here and throughout this thesis, I move to complicate and question the narrative legitimacy of Enlightenment and colonialist

[1] For more on the complicity of colonial archives in the projects and sustained legacies of imperialism, along with theory dealing with archival loss and reading colonial archives against the grain of imperialist metanarratives, see Anjali R. Arondekar, *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive* (Durham: Duke University press, 2009); Julia Rensing, 'Ovizire · Somgu: From Where Do We Speak?': Artistic Interventions in the Namibian Colonial Archive (2018–2020)', *Journal of South African Studies*, 48.1 (2022), 81-102; Tim Livsey, 'Open Secrets: The British 'Migrated Archives', Colonial History, and Postcolonial History', *History Workshop Journal*, 93.1 (2022), 95-116.

[2] Vera Nunning and Ansgar Nunning, 'Fictions of Empire and the Making of Imperialist Mentalities: Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Criticism Revisited', *Forum for World Literature Studies*, 7.2 (2015), pp. 174-76; See again Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy*, pp. 13-15.

[3] Elspeth Jajdelska, 'The Self in the History of Distributed Cognition: A View from the History of Reading', in Miranda Anderson, George Rousseau and Michael Wheeler (eds), *Distributed Cognition in Enlightenment and Romantic Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 156-57, 168-69; See also Caroline Archer-Parré, 'Private Pleasure and Portable Presses: Do-It-Yourself Printers in the Eighteenth Century', in Caroline Archer-Parré and Malcolm Dick (eds), *Pen, Print and Communication in the Eighteenth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), p. 106.

metanarratives, and to reconstruct the ways in which these narratives were subjectively created and lived out.[4]

Of course, there are limitations to this approach. Walker's fascination with conjectural history, for instance, can only be said to be but one of the many innumerable, inestimable intellectual currents that constituted his lived experience. Regarding the utility and historicity of biography as a literary form, Giovanni Levi writes that:

> …more than ever the biography finds itself to be at the center of historians' attention, but they also clearly stress its ambiguities. In some cases an appeal is made to the irreducibility of individuals and their behaviour to generalized normative systems, in the name of a life as it is experienced; in other cases, by contrast, they are seen as the ideal locus for testing the legitimacy of theoretical hypotheses as against reality and the operation of laws and social rules.[5]

This thesis very much operates in the second mode of historical-biographical study identified by Levi, even despite acknowledging that the full, holistic reality of Walker's life – insofar as it can possibly be observed – undoubtedly lies outside of its narrow grasp.[6]

In this respect, my approach to postcolonial biography differs significantly from previous work by, for example, Gillian Whitlock, insofar as it focuses on one relatively very well documented individual rather than several disconnected and under documented voices. I have, however, taken inspiration from Whitlock's approach to capturing the narrative complexity of experiences of empire through the analytical tactic of what she termed 'connected reading'. By bringing together disparate voices in her work, Whitlock conducted a reading of the female experience of empire which searched 'for supplementation rather than completion, for complexity rather than closure, for the making of truth rather than its revelation.' By doing so, Whitlock sought to 'configure the intimate empire in a series of (sometimes improbable) links' between different 'narratives, tropes, sites, figures and

[4] See again Holden, 'Postcolonial auto/biography'; Suleri, *Meatless Days*; Gates, *Colored People*; Said, *Out of Place.*

[5] Giovanni Levi, 'The Uses of Biography', in Hans Renders (ed.), *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory and Life Writing* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 61

[6] See also Binne de Hann, 'The Eclipse of Biography in Life Writing', in Hans Renders (ed.), Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory and Life Writing (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 183.

moments', rather than by taking one uniform life narrative as representative of this kind of experience in its totality.[7]

Furthermore, this approach has already been carried over into the biographical study of individuals from imperialist backgrounds. In the introduction to the volume *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire* (2006), for instance, Lambert and Lester have likewise suggested that 'reworked forms of biography must also address taken-for-granted assumptions about the centred and unified individual that lie at the heart of much life-writing'.[8] As such, although this chapter does draw together a chronological narrative of Walker's life as a starting point for justifying this thesis' broader arguments and for contextualizing my later episodic analyses of his lived experience, I do not insist in its narrative unity or historical representativeness. Rather, the disparate fragments of Walker's lived experience which survive through the inter- yet disconnected texts in his archive are taken up in an enterprise which seeks to pluralistically characterise Walker's lived experience by uncovering a series of thematic and structural links between the different discourses that populate his life writing.[9] Critically, the utility of this approach derives from the fact that the linkages which characterise Walker's lived experience likewise overlap with connections and statements present in wider Enlightenment and imperialist discourses. By focusing on the inconsistency and diversity of Walker's intellectualism, my biographing of his discursive activity serves to unveil the wide and inconsistent range of positions which the intersection between Enlightenment and imperialism made possible for British imperialists to inhabit, and to highlight the problematic tensions which sometimes arose when Enlightenment discourse was co-opted in the often philosophically contradictory project of justifying imperialism.[10]

A further respect in which my methodology differs from much previous postcolonial biographical study is in its focus on an imperialist rather than a subject of empire. Whereas here I deal with a historical individual with a clear (albeit highly subjective) archival presence, post-colonial theorists have often strived to recover and reconstruct subaltern subjectivities which were excluded from the metanarratives of empire and the imperial archive.[11] There is,

---

[7] Gillian Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), pp. 203-04.
[8] David Lambert and Alan Lester (eds), *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 20.
[9] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, pp. 31-33.
[10] See again Tricoire, 'Introduction', in Damien Tricoire (ed.), *Enlightened Colonialism*, pp. 5-6.
[11] Sandra Lila Maya Rota, 'The Limits of Postcolonial Autobiography and the Empowering Capacity of Life-writing for the Postcolonial Subject', *Linguæ*, 8.1 (2009), 47-63; Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Life-Writing: Culture, Politics and Self-representation* (London: Routledge, 2009); Amrita Pande, 'De(coding) 'Loose Women'

however, also already good precedent for applying biographical method to uncover the experiences of individuals from within dominant colonial cultures. For instance, Christopher Ferguson has examined the autobiographical writing of the nineteenth-century British tailor James Carter to offer a nuanced perspective on the relationship between Britain's metropolitan population and the British Empire. Within, Ferguson demonstrates that 'during the first half of the nineteenth century, working Britons' enthusiasm for, or opposition to, the empire depended heavily on its direct impact on their daily lives.'[12] As such, I contend that even a subjective reading of Walker's life which hones on how he experienced and practiced Enlightenment is necessary. This is especially so if it can shed light on how Enlightenment intellectualism served eighteenth-century British imperialists in the construction of perspectives and narratives which continue to obfuscate the broader consequences of their presence in India.

With regards to these kinds of narrative as they appear in the Walker of Bowland Papers, the most detailed source about Walker's life from his own hand is a series of autobiographical notes from the beginning of his retirement in 1812. The notes document his role in various military events and comprise the makings of a military and not a personal or intellectual biography.[13] There are however moments in which Walker includes non-military details. His accounting briefly for his efforts to end infanticide in Kathiawar is one of them. It also affords a glimpse of how he perceived the broader significance of his military career:

> The most memorable circumstance however which attended this expedition, and the most interesting to humanity, was the abolition of infanticide, a crime which had prevailed from time immemorial among the tribe of Jerejah Rajapoots. It was only by the greatest perseverance and solicitude for the object, that Major Walker was enabled to effect this important arrangement in favour of humanity and civilisation.
>
> Alexander Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', 1812, NLS, MS.13735, f. 12.

Walker's concern here for 'humanity and civilisation' reflects a more broadly popularised eighteenth-century perception of British national identity, in which a combination of the

in Colonial Archives', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 15.1 (2020), 1-16; Holly Collins, 'Reconstructed and Neo-slave Narratives in French: Filling the Gap Through Literature and Archives', *International Journal of Francophone Studies,* 24.1&2 (2021), 29-48.

[12] Christopher Ferguson, 'Autobiography as a Micrometer for Empire: How a Nineteenth-Century English Tailor was – and was not – an Absent-Minded Imperialist', *Journal of the Historical Association*, 100 (2015), pp. 83-84.

[13] Alexander Walker, 'Miscellaneous Autobiographical Notes of Alexander Walker', 1812, NLS, MS.13735.

Enlightened activities of self-improvement and the dissemination of civilisation across the globe was central.[14]

While this narrative privileged Walker's exportation of social progress as both an Enlightenment and a colonialist achievement, it was conspicuously silent on how his activity as a military imperialist was felt by its victims. Walker's lionisation of himself as a largely military figure in the remainder of his autobiographical notes also stands as a part of a broader historiographical problem, whereby imperialist narratives have worked to obscure the brutal realities of colonial violence, as well as the often problematic intellectualist pasts and legacies of similar figures from the EIC imperial cadre.[15] In response, this thesis strives to recenter Walker's engagement with Enlightenment and Orientalist discourses within its narrative of his life, and in so doing to arrive at a fuller understanding of the forms of narratology which motivated and underpinned his activity as an imperialist.[16]

Collessie and St. Andrews, 1764-80

Alexander Walker was born on 12 May 1764 in Collessie, Fife, and was the son of Rev. William Walker (2 Sep 1736 – 14 Nov 1771), Minister of Collessie Kirk, and Margaret Manderston (Est. 1728 – 2 Dec 1810), the daughter of an Edinburgh merchant.[17] Efforts at family genealogy by his descendants have identified him as being the second born and eldest surviving of eight maternal siblings, Jane (b. 1762, d. unknown), Patrick (b. 1766, d. 1816), William (b. 1768, d. 1799), Magdalene (b. 1770, d. 1812), Isabella (b. 1771, d. 1853), Jean (b. 1775, d. unknown) and Mary (b. 1781, d. unknown).[18] Alexander Walker's father died in 1771, likely putting his branch of the Walker family's financial wellbeing into question, and also likely prompting a move for the young Alexander to study at the University at St. Andrews. Beforehand, it is possible that Walker was educated at the parish school in Collessie, although he may have been educated privately by his father or a tutor.[19]

[14] Joanna Frew, 'Scots and the Imposition of Improvement in South India', in T. M. Devine and A. McCarthy (eds), *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c. 1700 to the Present: Settlers and Sojourners* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 105-06, 111-12.
[15] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, pp. 48-49, 80-83.
[16] Nunning and Nunning, 'Fictions of Empire and the Making of Imperialist Mentalities', pp. 173, 177-78.
[17] E. I. Carlyle, 'Walker, Alexander', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28467?rskey=T5uqzj&result=1 [accessed 28 March 2022].
[18] Jim Walker, 'Alexander Walker (1764-1831)', *Wikitree*, https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Walker-2826#S261 [accessed 31 May 2022]
[19] Andrew Walker, 'Number XXXVI. Parish of Collessie (County of Fife)', in John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 1791-1845*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1792), pp. 416-419, 419.

William Walker was survived by his brothers Thomas (b. 1729, d. 1794) and James (b. 1731, d. 1802), and was succeeded by Andrew Walker (b. 1742, d. 1820) as the Minister at Collessie. The precise nature of Andrew Walker's familial connection to William Walker is unclear, with William hailing from St. Fort, Fife, and Andrew being born near Castle Heggie, Kennoway. Both men were, however, connected with members of the Hay of Leys family, a cadet branch of the House of Erroll, and were educated at St. Andrews University. These connections possibly hint at how arrangements were made for the young Alexander Walker to attend St. Andrews University shortly after his father's death, although the details of how his enrolment came about are either unrecorded or hitherto unknown.[20]

Walker first started at the grammar school and university at St. Andrews in 1772/73, beginning among a Greek class taught by Professor George Hill. Evidence of Walker's reading at St. Andrews also survives through a student receipt book from the university library, covering borrowings between 1772 and 1776. Walker's choices in reading material at the St. Andrews University library, the majority of which he borrowed between early 1772 and late 1773, demonstrate that even as a child and teenager he entertained substantial interests in history and travel writing. Contemporary histories that Walker borrowed included Nathaniel Hooke's *Roman History* (1738-1771), Walter Goodall's *An Introduction to the History and Antiquities of Scotland* (1769), William Robertson's *The History of Scotland* (1759), Charles Rollin's *Roman History* (1739-41), and Robert Sibbald's *A History of the Ancient and Modern of the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross* (1710). In addition, classical texts borrowed by Walker included Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* and two volumes of Pliny the Younger's *Letters.*[21]

Walker's reading a selection of history books might come as no surprise given the heavy focus in eighteenth-century Scottish universities on the reading of history as an approved form of learning, one which was perceived to lead students on paths of self-improvement and to have taught them vital skills in organising knowledge.[22] As Paul G. Bator points out and as we have previously seen, during the Scottish Enlightenment the writing of history was

[20] W. S. Crockett and Francis James Grant (eds.), *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ: Synods of Fife, and of Angus and Mearns*, 1560-1900, Vol. 5 (Tanner Ritchie Publishing: St. Andrews, 2011), pp. 134-35.
[21] James M. Anderson (ed.), *The Matriculation Roll of the University of St. Andrews, 1747-1897* (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1905), p. 22; Unknown, 'Students' receipt book', 1772-1776, Muniments of the University of St. Andrews, University of St. Andrews Archive Collections (Hereafter UA), UYLY207/2, pp. 177, 191: Special thanks are due to Matthew Sangster for pointing me in the direction of this material. The work of the 'Books and Borrowing, 1750-1830' project, currently being led from the Universities of Stirling and Glasgow, made this research possible through the inclusion of the St. Andrews University library in their digitisation project on book borrowing records.
[22] Roger L. Emerson, 'Scottish Universities in the Eighteenth Century, 1690-1800', in *Studies on Votaire and the 18th Century*, 167 (1977), pp. 453-74, 453, 473.

considered an empirical method for conducting studies into the natural science of humankind, and as such was seen to have a near exhaustive range of instructional and practical applications for young minds in contexts outside of the classroom. This is especially significant, because Walker's exposure to this kind of teaching provides a solid explanation as to how he eventually came to use historical information and modes of discourse later on in his career in India.[23]

In addition, Walker borrowed George Anson's *Voyage Round the World* (1767) and *The Arabian Nights* (1706), as well as practical guides on surveying such as Robert Gibson's *A Treatise of Practical Surveying* (1767), 'Stewart's Geo. Propostory' and 'Lawrancis Surveyors'. Walker originally borrowed Gibson's *Treatise* in 1772 and borrowed it again in 1775.[24] The presence of these texts is possibly indicative of Walker's having envisioned a career in the East India Company or at least having aspired to travel and been fascinated with far off places as early as the age of eight or nine. His probably reading instructional books on surveying likewise suggests he might have been using them to ready himself for future service in the East India Company, gleaning from them practical skills he thought would be useful abroad.[25] Walker also borrowed novels and books of poetry and drama. These included Eliza Haywood's *The Fortunate Foundlings* (1744), the 5th, 6th, 8th and 9th volumes of a collection of *The Works of Alexander Pope* (1717), the works of William Shakespeare, and John Milton's *Paradise Lost.* Haywood's *Fortunate Foundlings*, a story which begins with a wealthy gentleman taking in two orphaned children, stands out among these texts as a particularly meaningful choice of reading for a young boy who had just lost his father. Lastly, Walker's reading at St. Andrews was also rounded out by his borrowing two compilation volumes of *The Guardian*, Isaac Newton's commentaries on the bible, a book of 'Hamilton's Comic Fictions', and a book attributed to William Saller (d. 1680), likely a Christian didactic text.[26]

Professor George Hill's class in Greek required a working knowledge of Greek language and included teaching on a broad range of connected subjects, such as instruction in rhetoric, logic and classical and civil history. George Hill went on to be a respected and published member of the Scottish Enlightenment literati, succeed William Robertson as the acknowledged leader of the moderate party in the Church of Scotland, and become principle

[23] Paul G. Bator, 'The Unpublished Rhetoric Lectures of Robert Watson, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at the University of St. Andrews, 1756-1778', *Rhetorica*, 12.1 (1994), pp. 67-113, 73; Ronald G. Cant, 'The Scottish Universities and Scottish Society in the Eighteenth Century', in *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 58 (1967), pp. 1956, 1966.
[24] 'Students' receipt book', 1772-1776, UA, UYLY207/2, p. 177.
[25] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 224.
[26] 'Students' receipt book', 1772-1776, UA, UYLY207/2, p. 191.

of St. Mary's college in 1791. In 1772, he had just purchased the Greek Professorship at St. Andrews University at the age of twenty-two.[27] Hill's later works predominantly consisted of theological tracts and published lectures, although the extent to which his early lectures in Greek at St. Andrews took on an ecclesiastical bent is uncertain. In addition, students did not spend the entirety of their time at St. Andrews studying in one class, and in successive years Walker likely progressed into further classes in civil and natural history, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, and mathematics. Under the purview of natural philosophy and mathematics also fell the subjects of surveying and navigation, which suggests that these were likely courses of study for Walker.[28]

During his time at St. Andrews, it is also possible if not likely that Walker experienced the lectures of other important Enlightenment figures besides Hill, including Robert Watson, William Barron, William Wilkie and Hugh Cleghorn. These four professors in particular are significant for their cultural ties to Enlightenment literary circles, as well as for their intellectual connection to the varieties of conjectural and civil history taught by Adam Smith (and later John Millar) at Glasgow University.[29] Robert Watson taught at St. Andrews as the Professor of Logic, Rhetoric and Metaphysics from 1756 to 1778, and is known to have engaged closely with lectures on rhetoric delivered by Smith in Edinburgh from 1752 to 1756.[30] Watson is also chiefly known for his *History of the Reign of Philip II of Spain* (1777), a history which –despite honing especially on the life of Phillip II – served in part as a commentary on the state of sixteenth century Spanish society.[31]

Watson's successor from 1778 onwards was William Barron, who matriculated from the University of Glasgow in 1757. Barron penned two histories during his life, one on colonization in the ancient world and the other on British imperialism in modern Ireland.[32]

---

[27] Donald P. McCallum, 'Hill, George (1750-1819)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13274?rskey=6adlq0&result=3

[28] Ronald G. Cant, *The University of St. Andrews: A Short History* (Oliver and Boyd: Edinburgh, 1946), pp. 88-89, 97; Emerson, 'Scottish Universities in the Eighteenth Century, 1690-1800', p. 467.

[29] Ronald L. Meek, 'New light on Adam Smith's Glasgow lectures on Jurisprudence', *History of Political Economy*, 8.4 (1976), pp. 442-43, 451-54, 463-66.

[30] Bator, 'The Unpublished Rhetoric Lectures of Robert Watson, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at the University of St. Andrews, 1756-1778', pp. 67-69; Jeffrey R. Smitten, 'Watson, Robert', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28861?rskey=oW9zzu&result=5 [accessed 9 February 2023]

[31] Robert Watson, *The History of the Reign of Phillip the Second, King of Spain* (Edinburgh: J. Balfour and W. Creech, 1777), Vols. 1-2.

[32] David Allan, 'Barron, William', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-66118?rskey=ZJUA0F&result=5 [accessed 9 February 2023]

Barron's *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity* (1777) is a particularly vivid embodiment of how the conjectural method facilitated speculation on the general mechanics of human nature and social progress, in particular via the use of examples from across history to establish common historical occurrences or 'rules'. Within, Barron drew on instances of colonization in the ancient world to parallel the British settlement of the Americas and did so in the course of advocating for American representation in Westminster.[33] His *History of the Political Connection between England and Ireland from the reign of Henry II* (1780) likewise adopted the broader lens and language of 'philosophical history', and frequently provided analyses on the progress (or lack thereof) Irish civilisation had made throughout history.[34]

William Wilkie, the Chair of Natural Philosophy at St. Andrews from 1759, was influenced in his teaching by Robert Watson. Although Wilkie never published in history during his lifetime, his teaching is known to have leant into his scientific learning, especially with regards to agriculture. This leaning likely also extended to his covering the relationship between agricultural production and population growth, subjects of enquiry covered both by Adam Smith and, famously, Thomas Robert Malthus.[35] Aylwin Clark's biography of Hugh Cleghorn has likewise shown that Cleghorn was another of the St. Andrews professors of the 1760s and 1770s who was heavily influenced by the civil history of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Having studied under Adam Ferguson and Hugh Blair in Edinburgh, Cleghorn was then later elected to the office of the Professor of Civil History at St. Andrews in 1772, where he adopted Adam Smith's four-stage stadial model in his teaching. Later, when – like Walker – Cleghorn set out for a short-lived career in the East India Company, he also brought with him 'the sort of mind that the great Scottish philosophers sought to train.'[36]

Aside from the likelihood that Walker was exposed to teaching on the four-stage theory of human social development, we know for certain that Walker was enrolled in a class studying under a Professor of Greek, that he voluntarily borrowed Pliny and Plutarch from the St. Andrews University library, and that he continued to maintain a substantial interest in ancient

[33] William Barron, *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity* (London: T. Cadell, 1777), pp. 124-28.
[34] William Barron, *History of the Political Connection between England and Ireland from the reign of Henry II* (London: T. Cadell, 1780), pp. 6-8, 37, 130-31.
[35] Richard B. Sher, 'Wilkie, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29414?rskey=SLTW4n&result=4 [accessed 09/02/2023]
[36] Aylwin Clark, *An Enlightened Scot: Hugh Cleghorn, 1752-1837* (New York: Black Ace Books, 1992), pp. xv, 13, 28-29, 143.

history both in private and official capacities throughout his life. Because of this we might further extrapolate that the portions of the St. Andrews curriculum relating to classical source histories and travel narratives stuck with him especially. As we will see, Walker later dedicated time to jotting down reading notes on Pliny and Arrian while he was serving as resident at Baroda (see Chapters 4 and 5).[37] The knowledge of Indian history and geography he gleaned from these ancient historians, moreover, also formed the basis (once verified by etymological conjecture) for observations on India's topographical, demographic and political makeup as well as recommendations on EIC strategy and policy. Walker also, in time, came to regard classics as an essential part of his own children's education, setting his eldest son James on reading Ovid.[38]

Notwithstanding the importance of Walker's experience of the particular intellectual climate of George Hill's class in Greek and of the possibility he studied under Watson, Barron, Wilkie and Cleghorn, making too much of the instruction Walker gleaned from a particular teacher or text over others does perhaps run the risk of obscuring how Scotland's universities educated their students, namely insofar as they often sought to fit them with general skills and principles calculated to aid them in public life. In this vein, knowing that Walker received a formal education (and in particular studied history) at St. Andrews is therefore perhaps most significant for the purpose of making sense of how he developed his own modes of observation and notetaking across his life.[39] Matthew Eddy's *Media and the Mind* provides compelling insight into how students of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries utilised notebooks as 'media technologies that helped their makers and users interface with information in a meaningful and purposeful way', and, moreover, into how they were instructed to develop keen notary skillsets whilst studying in university settings.[40]

If we are to reflect upon Walker's style of writing with the kinds of activities Eddy associates with this process in mind, i.e. writing, drawing, annotating, mapping, codexing and categorizing, we might readily draw some rough ideas about how the text-based activities of

[37] Alexander Walker, '"Remarks on reading Pliny's history" and a draft introduction to MS.13917: Translations of a number of 'Indians letters"', 1805, NLS, MS.13938; Alexander Walker, 'Memoranda which constitute Alexander Walker's "Remarks on Arrian's history and the voyage of Nerchus"', circa. 1805-1810, NLS, MS.13889-90.
[38] Alexander Walker, 'Private journal kept by Alexander Walker on the 'Repulse'', 1823, NLS, MS.13768, pp. 1-3.
[39] James Marsden, 'Ancient History in British Universities and Public Life, 1715-1810' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2016), p. 137; Terrence O. Moore, 'The Enlightened Curriculum: Liberal Education in Eighteenth-Century British Schools' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998), p. 1-3.
[40] Matthew Eddy, *Media and the Mind: Art, Science, and Notebooks as Paper Machines, 1700-1830* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2022), pp. 4, 22.

his schooling primed him for imperial service, and moreover how they prompted him to engage with, position himself vis-à-vis, and record information in ways which were logical, coherent, and empirical.[41] Much if not most of the learning at St. Andrews was conveyed to students like Walker through lectures, which he would have been expected to take down notes on and make faithful reproductions of. Attending lectures was a form of learning that demanded studious observation, so much so in fact that numerous modern editions of Enlightenment texts originally delivered as lectures – including Adam Smith's 1763 lectures on jurisprudence at Glasgow – exist today largely thanks to surviving students notes.[42]

Walker likewise participated in the culture of preserving lectures through notes, maintaining a copy of notes on a lecture on rhetorical composition given by William Leechman at Glasgow University, which he also lent to a fellow student, James Grant.[43] So far as characterising the influence of the eighteenth century university lecture format on Walker goes, the preservation of these lecture notes is evocative of the kind of utility a student like Walker might see in taking them, as well as in amassing a broader personal archive of his learning. He undoubtedly valued being able to re-read and reference his intellectual and educational materials both during his time in India and beyond, once he had also amassed an archive of his experiences there.[44]

Malabar and America, 1780-1801

Following his education at St. Andrews, Walker enlisted into the East India Company in 1780. He first attempted the voyage to India on the 11 June 1781. Walker recounted this journey in both his autobiography and the volume 'Farrago Libelli' – meaning a book which is confusedly written, or a collection of miscellany – and lingered especially on the drama of the subject.[45] While Walker's narration of the voyage was largely matter of fact, that he went to the effort of expanding at great length on this part of his life reflects that he likely imagined his voyage would be interesting to prospective readers, and that even at the age of sixteen he wished his writing to be a faithful and representative contribution to European knowledge on

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 37.
[42] Ronald L. Meek, 'Introduction', in Smith, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, pp. v-xiii.
[43] Alexander Walker, 'Notebook containing notes, undated, but circa 1780, from lectures on 'composition' given by William Leechman at Glasgow University', circa. 1780, NLS, MS.14096.
[44] Marsden, 'Ancient History in British Universities and Public Life', pp. 137-38; M. L. Clarke, *Greek Studies in England, 1700-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), p. 42; See also, for example, Alexander Walker, 'Arbores et herbae Malabaricae', Vols. 1-2, circa. 1800/1826, NLS, MS.13817-18.
[45] Alexander Walker, 'Volume entitled 'Farrago Libelli' by Alexander Walker, consisting of three chapters based on Walker's first-hand experience of India', 1781-1784, NLS, MS.13775.

the wider world.[46] After considerable delays, alongside four other East India Company cadets Walker reached Bombay on 17 September 1782. Following this, in his autobiography and 'Farrago Libelli' alike Walker dropped the subject of his journey, and the drama of its accidents, and instead moved on to cover the beginnings of his active military career and his military achievements (Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', pp. 1-2).

After a short period barracked in Bombay, Walker saw his first period of active military duty, when he fought in the then already ongoing second Anglo-Mysore War. On 12 December 1782 Walker – as a part of the army group of Brigadier-General Mathews – sailed southward down the Malabar coast to contest recent Mysorean conquests and relieve British forces, landing in Rajahmundroog at the end of the month. Walker fought with Mathews' army contingents until early January 1783, up to and including his participation as a standard bearer in the siege of the 'Fort of Cundapore'. Following this Walker managed to avoid falling into captivity with the majority of Mathews' group at Bednore. This was by merit of his being transferred into the 8th Battalion of Sepoys, with which he served in the first British attack on and defence of Mangalore beginning in March 1783 (Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', pp. 85-140 / Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', ff. 2-3).[47]

Following the establishment of a temporary truce between the EIC and Mysore in August 1783, Walker volunteered himself into captivity as a political hostage, until 25 November, when both side's hostages were returned. Walker noted that he received 2000 rupees from the Bombay Government for his 'spirited and zealous conduct', an enormous sum of money which likely constituted the beginnings of the frequently unclear personal fortune he developed throughout his career. From here, Walker returned to the 8th Battalion, which he proudly recounted was newly re-designated 'the Grenadier Battalion' and which was garrisoned in Bombay, where Walker remained until December 1785 (Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', f. 4).[48]

The abundance of military information available on this period of Walker's life is owing not only to his later autobiographical notes, but also to his having kept a journal (which

[46] Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1-3.
[47] Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Pimlico, 2003), pp. 269-71, 274-77; Christina Welsch, *The Company's Sword: The East India Company and the Politics of Militarism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 147-49; See also Linda Robinson Walker, 'Jane Austen, the Second Anglo-Mysore Warm and Colonel Brandon's Forcible Circumcision: A Rereading of Sense and Sensibility', in *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal Online*, 34.1 (2013), p. 5.
[48] Roy Kaushik, 'Military Synthesis in South Asia: Armies, Warfare, and Indian Society, c. 1740-1849', in *The Journal of Military History*, 69.3 (2005), pp. 685-86.

eventually became his 'Farrago Libelli') on his experiences at the time. Although we know little of how he spent his time writing as a young soldier on military tour – i.e. where, when and how he recorded his thoughts – we do know that he continued working actively on the journalisation of his life, most notably in a volume recounting his experiences sailing to North America.[49] However, Walker's changing professional fortunes and progression through the East India Company's ranks at the beginning of his career did in time deeply influence the development of his writing style and his predisposition toward historical literary genres, forms, and structures. This was particularly the case as he gained access to new audiences and collaborators, and with this increased means of knowledge accumulation and literary production.[50]

In 1785, Walker volunteered to lead a military detachment on a voyage to Nookta Sound in modern day British Columbia. Backed by one of Bombay's most influential merchants, David Scott, and headed up by another, James Charles Stuart Strange, the expedition sought to establish a foothold for the East India Company in North America's lucrative fur trade. In order to achieve this, it aimed to establish a permanent trading post there, and Walker anticipated that he should remain there to lead it (Walker, 'Voyage to America', p. 1). Walker set out aboard The Experiment (which escorted a 350 ton brig named Captain Cook) from Goa in early 1786. During the voyage Walker kept a detailed record of his movements, noting that The Experiment resupplied in Dutch Batavia from the 30 January to the 9 February before proceeding via the straits of Macassar, 'Mindano', and the 'Palaos' to North America (only a few of the vast array of place names recorded in Walker's journal of the voyage).[51]

Once in Nookta Sound, however, Strange elected not to establish a permanent settlement, much defeating the point of Walker's presence. The group left behind one soldier – John Mackay, whom Walker interviewed years later – to observe Nookta's indigenous peoples, and sailed back to India in late 1786 via Macao (Walker, 'Voyage to America', pp. 6-7). In spite of its abbreviation, Walker did make intellectual use of the expedition by jotting down voluminous observations of North America's geography and native inhabitants in his journal. This episode is a particularly valuable example of Walker's intellectual approach to experiencing America, India and the world at large, in that it evidences a meticulously

[49] Alexander Walker, 'Final text of the 'Voyage to America' by Alexander Walker, which incorporates a number of additions and some illustrative material', 1785-86, NLS, MS.13780, p. 7.
[50] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', pp. 56-57.
[51] Alan Frost, 'The Pacific Ocean: The Eighteenth Century's 'New World'', in Anthony Pagden (ed.), *Facing Each Other: The World's Perception of Europe and Europe's Perception of the World* (London: Routledge, 2000), Vols. 1-2, pp. 595-98.

'scientific' approach to recording information, and his relying upon the comparative language of Enlightenment history to codify foreign peoples and places (Walker, 'Voyage to America', p. 63 onwards / see Chapter 3).[52]

As documentations of his experiences travelling, Walker's earliest texts at first instance appear relatively distinct from his later efforts at historical writing. In his 'Farrago Libelli', his positing himself and the British in India at large as the protagonists of the narratives he constructs is a recurrent trope.[53] However, not only were both his 'Farrago Libelli' and 'Voyage to America' written with subjects of historical interest in mind, but they also feature much of the same language and logic as his later histories, including the frequently reproduced conjectural-historical tropic descriptors 'savage' and 'barbaric' (used to describe Nookta Sound's population), along with their positive counterparts, 'civilised' and 'refined'.[54] Across both the earliest soundings out of ideas on human nature and racial difference within Walker's archive are visible, although these most frequently occur as part of Walker's observational language. In those moments in which Walker did elaborate on the philosophical implications of his use of conjectural language, he perceived the gaps in human difference between himself, Indians and Native Americans as wholly definitive. He moreover drew on this perceived difference – for instance, via observations on Indians' purported cowardice and Native American cannibalism – in the construction of his own self-image. In particular, Walker occupied an unambiguous position within these texts as a European observer of the 'other', existing as both its recorder and implied opposite (Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', pp. 379-80 / Walker, 'Voyage to America', 79 / see Chapter 3).[55]

On his return to India Walker rejoined the 8th Battalion of Sepoys and in 1788 was appointed a Lieutenant, under which rank he served when hostilities between Mysore and the East India Company erupted again in 1790. British success at the siege of Seringapatam

[52] For parallels between Walker and early-Enlightenment travel writing on Africa, see Roxann Wheeler, 'Limited Visions of Africa: Geographies of Savagery and Civility in Early Eighteenth-Century Narratives', in James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 18, 21-22.
[53] Homi Bhabha, 'Difference, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism', in F. Barker, P. Hulme, M. Iversen and D. Loxley (eds.), *Literature, Politics and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference 1976-1984* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 164.
[54] Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 61; Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 8.
[55] Troy Bickham, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 171, 181-83, 193; Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 2010), p.72. For more on the paucity of Enlightenment genres, see Karen O'Brien, 'History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68.1-2 (2005), p. 399; See also April London, *Literary History Writing, 1770-1820* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), pp. 16-17.

eventually forced Mysore into unfavourable peace negotiations, and a treaty was drawn up in February 1792.[56] In turn, the end of the Third Anglo-Mysore War led to the British conquest of half of Mysore's territory, and with this came the East India Company's acquisition of a large swathe of land on the Malabar Coast. A special commission, hereafter referred to as the Malabar Commission, was established to administer Malabar, up until the transfer of Malabar into the jurisdiction of the Madras Government and the subsequent institution of the ryotwari system there by Thomas Munro (Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', f. 5).[57]

In 1796 Walker was appointed to serve in the Malabar Commission as an assistant. His participation in the commission connected him for the first time with a private administrative discursive world built upon the sharing of information via letter, memoranda and essay. The Walker of Bowland Papers contain select, labelled handwritten copies of short writings by Walker and other commission members, which were especially concerned with local unrest in Malabar following the institution of British judiciary courts. This predominance of other authors in Walker's archive is indicative perhaps of the type of copy work Walker was expected to undertake as a junior member of the commission, although by the final years of the eighteenth century he had come to play a vital administrative and economic-advisory role. Indeed, he was later promoted to the commission's board of directors on 11 March 1800.[58]

Walker's participation in such a wide-ranging lettered correspondence suggests that he made crucial contacts (both for intellectual and career building purposes) via the commission, and moreover signifies some of his first known steps into the communicative realms and administrative mechanisms of the East India Company's Bombay Presidency and its orientalist subculture (which manifested particularly through the Asiatic Society of Bombay).[59] Indeed, among the company of other 'Scottish orientalists', Walker was far from alone in the influence he drew from Scots Enlightenment 'philosophical history' in his approach to Indian

[56] Alexander Walker, 'Series of twelve chapters probably based on original memoranda, 1785-1799, with additions between 1818 and 1822', 1785-99, 1818-22, NLS, MS.13783, ff. 1, 7.
[57] See Parimala V. Rao, 'Beyond Monolithic Colonialism: A Defiant Scot Against British Elitism, Thomas Munro's Policies on Education and Employment of Indians', *Paedagogica Historica*, 33.1 (2022), p. 6; See also McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780-1830*, pp. 39-76.
[58] Alexander Walker, 'Official memoranda and correspondence concerning the condition of Malabar and the activities of the Commission', 1796-1800, NLS, MS.13616; Alexander Walker, 'Official and private correspondence of Alexander Walker during his period as Military Secretary to General James Stuart, as assistant to the Malabar Commission and then as a Commissioner', 1795-1801, NLS, MS.13601-02.
[59] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', pp. 52, 56; See also Vishvanáth Náráyan Mandlik (ed.), *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1819), p. 317: Walker was listed as a member of James Mackintosh's Asiatic Society of Bombay in 1819, though he was not present for the inaugural meeting of the society in 1804, nor did he contribute to any of its volumes. It is likely that his posting in Baroda kept him from participating actively.

governance. As Rendall explains, while individual Scots orientalists adopted varying usages of 'philosophical history' in their careers and works, these writers were broadly connected by a shared willingness 'to apply a 'philosophical' framework to the history, including the ancient history, of Indian civilisations, and to the study of contemporary Indian societies'.[60] In his contributions to the Malabar Commission, Walker drew upon the teleological frameworks of human social evolution advanced through conjectural histories to explain local unrest along the Malabar Coast, which erupted in the 1790s following the Company's conquest of Mysore. He also drew on orientalist discourse closely related to 'philosophical history', including ideas reminiscent of orientalist discourse on India's 'ancient constitutions'. He did so particularly in relation to the right of the Company to govern in and on behalf of the 'nations' of Malabar, despite its seeking recourse to the application of 'tyrannical' forms of government, including martial law (see Chapters 2 and 4).[61]

Walker's increasing involvement in Company administration and socialisation was accompanied by a substantial change in generic focus in his private writing. Travel writing had so far suited Walker well to record and even exonerate his exploits, but by the 1790s he was beginning to accrue respect as a military and administrative mind in his own right, a door unquestionably opened to him by his promotions in rank and later posting to the Malabar Commission. Much of Walker's later writing, in particular an unfinished history of India and his 'History of Malabar', was heavily informed by knowledge he accumulated during his administrative career in Malabar. These texts include appendices made up of vast amounts of administrative letters, essays, and memoranda, and moreover feature chapters converted wholesale from these kinds of materials. Both kinds of material (Walker's reading notes on the one hand, and his administrative archive on the other) will be the primary focus of later chapters in this thesis, but it is also important to note that his historical compositions also drew on indigenous documentary evidence.[62]

A subject which heavily preoccupied Walker and his contemporaries in the Malabar Commission was the threat of a French invasion of India. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the War of the Second Coalition (1798-1802) in Europe – and Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign

[60] Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', p. 44.
[61] Ajay Verghese, 'Colonialism, Landlords, and Public Goods Provision in India: A Controlled Comparative Analysis', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 55.7 (2019), p. 1357; Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 125-26.
[62] Alexander Walker, 'Fair copy of 'History of Malabar', volume 3, by Alexander Walker.', 1821, Vol. 3, NLS, MS.13799; Alexander Walker, 'Transactions of the East India Company in Malabar, volume 1, taking the history of Malabar up to the death of Haidar Ali and the rise of Tipu', Circa. 1825, NLS, MS.13785.

in Egypt and Syria – played a significant part in precipitating the fourth and final Anglo-Mysore War. Walker was at the 1799 siege of Seringapatam, at which Tipu Sultan – the ruler of Mysore – was killed (Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', f. 6). In the aftermath, what remained of Mysore was folded into a subsidiary alliance with the East India Company under the restored Wodeyar Dynasty.[63] Though there is no explicit mention of this in any of Walker's biographies, it was during the subsequent looting of Seringapatam that he likely acquired a substantial collection of Persian, Sanskrit and Arabic manuscripts, which he cited regularly throughout his historical compositions (see Appendix 3).[64]

Notwithstanding the Kingdom of Mysore's defeat, Walker's written contributions to the Malabar commission and wider Bombay government policymaking indicate that even thereafter news of conflict in Europe and the perception that post-revolutionary France was an existential threat to the EIC occupied his mind and those of his contemporaries, and dominated EIC foreign policy and defensive strategy.[65] The influence of considerations provoked by the War of the Second Coalition in Europe on East India Company policy is especially evident in a later 1800/02 essay Walker wrote proposing general defensive strategies against possible French-backed incursions into EIC territory in India. Believing some degree of further conquest necessary to protect the EIC's western assets, Walker recommended that the Company mostly limit itself to expanding its coastal possessions in order to bolster British naval supremacy. He also identified the Indus Valley, 'the route by which Alexander [the Great] and other conquerors arrived in India', as a potential avenue of threat through which a French or French-allied force might attack.[66] To quash this threat, he further recommended striking alliances with and intervening in the affairs of the Maratha States. In the next few years, these proposals would actually go on to have closely predicted the nature of his political activity once he, along with the attention and resources of the Bombay Presidency, was posted northward to Baroda State (Walker, 'Memoranda on the state of India in 1800', ff. 5-7 / see Chapter 4).

[63] See again Colley, *Captives*, p. 267.
[64] Joshua Ehrlich, 'Plunder and Prestige: Tipu Sultan's Library and the Making of British India', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, (2020) 43.3, 478-92; 'Persian, Sanskrit and Arabic manuscripts of Alexander Walker', GB 161 MSS. A. Walker 1-168, 171-202 204-13, 218-22; Walker, 'Catalogue of Sanscrit Works', 1805, NLS, MS.13923; 'Catalogue Persian & Arabic works', 1805, NLS, MS.13924; 'Catalogue of histories of India in the Persian language', 1805, NLS, MS.13925.
[65] Amita Das, *Defending British India Against Napoleon: The Foreign Policy of Governor-General Lord Minto* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 4, 20.
[66] Alexander Walker, 'Memoranda of Alexander Walker on the state of India in 1800, and the governing of India in general and Malabar in particular in 1802', 1800, 02, NLS, MS.13828, f. 7.

Gujarat, 1801-1811

Outside of the military campaigns he led during his time in Gujarat, the subject of Walker's time as resident at Baroda State is one which he largely glosses over in his autobiographical notes:

> It would be tedious, and foreign to the objects of a Military memoir, to follow this officer's subsequent measures for the reform of the Guicawar state, and the consolidations of the Company's interests and authority. His services received, several times, the thanks of the Court of Directors; and repeatedly the thanks and fullest approbation of the Government General, as well as that of Bombay.
>
> Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', f. 9.

While serving to emphasise the extent of his military and political achievements, Walker's omissions here nonetheless obfuscate the significance of his administrative actions and the part they played in the East India Company's ongoing colonial expansion in India. As resident at Baroda, Walker established a political foothold for the Bombay Government in the north of India, one which it used to launch campaigns of colonial conquest and cultural imperialism into neighbouring Kathiawar.[67]

This came about through the consolidation of British power in the south of India and the transfer of the Malabar district into the jurisdiction of the Madras Presidency, following which the Bombay Government shifted its military and diplomatic focus towards Gujarat and the Maratha States.[68] While Walker remained in the south of India until 1800, he was to head further north following a dispute over the successorship to the title of Maharaja of Baroda State, which during the closing years of the eighteenth century had been drifting out of the Maratha Peshwa's sphere of influence.[69] Anand Rao Gaekwad's ascension to rule in Baroda was contested by his half-brother, Kanoji Rao, who called upon his cousin, Mulhar Rao, ruler of the independent fiefdom of Kadi (then referred to by Walker as 'Kurree'), for military aid. When Mulhar Rao raised a hostile army, the Company sent Walker to assist Anand Rao with a military force in return for territory and the right to collect tax revenues.[70]

---

[67] Christopher A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1989), p. 105; Deana Heath, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India, and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 154.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[69] Edward John Thompson, *The Making of Indian Princes* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 7-8, 16-17.
[70] Alexander Walker, 'Extracts from reports on negotiations with Malhar Rao', 1802-04, NLS, MS.13642, f. 1.

Mulhar Rao's defeat by the East India Company saw the ceding of territory in Kathiawar and Gujarat from Baroda State to the Company, as well as the installation of Walker as the first political resident at Baroda's Gaekwad court in 1802. During his posting, Walker exercised considerable political and economic influence over Baroda. His earliest actions were concentrated on administrative reform, clearing state debts and consolidating nominal Gaekwad (and British) military authority. Restabilising the Gaekwad's military supremacy (and thus establishing EIC military control) in Baroda State entailed Walker's enacting the brutal expulsion of a displaced and unpaid Arab soldiery, who – though once in service to Baroda State – seized Baroda's capital as well as the person of Anand Rao. The occupation of Baroda was, however, quashed in December 1802 after a siege by a British subsidiary force (Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', f. 8).[71]

This, alongside Walker's diplomatic efforts, helped to solidify Walker's place in Anand Rao's court, despite the outbreak of war with the Maratha States between 1803 and 1805, which left the Gaikwad family as the EIC's only remaining Maratha ally. This period, as Walker saw it, 'required the utmost exertion of the British power in India, and gave an active and enlarged range to the talents of the Company's political agents'. The course of the war thus saw 'Punch Mehals', Broach, and further territory in Gujarat subsumed into Company territory, and following it Walker established an 1805 subsidiary treaty between the Company and Baroda State. Consequently, the following years saw the East India Company seize control of the collection of revenues in further stretches of Baroda territory, most often in lands belonging to local rulers who acted as tributaries to Baroda State (Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', ff. 9-10).[72]

Walker's tenure as resident also further immersed him in the written realms of both local and wider EIC administration while also ever increasingly involving him in the production of Orientalist knowledge. Notwithstanding time spent actively attempting to reform the government of Baroda and responding to military and political crises, Walker used his residency as an opportunity to establish a broad range of correspondences and relationships with Indian scholars, including Brahmin and Shanhtri contacts as well as connections to Jain religious communities.[73] Though the exact means through which he acquired Indian language manuscripts for himself are uncertain, through these connections Walker likely sought out

[71] Luithle-Hardenberg, 'Alexander Walker of Bowland's "Account of the Jeyn"'.
[72] Thompson, *The Making of Indian Princes*, p. 26.
[73] See again Luithle-Hardenberg, 'Alexander Walker of Bowland's "Account of the Jeyn"'.

access to Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic scripts, some of which he brought back to Scotland, while many more were entered into his own efforts to catalogue Indian texts (see Appendix 3).[74]

There are several significant texts that can be traced to this time, including separate sets of notes on Pliny and Arrian (1805), and attempts at histories of Gujarat (1804), the Maratha Confederacy (1805), Kathiawar (1808), Indian agriculture (1808), and a general history of India attached to a chapter on 'Arghoon Khan and his descendants' (1809).[75] It is, furthermore, throughout these texts that Walker first began to develop a consistent historical style. Moreover, here his reliance upon conjectural historical ideas and language, especially with regards how his writing related to extant frameworks describing the typical historical development of societies, also shifted. While much of his Malabar writing deployed conjectural-historical language, he seldom explained the way he used it. From his time in Baroda onwards, a clearer sense emerges of how he understood the operations of human nature, and of which analytical categories he favoured when assessing the development of ancient and contemporary societies. Walker appears, especially from his 1809 draft history of India onwards, to have relied heavily on the notion that the cultivation of the human mind occurred separately from the advancement of social and commercial institutions, and to have avoided taking analyses of these institutions as straightforward reflections of civilizational progress (see Chapter 3).[76]

Rather, Walker tended to be interested in how individual citizens interacted with societal institutions, a subject of analysis which he folded into descriptions of the tenor of human behaviour during daily, or, as the case may or may not have been, 'civilised' life. Here, 'civilised life' and the extent of a society's 'civilization' corresponded to the extent of a people's mental faculties. At no point, unfortunately, did Walker explain how he envisioned the mechanics of this process in explicit, methodical detail. The same is also true about his ideas as to the extent to which the capabilities of the human mind and human behavioural

[74] Alexander Walker, 'Catalogue of Sanscrit Works', 1805, NLS, MS.13923; Alexander Walker, 'Catalogue Persian & Arabic works', 1805, NLS, MS.13924; Alexander Walker, 'Catalogue of histories of India in the Persian language', 1805, NLS, MS.13925.
[75] Alexander Walker, 'Historical account of Gujarat sent by Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan and intended to form the first part of 'The British transactions in Gujarat.', Circa. 1804, NLS, MS.13867; Alexander Walker, 'Notes for a Maratha history, circa 1805, with an introduction, 1824, by Alexander Walker.', Circa. 1805, 1824, NLS, MS.13936; Alexander Walker, 'Brief history of the peninsula of Guzerat, commonly called Kattywar…', Circa. 1808, NLS, MS.13839; Alexander Walker, 'Memoranda, December 1808, on agricultural matters, which form a draft of MS.13893: 'History of agriculture in India.', 1808, NLS, MS.13894
[76] Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 25-26, 35-36.

norms, or 'habits', as Adam Ferguson described them, were informed by any given society's external arts and institutions. He did, however, employ materialistic arguments largely by way of explaining historical examples of these processes, rather than as gestures toward fixed historical rules (see Chapters 3 and 4).[77]

The accumulation of historical information during his residency at Baroda served Walker in the production of a vast paper trail of administrative documents including internal Company correspondences and memoranda, containing but not limited to: An array of memoranda concerning the fiscal administration of Baroda; lettered artefacts of the process of establishing the subsidiary alliance with the Gaikwad ruler of Baroda; and volumes reporting back to the Bombay Government and Company Board of Directors on matters such as Walker's government reforms, disputes between local rulers (frequently concerning revenue collection), a later military campaign into Kathiawar, and efforts mounted against pirates in the Gulf of Cambay.[78]

Walker also penned several significant essays on East India Company strategy and policy in India, particularly in 1800, 1805, and 1812. As I have discussed, his essay of 1800 examined the possibility of EIC expansion into northern India as a pre-emptive move against France during the War of the Second Coalition, and likewise responded to previous French support against Britain for the Kingdom of Mysore.[79] Walker's 1805 essay, written in communication with Arthur Wellesley, also related back to war with France, in that it pertained to 'Considerations on employing negroes as soldiers in India' in lieu of white European soldiers otherwise fighting in Europe. Here, Walker leant heavily into the notions of racial difference implied by stadial theory and conjectural history. His policy recommendations were not only underpinned by a linear-progressive understanding of human social development; he explicitly recommended that African soldiers were unfit for EIC military service. The prose implicitly envisions Africa, India and the world at large as being cut across by 'national' and racial

[77] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', p. 25

[78] Alexander Walker, 'Miscellaneous memoranda relating to Baroda, many of which are concerned with financial administration', 1801-08, NLS, MS.13639; Alexander Walker, 'Copies of official correspondence concerning the Gaikwar's subsidiary treaty, June-October 1804, and about the Baroda reforms, December 1808-January 1809' 1804, 1808-09, NLS, MS.13663; Alexander Walker, 'Volume entitled 'Pirates, Cambay and Kattywar'.', 1805-08, NLS, MS.13675; Alexander Walker, 'Volume entitled 'Cambay', containing memoranda, 1808, concerning the administrative and judicial responsibilities at Cambay, with the findings in respect of the charges made by and against George Corsellis, the Commercial Resident, which include a very detailed breakdown of the trade of Cambay, 1806-1808.', 1806-08, NLS, MS.13678.

[79] See again Das, *Defending British India Against Napoleon*, p. 26.

developmental hierarchies, in which Britain was superior to its Indian and African counterpart 'nations' (see Chapter 4).[80]

Regarding Walker's contributions to EIC policy, the military campaign he led into Kathiawar constituted most of his activity from late 1806 to 1808. The expedition was first approved in December 1806 by Sir George Barlow, the acting Governor General in Council, and was conducted upon the urging of Jonathan Duncan. It was premised, at least initially, upon preventing incursions into Baroda territory by conquering hostile independent rulers along its borders. Walker received orders to march on 3 April 1807, at which time he assembled a military detachment to join the Gaekwad Maharajah's army, which was already active in the area. With both armies under his command, Walker led a successful assault on 'the Fortress of Kundorna Ranaka' on 27 November 1807 (Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', ff. 11-12).

Walker's 1806-07 letters on infanticide in Kathiawar to the secretary at Bombay, Francis Warden, represent the clearest iteration of his beliefs as to the mechanics of social progress across his administrative materials. Most notable is his reference to and implication of a correlation between a 'nation' or 'people's' degree of 'civilisation' and the nature of their social practices or 'manners'. As was explored in the introduction to this thesis, and will be expanded on in Chapter 4, Walker saw in the imposition of binding treaties between the East India Company and Kathiawar's local rulers a means to enforce civilised social practices, which he expected would subsequently engender correspondingly 'civilised' sensibilities and mental faculties.[81]

The crusade against infanticide moreover provided Walker with an opportunity to curtail piracy in the Gulfs of Kathiawar and Cambay, insofar as he extracted monetary compensation for EIC merchants from 'piratical states' and instituted ship inspections (Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', ff. 11-12). Through this activity, the East India Company took substantial steps toward indirect economic and political control in the region. Company power in Gujarat was additionally bolstered through Walker's infanticide treaties, which invested the Company with the nominal legal power to punish infanticide as it saw fit.[82] Though these treaties likely bore questionable legitimacy to the local rulers they enjoined, perceived

[80] Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"', p. 248.
[81] See Lifschitz, *Language and Enlightenment*, p. 21; Hans Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*, 2nd edn. (London: The Athlone Press, 1983), p. 36.
[82] Kavita Saraswathi Datla, 'The Origins of Indirect Rule in India: Hyderabad and the British Imperial Order', *Law and History Review*, 33.2 (2015), p. 324.

trespasses against them provided the Company with internal justification to seize property, estates and titles from Kathiawar's ruling castes from the 1830s onwards.[83]

Following his apparent success in Kathiawar, on 21 October 1808 Walker was promoted from Major to Lieutenant Colonel, though at this late stage of his career in India he reportedly began to suffer from ill health. After petitioning the Bombay Government for permission to return to Europe on leave, Walker embarked on the Earl St. Vincent in early 1809. His ship only made it as far as Ceylon (modern day Sri Lanka), however, before Walker was temporarily recalled back into Company service. In Walker's absence Futtee Singh, formerly Anand Rao's regent, led an army on raids in EIC Gujarati territory. In response, Walker resumed office in Baroda and led a second military expedition into Kathiawar, seizing several forts including the 'Fort at Khandadhar' and the 'Fort of Mallia'. After this campaign Walker briefly remained at Baroda, until in 1810 he set sail for England again. Once there, he officially retired from the Company in 1812 (Walker, 'Autobiographical Notes', ff. 15-16).[84]

Bowland House, 1811-1823

While second-hand information on Walker's retirement remains relatively scarce given the focus of his autobiographical writing on his long career in India, his informal involvements with the Company as well as his obvious investments in time spent studying and writing history stand out in a period otherwise defined by leisure and family commitments. In 1809, before having left India, Walker purchased the estate of Bowland House on the Scottish Borders for an unknown sum (likely using savings comprised of Indian prize money and EIC wages), where he started a family. He married Barbara Montgomery (b. 1770, d. 1831), daughter of Sir James Montgomery, Baronet of Stanhope, Peebleshire, on the 12 July 1811. Walker and Montgomery had two children, William Stuart Walker (b. 4 April 1813) and James Scott Walker (b. 2 July 1815).[85] Details from a journal written by Walker on his later voyage to St. Helena intimate that he held keen interest in the education of his children and sent them to a grammar school in Durham.[86]

During Walker's time at Bowland House, he also dedicated time and invested his personal fortune into improving agriculture and local manufactures, including logging, on his estate. Meanwhile, the architect James Gillespie Graham was contracted to construct the main

[83] Luithle-Hardenberg, 'Alexander Walker of Bowland's "Account of the Jeyn", p. 145.
[84] Carlyle, 'Walker, Alexander', in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] Walker, 'Private journal kept by Alexander Walker on the 'Repulse'', pp. 1-3.

building of Bowland House in Tudor Gothic style.[87] Walker also brought a vast collection of manuscripts and 'Indian curiosities' back from India, including statuettes and figures from the Hindu pantheon. Although they did not mention their positioning in the house, minutes taken by the Berwickshire Naturalist's Club in 1887 indicate that the statuettes remained on display throughout Bowland House as decorations well beyond Walker's passing, along with portraits of Walker and his father, Rev. William Walker.[88]

In 1812, Walker wrote a final administrative essay in which he made broad recommendations on British expansion in India, except this time he suggested that further territorial expansion – especially after gains made in the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-05) – would be unsustainable for the Company. Walker identified Malabar, Gujarat, the Carnatic and the central Indian interior as tracts of territory where the commercial output of agriculture and industry failed to justify military and territorial economic upkeep, and further recommended that the Company's relinquishment of these territories might ease its financial burdens. Because of Walker's notable change in position about EIC territorial expansion, this essay represents a marked turning point in Walker's administrative writings. Within its contents Walker also reflected a newfound awareness of Indian resentment against British rule, and moreover backed away, albeit gently, from his most condescending positions on the state of Indian society and manners.[89]

While, as in his previous administrative writings on India, his proposals were nonetheless still underpinned by Enlightenment history based understandings of the operations of human nature and national dispositions, his usages of comparative historical language and ways of thinking were deployed to argue for different ends. In fact, much of his past discourse was flipped on its head. In describing the people of Malabar, for instance, as having a natural tendency toward freedom and self-government, Walker argued for the unsustainability of

[87] Ken Hall, 'The East India Company man: Brigadier-General Alexander Walker', in *Christchurch Art Gallery*, https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/bulletin/170/the-east-india-company-man-brigadier-general-alexa [accessed 1 June 2022]; Historic Environment Scotland, 'Bowland House Including Garden Cottages, Walled Garden and Garage Block', https://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB17407 [accessed 09/02/2023]

[88] James Hardy, 'Report of Meetings for 1887', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, instituted September 22, 1831* (Berwickshire Naturalists' Club: Scotland, 1890), Vol. 12, p. 59; See also Unknown, 'Inventory of the entire contents of Bowland House, excluding the library.', 1860, NLS, MS.14053A; Unknown, 'General account books for the estate of Bowland', 1811-1861, NLS, MSS.14045-14049.

[89] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, pp. 10-11.

British government in Malabar. By contrast, in the 1790s, he used investigations into Indian human nature to reckon with the task of imposing British rule in Malabar in the first place.[90]

This shift in position was likely a reflection of Walker's response to broader political changes concerning the management of British India both at home and abroad. Whereas the generation of orientalist scholars to which Walker belonged stressed the importance of studying Indian languages and cultures, the early-nineteenth century witnessed a shift away from this brand of orientalist scholarship towards an 'anglicist' governing ethos which outright rejected Indian culture.[91] The predominance of this position – which was notably advanced through James Mills' contributions to periodical magazines and in his *History of British India* (1817) – coincided with the erosion of the East India Company's commercial and trading rights in favour of direct crown intervention in Indian affairs, through the successive renewals of the Company's charter in 1793, 1813, 1833 and 1853. This movement culminated especially in 1835 with Thomas Babington Macaulay's 'Minute on Education' and the English Education Act, which promoted the replacement of Indian languages with English in Indian education. Undoubtedly witness in 1812 to mounting political attacks on the orientalism of figures like Sir William Jones, Walker's essay occupied a defensive position both against increasingly condescending representations of Indian culture and the escalating expansion of Britain's Indian territories.[92]

Crucially, however, the purpose of Walker's 1812 recommendations was ostensibly the long-term maintenance of the East India Company's Indian empire in the face of enormous financial debts and military shortages. In this vein, Walker also argued in his 1812 essay for the inclusion of Indians within the Company's governments in India. This, again, was not so much envisioned exclusively as an act of justice, although Walker does strike at this note; rather, his argument, which was more than less conciliatory in tone, was that the inclusion of Indians in positions of power in Indian governance and education would acclimatise them to British rule, and secure for the EIC a more effective means of acquiring information, which Walker argued was requisite for the effective administration of India (see Chapter 4).[93]

---

[90] Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 31-32; Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, pp. 15-16.
[91] Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', pp. 44, 60-61.
[92] Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 112, 117, 120, 129; Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain*, pp. 214, 225-26, 245.
[93] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 21; Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 9.

Regarding Walker's private authorship, although he never made the full jump toward publication at Bowland House, he did nonetheless set about a long process of compiling his past writing into publishable forms. He also took time to create a significant amount of new material, of particular note being his autobiographical notes and a number of compilations of past memoranda, including a volume named 'Pirates, Cambay and Kattywar' (1820).[94] The now extant, final draft version of Walker's 'Farrago Libelli' was most likely finished in 1821, as was that of his 'Voyage to America' (although we also know he was working on the latter of these as early as 1817).[95] Other items include the majority of seven volumes on 'Historical notices of the people, religion and customs in different parts of India' (1818-25), the surviving fair copy of Walker's history of Malabar (1821), and a history of Indian state seals (1822).[96] Besides this, also, in 1814 he produced his notes on William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, likely from the comfort of his library (see Chapter 5).[97]

The reasons why Walker never formally submitted his work to a publisher are unclear, although a eulogy written by Edward Moor, Walker's Victorian biographer and author of *The Hindu Pantheon* (1810), does provide some hints:

> It may not be out of place here to remark, that a history of Guzerat would furnish as interesting a volume as any that could be produced on East Indian affairs… Whenever such a work may be contemplated, Major Walker's extended reports and correspondence, on nearly all those topics, would furnish abundant materials for the finishing hand of the historian. These reports are, it is believed, accessible. Major Walker's private collections are also very great. Had time and leisure permitted him to arrange them, the becoming reserve and diffidence of his nature might have yielded to the solicitations of his literary friends, as to their committal to the press.[98]

Though the surviving array of Walker's historical monographs is indicative of his having entertained an interest in writing and even publishing history over a long period of time, he

[94] Alexander Walker, 'Incomplete memoranda on the theme of the government of India, probably written after Alexander Walker's return from India.', Circa. 1812, NLS, MS.13950.
[95] Alexander Walker, 'Contemporary log of the voyage of the 'Experiment' from India to North West America, 1785-1786, with further comments and additions made by Alexander Walker circa 1817.', Circa. 1817, NLS, MS.13779.
[96] Alexander Walker, 'Fair copies and drafts of 'Historical notices of the people, religion and customs in different parts of India' by Alexander Walker.', 1818-1825, NLS, MSS.13872-13878; Alexander Walker, ''History of the Sicca, or State Seals, etc., etc., etc., in India', compiled circa 1822.', Circa. 1822, NLS, MS.18891.
[97] Walker, 'Account book, 1787, begun by Barbara Montgomery, later wife to Alexander Walker, but also used for notes, 1814, from 'Historical disquisition on India' by William Robertson', MS.14908A.
[98] Edward Moor, F. R. S., 'Brigadier-General Alexander Walker, of the Bombay Army', in *The Annual Biography and Obituary: 1832*, Vol. 16 (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1832), p. 42.

never chose to open his work to public scrutiny. Much of Walker's polished material – such as his 1825 *Ancient Intercourse with India* – also came about as the product of his repurposing old reading notes, letters to EIC colleagues and administrative essays.[99] On the one hand, this might indicate that Walker was most interested in making sense of his past career, and in consolidating his administrative writing as a form of private life writing. On the other, Walker did choose to adopt the format of the eighteenth-century history book, and to have many of his monographs bound and covered (at times mimicking the appearance, structure and content of texts such as Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*). This suggests that even if he never felt confident or ready enough to publish, he did likely did see himself as writing history in some sense.[100]

Even notwithstanding the possibility that Walker never did intend to be a public historian, the fact that he wrote several historical volumes to begin with is nonetheless evidence of his private participation in the Enlightenment literary cultures which surrounded the eighteenth-century book. Walker's activity also possibly marks him out as one among many private 'gentleman amateurs' who set about printing their own texts, and who in so doing imbued their own work with significance and meaning by providing it with physical longevity.[101] Further, there was a precedent of East India Company intellectuals making transitions into careers as historians come the end of their occupations in India, and while Walker never formally did so, it is possible to see him as a part of this movement. For instance, John Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone, two famous contemporaries of Walker's from within the Bombay Presidency, both published in their later lives. Malcolm released nine books on India, including his *Sketch of the Political History of India* (1811) and *The History of Persia* (1815). Elphinstone released two, including his *The History of India* (1841).[102]

Walker's writing at this time – as well has his personal collection of books – can certainly be taken as a reflection of a mature mind with a definitive set of interests. While he was particularly interested in at least privately writing and reading histories, Walker's engagement with Enlightenment discourse also included a broad familiarity with (and

[99] See again Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', 1825, NLS, MS.13888: The 'Ancient Intercourse' contains chapters (each originally written separately) which consist of close readings of Arrian, Pliny, Strabo and William Vincent.
[100] See Walker, 'Fair copy of 'History of Malabar', volume 1, by Alexander Walker.', 1821, Vol. 1, NLS, MS.13797: All five volumes of Walker's 'History of Malabar' were bound in quarto format, included title pages and contained a contents section which provided chapter summaries along with page numbers.
[101] See again Archer-Parré, 'Private Pleasure and Portable Presses', pp. 90-95, 106.
[102] McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780-1830*, pp. 41-42.

repetition of ideas from) texts hailing from a diverse range of intellectual traditions including natural and moral philosophy, poetry, and polemics, all commonly associated with the concept of Enlightenment and the revived interested in Classics that accompanied it.[103] While I want to elaborate on the range of Walker's interests in more detail at various stages throughout this thesis, even a precursory look at the contents of his library at Bowland is revealing. Its contents reflect clearly both Walker's particular interest in conjectural history, histories of civil society and natural philosophies originating from Scotland and Europe, as well as his engagement with texts emanating from orientalist groups and traditions. The libraries' contents also reveal – in subtle ways such as through the organisation of the library and the presence of books in particular spaces – that Walker probably associated Enlightenment history and orientalist scholarship as closely connected fields of knowledge.[104]

The library at Bowland House was split into north and south wings, spilled out into a separate drawing room, and at the time of recording contained the volumes of over 600 hundred different texts.[105] The entries for the 'South Side' begin with a twelve volume octavo collection of 'Robertson's Works' (which, based on the number of volumes recorded, can possibly be identified as the 1801 publication with an introduction by Dugald Stewart), followed up by Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* (1730-38), Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88), Robert Watson's *The History of the Reign of Phillip the Second* (1777) (1), a two volume 'History of Alexander the Great' (likely by Quintus Curtius Rufus, 1755) (5), and William Fordyce Mavor's *The History of England* (1804) (9), to name but a few. The 'North Side' contains copies of David Hume's *The History of England* (1754-62) (12), John Millar's *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* (1771) (15), George Buchanan's *The History of Scotland* (1690) (19), Edward Hyde's *The History of the Rebellion* (1702-04) (20), and the works of Cicero, Xenophon, and Herodotus. Further notable texts found on display in cabinets in the drawing room included copies of the 'Waverly Novels', 'Arabian Nights', 'Scott's Poetical Works', 'Burns Poems', the orientalist Alexander 'Hamilton's Essays' and Hugh 'Blair's Sermons' (4-5, reverse).

The library also included various titles on philosophy and political economy by Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, David Hume, Michael de Montaigne, John Locke and Thomas Reid,

[103] Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy*, pp. 37-38, 76.
[104] For a sense of how Walker's library reflected the reading choices of other Britons in India, see Chapter 2, and Graham Shaw, 'The British Book in India', in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Vol. 5, 1695-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 569-76
[105] 'Catalogue of the Library at Bowland House [Circa. 1830]', 1830, NLS, MS14053B.

as well as a large amount of poetry (Pope, Shakespeare and Ovid), religious literature (Bunyan, Milton and More) and a variety of botanical texts. Notable also is the presence of a swathe of orientalist texts emanating from India (often from alumni of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), especially periodicals and histories. The library contained a copy of James Mill's *The History of British India* (1817), books by John Malcolm, nine volumes of Sir William Jones' *Asiatick Researches* (alongside a separate collection of his complete works) and copies of the *Indian Magazine and Recorder*, *The Orientalist*, the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, and the *Asiatic Journal* (32). These books and magazines were dispersed across the North and South wings of the library without scrupulous distinction from other genres, and sometimes sat on Walker's shelves side by side with Scottish Enlightenment histories and philosophies.

Lastly, although in his retirement Walker had assumed a life of relative ease, he remained in contact with former East India Company colleagues, and frequent trips to London often also meant visits to the East India House. Whilst there he met and formed a friendship with B. S. Jones, with whom he continued a lengthy correspondence. It was here also that he met James Mill (through a mutual friend, W. S. McCulloch), who in 1819 enlisted him to provide feedback on the first edition of his *History of British India*. Letters between Walker and company contacts also reveal that he was communicating some of his work with them, with one letter dated 10 October 1819 mentioning his sharing and receiving feedback on an incomplete history of Kutch.[106] The extent of this activity, however, is unfortunately unclear, though it does also appear that James Mill was also among those who offered to aid Walker in his own authorial endeavours. Walker's disagreements with Mill over his representation of Indian society also reflect how Walker's attitudes on Indian society's social development had shifted away from the variety of harsh judgement he apportioned in his Malabar and Gujarat writings. Albeit, this was largely insofar as he occupied a favourable stance on Indian civilisation by merit of positionality vis-à-vis Mill (see Chapter 6).[107]

St. Helena, 1823-1831

By 1822, however, likely due to having exhausted his personal fortune, Walker made the choice to cut his retirement short. In a journal documenting the voyage from Britain to St. Helena, Walker recorded receiving a formal invitation from his now again colleagues at the

[106] Alexander Walker, 'Correspondence of Alexander Walker during his retirement', 1819, NLS, MS.13724, ff. 139-140.
[107] Antis Loizides, 'Induction, Deduction, and James Mill's "Government"', *Modern Intellectual History*, 15.1 (2018), p. 34; MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', p. 58.

East India House to take up the position of Governor of St. Helena on 4 April 1822. Despite this new responsibility, and the daunting prospect of the voyage from Portsmouth to Jamestown, he also kept up his historical writing well into his tenure as the Governor of St. Helena. His position as Governor, in fact, seems to have provided him with ample time to commit to study and writing.[108] Whilst on St. Helena, Walker completed his 'British Transactions in Guzerat' and a further series of 'Historical Notices' in 1824, his 'Ancient Intercourse with India', a general history of the East India Company and an introduction to a memoir of Tipu Sultan in 1825, and his 'Arbores et herbae Malabaricae' in 1826.[109] Notable also is a series of forty memoranda, drawn together from administrative materials he had written across his career in India, completed in 1826.[110]

Walker appears to have also taken an interest in improving the living conditions of St. Helena's population. A transcript of a general meeting of his government in 1823 records his proposal to effectively terraform the St. Helena by introducing alien fauna and flora, a process he aimed to enact through an agricultural and horticultural society made up of the island's residents (though it is unclear if this included St Helena's current/former slave population). The society appeared to have been successful, with its actions yielding a store of foodstuffs reportedly sufficient to feed the island for a year (made up substantially of potatoes), and outlived Walker's tenure as governor.[111] Beyond this, the purview of Walker's governorship extended to his making frequent assessments and reassessments of the island's land and naval defences, and communicating with and managing military officers.[112] Walker also oversaw the establishment of public schools and libraries throughout his tenure, and made efforts to construct an observatory on the island in 1824, applying to EIC contacts on the Cape of Good

[108] Alexander Walker, 'Private Journal kept by Alexander Walker on the 'Repulse'', p. 1.
[109] Unknown and Alexander Walker, 'Fair copies of 'Miscellaneous notices of various custims, manners and practices of India' by Alexander Walker', Circa. 1824, MS.138811-13886; Unknown, Alexander Walker, 'Memoir of Tipu, undated, written by a Maratha Sirdar in his service, with a draft preface by Alexander Walker, circa 1825.', Circa. 1825, NLS, MS.13795; Alexander Walker, 'Two copies and various drafts of an historical summary of the 'progress and transactions of the East India Company from their first institution to the present day'.', Circa. 1805, Circa. 1825, NLS, MSS.13939-19349.
[110] Alexander Walker, 'Forty memoranda on a variety of topics including: the war with Sindhea, the administration of Gujarat, the Baroda finances, Hindu marriage, Alexander Walker's departure from India, and other matters.', Circa. 1826, NLS, MS.13847A.
[111] Alexander Walker, 'Miscellany of memoranda and other papers concerning St Helena affairs, Indian topics and other matters', 1823-28, NLS, MS.13756, ff. 2-4.
[112] Alexander Walker, 'Copies of official letters of Alexander Walker as Governor of St Helena, chiefly dealing with military matters.', 1823-1827, NLS, MS.13753; Alexander Walker, 'Copies of official letters and instructions issued on behalf of Alexander Walker as Governor of St Helena to officers with various responsibilities on the island.', 1823-1828, NLS, MS.13752.

Hope for astronomical equipment whilst also offering the free exchange of any scientific information the project might glean.[113]

With that said, Walker's governorship on St. Helena situates him within another highly important area of historiography besides his involvement in British Indian imperialism, namely that of St. Helena's mixed history as a node in the Atlantic slave trade and then later an important part of its protracted abolition.[114] With the passing of legislation abolishing the transatlantic slave trade in Britain and the United States in 1807 and 1808 respectively, the British Navy established patrols in the South Atlantic Ocean to intercept illegal slave ships. Some among the more than 100,000 'Liberated Africans' from these ships were transplanted to St. Helena between 1807 and the 1860s, though prior to efforts at government-controlled emigration in the 1840s St. Helena served largely only as a depot for ships engaged in recapturing illegally enslaved Africans.[115] The arrival of the Liberated African Department on the island in 1840 saw a swell in numbers, and between 1840 and 1845 16,287 African emigrants passed through the island, largely on their way to the British Caribbean.[116] In 1842, St. Helena housed a temporary population of roughly 3,000 Africans, who faced colonial government co-opted forced labour when displaced into the two 'recaptured' slave depots at Lemon Valley and Rupert's Valley.[117]

Leading up to Walker's governorship the island's East India Company government had made little to no provision for former slaves, and only a few were absorbed into St. Helena's white community as domestic servants. Meanwhile, active slavery had continued on the island into Walker's administration, despite an edict in 1818 by his predecessor, Hudson Lowe, freeing children born of slaves.[118] Walker's government did begin overseeing the slow process of phased emancipation for St. Helena's over 800 remaining resident slaves with an 1827 slave

[113] Unknown, 'Reports and other papers., December 1827, concerning the East India Company's schools on St Helena', 1827, NLS, MS.13767; Walker, 'Copies of private letters, 4 August 1824-24 December 1827', 1824-27, NLS, MS.13754, f. 2; See also Alexander Walker, 'Copies of official correspondence which charts the bitter wrangle between Alexander Walker and his predecessor on St Helena, Sir Hudson Lowe, concerning the disposal of Napoleon's furniture from Longwood.', 1822-1825, NLS, MSS.13757-13760.
[114] Colin Fox, *A Bitter Draught: St Helena and the Abolition of Slavery, 1792-1840* (Society of Friends of St. Helena, 2017).
[115] Andrew Pearson, *Distant Freedom: St Helena and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1840-1872* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p. 14; Rosanna Adderley, *"New Negroes from Africa": Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 3, 74; Johnson Uzoha Jonah Asiegbu, *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation, 1781-1861: A Study of Liberated African Emigration and British Anti-slavery Policy* (London: Longmans, 1969), pp. 73, 79-80.
[116] Pearson, *Distant Freedom*, pp. 212-13.
[117] Monic Schuler, *"Alas, Alas, Kongo": A Social History of Indentured African Immigration Into Jamaica, 1841-1865* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 27-28.
[118] Fox, *A Bitter Draught*, p. 60.

valuation, conducted in preparation for the issuing of emancipation loans.[119] A letter by Walker to Major J. R. Carnac late in 1827 indicates that he believed that the process of bringing St. Helena's slave owners onside with abolition had been largely successful, though he also recorded that proposals to effect full emancipation had been frustrated by persistent disputes over the monetary value former slave owners ought to be credited in return for each emancipated slave. Meanwhile, the burden of paying for their liberty – notwithstanding external loans by Walker's government – fell on the slaves themselves.[120]

In early 1828, however, Walker's period as Governor of St. Helena was cut short when he suffered a stroke. On 31 January 1828 he gave a final address to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of St. Helena, of which a copy was made detailing his parting words:

> In a life of retirement I may be able to hope for some opportunities of observing its [the society's] prosperity and welfare and my utmost wishes will ever continue for the success and happiness of every individual amongst you… Liberty and prosperity are considered to form the basis of abundance and good agriculture. It is seldom found to flourish where those material rights of mankind were not firmly established. A sensible person has remarked that – "The earth, which multiplies her productions with a kind of profession under the hands of the free born labourers, seems to shrink with barrenness under the sweat of the slave. Such is the will of the great author of our nature, who has created man free, and assigned to him the earth, that he might activate his possession with the sweat of his brow; but still should enjoy his liberty."[121]

Not long after this, Walker and his family set sail back to England for a final time, landing in June 1828. Walker spent the three final years of his life there in retirement, dying in 1831.

Walker's promotion of abolitionist policy – though perhaps ostensibly incongruent with his participation in imperial expansion in India prior to 1811 – needs to be taken in the broader context of Scottish and European Enlightenment views on slavery. Though the rise of abolitionist sentiment in Britain in the eighteenth century undoubtedly, as Jennifer Martinez puts it, 'arose out of a confluence of factors, including economic change… and religious revival movements', the Enlightenment authors with whom Walker was familiar likewise fuelled and

[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 63-67; Walker, 'Copies of private letters, 4 August 1824-24 December 1827, of Alexander Walker.', 1824-27, NLS, MS.13754, ff. 42-44.
[121] Walker, 'Miscellany of memoranda and other papers concerning St Helena affairs, Indian topics and other matters', 1823-28, NLS, MS.13756, f. 148-54, f. 153.

participated in increasing denunciations of slavery.[122] The French philosopher Montesquieu, in his *De l'Espirit des Lois* (1748), quipped that the 'state of slavery is bad of its own nature', while in Scotland Adam Smith, Francis Hutcheson, David Hume and John Millar publicly opposed slavery.[123] Where Smith launched moral, philosophical and economic critiques of slavery in his *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and *Wealth of Nations* (1776), he had been preceded by his mentor, Hutcheson, who in his *A System of Moral Philosophy* (1755) stated that without 'manifest necessity, the detaining of captives, especially women and children, in perpetual slavery, must be most unjust and inhuman.'[124]

The boundaries of definition and acceptability for Hutcheson, however, between slavery and other forms of indentured labour were slight, insofar as his attacks on slavery principally concerned slaves captured in war, not criminals serving hard labour. Millar, in his *The Distinction of Ranks*, had likewise attacked slavery, though he did so from vantage point of its tendency to stunt population and economic growth.[125] Indeed, the idea of slavery was often heavily caught up in Scottish Enlightenment stadial discourse, particularly as a measure of civilizational development and the capacity of a person or peoples for sympathy.[126] William Robertson's *History of America* (1777, 1796), when analysing the state of society of Aztec Mexico, for instance, posited that the fact that the 'great body of the people was in a most humiliating state' served as a proof that the 'spirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarised and bended to subordination, was prepared for submitting to [Spanish] monarchical government.'[127]

Opposition to slavery, as such, was not incompatible with the Enlightenment lights' more racialized and Eurocentric takes on human difference. While on the one hand calls against

---

[122] Jenny S. Martinez, *The Slave Trade and the Origins of International Human Rights Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 16-18; See also Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (London: Macmillan, 1975); Charles Duncan Rice, 'Archibald Dalzel, the Scottish Intelligentsia, and the Problem of Slavery', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 62.2 (1983); Anthony Page, 'Rational Dissent, Enlightenment, and Abolition of the British Slave Trade', *The Historical Journal*, 54.3 (2011): While Martinez offers a balanced overview of the historiography seeking to explain the rise of abolitionary sentiment, Anstey and Rice argue that the rise of Evangelicalism overshadowed the Enlightenment's contribution against slavery. More recently, Page has moved to recenter the importance of rational dissent and Enlightenment discourse.

[123] Alison Webster, 'The Contribution of the Scottish Enlightenment to the Abandonment of the Institution of Slavery', *The European Legacy*, 8.4 (2003), p. 481; Charles-Louis Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, Vol. 1 (London: J. Nourse and P. Vaillant, 1750), p. 336.

[124] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: A. Kincaid and J. Bell, 1759); Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 2 (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776); Francis Hutcheson, *A System of Moral Philosophy*, Vol. 2 (London: A. Millar, 1755), p. 209.

[125] Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, pp. 302-305.

[126] Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, pp. 19-20; Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, p. 13.

[127] Robertson, *The History of America*, in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 10, pp. 288-90.

slavery often staked their arguments on the shared, universal humanity of Africans, Hume's infamous footnote in his essay 'Of National Characters' speculated that 'I am apt to suspect the negroes, and in general all the other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites.'[128] Likewise, Smith's 'characterization of the 'savage'' throughout his work, as Gust highlights, 'sits uncomfortably with the celebration of Smith as an abolitionist who championed the cause of the 'injur'd African.''[129] Alexander Walker's own opposition to slavery on St. Helena equally appears to be incongruous with his 1801 estimation of the capabilities of African soldiers, as well as his earlier participation in British imperialist conquest. This is especially insofar as he is largely silent on the exact nature of his colonial exploits, and actively presented himself either as a would-be-emancipator or a friend to Indian civilisation when he did deal with questions of slavery and colonial injustice.

Conclusion

The recording and circulation of Walker's address at the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of St. Helena, as well as his making it to begin with, exists as evidence of two connected but separate acts, one of ostensible benevolent generosity and one of subjective self-representation. Setting aside questions of genuineness and of the balance of Walker's abolitionary sentiment versus his earlier participation in empire, this address most certainly represents an important aspect of how Walker wished and intended to be remembered. Given that themes and sentiments of liberty could be commonly found at the heart of the histories of Scotland Walker parsed in St. Andrews, and were closely tied with Scottish Enlightenment culture at large, Walker's expressions on this subject might therefore have seemed to him to have been wholly in line with the part of his identity which was most Enlightened and cosmopolitan.[130]

And yet the episode of his life set in St. Helena nonetheless forms a stark contrast with the realities of his career in India, of his being employed in the East India Company at the height of its economic and territorial expansion. This is notwithstanding how Walker wished those aspects of his life to be remembered, through lists of military achievements and acts of heroism. Through this inconsistency, a duality between the ostensible incongruence and collusion of the selfhoods generated by imperial and Enlightenment cultures in the eighteenth

[128] David Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (London: A. Millar, 1758), p. 125; Emmanuel Eze, 'Hume, Race, and Human Nature', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 61.4 (2000).
[129] Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, p. 35.
[130] Cant, 'The Scottish Universities and Scottish Society in the Eighteenth Century', p. 1954.

and nineteenth centuries emerges. Hereafter, I take Walker's life narrative as evidence to suggest that it was wholly possible for British imperialists to access both forms of self-identification, sometimes together at once.[131]

In the next chapter I shift toward a process of interrogating Walker's life through the lens of a series of textual and thematic categories, including his use of conjectural history and his participation in wider eighteenth-century discourses on race. There, I argue that for men like Walker the cultures of the Scottish Enlightenment offered mediums for understanding the world – such as conjectural history – which permitted both powerful, positivistic visions of the self and the simultaneous disavowal of colonial violence, by means of visualising that violence as part of, or secondary to, paternalistic narratives of social progress and the place of the Enlightened Scot in the wider world. Additionally, by establishing a sense of how such discursive formations informed the justification of acts of imperialist conquest, I make a case for the direct connection between Enlightenment conjectural history, racism and colonial violence, and moreover seek to trace the historical footprint of this meeting of practices by mapping out the shape of conjectural historical discourse on the ground in India.[132]

[131] Catherine Hall and Daniel Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', *History Workshop Journal*, 84.1 (2017),, pp. 5-9, 11, 19.
[132] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, pp. 56, 223, 226, 246.

Chapter 2: Locating Discourse in Eighteenth-Century India

Introduction

Having taken a chronological view of Alexander Walker's life and intellectual influences in the previous chapter, this chapter now moves to outline the key discourses with which he engaged during his lifetime, and to situate his lived experiences in the context of the wider cultural practices of East India Company readers in the eighteenth century. In particular, it does so to provide a methodological platform for understanding the social contexts and physical conditions in which Walker read and wrote while in East India Company service, and as such serves as a blueprint for my subsequent episodic analyses of his written materials in the following chapters.[1] It charts, therefore, how the emergence of networks of British orientalist scholars in India during the end of the eighteenth century shaped the world in which Walker found himself by populating it with a specific range of texts as well as a number of like-minded colleagues, even if he did not feel the influence of this movement first-hand in Calcutta or Bombay.[2]

While my introduction explored Scottish Enlightenment history discourse in the context of emergent eighteenth-century Scottish and European nationalisms, this chapter begins with an appraisal of how eighteenth-century European overseas expansion generated new forms of information with which British imperialists had to grapple, before then examining the efforts of British Indian administrators to understand and govern India through investigations into India's 'ancient constitutions'. From here, the next section provides an overview of the broad presence the conjectural-historical mode in orientalist texts on India, along with an exploration of the wide variations in form and content that appear in these texts.[3] Afterwards, I then tackle the connections between conjectural history and eighteenth-century British conceptions of race and nationhood, before then addressing how discourse on climate, India's 'state of society', nationhood (or lack thereof), and religion fit within these wider concepts.[4]

---

[1] See Stephen Greenblatt (ed.), *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance* (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1982) for precedent on the utility of thick description. Likewise see Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class?*, p. 14, for work on the subject of 'interpretative communities'.

[2] Daniel E. White, *From Little London to Little Bengal: Religion, Print, and Modernity in Early British India* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

[3] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: The British in Bengal*, pp. 7-8.

[4] Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"'; Sebastiani, 'Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'; Eze, 'Hume, Race, and Human Nature'; Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race.*

Furthermore, in order to more accurately locate the above discourses and phenomena on the ground in India, this chapter also examines the distribution of Anglophone print culture and books in eighteenth-century India, and – in order to glean a sense of the 'types' of reader Walker lived alongside – outlines a series of prosopographical profiles of deceased EIC readers, whose libraries were recorded by the East India Company's judiciary courts in inventories of their possessions.[5] The purpose of this is to highlight, from moments of relative silence in the archive, individuals for whom the kinds of discursive experiences represented by Walker's archive might also have been possible. In line with this, this chapter then concludes with a reflection on the confluence of book history and history of reading methodologies with discourse analysis, highlighting how analyses of exceptional historical individuals like Walker (on whom source material is abundant) can shed light on the limits and possibilities of receptive encounters with past discourses.[6]

Imperial Expansion, East India Company Governance and India's 'Ancient Constitutions'

The subject of European overseas expansion is a good place to begin exploring these issues, especially insofar as it provides vital context about the kinds of information with which Enlightenment historians and colonial administrators were equipped. The increasingly global scope of European commercial and colonial expansion in the eighteenth century brought with it an influx of information on Asia, Africa, and the Americas, which posed new questions about the nature of human difference and the habitability of alien climates.[7] From early-modern fascinations with the strange and exotic emerged a new corpus of naturalism, spearheaded by the work of Carl Linnaeus and Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, which was increasingly driven by the empiricism of the Enlightenment era. Foreign peoples, once marvelled at, now began to be situated in global histories of humanity with growing confidence, and early taxonomists also began to categorise and situate different 'varieties' of humankind within broader understandings of the natural world.[8]

---

[5] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal, Madras and Bombay (1780-1937), BL, London, UK, India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/AG/L/34/27/1-425A

[6] Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006); See also Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms* and Chartier, *The Order of Books.*

[7] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 76; Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 5.

[8] Greenblatt, *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance*; Wood, 'The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment', p. 102.

Against the backdrop of these ideas, European colonial settlers and traders were also forced to reckon with their surroundings in new ways. In the Americas, as James Raven has shown, European settlers in colonial Charleston came to rely on books – and the knowledge and polite instruction they imparted – as 'lifelines of identity', and as tools for the preservation of civilization in a 'savage' environment.[9] Meanwhile, as the international slave trade boomed, and more and more ships rounded the Atlantic Ocean, European thinkers conceived of associations between blackness, degeneracy and the debilitating generational effects of tropical climates.[10] And, lastly, as the East India Company accelerated its expansion into India in the wake of the weakening and increasing regionalisation of the Mughal Empire following the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, an influx of new information and ideas to do with India's societal character and place in history were to dramatically shape the nature of British conquest and hegemony there.[11]

In the introduction to this thesis, I previously discussed how a host of Scottish thinkers including Adam Smith, John Millar, Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames, James Dunbar and William Robertson set about exploring the ways in which human behaviour was regulated across time by political, legal and commercial institutions.[12] Often inspired by Linnaeus and Buffon but especially influenced by Montesquieu's *De l'Espirit des Lois* (1748), these philosophers, beginning with Smith, developed ideas about the typical historical development of societies based on material necessity, the impulses of human nature, and geographical and climatic conditions.[13] In this framework, they constructed depictions of Native American, African and Asian societies with emphases on the relative development, or lack thereof, of these societies' manners, customs and institutions. Yet where Native American and African societies tended most often to be situated at the beginning of the Scots' developmental timelines, in Scots Enlightenment and orientalist scholarship alike Hindu Indian societies were frequently described as being caught in stasis at a middling stage of social development under Mughal rule, often likened to feudal Europe.[14] In this way, conjectural history intersected with and produced nascent explanations for Indian racial difference. These often hinged on the notion

[9] James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), p. 7.
[10] Andrew Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 12.
[11] Peabody, 'Knowledge Formation in Colonial India', p. 76.
[12] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society,* pp. 34-35.
[13] Höpfl, 'From Savage To Scotsman', p. 25.
[14] See James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Or the Central and Western Rajput States of India*, ed. by William Crooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), Vol. 1, pp. 153, 158, 166.

that India possessed advanced social institutions and practices from its ancient Hindu past, which were held back by what orientalists perceived to be Hindu India's religious superstition, history of subjection to Mughal tyranny, and social disharmony, as well as the long term deleterious effects of living in a torrid climate.[15]

Against the intellectual backdrop of the Enlightenment, EIC governors were also forced to grapple with recurring questions to do with the legitimacy and sovereignty of British colonial rule. The East India Company's precarious status as a crown chartered private trading company problematized the legitimacy of its territorial expansion throughout its existence. This issue became more challenging following the conquest of Bengal from Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah in 1757, along with the grant of Diwani (the right to collect land revenue) in Bengal by the Mughal Emperor to the Company in 1765, following the 1764 Battle of Buxar. From this point onwards, Sudipta Sen has argued, East India Company rule in India could not be separated 'from the nominal regality of the Mughals', insofar as the Company understood itself to be exercising rights to trade in and then later rule over Indian territories that were legitimately granted by the Mughal emperor.[16]

The period stretching from the late-eighteenth to the early-nineteenth century has also, however, frequently been understood as one in which the East India Company transitioned away from approaches to Indian governance that mobilised and exploited pre-existing Indian religious, judiciary and economic systems. The generation of orientalist scholars led by Sir William Jones largely advocated for the study of Indian languages and history, as well as utilising Indian forms of government and cooperating with Brahmin and Pandit scholars. However, the competing emergence of an anglicist wing of opposition to the orientalist establishment in the form of figures including James Mill and Thomas Babington Macaulay was to gradually reshape Britain's approach to its Indian empire. As Catherine Hall writes:

> A more interventionist concept of British rule was coming into play, marking the dominance of universalist understandings of humanity, now underpinned by a policy of anglicisation and assimilation, but with no Christian imperative. India should not be left in darkness; rather it should be remodelled, brought into modern times. This was part of a major reconfiguration of empire at this time: anglicisation and assimilation

[15] Jeffrey R. Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson: Minister, Historian and Principal* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), p. 230; Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, p. 59.
[16] Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. xiii.

were seen by the reformers as the key to a stable empire. But this required a powerful state, whether to tackle the plantocracy in the West Indies, the Brahmins in India, or the unruly Irish.[17]

This turn away from Indian governing precedents, indeed, was marked in practice by increasing crown and parliamentary intervention in Indian affairs, as well as the gradual emergence of a governmentalizing state, which sought to anglicize Indian conduct through positivistic means – such as educational programmes and newspapers/periodicals – that privileged British over indigenous forms of knowledge.[18]

Warren Hastings' famous trial from 1787 to 1895 especially marked a watershed moment in which these two approaches clashed, wherein the ostensibly culturally conciliatory approach of Hastings' former colonial government came to be superseded by a movement toward Burkean pragmatic conservatism and the kind of civilising mission later advocated by James Mill's 1817 *History of British India*.[19] Hastings' trial was, of course, the product of factors besides internal Company ideology, including, as Dirks has demonstrated, recurrent corruption scandals and controversy surrounding the Company's exploitation of Bengal following the Diwani grant, which led to the outbreak of the Bengal Famine in 1770. This is not to mention the financial damages done to investors in the Company – such as Edmund Burke – when the market bubble which formed in response to the Diwani grant collapsed in 1769.[20] The trial was, however, emblematic of a broader cultural shift towards 'anglicist' conceptions of Indian governance and education, which was itself to reach a tipping point with Macaulay's 1833 'Minute on Education' and appointment to the British government's Committee of Public Instruction in 1834.[21]

Nevertheless, Robert Travers has effectively connected how British orientalists justified East India Company rule in India to wider Orientalist discourse and intellectual movements before this shift in orientation. Orientalist justifications for empire, Travers argues, were often based on a view of the world's peoples as possessing their own various 'ancient constitutions'. This concept connected back to seventeenth and eighteenth-century political theory and conjectural history, especially inasmuch as the British Indian orientalists'

[17] Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain*, p. 214.
[18] U. Kalpagam, *Rule by Numbers: Governmentality in Colonial India* (New York: Lexington Books, 2014), pp. 35-36, 263-67.
[19] White, *From Little London to Little Bengal: Religion, Print and Modernity in Early British India*, p. 6.
[20] Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire*, pp. 14-15, 54-55.
[21] Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain*, pp. 225-26.

identification of Muslim and Hindu 'ancient [political] constitutions' in practice throughout Indian history coincided closely with the methods adopted for analyses of societies in conjectural history. One of the key arguments underpinning this kind of discourse was that observing India's 'ancient constitutions' during law-making and political administration would produce forms of government best adapted to the wants and modes of living that resulted from the 'national spirits' of India's different 'peoples'. This was a term (and category of analysis) which was also borrowed from Montesquieu's *De l'Espirit des Lois*, within which he coined the term 'spirit of the laws' to describe the reciprocity between judicial institutions and human nature.[22] In addition, Travers further explains, these discourses 'had a dual life in imperial politics: as a way of legitimizing empire in an idiom familiar to British elites; and as a way for policy-makers in Bengal of organizing new information about their recent conquests.'[23] As we shall see in chapter 4, Walker's archive further evidences Travers' arguments to do with the centrality of the concept of 'ancient constitutions' to British Indian governance and efforts collect information on India. While administrating in Malabar in the 1790s, Walker put these exact kinds of arguments to work in explaining – and developing solutions to – the civil unrest which erupted following the British takeover of the area from the Kingdom of Mysore.

Martha McLaren likewise describes the approaches to Indian governance of Thomas Munro, John Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone as having been organised around a perceived imperative to observe ancient Muslim and Hindu constitutional traditions, an approach which they underpinned using arguments – shared with conjectural history – to do with the universality of human nature. Most notably, while Munro's institution of the exploitative ryotwari system for distributing and taxing Indian land ultimately placed power over taxation rates and enormous economic benefits into the hands of the Company, it superficially honoured Hindu rights under Mughal tradition by carrying over previous Mughal structures for the sub-division of land. This was done, in part, under the pretext that continuity in Indian forms of jurisprudence would ensure harmony between the EIC and its recently conquered Indian subjects. Ideas to do with the legitimacy of British sovereignty and the ideal forms of East India Company governance in India alike therefore followed from the ostensible acceptance of Mughal sovereignty, which was itself understood through 'philosophical'

[22] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: The British in Bengal*, pp. 7-8.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 19; Welsch, *The Company's Sword*, pp. 20-22.

historical idioms for characterising specific 'nations' or 'peoples' and for predicting their behaviour in relation to the colonial state.[24]

Such investigations into 'ancient constitutions' predominantly concentrated on the 'ancient constitutions' of India's Hindu 'nations', which were extracted from orientalist translations of Indian texts and practiced by setting the Company's administration to work through pre-existing governing apparatuses inherited from the Mughal state. Through the conclusion of the permanent settlement of Bengal in 1793, for instance, the EIC maintained the previous system of zamindars (or provincial landowners, who leased land to tenant farmers) collecting tax on behalf of the Mughal Emperor and/or the regional Nawab in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Besides enabling the Company's economic exploitation of Indian territories, a key reason why this structure for the sub-division of land, taxation and regional authority was carried over was because it was perceived to have guaranteed the peaceful coexistence of India's diverse ethnic and religious groups under Mughal rule.[25] This perception was in part the product of comparisons drawn by orientalist scholars between Indian society and medieval Europe. In James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1829-32), for instance, Tod paralleled the division of land by Rajput princes in antiquity with feudal Europe, and attributed Hindu attachment to landed property and estates as being the product of strong bondages and obligations between land-owing Rajput princes and tenant farmers.[26]

Importantly, however, over time orientalist investigations into the histories of Muslim and Hindu peoples also produced shifting Orientalist tropes about both religions, along with the Mughal Empire's constitutional legacy. Where in the eighteenth century the Mughal Empire's continuation of Hindu systems for the distribution of land was sometimes perceived by colonial administrators as a source of social harmony between the Mughal Empire and its Indian subjects, in the nineteenth century this argument was increasingly reversed to suggest that Mughal rule had been excessively tyrannical. Indeed, generalisations about the 'oriental despotism' of East and South Asian nations often co-mingled with the notion that Islamic religious doctrine was itself a source of religious intolerance and political tyranny.[27] This popularised the idea that the despotism of Muslim states was inextricably linked to the

[24] McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780-1830,* p. 131.
[25] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 7-8; Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 2007), pp. 199-200.
[26] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. 1, pp. 153, 158.
[27] Michael Curtis, *Orientalism and Island: European Thinkers on Oriental Despotism in the Middle East and India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 35-37.

character of the Islamic faith, along with the idea – held by Montesquieu – that this was evidence of the social underdevelopment of Muslim societies.[28]

Imagery in line with this kind of thinking populated Edmund Burke's criticisms of the Hastings administration's corruption, although Burke did, however, flip the trope of 'Oriental despotism' on its head to implicate EIC over Muslim tyranny. In the nineteenth century, this kind of discourse was also used by colonial administrators to argue for the substitution of indigenous legal and administrative institutions for purportedly less despotic British governing traditions.[29] Ironically, the notion of Mughal tyranny was worked by EIC officials to justify the continuation of the British Indian colonial state. Historical views of 'Muslim tyranny' and 'Oriental despotism' also spawned tropes surrounding Hindu religion and society. As Ashley Cohen puts it, much Orientalist discourse posed the notion that because they were 'naturally servile, Indians were easily invaded by the Mughals, who ruled their conquered territory despotically, turning Indians into political slaves. The East India Company's conquest was thus justified as liberation, and the nonrepresentative character of its colonial government was rationalized as inevitable.'[30]

Racialized, Orientalist characterisations of Hindu effeminacy likewise populated EIC discourse on Indian governance alongside the historicization of the Mughal conquests. Sara Suleri highlights that 'the feminization of the colonized [Indian] subcontinent remains the most sustained metaphor shared by imperialist narratives', and throughout the nineteenth century – especially following the 1857 Indian rebellion – ethnographic contrasts between the manliness of 'Aryan' northern Indians and the effeminacy of 'Dravidian' southern Indians were underpinned by the idea that even Indian Aryans had been feminized through intermarriage with India's indigenous peoples.[31] As we shall see in chapter 3 Walker was among those in the EIC who repeated ideas about Hindu effeminacy and Mughal despotism. In his early journals as a young soldier especially, such as his 'Farrago Libelli', Walker's views of his Muslim opponents in the Second Anglo-Mysore War were shaped by associations between Islam and despotism. Likewise, Walker's opinions of the courage and martial capability of the Indian Sepoys he fought alongside also reflected tropes to do with Hindu effeminacy, although later,

[28] James Watt, *British Orientalisms, 1759-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 92-94.
[29] Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, 'Romantic Attitudes toward Oriental Despotism', *The Journal of Modern History*, 85.2 (2013), pp. 288-91.
[30] Ashley L. Cohen, *The Global Indies: British Imperial Culture and the Reshaping of the World, 1756-1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), p. 122.
[31] Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 16; Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 48-53.

in his administrative writings (see chapter 4), he also broke with these discourses by stressing a natural propensity in Hindu society toward political freedom.

Conjectural History in Orientalist Texts

But while we do know that justifications for British Imperialism and British approaches to colonial governance were often rooted in racial tropes concerning Hindu 'superstition' and effeminacy and Mughal tyranny, much remains to be uncovered about how these ideas were received by British imperialists, especially through the medium of Enlightenment culture and intellectualism. Many of the most widely read 'philosophical' historical texts about India among British imperialists, which were predominantly billed as civil histories or histories of civil society, contained conjectural historical portions. These included Robert Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire* (1782), Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* (1791), John Malcolm's *Sketch of the Political History of India* (1811) and *The History of Persia* (1815), James Mill's *The History of British India* (1817) and Mountstuart Elphinstone's *The History of India* (1841). While the subject of patterns in the readership of these texts will be taken up later in this chapter, their contents are discussed here to provide insight into how 'philosophical history' was applied to India within published orientalist and Enlightenment discourse. The Enlightenment sub-genre of civil history in particular (when fixed upon the subject of a particular 'nation' or area such as India) usually focused on tracing the evolution of political, cultural and social institutions, along with the ramifications of these institutions on the people of the specific society or societies in question.[32]

This was in some respects distinct from but nonetheless fell under the overarching category of 'philosophical history', which also included texts, such as Adam Ferguson's *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and John Millar's *Observations concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* (1771), focused more generally on how the principles of human nature affected societal development across the whole gamut of human history. The boundary between these genres/sub-genres on a book-by-book basis is often unclear; individual texts which were for the most part focused on civil history also frequently included conjectural sections. While conjectural historical writing tended to operate using comparisons between 'peoples' or 'nations' at different degrees of their societal development to facilitate historical conjecture upon topics on which little was known, writing focused on the civil histories of

[32] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26.

specific societies predominantly mapped out chronological narratives of national development and/or decline, sometimes with specific messages or purposes – such as to advise contemporary government policy – in mind.[33] Importantly, each variety of history shared tropes with important significations for the eighteenth-century reader. In both, descriptive categories such as 'manners' operated across a comparative spectrum of meanings covering and linked to the 'rudeness' and 'savagery' of unadvanced societies as well as the 'politeness' and 'advancement' of modern European nations.[34]

What is worth observing here is that civil histories, because they were often either linguistically influenced by or themselves an extension of conjectural history, frequently performed an implicit comparative function, conjuring associations between different 'nations' at different points in their social development. Because of this, civil histories sometimes invited ways of comparative thinking which were similar to the more explicit societal comparisons made in specifically conjectural historical tracts, and often served as extensions of the conjectural mode.[35] Though civil histories on India were often less directly focused on comparisons across the spectrum of social advancement (with some notable exceptions including James Mill), they were most certainly written and read with these ideas in the intellectual backdrop. This led some historians and history readers, whether professionals like William Robertson or amateurs like Walker, to intervene in their reading and writing against unfavourable societal evaluations of India.[36]

The lexicon of 'philosophical history' could also be applied by readers to the contemporary world they saw around them. And, moreover, when transplanted outside of history writing and used during daily life – i.e., in administrative contexts – the conjectural historical mode could be a powerful imaginative tool. In the hands of the Enlightenment Scots in particular, the assumption that human nature was a spatiotemporal constant facilitated delving into unrecorded history. Appeals to a range of 'typical' or natural processes could act as a methodological work-around for the absence of particular facts. If the historian accumulated enough examples of humanity at a certain point in its 'typical' development, then it was perceivably possible to extrapolate how people might act in other similar, unrecorded instances of this same developmental stage. Hence, John Millar could argue that because man

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[34] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, And The Limits of Progress*, pp. 10, 14-15.
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
[36] Iser, *The Implied Reader*, p. xii.

'is every where the same … we must necessarily conclude, that the untutored Indian and the civilized European have acted upon the same principles.'[37] To the same effect, Adam Ferguson proposed that if a group of children were to be 'transplanted from the nursery, and left to form a society apart, untaught, and undisciplined, we should only have the same things repeated, which, in so many different parts of the earth, have transacted already.'[38]

This assumption – that the operations of human nature were 'every where the same', or that at the very least one could draw patterns in history based on the predictability of human behaviour – was one of the predominant concepts which Walker relied on in his enquiries into ancient Indian history.[39] For instance, while reading William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition of the Knowledge the Ancients had of India* (1791) in 1814, Walker looked to Robertson's account of Alexander the Great's march south through the Indus Valley to make sense of how events might similarly play out should post-revolutionary France attempt a conquest of British India via the same route (see also Chapter 5). This kind of historical imagining also, as we saw in my introduction, allowed him to imagine a strategy to lead Kathiawar's Jadeja Rajput peoples away from infanticide by exercising changes upon their national disposition via the imposition of new social rules and institutions (see also Chapter 4).[40]

Conjectural histories habitually depended on first-hand accounts of places and peoples for evidence, taken from the testimonies of travellers and witnesses who ranged beyond the typically more abstracted historical-philosophical perspective of conjectural history and into the territory of literary styling. In the papers of figures like Walker, this trend included the composition of dynastic histories, such as Walker's 'History of Arghoon Khan' (1809), as well as personal histories detailing military campaigns.[41] Though history was generally professed in the eighteenth century to have been grounded in empiricism, and hence firmly entrenched on the side of fact against fiction, Karen O'Brien argues that this empirical grounding 'was not perceived to be at odds with literary modes of presentation.'[42] Importantly, histories with a narrative focus, or which contained narrative sections packed with literary devices, frequently

[37] John Millar, *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771), pp. ii-iii.
[38] Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, p. 6.
[39] Kroeker, 'The Science of Human Nature in the Scottish Enlightenment', pp. 227-32.
[40] Walker, 'Manuscript concerning Hindu Infanticide', 1816-1817, MS.13898.
[41] Alexander Walker, ''History of Arghoon Khan and his descendants…', circa 1809, and material for a history of India, undated.', 1809, NLS, MS.13957.
[42] O'Brien, 'History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain', p. 399.

brought historical individuals (sometimes even the author themselves) to the forefront of the text, or at least personified to some degree different nations or cultural/religious groups. This, all the while participating in a broader cultural movement toward scientific social theory.[43]

The historicization of India therefore had powerful implications for contemporary understandings of India as a 'nation' and geographical space. For the reader who discovered India as a place with a history, one which could be analysed and compared with that of Britain within a shared historical framework of meanings, this might mean the implicit positioning of one's own sense of history, nationality and race – and the meanings and assumptions attached thereto – against the idea of India and its peoples.[44] For readers like Walker, it could also often be desirable to develop a sense of one's own self as a navigator of this history and its site of origin, be it both in a literal geographical or an imaginative sense. Furthermore, history, as Towsey has pointed out, could be the site of deep contestations over the meaning and reality of the past and present, conflicts which shaped and were shaped by the pre-existing political concerns and identities of readers and authors. And in the context of British India, the concerns of colonial officials and soldiers differed from the average reader at home, as did the values which shaped their understandings of history. Often, the manner in which history was read and composed reflected wider debates on imperial expansion and entailed a keen focus on how best to govern India. Yet so far as Walker's writing goes, his ideas and ways of thinking also found their antecedent in the transplantation of Scottish Enlightenment thought into these contexts.[45]

Race and Nationhood in the Enlightenment

Other topics which preoccupied historical discourse in British India included contests over the nature of Indian peoples and Indian cultural and religious practices (resulting in tropes such as a purportedly inherent Hindu 'effeminacy'), as well as discourse on the effects of climate upon the bodies and minds of individuals and 'nations' or 'races' alike.[46] Besides the relation of these discourses to the emergence of the British Indian colonial state, however, a further significant and pernicious aspect of their historical legacy is their connection to the

[43] Christopher Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 35.
[44] Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, pp. 7-8; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, '"Can the Subaltern Speak?" revised edition, from the "History" chapter of Critique of Postcolonial Reason' in Rosalind Morris (ed.), *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), p. 26.
[45] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 17; Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1860* (London: Palgrave, 2007), p. 26.
[46] Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, pp. 1-2.

popularization, in the nineteenth century, of scientific racism, and to the solidification of skin colour as a marker of inherent racial difference.[47]

While Alexander Walker's discourses on human difference largely focused on 'nations' or 'peoples' as subjects of analysis, and frequently relied upon the concept of there being a 'universal human nature' as an epistemological underpinning for conjecture, there are numerous moments throughout his archive in which he eschewed the concept of human unity in favour of racial hierarchies. Walker's early journals, the 'Farrago Libelli' and 'Voyage to America', for example, categorised human differences in ways far more fixed than his later historical and administrative texts. Likewise, skin colour was a major factor in his description of Nookta Sounds' indigenous population (see Chapter 3). Perhaps most significantly, in 1805 he was posed by Arthur Wellesley with the question of whether he recommended enlisting African soldiers into the East India Company's armies. His answer not only made reference to African and Indian physiognomy as a possible explanation of their 'national characters', but made sweeping, derogatory generalisations across the broad category of 'negroe' to conclude that black soldiers were unsuited in temperament, courage and loyalty for military employment in India (see Chapter 4).

Though in the eighteenth century the term 'race' had not yet fully come to embody its later biological essentialist meanings, its significations had since the Renaissance gradually been shifting, as Nicholas Hudson explains, 'to describe ever larger populations.' The frequent use of 'race' alongside other group descriptors such as 'nation' saw the term embedded in the Enlightenment's language of human difference, and while these two terms – 'race' and 'nation' – shared similar origins and connotations in the medieval era, 'race' gradually came to take on its own distinct meaning:

> Travel literature of the seventeenth century contains a wealth of detailed description of innumerable "nations" in the non-European world. Writers of the Enlightenment, on the contrary, were more inclined to dismiss these national differences as insignificant, and to describe "Negroes," "Americans," or other continental groups as "races" with essentially common traits of body and mind. Significantly, "race" and "nation" derive from the same concept of "lineage" or "stock." Yet it was "race" that ultimately became

[47] Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*, p. 2.

> the major term of ethnographic scholarship, while "nation" was reserved to describe the political and social divisions of Europe.

This shift saw the increasing association of 'race' with the categorization of physical appearance, as well as its deployment to explain and understand supposed differences in human behaviour.[48]

Especially significant were the definitions of human 'varieties' provided by Carl Linneaus in the 10th edition of his *Systema Naturae* (1758). Within, Linnaeus outlined six varieties of homo sapiens, 'Ferus' (wild children and youngseters), 'Americanus', 'Europaeus', 'Asiaticus', 'Monstrous' (groups of humans allegedly shaped by their environment) and 'Africanus', which with the exception of 'Ferus' and 'Monstrous' were mapped out across the geography of the four known continents. Linnaeus' division of homo sapiens into varieties rather than subspecies is significant insofar as it implied these varieties were the product of contingent factors such as climate, as opposed to being stable types. Nevertheless, later editions of Linnaeus such as the 1792 English translation presented his divisions as a series of trinomials, possibly giving rise to the elision of this distinction. In addition, the 1792 edition also saw its editor, Johann Friedrich Gmelin, introduce his own alternative arrangement of the varieties of homo sapiens based primarily on physical appearance and skin colour, under the headings 'White', 'Brown', ' Black', 'Copper coloured', and 'Tawny'.[49]

Historians of the British Empire have also argued that throughout the long eighteenth century constructions of racial difference increasingly influenced the formation of English and British national identities. While the two terms 'race' and 'nation' were sometimes used interchangeably in conjectural histories alongside other categories of social division such as 'peoples' and 'tribes', in late eighteenth-century Britain the term 'nation' was also beginning to be associated with a range of new concepts – including capitalism and Enlightenment – coined to describe the birth of modernity in the European nation state.[50] As Edward Said argued in his *Culture and Imperialism*, the emergence of British nationalism was mutually constitutive

---

[48] Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"', pp. 248, 250.
[49] Carl Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae*, 10th edn. (Stockholm: Laurentii Salvii, 1758), Vol. 1, pp. 20-22; Carl Linnaeus, *The Animal Kingdom, or Zoological System*, ed. by Johann Friedrich Gmelin, trans. by Robert Kerr (London and Edinburgh: A. Strahan, T. Cadell, and W. Creech, 1792), pp. 45-46; See also Staffan Müller-White, 'Linnaeus and the Four Corners of the World', in K. A. Coles, R. Bauer, Z. Nunes and C. L. Peterson (eds), *The Cultural Politics of Blood, 1500-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 194.
[50] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 7-8; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), pp. 10-11.

with the practice and culture of imperialism, insofar as the relationship between Britain and its imperial subjects was central to defining the modern British nation. Namely, Britain was frequently defined in binary opposition to its colonial 'other', and as possessing social and political qualities (political representation, civil society, capitalist commerce, cultural and literary achievements) that its subject nations lacked. At the heart of this process was an epistemological distancing from Enlightenment beliefs as to the uniformity and interconnectedness of humanity.[51]

Where Hudson has stressed continuity between Enlightenment discourse on 'race' and nineteenth century racism, Palmeri has instead emphasised discontinuity between conjectural history and later developments in evolutionary theory and scientific racism. In contesting 'the view that either conjectural history or the three- or four-stage theory it sometimes adopted served as a primary source of "scientific racism" in the nineteenth century', Palmeri emphasises that Enlightenment historians 'were monogenists who viewed humans as a single species' whilst also stressing the Enlightenment usage of race to describe lines of descent in family, blood, class and rank. To be sure, Palmeri does emphasise that much conjectural history was ethnocentric. This kind of hard distinction between the Enlightenment concept of 'race' and nineteenth century 'scientific racism' does, however, risk obscuring the broader continuities in the usage of 'race' that occurred as and when both forms of intellectualism intersected with and were appropriated within 'lower' forms of xenophobic discourse on human hierarchy and difference.[52]

The degree to which Enlightenment intellectualism on 'race' was distinct from 'scientific racism' is, moreover, up for debate, especially inasmuch as the hardening of distinctions between 'races' in the eighteenth century came to be conflated with distinctions between different 'species' of human in the nineteenth century.[53] Among the Scottish Enlightenment historians that Hudson identifies as minimizing distinctions between individual communities in favour of broader presupposed racial groupings was William Robertson, who, in his *The History of America* (1777, 1796), 'devoted himself to understanding the general physiognomy and intellectual capacity of the whole [American] "Indian race" from Canada to Cape Horn.'[54] Though the grift of Robertson's work changed significantly by the time of his

[51] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. xxx-xxxi, 53-55.
[52] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, pp. 123, 283-84.
[53] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, p. 82.
[54] Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"', p. 250.

Historical Disquisition of India (1791), there are other examples of this. Lord Kames' *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), Silvia Sebastiani argues, constructed a stark 'contrast between the inertia and immobility of non-European savages and the dynamism of the Europeans', a contrast which itself 'constituted the turning point where emerging discourses about "race" and history as "progress" converged'.[55] Gust has argued convincingly that Dugald Stewart, 'like the majority of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, understood Africans to occupy the most extreme end of the spectrum of human diversity, and used 'the Negro' as a symbol of ultimate alterity compared to the white European man.'[56] David Hume's infamous footnote in his essay 'Of National Characters' constituted a similar act of racialized categorization, particularly as he speculated that 'there are four or five different kinds' of race.[57]

Emmanuel Eze famously connected this footnote back to the broader tenets of Hume's philosophy. Eze examined Hume's distinctions between mental processes as being either 'active' (pertaining to abstract thought and the awareness of object permanence) or 'passive' (pertaining to the perception of external objects, and the impression of sensations on the mind). He furthermore suggested that 'when Hume claims that no "Negro" is capable of "eminent … action or speculation," he is relying on these theoretical assumptions to state that the person is incapable of making active uses of reason.'[58] While interrogating Kames' *Sketches*, Sebastiani situates Kames' racialization of human difference amidst the context of debates between monogenetic and polygenetic perspectives on humanity's origins. The text itself, though it adopted stadial theory as an explanation of the typical course of human progress, questioned monogenetic conceptions of a universal human nature. This allowed Kames' to conduct 'racial speculation', which, as Sebastiani points out, 'was constructed on the exceptions to the general trajectory of progress: the "native" Americans, who did not leave the savage state, and the Celts who, though a society of hunters, have the characteristics of civilization.'[59]

Colin Kidd has further linked the religious divide between advocates of monogenesis and polygenesis to the development of modern conceptions of 'race' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by highlighting how 'monogenist anthropology' was primarily 'set out in scripture'. The 'intellectual respectability of racism', Kidd argues, 'depended crucially upon the gradual withdrawal of scriptural claims to police the legitimacy of philosophical and

[55] Sebastiani, 'Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', p. 2.
[56] Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, p. 43.
[57] Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, p. 125
[58] Eze, 'Hume, Race, and Human Nature', pp. 694-95.
[59] Sebastiani, 'Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', p. 13.

scientific ideas, a process inaugurated during the Enlightenment.'[60] Importantly, this was a process that saw full fruition in the nineteenth century. There were, of course, critics of scripture and religious institutions during the Enlightenment – accusations pertaining to David Hume's purported atheism, and likewise his critiques of the intelligibility of 'the existence of a deity with moral attributes', serving as cases in point.[61]

The embeddedness of many of the most prominent Enlightenment intellectuals within religious institutions, such as with William Robertson's role from 1763 as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, however, ensured a degree of synthesis between Enlightenment empiricism and religious doctrine. As Kidd sees it, 'the dominant strain of Enlightenment within institutions, such as churches, universities, and medical and scientific societies, attempted to reformulate an independent case for monogenesis on solid naturalistic foundations.' Critically, however, despite the tendency of monogenic thought to support the existence of a universal human nature and hence to oppose racialized conceptions of human difference, both sides of the monogenic/polygenic division sometimes leaned into emphases of human difference, particularly as and when 'monogenists detached their arguments from scriptural standards and formulated new scientific approaches to race'.[62]

Race in the Enlightenment was nonetheless by no means always perceived as a fixed category, as Dror Wahrman's analysis of Benjamin West's two 1764 engravings of negotiations between Colonel Bouquet and Delaware, Shawnee and Seneca Native Americans after the Seven Years' War acutely demonstrates. While 'savageness', or 'savage' appearances and behaviours, served particularly commonly in the Enlightenment as markers for human difference, the second of West's engravings – depicting a council fire after the release of colonist hostages – reflected a sense, as Wahrman suggests, of the erodibility of 'savageness' rather than any ideas of its fixity or of its inherent connection to race.[63] References to religion and clothing, as Roxann Wheeler also points out, moreover played important roles in the way that 'Europeans conveyed differences between themselves and others' in the eighteenth century.[64] That said, emphases on religion were a part of older discourses which, Wheeler argues, were petering out over the eighteenth century. Rather, by the end of the century and

[60] Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 81.
[61] Thomas Holden, *Spectres of False Divinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1-4.
[62] Kidd, *The Forging of Races*, p. 84.
[63] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, pp. 86-87.
[64] Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*, p. 14.

particularly from the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'the ideology of human variety broadly changed… to being articulated primarily through scientific categories derived from natural history that featured external characteristics of the human body.'[65]

As skin colour came to lie increasingly at the centre of attempts to rationalise human difference, so too did the significance of supposedly scientific explanations of blackness increase. Andrew Curran has argued in his *The Anatomy of Blackness* that investigation 'into the specific nature of African pigmentation' by early-modern anatomists began, in the Enlightenment, to take 'place alongside more sweeping conjecture regarding the precise nature and significance of the African variety.'[66] Explanations of blackness ranged from a reliance on the crude identification of anatomical factors such as bile to declarations on the causes of such factors, in particular ideas to do with the supposedly degenerative effect of hot climates. Among the most significant proponents of the idea that blackness was the result of exposure to tropical conditions was Buffon, whose 'degeneration theory' speculated that it was possible for the human body to undergo a complete racial transformation from white to black. Yet while Buffon's theory rested in part on the fixity of 'the overall category of the human', anatomists continued to manufacture beliefs about physical differences between black and white bodies, such as between internal organs.[67]

Attitudes towards India's Climate, 'Barbarism' and Religion

Climate theory nonetheless gained considerable currency as a discourse in the eighteenth century, especially when either included in stadial and conjectural history as a materialistic factor supposed to affect human development, or when adopted by imperialists to make sense of life in Britain's growing global empire. In *Imperial Bodies*, Elizabeth Collingham has described how Europeans travelling to India were often 'believed to undergo a subtle constitutional transformation', an idea which deepened into associations between the body of the 'nabob' and 'nabobess', tropical corruption, and unhealthy excess. These ideas responded considerably to the high mortality rates experienced by travellers to India, and were central to conversations on surviving its climate and the regulation of bodily norms.[68]

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[66] Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness*, pp. 1-2.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 121-24.
[68] Elizabeth M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 1-2, 7, 29.

As Mark Harrison has argued, this also translated into discriminatory rhetoric based on the differences between the climates of India and northern Europe. Despite some optimism about the possibility of making India a settler colony for Europeans throughout the eighteenth century, the assumption that India's climate was unsuitable for European bodies leading into contributed to the hardening of racial boundaries and class distinctions. As Harrison puts it, to 'admit the possibility of acclimatization was to admit that distinctions between rulers and ruled were less than fundamental.'[69] Subsequently, 'India and other tropical countries became synonymous with lethargy, effeminacy and decay', whilst 'medico-climactic discourse' came to be 'commonly invoked in order to account for the dynamism of European culture and the increasing dominance of European over Asiatic states.'[70] Meanwhile, this kind of discoursing produced progressively more derogatory assumptions to do with Indian bodily hygiene, resulting in mounting efforts in the nineteenth century to police sexual relations between colonial officials and native women.[71]

Beyond the purview of medico-climactic discourse, these assumptions connected to a wider shift into derogatory perceptions of Indian society as existing in a state of 'degradation' and, variously 'barbarism' or 'heathenism'. Eighteenth-century orientalists such as Sir William Jones evaluated India's relative social development with, as Hall points out, 'a recognition of the heritage of Hindu civilisation and the interconnections of Indo-European languages' in mind. Anglicist opponents of orientalism, on the other hand, increasingly positioned India at the bottom of the developmental hierarchical ladders outlined in stagist theory and conjectural history, which linked 'barbarism' at one end to 'civilization' at the other. While the orientalists had previously described Indian society in antiquity as occupying a golden age of civilization, and attributed its present lack of civilization to historical degradation and decline, anglicist writers such as James Mill emphasized 'that nothing could be learned from India's past.'[72] India in the then present was equally located as 'barbaric' in the relational dialectic with its 'civilised' modern European opposite, and with this came a body of comparative thought that defined Indian society based on its lack of the 'refined' manners and morals that typified developed societies.[73]

[69] Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, p. 19.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[71] Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), pp. 2, 9; Heath, *Purifying Empire*, p. 1.
[72] Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain*, pp. 208-10.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 266.

In addition, while discourse on India emanating from within the East India Company through figures such as Walker was largely secular, the British revival of Evangelicalism at the turn of the nineteenth century meant that conceptions of Indian racial difference were increasingly defined along religious lines. Throughout the eighteenth century the Company had largely opposed missionary activity in India on the basis that Christian proselytization would provoke resistance from Indian cultures. 'It was not until 1813,' Esme Cleall relates, 'when evangelical petitioning forced a change in the EIC's charter, that missionaries entered British India in significant numbers.'[74] From 1813, however, and especially after the removal of the need for the licensing of missions in 1833, missionary activity increased. And in Christian missionary discourse on India throughout the nineteenth century, the above mentioned dynamics of oppositional definition took on further connotations, serving to position the 'civilized', 'Christian' European against the 'savage', 'heathen' Indian.[75]

Likewise, nineteenth-century colonial histories of India regularly depicted it as being in a state of transition toward the kind of national statehood which, it was supposed, characterised modern Europe. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued, the imperialist narrative of British rule 'civilising India' justified the existence of the colonial state through the promise of a representative constitution over despotic forms of governance, modern over medieval systems of jurisprudence, and capitalist over feudal economies. However, colonial rule was also simultaneously perpetuated by the indefinite withholding of these promises. In the imperialist imagination, India was seen as incapable of modern nationhood, while 'the "Indian" was always a figure of lack.'[76] These discourses were similarly presaged by and often had roots within the ambit of eighteenth century stadial history, especially when eighteenth-century analyses of Indian religion, literature, culture, governing bodies and legal institutions determined that India had yet to develop the marks of a modern commercial society. The historicization of the caste system, along with perceptions to do with India's supposed lack of social, ethnic and religious homogeneity, also frequently served to disqualify India from the status of having reached the fourth and final stage of society and, in the nineteenth century, legitimate nationhood.[77] This was notwithstanding the occasional Enlightenment/orientalist view – argued by William Robertson – that the caste system represented an example of the

[74] Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 17.
[75] *Ibdi.*, pp. 3, 16-20.
[76] *Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe*, pp. 30-32.
[77] Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, pp. 17-18; Debjani Ganguly, *Caste, Colonialism and Counter-Modernity: Notes on a Postcolonial Hermeneutics of Caste* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 33-34.

early division of ranks in India's highly advanced ancient societies.[78] As we shall see in my analysis of Walker's 'History of Malabar' in chapter 3, the contention that India was a 'nation of tribes' rather than a homogenous national body politic served Walker as an explanation for, as he saw it, India's supposed lack of its own national historiography and literary canons.

Insofar as Indian 'barbarism' came to be conflated with an Indian 'lack' of the moral and social attributes which taken to define 'civilised' societies, the reasons developed to explain this supposed barbarism in the nineteenth century also operated upon ideas of racial difference, which revolved around Indians lacking what Ronald Inden describes as certain 'essences taken to be characteristic of the West'.[79] At the heart of early-nineteenth century explanations for Indian barbarism was the analysis of Hindu religion, which, as Inden points out, writers such as James Mill perceived as both being an over determining influence on Hindu social life and lacking a 'world-ordering rationality'. As Inden argues:

> Like other Anglo-Saxon philosophers of a secular stripe, he [Mill] used a theory of mind as a machine. This theory privileged the sense impressions (and especially for the Utilitarians, the reception of quantifiable doses of pain and pleasure). The imagination of this theory has the job of displaying images delivered by the senses. To the extent that it stabilized these images, its function was approved; to the extent that it rearranged them without regard to those sense impressions from which they derived, its use was simply a matter of distortion. So distorted was Hindu knowledge that the relationship between language and object was reversed. Instead of 'representing' reality, language among the Brahmans concealed it.[80]

This perspective, furthermore, produced ideas regarding Indian morality as being beset by extremes, extremes which were generated by the apparent disconnect between the Hindu mind and the sense impressions which were supposed to represent reality. Hence, as Mill saw it, why Hindu sensuality was able to dominate over the promotion of 'civilized' virtues such as 'chastity' in religious worship.[81]

In the view of the anglicists, these lacks might therefore only be supplanted through the adoption of British forms of education which exemplified the kind of 'rationality' taken to

[78] Robertson, 'An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India' in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 12, p. 294.
[79] Inden, *Imagining India*, p. 6.
[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 90.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

define the 'civilized' western world. Gauri Viswanathan's *Masks of Conquest* has illuminated, however, how in practice the transplantation of British literature into the British Indian educational curriculum (in preference to Indian forms of polite culture) was used by colonial officials to blind Indians to the realities of colonial violence and exploitation, as well as to encourage them to transform or 'improve' themselves in order to make them easier to govern. Under the context of colonial rule, 'humanistic functions traditionally associated with literature' such as Enlightenment practises of polite self-formation were charged with wholly new meanings, and came to be 'considered essential to the processes of socio-political control' underpinning British rule in India.[82]

Walker's archive likewise evidence strands of thought and practice that relate to this phenomena. In particular, the strategy he employed to outlaw infanticide in Kathiawar relied upon the notion that Indians could be changed, or at least encouraged to change themselves, through British legal intervention into their cultural practices. Walker's reliance upon treaties outlawing infanticide constitutes a contrast in approach to British Indian schools, insofar it relied upon forcible cultural policing rather than positivistic incentive. Nonetheless, Walker's campaign in Kathiawar represents an early crystallisation of later British strategies for colonial domination through cultural imperialism and the construction of a governmentalizing colonial state (for more, see Chapter 4).[83] Lastly, the inclusion of English literature studies in British Indian school curriculums also speaks to another correlation between Walker's ideas and those of later, nineteenth-century colonial administrators. Derisive European attitudes toward Indian literature and religion frequently operated, in nineteenth century historiography, to deny India a cohesive national past and the Indian of the creative potential of the European mind.[84] While eighteenth-century orientalist analyses of Indian literature offered a more diverse range of approaches and perspectives, which did indeed sometimes hail Indian texts as cultural achievements, negative judgements of the mendacity of Indian historiography and of excessive Hindu religious superstition also frequently underpinned arguments to do with India's social underdevelopment and, in turn, the essential racial difference of Indians themselves.[85]

---

[82] Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 3-4, 9-10.
[83] Heath, *Purifying Empire*, pp. 155, 201; See also Henry Schwarz, 'Aesthetic Imperialism: Literature and the Conquest of India', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 61.4 (2000), pp. 563-66, 568.
[84] Rama Sundari Mantena, *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology, 1780-1880* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1-4, 8-10.
[85] Jessica Patterson*, Religion, Enlightenment and Empire: British Interpretations of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 2-3, 155, 169-70; Daniel Sanjiv Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', in P. Fermanis and J. Regan (eds.), *Rethinking British Romantic History,*

The Distribution of Texts and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century British India

Recent research into colonial readers by Mark Towsey and Sharon Murphy, as well as older bibliographical studies by Graham Shaw, have made investigations into British reading culture in eighteenth-century colonial India possible by reconstructing the social practices relating to books of Anglo-Indians. They have also opened up new understandings of the significance of particular ideas and tropes imparted by books by mining deeply into the reading notes left behind by company soldiers.[86] Towsey, in particular, has emphasised the prevalence of 'informational reading', a practice whereby EIC men consulted literature, often history texts, on India in order to arm themselves with knowledge in preparation for their time there.[87] Likewise, in his reading notes on William Robertson and James Mill, Walker not only engaged in this same kind of practice, but did so in a way which further reinforced his self-image as an enlightened mind. This is particularly so with regards to the fact that not only did he mine texts like Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* for information, but, as well shall see in chapters 5 and 6, he also spent a great deal of time contributing correctives to them as a seasoned expert on India.[88]

Walker was not alone among men of the East India Company in engaging with these ideas discussed above. Beginning from the 1740s and continuing especially into the 1770s, 80s and 90s – the period marked by the existence, dismantling and echoes of the Warren Hastings administration – among the EICs upper echelons increasing onus fell on understanding India's peoples, cultures, religions and histories in order to govern it effectively.[89] Enlisting into its governing machinery, a considerable number of educated men rose through the EICs ranks whilst also plying their trade at history. Those who found their way into judiciary and administrative careers in the Company's three presidency cities, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, such as William Jones and James Mackintosh, formed the basis for networks of scholars uniting around orientalist institutions like the Asiatic Society of Bengal (founded 1784) and the Asiatic

1770-1845 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 54; Barrell, *History and Historiography in Classical Utilitarianism*, p. 69.

[86] See Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*; Sharon Murphy, *The British Soldier and His Libraries, c. 1822-1901* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Shaw, 'The British Book in India', 569-76; Priya Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[87] *Towsey, Reading History in Britain and America,* p. 224.

[88] Walker, 'Account book, 1787, begun by Barbara Montgomery, later wife to Alexander Walker, but also used for notes, 1814, from 'Historical disquisition on India' by William Robertson', MS.14908A.

[89] Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, pp. 20-21; Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: The British in Bengal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 7-8; MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', pp. 51-52.

Society of Bombay (founded 1804).[90] This is not to say however that men whose duties were military in nature and which kept them frequently on the move could not also engage in this kind of intellectualism. Alexander Hamilton, William Erskine, John Leyden, Alexander Murray, Vans Kennedy, Thomas Munro, John Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone, all Scotsmen like Walker, are only a few examples of a considerable generation of soldiers turned company intellectuals whose rise to prominence coalesced at the turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century.[91]

Moreover, it is also possible to locate commonalities in Walker's and his contemporaries' choices in historical reading. Some of the most promising sources for evidence on the reading choices and habits of Britons in India are the inventories of deceased estates kept by the Company's judiciary offices, which frequently list the books owned by British people who died in India.[92] These sources already been used by Graham Shaw to construct a general list of the kinds of literature which appeared most frequently in colonial libraries. These, Shaw argues, were dominated by poetry (Addison, Burns, Cowper, Dryden, Ossian, Southey and Wordsworth), then novels (Scott, Smollet, Sterne, Goldsmith, Swift and Defoe), philosophy (Bacon, Hume, Locke and Smith) and history (Mill, Gibbon, Robertson and Rollin).[93] This information has been used effectively by Margot C. Finn to document the material culture surrounding British patronage practices in India.[94]

There is more that can be done here, however, since assembling series of prosopographical profiles of individual readers using these inventories might also help us to distinguish between certain kinds of reader, and to identify patterns in readership at specific moments across the long span of these documents, patterns which might otherwise be subsumed in headline lists of popular texts. Take, for instance, the inventory pertaining to one George Hodgson, whose death was registered in 1781. His inventory begins by listing four volumes of *Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* by Richard Burns' (1755), and ten volumes

[90] David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: the Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhya, 1969); Keith Tribe, 'Professors Malthus and Jones: Political Economy at the East India College, 1806-1858', *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, 2.2 (1995), 327-55; William Crawley, 'Sir William Jones: a Vision of Orientalism', *Asian Affairs*, 27.2 (1996), 163-176.
[91] Martha McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780*-1830, pp. 41-42.
[92] See again Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal, Madras and Bombay (1780-1937), BL, London, UK, India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/AG/L/34/27/1-425A.
[93] Shaw, 'The British Book in India', pp. 566-67.
[94] Margot C. Finn, 'Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780-1820', *Modern Asian Studies*, 40.1 (2006), 203-31, p. 209; See also Murphy, *The British Soldier and His Libraries, c. 1822-1901* and Dora Lockyer, 'The Provision of Books and Libraries by the East India Company in India, 1611-1858', Unpublished Thesis, Approved for Fellowship of the Library Association, 1977.

of Charles Rollin's best-selling *Ancient History* (1730-38). His inventory also included work by Macpherson, author of *Ossian*, the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, copies of the literary magazine *The Spectator* as well as a bevy of orientalist literature, including the *Arabian Nights* and a volume of *Persian Tales*.[95]

Another example of the kind of individual detail on offer on colonial reading habits can be found in the auction records of the possessions of John Lewis, whose holdings merited a dedicated heading for books in his entry into the records. At the time of his death, he likewise possessed Burns' *Justice*, as well as eight volumes of Rollin's *Ancient History*, which were sold to a Mr. Mawer for 25 Rupees. In addition, twelve volumes of the works of Henry Fielding were sold to a Mr. Wilkinson for a substantial 52₹. This is also only to name but a tiny fraction of the listings in Lewis' collection, which includes large quantities of history (Hook, Robertson, Burnet), philosophy (Burns, Rousseau), classics (Pliny), imaginative literature (Fielding, Boyle, Milton, Swift) and poetry (Sterne, Macpherson). The books in Lewis' collection were highly expensive objects for this time period, a fact which speaks to the immense cost of assembling large personal libraries in British India, the immense personal wealth and status of individuals like Lewis, and the cultural value of the most sought-after eighteenth-century books.[96]

In the inventory of William Gaynard (recorded 1807), possessions are listed under headings detailing where they were found in the residence of the deceased. This level of detail – albeit uncommon in the records – offers insights into the material interaction of the deceased with his texts. It is possible, for instance, to identify secondary uses for books, such as display in areas of frequent access (making them the eighteenth-century equivalent of the coffee table book). The only book recorded in Gaynard's upstairs hall, for instance, was a 'Book of Caracaturs', which was also listed alongside '12 Medals', 'A Planetary Globe Block' and '2 Square Paintings'. It is also possible identify particular spaces used as libraries in such inventories – that the large bulk of Gaynard's books were contained in the 'East Bed Room' suggests that this space was a designated spot for reading, though it is unclear if it also served double duty as a bed room, as this heading suggests.[97]

[95] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal (1781), IOR/AG/L/34/27/2, ff. 36.
[96] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal (1781), IOR/AG/L/34/27/2, ff. 23.
[97] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal (1807), IOR/AG/L/34/27/37, ff. 70.

While making sense of this material poses practical challenges (not least because of stylistic and formic inconsistencies among the Bengal Court of Judicature's scribes and copyists), such inventories also usually include honorific details about each deceased individual, in accordance with their military rank, profession, or social standing. As such, where books are listed it is possible to say that a particular book was owned and that it was owned by a particular type of reader, and that even in some instances particular readers may have had certain aims in mind when reading. In the above examples, the frequent presence of legal tracts – Burns' *Justice* in particular – reflects the fact that many of the deceased included in the Bengal records were employed in Calcutta's law courts.

This information does come with the caveat that the presence of such information – where it is available – skews largely in favour of the wealthy and educated, who possessed greater buying power for books and for whom greater care was also taken when approaching their estates. In the inventory of the possessions of John Hunter (recorded 1787), a military officer's Ensign, there are no headings categorising his possessions, and while it is confirmed that he owned books, no information is given about this beyond his owning 'Eight different Volumes of Books'.[98] The account sales pertaining to Edward Wheler Esq. (recorded 1784), on the other hand, provide information on his books under a dedicated heading, and detail individual titles, authors, the number of volumes, the purchaser and the asking price in Rupees.[99] The inventory of William Pearson Elliot Esq. (recorded 1803) likewise contains a monolithic wall of text under the heading 'Books', detailing his possession of five volumes of Adam Ferguson's *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (1783), the works of Herodotus and Tacitus, several Bengali grammars, four volumes of Edward Gibbon's work as well as two volumes of the poetry of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, to name but a small sample.[100]

While systematic analysis of the kind above has yet to be conducted on a comprehensive scale, and the recordkeeping of deceased estates within the Bombay and Madras presidencies only began as of 1798 and 1822 respectively, work such as Shaw's has a great deal of information to offer on the distribution of different kinds of book among the British population in eighteenth-century India. However, though I argue that it is possible to come to productive resolutions on the impact of reading based on records of book ownership,

[98] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal (1787), IOR/AG/L/34/27/8, ff. 13.
[99] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal (1784), IOR/AG/L/34/27/6, ff. 86.
[100] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal (1803), IOR/AG/L/34/27/28, ff. 76.

evidence that reading actually happened in the first place must be found before any productive textual analysis of this process can take place.[101] Of course, literacy and book distribution are the best indicators of the degree to which the British in India consumed texts, and where literacy rates among a population (or part of a population) are high and books are known to have circulated, some conclusions can be drawn with regards to the cultural significance and impact of certain texts/textual types.[102]

Those men who were destined for roles as EIC civil servants (of which there were an average of some 600 at the turn of the nineteenth century) were not only required to be literate for their professions but were predominantly drawn from the 'middling sort' and petty gentry. From 1804 they were also routinely subjected to a formal education at the EIC college at Haileybury.[103] Literacy rates among British troops in India (who numbered 13,000 in 1796, 24,500 in 1806 and 39,500 in 1857, across both the Indian and Regular armies) are less easy to pin down, though it has been suggested by Peter Stanley that by 1852 60% of these men were likely to have been at least functionally literate.[104]

With regards to what kinds of books these kinds of individual might have had access to, we know few specifics about the quantities and kinds of book being imported from Britain to India before the establishment of the Indian Civil Service in 1858.[105] Yet despite this, Graham Shaw's research into the emergence of English printing presses in India has also suggested that importation was the primary means of bringing the Enlightenment book to India. Following the establishment of the first printing press in Calcutta by James Augustus Hicky in 1780, the late-eighteenth century saw a spread of presses catering toward European audiences, which largely produced dictionaries, Indian grammars, translations, religious texts, almanacs, calendars, and a significant output of periodical newsprint. The narrow selection of kinds of text provided by these printing houses nonetheless bears out the fact, as Shaw also concludes,

---

[101] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 10.
[102] See Reinhard Wittman, 'Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds), *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. by Laura G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 284-312, pp. 286-87.
[103] Colin Newbury, 'Patronage and Professionalism: Manning a Transitional Empire, 1760-1870', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 42.2 (2014), 193-214, pp. 197-98; David Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (London: Pimlico, 2005).
[104] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. 333, 335, 338; Peter Stanley, *White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India, 1825-1875* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), p. 43.
[105] For work on English-language book distribution in India from 1850 onwards, see Darnton, 'Book Production in British India, 1850-1900', *Book History*, 5.1 (2002), 239-62 and Joshi, 'Quantitative Method, Literary History', *Book History*, 5.1 (2002), 263-74.

that British reading audiences in India were largely dependent on book imports until the early nineteenth-century onwards.[106]

There have however been a number of promising studies focused on specific collections and book lending institutions before this time, such as on EIC factory libraries in the 1730s and 40s (Lockyer), EIC troop libraries from the 1820s onwards (Murphy), and – as we explored earlier – records of book ownership in EIC judiciary inventories of deceased estates (Shaw).[107] These studies have tended to suggest that British reading audiences in India partook in – and hence book imports mirrored – the popular genres and trends (poetry, novels, philosophy, history) of the domestic market in the United Kingdom, although due to a lack of quantitative evidence on book sales and imports we have few means to discern, with nuance, how purchasing trends might have also differed between the two locations.[108]

Conclusion

For our purposes here, what this leaves us with is the knowledge that for the most part the British in India were surrounded by texts, and that these texts were often products of the Enlightenment's literary, historical, philosophical and scientific cultures. Much less can be said, based on this information, about whether these books were in fact read at all, and nor is it possible to come to any concrete understanding about how or why these books were read. What ideas and themes did readers fixate most on in their reading? What relevance did Enlightenment discourses have to the practical concerns of British readers in India, and how did they shape

[106] Graham Shaw, *Printing in Calcutta to 1800: A Description and Checklist of Printing in Late 18th-Century Calcutta* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1981); See also Mrinal Kanti Chanda, *History of the English Press in Bengal, 1780 to 1857* (Calcutta: K. P. Bagchi, 1987).
[107] Murphy, *The British Soldier and His Libraries, c. 1822-1901*; Lockyer, 'The Provision of Books and Libraries by the East India Company in India, 1611-1858'; Shaw, 'The British Book in India'.
[108] This is only a narrow overview of the extant quantitative work to do with British literary practices in India, and excludes a vast body of works on Indian-language printing and practices. For collections of essays on printing and literary culture in South Asia from the 1500s onwards, see Abhijit Gupta and Swapan Chakravorty (eds), *New Word Order: Transnational Themes in Book History* (New Delhi: Worldview, 2001) and Abhijit Gupta and Swapan Chakravorty (eds), *Moveable Type: Book History in India* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2008); For work on competition between early Jesuit and Lutheran missionary presses on India's west coast, see Stuart Blackburn, 'Early Books and New Literary Practices, 1556-1800', in Francesca Orsini (ed.), *The History of the Book in South Asia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 105-58; For more work on the emergence of missionary presses in India following the first in Goa in 1556, run by Dutch missionaries, see S. B. Chaudhuri, 'Early English Printers and Publishers in Calcutta', *Bengal: Past and Present*, 87 (1968), 67-77, J. Mangamma, *Book Printing in India* (Nellore: Bangorey Books, 1975) and Anant Kakba Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginnings and Early Development* (Bombay: Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1958); For work on the popularity of British Romantic novels among English-speaking Indian readers, and on notions of 'high' literature produced among Bengali literary elites during the Bengal Renaissance, see, respectively, Joshi, *In Another Country* (2002) and Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778-1905* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

and motivate the day-to-day activities driving British imperialism? While answering these questions is beyond the scope of this thesis, I do posit that Alexander Walker can serve as an indicator of what the imaginative world of the common East India Company reader – to borrow Richard Altick's coinage, the 'English common reader' – might have looked like.[109]

Of course, Walker's world was undoubtedly not that of a hypothetical, uniform 'common' eighteenth-century British reader in India, but that of an exceptionally prolific, aspirational petty-gentry turned military elite Scottish reader, who – unlike the majority of rank-and-file EIC soldiers and servants – had access to exclusive opportunities for education, social advancement and financial enrichment. The archival imprint he left behind cannot be regarded as wholly representative of literary practices among members of the EIC, nor even close. What similarities Walker shares with his contemporaries are, however, significant, as is the fact that the imaginative and aesthetic literary and ideological realms he inhabited were shaped just as much by tradition and his contemporary peers as they were by *his* choices in subject matter, textual materiel and analytical perspective. Understanding who Walker was, moreover, from an intersectional vantage point over his national, class, and professional identities, can also in itself supply fertile ground for speculation about the way Britons hailing from similar sections of elite Scottish, British or EIC society may have responded to and been influenced by Enlightenment history and philosophy.[110]

The heavy intersection of conjectural history with Orientalist discourses in eighteenth-century India represents the most contingent component of Walker's engagements with these discourses. If the objects he drew from these discourses were relatively commonplace among those who engaged with Scottish Enlightenment culture and in the business of empire building respectively, the conceptual orderings that arose when he chose to intermingle these discourses were undoubtedly more unique to him. Though, of course, to grapple with the minutia of the experiences and psychological operations of any individual reader (beyond what we may assume for them based on market trends) is to return to the question of whether we can truly penetrate a reader's mind, not to mention the mind of a reader long deceased. It might also then be fitting to expressly (rather than implicitly) take the further step of setting aside a formalist view of the historical record – and the past as a whole – as containing objective truths, or true

[109] Altick, *The English Common Reader.*
[110] Iser, *The Implied Reader*; See again also Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class?*.

narratives, and to do this in isolation from and regardless of the paradigmatic shift provided by my chosen units of discourse analysis.[111]

This is to acknowledge that present histories are themselves subject to the imagination and subjectivity of the historian, especially inasmuch as they are abstracted by the historian from evidence of the past; or rather, such understandings are themselves, to a greater or lesser extent, and perhaps in our present context ironically, 'theorisations' and 'conjectures' of past circumstances. What necessarily differs between 'theoretical' and 'historical' approaches, therefore, is not so much the connection between evidence and the historians' narrative, but rather the density of evidence and/or the level of abstraction it is subjected to. In much the same vein as Northrop Frye's famous attempts to reconcile textual theory and history, where the nature of a group of readers is inferred from the nature of individual readers (as in Fish, Iser, and Altick's schemes for historicising reading experiences), further productive understandings can be crafted if sufficient care is taken towards the accumulation of evidence, and if sufficient self-consciousness towards the abstractedness and limits of our understanding of this past is exercised.[112]

[111] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, pp. 26-27.
[112] Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

Chapter 3: Travel Writing and Histories on India

Introduction

This chapter now initiates this thesis' broader project of charting the intellectual and ideological connections that constituted Walker's lived experience. It analyses historical episodes in which Walker engaged with and manifested Enlightenment and colonialist narratives on India through the act of writing. While the following chapter examines this kind of narrative practice/self-actualisation through acts of administrative writing, this chapter is interested in moments in which Walker wrote using literary forms associated with the intellectual and social cultures of the Scottish and European Enlightenments. Returning to Daniel Edelstein's arguments on the way individuals in the Eighteenth Century experienced Enlightenment, i.e., as a form of lived practice which was often constituted by but not limited to textual composition, this chapter considers Walker's various travel narratives and histories on India as evidence of acts of writing in which Walker self-identified as a participant in Enlightenment culture.[1]

By honing on how each of the texts analysed below reflect the range of identities Walker could take up when writing travel and history on India throughout various stages in his life, this chapter reflects how racialized discourse on Britain's Amerindian, African and Indian 'others' was central to British imperialist performances of white European nationality. For this reason, it also posits that colonialist attitudes toward 'race' and the 'nation' were deeply engrained in Walker's experience of the Enlightenment.[2] Indeed, one of the crucial connections this chapter draws between each of the discourse episodes covered here concerns how assessments of Indian society within the ambit of stadial schemes for human social development regularly involved Walker in projects of oppositional self-definition vis-à-vis constructions of racial 'otherness'.[3] In each of the texts examined below, Walker's assessments of Indian – and sometimes Amerindian and African – social underdevelopment frequently implied, by contrast, European modernity and social advancement.[4] This was even notwithstanding the conceptual tensions which arose between Walker's reliance on Scottish

[1] Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy*, pp. 2, 5; Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827,* pp. 4-5; Allan, *A Nation of* Readers, pp. 11-12.
[2] Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, pp. 7-8.
[3] Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, pp. 9-10.
[4] Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, p. 43.

Enlightenment conceptions of the universality of human nature and his tendency – enabled by the conjectural/comparative mode – toward racial hierarchical ordering and self-positioning.[5]

This chapter is also interested, further, in how Walker's engagements in historical writing reflected the discursive modes and concepts he adopted in his administrative writing. While chapter 4 will elaborate on these connections in more detail, this chapter lays the groundwork for these comparisons by identifying intellectual tendencies which crop up in both varieties of Walker's writing. Notwithstanding Walker's reliance on the conjectural mode and the broader languages of Scots Enlightenment history, of note is Walker's bent toward informational density and empirical fact finding.[6] Understanding how Walker defined historical fact is essential to understanding how conjectural history also came to serve him in the conception of colonial policy. Because his enquiries into India's ancient past were inspired by intellectual movements which privileged history as a scientific mode of exploring human affairs, Walker sought recourse to conjecture as a means of epistemological self-justification, often across formal and generic boundaries.[7]

Of course, the reasons for which Walker wrote and the forms of writing he adopted changed across his Indian career. As a 17-year-old junior officer thrust into the middle of the Second Anglo-Mysore War, Walker put ink to paper to make sense of his purpose there. He constructed himself in relation to a generalized image of the 'European soldier', whose 'bravery' he visualised through the language of 'philosophical history'. In so doing he drew racialized comparisons between European soldiers and their Sepoy charges, abstracting the Sepoy's supposed inability to withstand siege warfare as a racial characteristic.[8] Later, as a 22-year-old, Walker kept a journal of his voyage to Nookta Sound, North America, jotting down observations on Nookta's indigenous population with a newfound air of scholarly diffidence. Irrespective of this, however, in his American journal he continued navigating unfamiliar surroundings – and making sense of unfamiliar peoples – using the precepts and language of Enlightenment history to define racial difference.[9]

In his thirties, Walker also began translating a lifelong interest in Hindu manuscripts and history onto paper, a pursuit which cumulated in a series of histories which he began in his

[5] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, p. 10.
[6] Maria Pia Donato, 'Introduction: Archives, Record Keeping and Imperial Governance, 1500-1800', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 22 (2018), p. 317; Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, pp. 229-230.
[7] DeLucia, *A Feminine Enlightenment*, pp. 6-7; O'Brien, 'History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain', p. 399.
[8] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 8.
[9] Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*, pp. 1-3.

forties. His 1809 unfinished History of India, 'History of Malabar' and 'Ancient Intercourse with India' stand as largely unnoticed contributions to eighteenth-century orientalist scholarship, and are, moreover, evidence of the deep, reciprocal connections between 'philosophical history', colonial administrative documents, and Orientalist discourse.[10] It was not until after his retirement from the East India Company, however, that he finished most of these texts, with the most polished and finalised versions of them emerging after decades of revision. As an older man now witness to increasing attacks on the generation of orientalist scholars to which he belonged, Walker tended to avoid assessing India in relation to European societies, and his mature works often featured defences of Hindu culture against the excoriating gaze of the emergent 'anglicist' wing of British-Indian historicism. However, Walker was also nonetheless still reliant upon the language and concepts of Scots Enlightenment history to describe India at this stage, thus perpetuating implicit developmental comparison and description throughout his mature work.[11]

'Farrago Libelli'

'Farrago Libelli' means a book that has been confusedly written, or a book containing a collection of miscellaneous, unarranged but associated subjects. It is unclear if Walker had this label in mind when he was first writing the materials that make up the 'Farrago Libelli', but its present title does provide a fitting description of its content. The first part, 'Chapter 1', is a faithful reproduction of journal entries Walker began on 11 June 1781, the day on which he initially set sail to India from Portsmouth.[12] Walker's second chapter not only forms a record of all of Walker's activity in India until May 1783, but it also uses second hand sources to recount the fate of Brigadier-General Mathews' army group in the Second Anglo-Mysore War. As such, it provides a loose, often confusing, mosaic yet first-hand consolidation of separate accounts of the war, which also doubles as a chronological history of events leading up to the sieges of Seringapatam and Bednore. Walker's third and last chapter, spanning 250 pages, switches back to Walker's perspective, and covers his participation in the recapture and defence of Mangalore at the end of the war (Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', pp. 5, 145).

Curiously, despite beginning with a passage entirely by Walker, the text for the most part reads as if it were written by an omnipotent narrator, although the regular deployment of a collective 'we' does invest the narrative voice with association to the Bombay Army.

[10] Ehrlich, 'Plunder and Prestige', pp. 478-92.
[11] Bayly, 'Race in Britain and India', pp. 71-72.
[12] Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', 1781-1784, NLS, MS.13775, pp. 1-5.

Walker's second chapter is also, like his first, meticulously detailed; during his service in the Second Anglo-Mysore Walker took time to reflect on the logistics of his army group's movements and the geographies they encountered, reflecting the known tendency of British imperialists to keep exhaustive records of their travels in their efforts to come to terms with new and unfamiliar surroundings. While in Rajahmundroog, for example, Walker observed that 'The country hereabouts is hilly and jungly, but the interior parts are reported to be fertile, producing some pepper and a great deal of rice' (Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', p. 7). He was likewise struck here, as well as later when observing the geography of Mathews' chosen route when marching from Rajahmundroog to the 'Village of Compton or Compia', by the possibility of sailing small ships inland via river – though in reality, without the supply of such ships, Mathews' group was forced to ford what rivers they encountered on their march (Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', p. 9).[13]

The text then proceeds to document descriptions of how the Second Anglo-Mysore War played out in Malabar, which are comprised primarily by a deliberately labelled retelling of an anonymous, second-hand British account of captivity under Tipu Sultan following the siege of Seringapatam:

> Upon enquiring what subsistence we were to have upon the road, we were told one pice pr. Day, and one seer of rice, this was two pice less than we had in prison… indeed this was a most shameful neglect, by which so many British officers were obliged to march, upon about one halfpenny pr. Day and a lb of bad rice – In short we were left entirely to the mercy of the Nabob, and this was the charity he bestowed.
>
> Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', p. 137.

The narrative voice during these passages represents a marked departure from the way Walker described his initial travel northwards in December 1782. Though by no means diminished in detail, the prose leans into a narrative format that constructs 'British officers' as its unsung and embattled protagonists.[14] Moreover, while dramatizing the plight of the British in captivity under Tipu Sultan, the narrative establishes the figure of the 'Nabob' as its antagonist,

[13] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 37; Frost, 'The Pacific Ocean: The Eighteenth Century's 'New World'', in *Facing Each Other: The World's Perception of Europe and Europe's Perception of the World*, Vols. 1-2, pp. 595-98

[14] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 53.

employing the Nabob's lack of 'charity' as both a representation of wider Mughal 'despotism' and a source of narrative tension.[15]

Walker is, of course, present here, insofar as he made the choice to include this material in the 'Farrago Libelli'. Likewise, throughout his treatment of his experiences during the recapture and defence of Mangalore, Walker was also actively engaged in establishing emotional narrative stakes for his imagined reader.[16] In a passage in which he described the conditions he faced in January 1784 whilst occupying Mangalore against a joint French and Mysorean counter siege, he included highly vivid explanations of the diet he and other soldiers were forced to adopt. Having exhausted food supplies and otherwise facing starvation, he recounted that '[we] were reduced to the wretched extremity of killing kites, crows, frogs and vermine for subsistence', and moreover that Mangalore had been stripped of wood for fires and that there were wounded 'Europeans in the Hospital much affected by the scurvey.' Capping off this passage, he also added the disturbing detail that: 'The Europeans have begun to kill and eat Paria Dogs that frequent the fort, a food the more loathsome as those animals had been detected in the night time knawing open the graves and feeding on the dead.' (Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', p. 375)

Through these descriptions, Walker laid the groundwork for several particularly self-aggrandising reflections on how he and his fellow European soldiers bore these conditions out. And during this, Walker abruptly injected elements of moral philosophy and conjectural history to rationalise his celebrations of British heroism.[17] 'Human nature', Walker stated, 'is affected by causes in proportion to its strength or ability which is different among different races of men' (Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', p. 379). This quote, on closer inspection, appears to possibly be a conceptual mistranslation of arguments made by Adam Smith in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) about self-control: 'There are some situations which bear so hard upon human nature, that the greatest degree of self-government, which can belong to so imperfect a creature as man, is not able to stifle, altogether, the voice of human weakness'.[18] While in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* Smith was arguing specifically, as Gust points out, about how 'only those in the more 'refined' stages of society possessed the capacity to sympathize with others' among other social and moral virtues including self-control, Walker appears to have

[15] Colley, *Captives*, pp. 269, 274-77; Walker, 'Jane Austen, the Second Anglo-Mysore Warm and Colonel Brandon's Forcible Circumcision', p. 5; Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, p. 207.
[16] Jennifer Wellman, 'Orality and Outcasts: Joseph Conrad and the Imperial Narrator', in *Conradiana*, 45.1 (2013), pp. 5-6.
[17] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 262.
[18] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 47.

envisioned self-control as a virtue which corresponded in its ascendancy to the civilisational attainment of the world's different 'races'.[19]

Though Walker's understanding of the precise differences in human nature 'among the different races of men' is largely unclear, the relative inability of Indian sepoys to control their natural responses to the circumstantial motives or 'causes' they faced during the siege of Mangalore nonetheless functioned to exemplify European selflessness and courage in his 'Farrago Libelli':

> The Europeans were the strongest, possessed of more courage and attachment to the cause, they endured danger and hardship better and longer than the sepoys… the greater weakness of the sepoys had made them give way sooner, they were already purged, and none but the best men remained.
>
> Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', pp. 379-80.

In venerating the bravery of European soldiers serving the British Empire in India, Walker defined European courage in oppositional terms to Indian Sepoys. Through an Indian example of cowardice, the Indian 'race' in general is abstracted as cowardly, while the unique courage of the Europeans of the Bombay army is exemplified.[20]

'Voyage to America'

The surviving version of the 'Voyage to America' can be linked to multiple points in Walker's intellectual development. While the original version was written as Walker sailed out to Nookta Sound in 1785 and 1786, in his introduction to the surviving copy Walker relates that this first volume was lost along with unique charts and maps. The completion of the existing version is dated by the National Library of Scotland to 1821, although rough drafts of it can also be linked to 1817.[21] Walker's 'Voyage to America' represents a significant development with regards to his utilisation of the conjectural historical mode. His incisive attention to detail takes center stage in a voluminous succession of observations on place names, climates, geographies, and the social structures, customs and characteristics of Nookta Sound's native population. Walker's appraisal of Native Americans borrows stock tropes and analytical categories from Scottish Enlightenment conjectural history, as well as elements of

[19] Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, p. 29.
[20] Jeng-Guo S. Chen, 'Gendering India: Effeminacy and the Scottish Enlightenment's Debates over Virtue and Luxury', in *The Eighteenth Century*, 51.1 (2010), pp. 193-94; Bayly, 'Race in Britain and India', pp. 71-72.
[21] Walker, 'Voyage to America', 1785-86, NLS, MS.13780, p. 2/f. 11.

German Enlightenment and orientalist comparative linguistics. In a clear but incomplete shift away from the racialized discourse of his 'Farrago Libelli', in this text he drew on the concept of a 'universal human nature' to rationalise the behaviour of Nookta's population in relation to their material circumstances. Walker, moreover, frequently used the descriptors 'savage', 'civilised', 'cultivated', and 'barbarous' in the process of applying this logic, which connected indigenous Americans to the earliest stage of social development, thus implicitly positioning them at the bottom of an imagined global racial hierarchy.[22]

Alongside Enlightenment philosophical arguments to do with what 'mankind' looked like in its earliest societal stages also came the figure of 'natural man'. The image of 'mankind' in a 'state of nature' was the personification of philosophical speculation on the origins of humankind, and the amalgamated, abstracted product of representations of different peoples believed to be in the earliest stages of society, most frequently Native Americans.[23] Within the ambit of conjectural histories and the stadial scheme, 'natural man' occupied the lowest possible position on the teleological scale linking 'barbarism' with 'civilisation', and was frequently envisioned as the prehistorical starting point from which modern European civilisation must have emerged. And although the Enlightenment Scots did seek to distinguish the figure of 'natural man' from the 'rude' societies of their contemporary world, it was to 'barbarous' groups such as Native Americans to which they looked in order to conjecture what the initial conditions of humankind were.[24] Walker regarded received ideas on the nature of 'natural man' with suspicion, recognising in a number of important ways how descriptions of humanity in a 'state of nature' by historians and travel writers alike were ill suited to describe the population of Nookta Sound. However, even within these criticisms, he adhered to the concepts of 'natural man' and 'human nature', assuming the Native Americans he encountered were all the same representative of humankind in its natural state. His reassessments of the ideas he had previously read on this topic were not so much a disruption of these concepts, but rather a reorganisation of the evidence supporting them.[25]

'Men living in a state of nature', he began, 'are not the originals, that authors and painters have described.' Rather than being notable primarily for their 'barbarity', Walker instead contended that the 'savage is the prototype of the civilised man', though he did qualify

[22] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26.
[23] Cătălin Avramescu, *An Intellectual History of Cannibalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 73; See also Julia Douthwaite, *The Wild Girl, Natural Man and the Monster: Dangerous Experiments in the Age of Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 12, 24
[24] See again Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26.
[25] Kroeker, 'The Science of Human Nature in the Scottish Enlightenment', pp. 227-32.

this by accepting that 'his faculties are less cultivated, his mind is stored with fewer ideas, and his character possesses less variety.' Walker thus concluded that in 'many of the useful and necessary arts of life… and in that knowledge which is necessary for his safety, the savage is almost on a level with those who are instructed in the arts of regular life.' (Walker, 'Voyage to America', p. 4/f. 12) With regards to how his own opinions of the people of Nookta Sound related to those of other travel writers who had encountered indigenous Americans, Walker expounded:

> Much nonsense has been written on the subject of savages – While some have represented them as possessed of every virtue, and made their retreats the abodes of happiness; others have described them as extremely viscous and wicked. Apparently both of these accounts are wide of the truth – Misery and happiness appear equally balanced in every state of society.
>
> Walker, 'Voyage to America', p. 5/f. 13.

Here, Walker demonstrated an awareness of the wide range of characterisations Enlightenment historians and travel writers employed when assessing Native American societies through a stadial lens, notwithstanding their consensus – noted by Bickham – in using them as illustrations of humankind in its earliest stages of social development.[26]

On the one hand, histories such as Adam Ferguson's *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and James Dunbar's *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Uncultivated Ages* (1780), while limited by the implications of depicting Amerindians in the first stages of society, offered relatively favourable descriptions of Native Americans and life in a 'state of nature'. Ferguson, while taking a grim view of the material conditions endured in early social states, emphasised the proclivity of the 'savage' toward enjoying their natural freedom. Dunbar, in contrast, critiqued the use of the 'epithets barbarous and civilised', citing this as a spurious means to reinforce the 'opinion of their own superiority over other nations which Europeans are prone to entertain.'[27] On the other hand, in his *History of America* (1777, 1796), William Robertson, amidst an excoriating portrayal of Native Americans, emphasised their limited mental development by denying them the capacity for perceiving object permanence:

[26] Bickham, *Savages within the Empire*, p. 176.
[27] Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, p. 145; James Dunbar, *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Uncultivated Ages* (London: W. Strahan, T. Cadell and J. Balfour, 1780), pp. 141, 146.

‘Like a mere animal, what is before his eyes interests and affects him; what is out of sight, or at a distance, makes little impression.’[28]

While Walker justified his centrist intervention into these debates under the rubric of empirical impartiality, his position nonetheless produced the same racialist slippages which were generated by both sides using stadial theory. At the crux of the ostensible generosity of Walker’s representations of Native Americans is a seemingly Fergusonian reduction in the imaginative distance between the civil and natural worlds, although, again, it crucially remains the case that for Walker there being a distinction between the two was self-evident.[29] Walker’s assessments, moreover, stopped short of directly attempting to redeem Native Americans from the prejudices of other writers – just as he was circumspect regarding accounts of ‘savage’ wickedness, he also rejected the romanticised notion that existing in a natural state secured for ‘natural man’ the highest possible degrees of virtue and happiness in life.[30]

Walker’s physical descriptions of the people of Nookta Sound likewise extended a racially differential, qualitative mode of speaking (like those used by conjectural historians to distinguish different societies as being superior/inferior in development to one another) to the subject of physical differences between ‘nations’. His take on the handsomeness of Native Americans’ appearances relative to other ‘peoples’ was somewhat ambivalent, in that he stated that: ‘The inhabitants of Nookta are unwise remarkable in their persons. They can neither be called a handsome nor an ill-favoured people.’ (Walker, ‘Voyage to America’, p. 64/f. 44) While initially vague on this head with regards to his assumed standard for human physical beauty, he then expands on this with more direct comparisons:

> The colour of their bodies is equally remote from the darkness of the African Natives, as it is from the fairness of those of Europe; but in this respect individuals differ considerably from each other. The majority are of a copperish red, tho’ some are as many Portuguese and Spaniards.
>
> Walker, ‘Voyage to America’, p. 65/f. 45.

The implication was that, in Walker’s view, Nookta’s inhabitants being somewhere in appearance between blackness and whiteness placed these people in the ambiguous position of

[28] Robertson, *The History of America*, in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 9, p. 89.
[29] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, 164.
[30] Hudson, ‘“From “Nation” to “Race”’, p. 248; Sebastiani, ‘Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, p. 2.

being neither 'handsome' nor 'ill-favoured'. And while again it appears he wished to depict the character of Amerindians in a relatively positive light, it remains the case that this act of representation operated across a spectrum of possible meanings which foremost associated whiteness with human beauty. It, moreover, did not preclude the deployment of skin colour as a marker of human difference.[31]

Walker's 'Voyage to America' is also preoccupied with whether the indigenous people of Nookta Sound practiced cannibalism, a subject which also frequently appears as a product of or proof of savagery in eighteenth-century conjectural historical discourse. The fixation of European minds upon cannibalism as a subject of controversy, and upon the cannibal (as Avramescu puts it) as 'one of the main actors in the drama of natural law', served to implicitly justify opinions of European societal ascendancy among philosophers, historians and readers.[32] Likewise, Walker's gravitation toward this topic does to an extent represent genuine anthropological interest and observation, but, simultaneously, it is also telling of his having expected to find cannibals in Nookta, and of his having learnt to anticipate cannibalism as a common behavioural practice among so-called 'savage' societies, precisely because of its recurrence as a trope in Enlightenment historical writing:

> We had reasons for believing these people to be cannibals; but not in the extensive sense of eating human beings for the sake of food and to gratify hunger. This disgusting practice was apparently confined to the devouring their enemies and probably some choice bits only were selected.
>
> Walker, 'Voyage to America', p. 79/f. 52.

What follows from here is a relation of his experience visiting a hut in which he was offered a human hand, as well as laborious descriptions of the attempts of the people of Nookta Sound to sell hands during trade exchanges with their European visitors (Walker, 'Voyage to America', p. 80/f. 52). This, much like his later preoccupation with infanticide, reflects a sustained engagement with sensationalised narratives about anthropological difference, and of a continued association of these differences with the identities of foreign 'racial' groups.[33]

[31] Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*, p. 2.
[32] Avramescu, *An Intellectual History of Cannibalism*, p. 234-35.
[33] Greenblatt, *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance*; Wood, 'The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment', p. 102; Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"', p. 250.

One of the last subjects upon which Walker made observations was the origins of Amerindian languages, and these were the product of later revisions and corrections to his original draft. Walker's references to the German Enlightenment figure Alexander von Humbolt's *Researches Concerning the Institutions & Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America* (1810) date elements of this to at least as late as his early retirement. His interest in this instance is largely genealogical, furthermore, insofar as he repeats Humbolt's conjectures with regards to Native Americans having found their way into North America via migration across the Bering Strait. Humbolt's line of conjecture was partly in line with previous Scottish Enlightenment discussions on early human migration to America, such as in Robertson's *History of America*, inasmuch as Robertson concluded that all early ancient human migration must have taken place across land. Yet where Robertson largely avoided the subject of migration from Eurasia to America, suggesting that the realities of such migrations were lost to time and impossible to evidence, Humbolt looked to etymology to identify the likelihood of historical migrations via the Bering Strait.[34] Walker reiterated Humbolt's linguistic comparisons between Native Americans and nomadic peoples from Asia's Eastern Steppe, noting that 'the little which we known of the history of the Americans tends to prove, that the tribes, whose migrations have been directed from the north to the south, while yet dwelling near the polar regions, used various idioms which we find at present under the torrid zone.'[35]

Observing that the 'language of a Barbarous people is the avenue of their history', Walker likewise suggested that by identifying affinities between different languages one might also connect their geographical origins. Further, he wrote that:

> Humbolt, whose opinions are generally just and profound, observes that the American languages are as distinct from each other, as they are from tartar tongues – This want of analogy ought not however, he farther observes, be allowed as a proof against the opinion, that the American Nations have had ancient communications with Eastern Asia.
>
> Walker, 'Voyage to America', p. 94/f. 59.

[34] Robertson, *The History of America*, in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 8, pp. 1-2.
[35] Alexander von Humbolt, *Researches, Concerning the Institutions & Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America, with Descriptions & Views of Some of the Most Striking Scenes in the Cordilleras!*, trans. by Helen Maria Williams (London: Longman, 1814), Vol. 1, p. 21: A climactic descriptor for hot and dry geographical regions derived from Classical descriptions of the world, 'torrid' was a popular byword in the eighteenth century for tropical regions, particularly in Africa, but also throughout the world, including in the Americas, South Asia, South East Asia and East Asia.

The significance of these references lies in their affinity to attempts he made elsewhere, such as in his handling of Indian language manuscripts and recurrent treatment of Alexander the Great's expedition into the Indus Valley, to puzzle out the existence of places and peoples in India's past through etymological cross-referencing, made between his present knowledge of Indian demographics and Classical accounts of India.[36] While Walker also concluded that Native American tongues were too distinct from the languages of the East Asian Steppe for any concrete conjectures to be made, his consideration of this as a means of historical enquiry does, nonetheless, reflect much of what he attempted through his own histories on India.[37]

Walker's Unfinished History of India

Some distance from Walker having written travel narratives as a young man, the earliest evidence of him composing historical monographs can be linked back to his final years in India. While at this time Walker had chosen a new form for his intellectual pursuits, there are several ideological continuities between these two kinds of material. Particularly, throughout his travel writing Walker had employed the language and analytical mode of 'philosophical history' to describe and rationalise his observations on foreign peoples and places, and although specifically conjectural thinking did not wholly dominate his travelogues, he nonetheless relied upon a linear framework concerning 'typical' human progress to understand the world. This element of his travel writing was, in fact, later amplified in his historical work, wherein Walker often shifted his focus specifically toward describing and categorising Indian societies through the idiom of conjectural history.

Dated to 1809, Walker's short 'History of Arghoon Khan' is a short, largely descriptive, narrative history of the Mongol Ilkhanate, probably intended as a chapter in a larger text. The remainder of the collection of leaves to which this chapter lends its name in the NLS catalogues, however, broadens into a substantial though unfinished body of writing undoubtedly intended as a general history of India. This material likely constitutes some of the earliest beginnings of Walker's eventual 'Ancient Intercourse with India', and moreover contains segments of writing on Gujarat and Malabar likewise connected with his later work. Because it was written during

[36] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 108; See also Markus Meßling, 'Wilhelm von Humboldt and the 'Orient': On Edward W. Said's remarks on Humboldt's Orientalist studies', in *Language Sciences*, 30.5 (2008), pp. 483-84.
[37] Lifschitz, *Language and Enlightenment*, p. 36; Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*, p. 96; Formigari, 'Language and Society in the Late Eighteenth Century', p. 281.

the waning years of his time in India, this text is also possibly evidence that Walker was entertaining ambitions of authorship in anticipation for his return to Scotland.[38]

Walker began by providing a broad overview of the history of trade between India and other ancient societies including Egypt, Phoenicia, and Rome, before summarising Alexander the Great's attempted conquest of India as a means to relate information on Indian society and trade in ancient times. [39] Qualitative assessments of the state of society of eighteenth-century India are largely absent here – notwithstanding critiques of contemporary Indian language records of history – given Walker's focus on the first signs of Indian civilisation in the ancient world. At the heart of Walker's work, however, are the analytical categories of arts and civilisation, which operate somewhat differently as proofs of historical Indian societal progress. Walker used 'civilisation' to describe the socialisation and mental state of India's ancient inhabitants, whereas 'arts' referred to social practices and institutions. He considered such 'arts' as being both at once cultivators of 'civilisation' and yet also as having a separate existence from the state of the human mind.

This reflected the mode of analysis adopted by William Robertson in his *History of America*. The opening portion of the *History of America* (a survey of navigational technology in the ancient world) used the terms 'manners' and 'arts' along similar lines, though Robertson's usage of 'arts' also explicitly encompassed science and technology.[40] 'Arts' all the same still also pertained, for both Walker and Robertson, to the liberal arts, which were likewise subject to analysis as indicators and reflections of the advancement of societies. Hugh Blair, for instance, opened his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783) by emphasising the importance of rhetoric and composition within advanced societies, especially as means of 'cultivating reason itself.'[41]

Walker also launched the prose of his unfinished history of India by underlying his position as a historian, and the grounds of his project, with conjectural historiographical theory:

> There is a strong desire to push our researches into obscure and remote times; but when those enquiries are extended into ages of which there is no authentic record, everything rests on probability and conjecture. But although this evidence is only of a secondary nature, it is in many instances so strongly supported by circumstances, that the mind is

[38] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, p. 168.
[39] Walker, ''History of Arghoon Khan and his descendants…'', 1809, NLS, MS.13957.
[40] Robertson, *The History of America*, in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 8.
[41] Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1783), Vol. 1, p. 3.

> satisfied, and the most serious concerns of human life are confidently submitted to this species of proof.
>
> Walker, 'Arghoon Khan', f. 63.

This opening is itself deeply reminiscent of arguments from Dugald Stewart's *Account of the Life and Writings of Adam Smith* (1793), wherein Stewart stipulated that during the practice of conjectural history, 'the detached facts which travels and voyages afford us, may frequently serve as land-marks to our speculations; and sometimes our conclusions *a priori* may tend to confirm the credibility of facts, which, on a superficial view, appeared to be doubtful or incredible.'[42]

In this instance, however, what Walker specifically had in mind when he described 'evidence… only of a secondary nature' was a mixture of European historical speculation and Hindu legend and folklore, the latter of which in isolation failed, in his eyes, to provide an 'authentic record' of the past. Therefore, through this statement, he not only implicitly posited conjecture as the best means of deriving factual historical accounts from Hindu manuscript histories, but he also alluded to a broader issue he found in the perusal of Indian history, in that he deemed Indian-generated historical knowledge to be – in itself – of insufficient empirical veracity for his purposes.[43] The idea that inferences to do with historical conditions based on this material could be valid if 'strongly supported by circumstances' suggests that Walker believed Indian histories to be largely out of step with the 'usual' natural development of societies.[44]

Indeed, Walker went on to specify that the 'arts and civilisation of India must have been communicated by a natural and inevitable progress to other Nations'. Not only did Walker posit that the existence of trade between India and other nations in the past was self-evident because of the natural inclinations of societies, but he also linked the existence of early Indian civilisation to the spread of society outside of India. So far as the mechanics of this 'natural and inevitable progress' are concerned, he expanded that 'the fruits of its [India's] superior skill or industry, would have become objects of their [other Nations] desire and acquisition, as they were reclaimed from savageness and brutality.' From this maxim then followed further revealing nuances to do with how Walker perceived the operations of the human mind and

[42] Dugald Stewart, 'Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Smith', in Adam Smith, *The Works of Adam Smith, LL.D.* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811), Vol. 5, p. 449.
[43] Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp. 54-56.
[44] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', p. 20.

human nature, especially in relation to their development across time. 'Improvement,' he posited, 'luxury and comfort are conjoined with civilised life. People in this state communicate their wants to each other, and it is their interest and inclination to administer to the wants what they mutually inspire and feel.' (Walker, 'Arghoon Khan', f. 63).[45]

To Walker, then, the existence of arts, luxuries and comforts were not what defined 'civilised life'. Rather, 'civilised life' related to a state of being which resulted from the relative cultivation (or lack thereof) of a people's mental faculties, something which was in turn the product of external societal factors (such as 'arts', 'luxuries', and 'comforts'). There is a further element to Walker's logic that lent it a degree of circularity, in that he described human 'wants' (relating to their external conditions) as both resulting from and inspiring changes to these factors. Hypothetically, as Walker saw it, if a society was successful in fulfilling the wants of its people in the past, i.e. through the invention of new arts, newly born citizens would consequently have been socialised to practice these same said arts, and have been led to want for further advancements in them. This, over time, should therefore have enriched the average power of their mental faculties in increasing degrees from generation to generation. Such a generational perspective on human mental development had a precedent not only in the works of German Enlightenment comparative linguists, including Leibniz and Herder, but also in the philosophy of the Scottish James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, whose *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (1773-1792) connected the development of language to advances in humanity's capacity for abstract thought.[46]

Following this conjectural historiographical portion, Walker's materials then moved on to tackling a range of subjects, including information on Gujarat, Vasco de Gama's 1498 voyage to Malabar, and Malabar itself. Within his material on Malabar especially, he exhibited a keen eye for observation, particularly to do with etymological, geographical and topographical detail. This is significant in that it relates back to Walker's heavily informational approach to observation and reading, as evident in his 'Farrago Libelli', 'Voyage to America', his reading of William Robertson (see Chapter 5), and his approach to the native Indian manuscript sources he used to inform his studies here (see Appendix 3). A pertinent example of this is how he began his treatment of the ancient condition of Malabar, by tracing the origins of contemporary Indian language used to describe the region back to its Sanskrit roots:

[45] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, p. 122.
[46] Lifschitz, *Language and Enlightenment*, p. 1; Blanke, 'Lord Monboddo's Ourang-Outang and the Origin and Progress of Language', p. 38; Wood, 'The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment', p. 110.

> The original and sanscrit term for the country of Malabar is Keralool or Kerala: the country of Kerool. The native and common name is Malayam or Malayalam; from Kerala a Hill or Mountain; a mountainous country, descriptive of its face and quality: or as it is explained by others, skirting the bottom of the Hills, in allusion to the Ghauts forming the boundary in that direction.
>
> Walker, 'Arghoon Khan', f. 78.

The main significance of this lies in Walker's derivation of geographical information from this brief etymology. Knowing that the origins of Malabar's modern name resulted from Malabar being a low-lying region adjacent to mountainous terrain, he also conjectured on the nature of its geography in ancient times being consistent with this description.[47]

Walker also drew on Malabarican oral history and manuscripts to corroborate this etymologically derived information, including Hindu mythology surrounding the creation of land on India's west coast by Parashurama, the sixth avatar of Vishnu. Walker related that the 'oral traditions of the Natives and their writings agree in ascribing the creation of Malabar to Parashuramen…' and moreover that by 'the assistance of Varuna, the God of the Ocean, at the voice of Parashuramen, the sea retired to the distance which it now preserves.' (Walker, 'Arghoon Khan', f. 78) From this story of Malabar's origins, he then attempted to divine further concrete information by picking apart fact from fiction:

> It is probable that at the remote period in question, Malabar was inundated by the Ocean and uninhabited, and that it was first occupied by a colony introduced by Parashuramen. It is impossible to determine with any certainty when this event occurred, or to decide how much of it is truth and fable; but the legends of the natives relate that it happened about 2000 years ago.
>
> Walker, 'Arghoon Khan', f. 78.

From mythology surrounding Parashurama, then, Walker derived a very literal reading. He conjectured that Malabar was once 'inundated by the Ocean' and assumed that the circumstances described in this story corresponded to observations once made of Malabar in the past, which over time had been exaggerated and had only survived by their incorporation into allegory. From here, prior orientalist researches into the distribution of peoples and

[47] Rosanne Rocher, 'Lord Monboddo, Sanskrit and Comparative Linguistics', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 100.1 (1980), pp. 12, 15-16; Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*, pp. 134-35.

languages across the globe, which themselves decoded history from biblical allegory, might be key to discerning the exact historical reality referenced in this stort. Echoing Sir William Jones' belief that Indian civilization, as Thomas Trautmann relates, was 'instituted by Rama shortly after the flood of Noah', in Walker's account Parashurama is not accepted as a demigod but is rather historicised as a real individual with a tangible role in the institution of post-exegesis Indian civil society.[48] Indeed, although Walker qualified his statements by offering doubts about when the settling of Malabar happened, he nonetheless assumed that the events he had conjectured from Hindu folk lore did in fact happen in one form or another.[49]

This confidence in his own conclusions did not prevent Walker from returning to the theme of the difficulties faced by the historian in working out the history of India. While, of course, he had managed to discern some knowledge of Malabar's history from what little Indian writing there was on the subject, he nonetheless professed that:

> There is no people who possess so little of genuine and authentic history as the Hindus, and none who have had it more in their power to have preserved the memory of their own transactions. Their History is to be gleaned only from tradition and legends; the writings of their poets and allegorical and mystical narratives.
>
> Walker, 'Arghoon Khan', f. 80.

This position, in the context of his broader unfinished history of India, reflected poorly on the state of civilisation in India in general. That said, when writing on the 'History of Malabar' in 1821, his position on this subject – and how it, indeed, reflected Indian social advancement – relaxed to a degree. Especially in the shadow of his battles against the anglicism of James Mill, Walker's valuation of Indian culture would come to more closely align with the – relatively – favourable orientalism of Sir William Jones. Along with this softening in position, and an augmented appreciation for Hindu social achievements, however, he also came to put his knowledge of Indian 'tradition' and 'legend' to even more concerted use in his conjectures.[50]

The 'History of Malabar'

Finished in 1821, just before Walker was appointed as the Governor of St. Helena, the 'History of Malabar' represents one of his few fully complete monographs. It was also a

[48] Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, pp. 46-47.
[49] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 21-22.
[50] Donato, 'Introduction: Archives, Record Keeping and Imperial Governance, 1500-1800', pp. 322-23.

significant professional milestone; in that it is the culmination of his writing and editing about Malabar from as early as the 1790s. In his introduction to his third volume, the first which consists primarily of his own material, he openly related the connection of the work back to his time working as an administrator in the Malabar Commission. While the content and style of 'The History of Malabar' had been significantly updated since this time, reshaped into the mould of a formal historical monograph, the linkages between this document and official reports produced by the Malabar Commission nonetheless directly connect its composition – along with the discourse of conjectural history – to information gathering missions Walker conducted in the service of empire (see also Appendix 3).[51]

Split across five volumes and further formally subdivided into five parts across the first four volumes, the History is ambitious in its scope, spanning the whole gamut of history from Malabar's pre-history to the then present day. Rather than making up an unbroken narrative with elements of thematic ordering, most of the history is a collection of separate Sanskrit translations and historical notices, though the earliest volumes of the series are more unified. The first part is made up of a translation of 'The Kerulood Fatty', a Sanskrit text attributed to 'Changara Ausary, or Acharria', which Walker supplements with commentary conjecturing historical sketches of Malabar's early settlement. The second part likewise constituted a translation of a history of Malabar by 'Lein eddeen Muchdom', alongside which Walker continued constructing sketches of early Malabarican history while providing corroborating geographical and etymological information (For more on how Walker may have acquired these texts, see again Appendix 3).[52]

Each of the first four volumes, moreover, is resplendent with appendices, whilst the fifth contains copies of Walker's Indian correspondence, particularly from the final Anglo-Mysore War. For instance, a large number of letters from Walker to John Spencer (head of the Malabar Commission) appear here, which predominantly constitute official reports by Walker on efforts to liaise with local authorities upon the East India Company's assumption of power in Malabar.[53] Materials from Walker's time in the Malabar Commission which survive as documents separate from his correspondences in the Walker of Bowland Papers also appear as chapters throughout the text, most notable of which is an essay from a collection of 1796-1800

[51] Walker, 'Fair copy of 'History of Malabar'', 1821, NLS, MS.13797-801, Vol. 3, p. 3; See also Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp. 4, 53, 55; Crawley, 'Sir William Jones: a Vision of Orientalism', p. 170.
[52] Momma, 'A Man on the Cusp: Sir William Jones's "Philology" and "Oriental Studies"', pp. 163-65.
[53] Walker, 'History of Malabar', 1821, MS.13797-801, Vol .5, pp. 507, 567, 647, 683.

memoranda on 'the condition of Malabar', which provides the entirety of the first chapter of his fifth volume. Elements of Walker's work on Malabar in his 1809 unfinished materials on the history of India also appear in the text, particularly in the 7th chapter of his fourth book, which likewise deals with Hindu mythology on Malabar's origins.[54]

Notwithstanding these informational connections between the composition of 'The History of Malabar' and Walker's administration, there are hints as to the collaborative intellectual processes which informed the 'History of Malabar'. The translation Walker included of the 'Kurulood Fatty', he wrote in his introduction, was 'compiled from translations of two different copies'. Expanding further, he added that one of them 'was made under the eye of Mr. Duncan the late Governor of Bombay, who investigated the History if Malabar with the utmost perseverance and attention' while the 'other translation was executed under my own direction' (Walker, 'History of Malabar', Vol. 1, p. 4). Not only, then, was the interpretation of the 'Kurulood Fatty' Walker presented here the product of close collaboration and cross-referencing between him and Duncan, each of them was mediating and overseeing translation work conducted by Brahmin scholars. Notable however is the lack of any direct accreditation to these translators, a fact which underlines the reality of Walker and Duncan having appropriated their information for an imagined European audience.[55]

Walker also provided an opinion on the historical utility of the 'Kerulood Fatty', relating the nature of its 'mixture of fable and of true history' back to his own task as a historian, whilst also summarising its contents:

> …the whole is interspersed with miracles and extravagant legends. These are diffused through that part of the History which relates genuine events, almost in the same degree as that which is fabulous… The real matters of facts are by this not only obscured, but they are indistinctly recorded, without dates, and with few circumstances.
>
> Walker, 'History of Malabar', Vol. 1, p. 4.

To ameliorate these complaints, Walker set about the 'Kerulood Fatty' by discriminating fact from fable, corroborating his findings with external historical evidence, present circumstances, and the principles of human nature.[56]

---

[54] Alexander Walker, 'Official memoranda and correspondence concerning the condition of Malabar and the activities of the Commission', 1796-1800, NLS, MS.13616, f. 1 onwards.
[55] Peabody, 'Knowledge Formation in Colonial India', p. 91.
[56] Berry, *Social Theory and the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 91.

Unlike in his 1809 unfinished historical materials, however, Walker took time in his 'History of Malabar' to reflect on the nature of Hindu legend and its relation to 'true history'. He did this with a mind to contemporary British historical discourse on Hindu society and history, which, it seems, based also on his letters to James Mill (see Chapter 6), led him to readily anticipate that his readers might also notice for themselves the fabulousness of Hindu myth and history. Acknowledging that 'Hindoos are said to have no authentic History', Walker argued that 'there is much truth in the statement.' To the credit of Hindu society, Walker counted it as a general truism that the 'quantity of real History among any People is but little; for if we ascend beyond 2000 years, all is Fable and Conjecture.' He also added that even such 'fable and conjecture' could be potentially useful: 'for as Lord Bacon says, "fiction gives to mankind, what history denies." Much of it is genuine; and altho' it appears extravagant to strangers, it is always interesting to the Natives. They alone understand it, by a kind of intuitive perception, separate the truth from falsehood, and cherish even its absurdities' (Walker, 'History of Malabar', Vol. 1, p. 448).[57]

Walker's recurring distinction between 'real history' and 'fable' opens questions as to his perception of the Hindu mythological canon and how it reflected the nature of Hindu society. Post-Enlightenment writing on India, including 'anglicist' criticisms of orientalism such as James Mill's *The History of British India* (1817), frequently saw in Hindu religious rites and legend an adherence to foolhardy superstition, one which was believed to dominate the course of Hindu life to such an extent that it had prevented the advancement of Hindu society.[58] This supposition, moreover, led authors such as Mill to completely dismiss the use of Indian manuscript histories and religious texts as source materials, because these texts were deemed to be of limited historical authenticity.[59] In his chapter on religion in India, Mill suggested that religious activity and superstition dominated 'every stage of life from the cradle to the grave; for every hour of the day; for every function of nature; for every social transaction'. Further, Mill linked this superstition to a stadial appraisal of Hindu backwardness, arguing that 'where, with no more attention to morality, than the exigencies and laws of human nature force upon the attention of the rudest tribes, the sacred duties are made to consist in

[57] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', in *Rethinking British Romantic History, 1770-1845*, pp. 54-55; Dmitri Levitin, 'Egyptology, the Limits of Antiquarianism, and the Origins of Conjectural History, c. 1680-1740: New Sources and Perspectives', *History of European Ideas*, 41.6 (2015), p. 719.
[58] Inden, *Imagining India*, pp. 45, 85.
[59] Callum Barrell, *History and Historiography in Classical Utilitarianism, 1800-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 69.

frivolous observances, there, we may be assured, the religious ideas of the people are barbarous.'[60]

Walker's thought, on the other hand, sat between this anglicist extreme and earlier orientalist traditions. Whereas the 'anglicism' of the Mill and Thomas Babington Macaulay routinely denied India a history and cultural heritage worth observing, the orientalism of Walker's EIC generation looked to Indian history as a vital means of understanding Indian society.[61] As Daniel Sanjiv Roberts has put it, 'orientalist histories of India had broadly sought to reconcile empirical history with Indian mythological and legendary traditions, relating these in turn to Mosaic narratives of the Judaeo-Christian tradition.'[62] As such, Walker stopped short of associating what he perceived to be the general inaccuracy of the Hindu historical record with a supposed tendency toward superstition in the Hindu national character. Rather, Walker appears to have seen also in Hindu mythology instructive value, both in the sense that it formed a vital component of the Hindu historical imagination, and also in the sense that understanding this might better arm him, and other men of the EIC, for administrative duty. Walker's reading of Francis Bacon, a voice he frequently called on to bolster the empiricism of his writing, reflects how he understood the influence of mythology on the Hindu social experience. Treating on 'narrative poetry', Bacon suggested that though it was ahistorical, it might 'satisfy the Mind with the Shadows at least of Things, where the substance cannot be had', providing comfort in the disquieting face of the inexplicability of human existence.[63]

Walker did, nonetheless, regret the absence of a formal historical record in India, the absence of one at that which was legitimised based on Eurocentric standards for the veracity or mendacity of information. The issue here was not so much the mode in which Hindu scripts were written, given especially that, as we have seen in his 'Farrago Libelli', Walker did not consider modes of narration verging into literary territory and styling to be necessarily out of step with the responsibility of the historian to provide factual information.[64] And yet when approaching Hindu manuscripts he nonetheless saw picking apart the possible – and therefore likely – from the implausible – and therefore 'fabulous' – as his primary task as a historian.

[60] James Mill, *The History of British India* (London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, 1817), Vol. 1, pp. 198, 263; See again Mantena, *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India*, pp. 1-4, 8-10.
[61] Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', p. 44.
[62] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', p. 54.
[63] Francis Bacon, *Lord Bacon's Essays: Continued in Twenty Seven Chapters, Translated from His Lordship's Treatise, De Augmentis Scientiariarum*, trans. by William Willymott (London: Henry Parson, 1720), Vol. 2, p. 148.
[64] O'Brien, 'History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain', p. 399.

And while, so far as he was concerned, the predominance of mythology over empirically-minded historical tracts in the manuscripts he had access too was not in and of itself a negative recommendation of Hindu civilizational advancement, the failure of Hindu societies to distinguish an empirical record of their past from their religious culture was.[65]

Elsewhere in the first volume of the 'History of Malabar', Walker sought to discern exactly why this had come to be so:

> Are the Hindoos however in reality in possession of as little Historical knowledge as we consider them to be? – In attending to the real state of the case, we are to remember that General History is not likely to be a favourite object with a Nation of Tribes, where the all engrossing object is the honour of their families.
>
> Walker, 'History of Malabar', Vol. 1, p. 449.

At the crux of the issue, then, was that Hindus lived not so much in a single, uniform state of society, but rather that Hindu society was a 'Nation of Tribes', each tribe being united with the others through key racial commonalities but nonetheless existing in relative cultural isolation from the other innumerable parts of the Indian body politic.

Walker's perspective on India being a 'Nation of Tribes' connected, crucially, to justifications for imperialism that arose from the attempts of British intellectuals to understand Indian social diversity through the category of caste. In particular, efforts to justify British government in India by the likes of Edmund Burke operated under the rubric that the territories and peoples of Asia were not organised into nation-states. From here, it therefore followed that the rule of a nation-state such as Britain over India could not provoke questions regarding the individual sovereignty of Indian states, because no such sovereign states existed.[66] In addition, arguments to do with caste were crucial to the organisation of colonial rule itself. Nicholas Dirks has described caste as 'a modern phenomenon, that it is, specifically, the product of an historical encounter between India and Western colonial rule', and that 'it was under the British that "caste" became a single term capable of expressing, organizing, and above all "systematizing" India's diverse forms of social identity, community, and organization.'[67]

Walker further ascribed the caste system as the cause of the relative developmental stasis he presumed India to have existed in across history, thus implicitly problematizing

[65] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', pp. 67-69.
[66] Inden, *Imagining India*, pp. 176-77.
[67] Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, pp. 5, 8.

India's precise status as a modern 'nation' within his historical analyses. Indeed, elsewhere in his first volume, he had already noted that it was 'this division of the People into Families, which has been at once the cause of the permanency of their manners… & even the want of a body of general History is to be traced to the same cause.' (Walker, 'History of Malabar', Vol. 1, pp. 243-44) Stereotyping with regards to India's supposed lack of historical social development, or 'the permanency of their manners', related in no small part to analyses of India through the lenses of stadial history and racial hierarchy, which served in instances such as this as a medium for the mapping of Indian history under western chronologies of modernity and nationhood. Conjectures into ancient Indian history (considered in the next section) seemed to confirm, for men like Walker, that little of the natural progress they were used to observing in the histories of European societies had occurred there, notwithstanding the early boom in advancement the Indian subcontinent had seen in the ancient world.[68]

'Ancient Intercourse with India'

Finished in 1825, Walker's 'Ancient Intercourse with India' was his final major historical monograph, and, of the texts in his archive, the one that best reflects his tendency towards informational reading: the exhaustive observation of facts from texts – in line with stadial descriptive categories and racial hierarchies – for application in his career in India. The structure of the text and its contents, organised largely around close readings of classical histories and travel accounts of India, encapsulate this. Walker's first chapter related his own expedition into 1807 Kathiawar whilst comparing it to Alexander the Great's; his second and third are close readings of Arrian, on Alexander's land campaign and Nearchus's voyage from India to the Arabian Gulf respectively; his fourth is made up of his own remarks on Alexander's reign; his fifth is on comparisons between Slavic languages and Sanskrit; his sixth is on the resemblance between modern European and ancient Indian manners; and his seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth are made up of close readings of Strabo, William Vincent's 1797 translation of Arrian on Nearchus' voyage along India's west coast, and Pliny (twice, 9th and 10th chapters) respectively.[69]

Though reading notes on both Arrian and Pliny made by Walker exist as discreet entries to the Walker of Bowland Papers in much the same way as his notes on William Robertson and

[68] Partha Mitter, 'Colonial Modern: A Clash of Colonial and Indigenous Chronologies: The Case of India', in Dan Karlholm and Keith Moxey (eds), *Time in the History of Art: Temporality, Chronology, and Anachrony* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 67-68.
[69] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, pp. 229-30.

James Mill do, I have not analysed them separately in this thesis because the contents of these reading notes constitute early, exact but unfinished drafts of much of the prose found in the 'Ancient Intercourse'.[70] In addition, much of the content of the 'Ancient Intercourse' is similar to that of William Robertson's *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge Which the Ancients had of India* (1791). This includes Walker's coverage of Alexander the Great's Indian Campaign as a key episode of historical interaction between Europe and India, and his analysis of Arrian's *The Anabasis of Alexander*, which he mined for geographic and demographic information (see Chapter 5).[71]

In Walker's first chapter, however, he tied his 'Ancient Intercourse' back to his time in Kathiawar, and to the intellectual processes he went through there pertaining to his learning about and attempting to understand an otherwise unknown society:

> The tribes who inhabit this part of the peninsula of Guzerat, live under a stricture of society peculiar to themselves. Their manners and institutions, some of them extremely singular and barbarous, are unlike those of any other people. These circumstances could not fail to excite an uncommon degree of interest and expectation; but this became more and more the case, when as we advanced, we found as imagined, that these rude tribes are the descendants of those nations, who opposed the progress of the Macedonians. The perusal of Arrian confirmed our conjectures, which were strengthened and corroborated moreover by traditions and Histories of the Country. From them it appeared that many of those tribes derived their origin from the banks of the Indies, and in a variety of cases, we were able to trace their names in Arrian, altho' under the disguise of a Greek idiom, either to a Sanscrit etymology, or to one of the local languages. It afforded us no small share of gratification, in the midst of graver, and often irksome occupations, to mark from the Pages of the Historian, the resemblances which had existed and been recorded two thousand years ago… The following relation comprises the result of our researches, drawn up without any regard to method, or attention to style: but made as leisure from business, and opportunity from time to time permitted. We had the advantage of a free communication with the most intelligent and

[70] Walker, '"Remarks on reading Pliny's history", 1805, NLS, MS.13938; Walker, 'Memoranda which constitute Alexander Walker's "Remarks on Arrian's history and the voyage of Nerchus"', 1805-1810, NLS, MS.13889-90; Robertson, 'An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India', in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 12.
[71] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 246.

best informed natives. They soon became interested in the subject, and exerted themselves with assiduity and fidelity, to obtain every elucidation in their power.[72]

While the introduction to this thesis has already explored the connections between Walker's 'Ancient Intercourse' and his 1807 expedition against infanticide in Kathiawar, there is, based on this passage, a great deal more that we can glean with regards to Walker's approaches to the collection of historical information. To begin with, Walker's use of etymology as the basis for historical conjecture represents, perhaps, room for comparison between his usage of conjectural history and the 'philology' of Sir William Jones, whose studies into Indian languages, Cannon points out, comprised investigations into the genealogical origins of language over isolated conjecture.[73]

In his ninth anniversary discourse at the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1792 'on the Origin, and Families of Nations', Jones had expressly stated his 'protest against conjectural etymology in historical researches'. This was especially aimed against what he saw as a litany of common errors practiced by etymologists who were too eager to draw connections between individual words in the course of their work. These errors included:

> …the licentiousness of etymologists in transposing and inserting letters, in substituting at pleasure any consonant for another of the same order, and in totally disregarding the vowels: for such permutations few radical words would be more convenient… I contend, that almost any word or nation might be derived from any other, if such licences, as I am opposing, were permitted in etymological histories…[74]

Jones' critique was addressed toward the work of Jacob Bryant, whose proficiency in Greek nonetheless left room, Jones believed, for a more thorough knowledge of the differing grammars and phonemes of Indian languages. Because, as Haruko Momma explains, he placed his analytical emphasis on understanding 'morphological forms' through their historical use and ethnological context, 'Jones made a clear break from the Classical era language studies, which pursued the revelation of unchanged and unchangeable "universal grammar" through the examination of the roots of words.'[75] Where Bryant might mistakenly associate two similar words as being related or miss relations between dissimilar words by looking for etymological connections solely within languages themselves, Jones looked to 'extrinsic evidence' – drawn

[72] Walker, ' 'Ancient Intercourse with India', 1825, NLS, MS.13888, pp. 2-4.
[73] Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, p. 242.
[74] William Jones, *The Works of Sir William Jones* (London: G., G. and J. Robinson, 1799), Vol. 1, p. 139.
[75] Momma, 'A Man on the Cusp', pp. 164-65.

from a wider ethnological understanding of the cultures to which historical languages were attached – to confirm possible correspondences between languages.[76]

Walker's opening passage took a comparably Jonesian approach, linking information gleaned by Walker from local Brahmin and Pandit contacts, his East India Company colleagues, and Arrian's *Anabasis* to the composition of both the text at large and his separate communications with the Bombay Government concerning infanticide (chiefly the report, quoted above, dated the 15 March 1808).[77] In this way, the 'Ancient Intercourse' is at once itself the product of a substantial cross-referencing enterprise, and a part of vast nexuses of information on Indian history and languages produced by orientalist scholarship. Meanwhile, while Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* and Pliny's *Natural History* only later informed Walker's 'Ancient Intercourse' (and not so much his activity in India), Walker explicitly came to regret, at least with regards to Pliny, that he 'had not an opportunity of reading the History of Pliny in India'. Because he believed that Pliny's 'notices… of that country are minute and copious', Walker mused that for the EIC officer on the ground Pliny's 'geographical descriptions and measurements of distances are in particular valuable.'[78]

Of additional note is Walker's remark that the production of the 'Ancient Intercourse' was made 'as leisure from business'. This evokes both at once the transitory limits and overlaps between his historical and colonial intellectual practices, and the threat of rupture that this overlap posed to his historical fantasies. It is possible, indeed, that Walker's imagining himself to be following in Alexander the Great's footsteps was disrupted, both by the 'irksome occupations' constituting the mundane activity his post required, and, by the 'graver' realities of the nature of his work.[79] That the content of his 'leisure' originated in the practice of colonial 'business', besides reminding us again of the deep connections between the knowledge on display here and the products of imperial activity, also points towards the importance of historical reading and imagination as a recreational practice among soldiers and administrators of the East India Company. If the written evidence of Walker's engagement with conjectural history and of his use of it to understand his Indian surroundings predominantly survives only as evidence of one individual appropriating Enlightenment discourse in the service of empire, then his 'Ancient Intercourse' opens suggestions as to the likelihood that this was a broader

[76] Trautmann, *Aryans and British India,* pp. 45-46.
[77] Walker, 'Manuscript concerning Hindu Infanticide', 1816-1817, MS.13898, pp. 31-53
[78] Walker, '"Remarks on reading Pliny's history", 1805, NLS, MS.13938, f. 1.
[79] Mairs, 'The Men Who Would be Alexander', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, p. 577; Hall & Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', pp. 5-9.

social phenomenon. Abigail Williams' recent *The Social Life of Books* has established that there was indeed a precedent for this in the culture surrounding Anglophone history reading even before the Enlightenment. 'Social uses of history' in Enlightenment Britain, Williams points out, 'fostered habits of reading histories for the elements that could be taken out of context, and the culling of the example, the isolated episode, and the portable story were features of historical as well as literary reading.'[80]

During his 'Ancient Intercourse', Walker lingered especially on the conjecture that Kathiawar's Rajput communities were descended from Magadha peoples, and this was the simultaneous product of his purportedly empirical research and his own self-identifying projections. Walker frequently constructed parallels between his own mission in Kathiawar and Alexander the Great's conquests, actively imagining the activities of himself and the British in India at large as being akin to those of a revered conqueror from antiquity. For instance, Walker related that the task of travelling into Kathiawar excited 'an uncommon degree of interest and expectation', partly because it would provide a means to verify the Magadha origins of Kathiawar's Rajput communities, which were presupposed based on Alexander the Great's contact with Magadha societies.

Referencing Major James Rennell, the East Indian Company's surveyor-general from 1767 to 1777, Walker drew on his own etymological observations of Arrian's history to weigh up a variety of conjectures to do with the origins of Kathiawar's Kati population:

> Major Rennel considers the Batheans, who gave battle to Alexander soon after he crossed the Hydrates or Kavee, to be the same race of men as the Kshatriya of the present period; but this conjecture seems improbable, as Arrian actually mentions this people afterwards under their proper name. Every circumstance of name, situation, manners, and character, seems to point them out as the Kati, who have since as we know from their History, emigrated into India, and given their name to Kattywar.
>
> Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', pp. 23-24.

Yet despite their material disagreements, Walker and Rennell shared a great deal of affinity in their approach to discerning India's geography. Both were concerned heavily with distinguishing and characterising the different 'races' living in present and historical India, and with tracking the migratory origins of these 'races'. In his *Geographical System of Herodotus*

[80] Williams, *The Social Life of Books,* p. 254.

(1800), Rennell mapped Herodotus' coverage of Alexander the Great's conquest onto his own knowledge of modern Indian geography in order to clarify its errors. The description he gave of the Kshatriya likewise included pejorative descriptors associated with conjectural history: 'the tribes spoken of, might have been the savages of some of the wild tracts adjacent to the Indus, below the Panjab country.'[81]

Walker's own conjectures on the subject related to contemporary Kati peoples having originated from Hindu cultures in the Indus Valley, which were gradually displaced across time by Muslim conquests. The Kati, specifically, he linked to pastoral, nomadic elements of post-Indus Valley Hindu societies. To do so, Walker looked again not only to Arrian-based etymology, but also correspondences in Kati Rajput folklore. Noting that the 'modern Kati claim their descent from Kurna, the fabulous offspring of the sun', Walker claimed that this 'fable has been invented to conceal an Historical fact, and to embellish a crime with sanction of divine authority.' Rather, the fact of the matter, as Walker saw it, was that the 'ancestors of the Kati were the attendants of the Pandies during their banishment, and were employed in stealing or driving away cattle. Their posterity has continued to follow this mode of life, and endeavour to disguise its acclaim or infamy, by deriving their licence from a Deity.' (Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', p. 26)

Walker's assumption that he could divine empirical historical fact from Hindu histories and mythology recurs frequently throughout the 'Ancient Intercourse', and this is evidenced especially during his later explanations of Kathiawar's modern demographics. Tracing their movements in a gradual process from the Indus Valley towards Gujarat, Walker linked the Kati – at the final stages of their migration – to the Rann of Kutch. And in explaining their movement from here to Kathiawar, he produced potential causes from remote (and unreferenced) historical events.[82] He described the migration as taking place in two main stages, the first being 'in consequence of a famine.' This, according to Walker, 'obliged them to travel with their families, and flocks, in quest of food and pasture, after searching ceased they returned to Pawur.' The second, Walker claimed, his Brahmin contacts had 'ascribed to a dispute about a Kati woman, which ended in the death or murder of a Chief of the country, and the resentment of whose family the Kati's being unable to withstand, they removed into Kattywar' (Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', p. 28). The degree of specificity Walker goes into here is

[81] James Rennel, *The Geographical System of Herodotus, Examined; and Explained, by a Comparison with those of Other Ancient Authors, and with Modern Geography* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1800), p. 307.
[82] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', p. 32.

suggestive of the degree to which he held firm in his original conjectures, his confidence in using Indian texts and folklore as historical source, and of his confidence in the empiricism of his approach to writing Indian history.[83]

Conclusion

Before concluding this chapter and launching into an investigation of Walker's administrative materials, it will be worth lingering briefly on his 'Ancient Intercourse', not least because of the close connection between the two. Later, in the text, Walker complains of the dearth of information conveyed in Arrian's coverage of the voyage of Nearchus, and in general of Alexander the Great's navy. Such information, he claimed, might have enabled him, and other historians, to connect 'the expedition of Alexander with the progress of the British Army.' (Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', p. 84) In the process of achieving this, Walker generated information that might also have contributed to colonial rule, fashioning ideas about India's geography and demographics which – through institutions and administrative structures – could palpably reshape India's lived realities. That Walker should complain about the absence of a factual historical record reflects the extent to which historical information was deemed to be useful in imperial conquest and management.[84]

Writing, in the same chapter, at the foot of his and Arrian's descriptions of the geography of the Indus Valley and Alexander the Great's progress there, Walker finished by stating that:

> I have indulged in these quotations, as I had occasion to feel their force and to weigh these circumstances, at the time that Bonaparte threatened to invade India, and some supposed that he might have come by this route.
>
> Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', p. 104.

In Walker's feeling the 'force' of what he had read from Arrian, one can witness a curious reversal of his self-imagining the British presence in India as following in the footsteps of Alexander, in which Napoleon superseded Walker and the British in their ambition to follow in Alexander's footsteps.[85] This reversal might also tell us that Walker's historical conjectures (along with his anticipations to do with potential military threats) were the product of his own

[83] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', pp. 67-69.
[84] Peabody, 'Knowledge Formation in Colonial India', p. 76.
[85] Agnieszka Fulińska, 'Alexander and Napoleon', in Kenneth R. Moore (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 545-75, 545, 567.

imaginings as much as they were also the outcomes of observation. His experience of India was inextricably altered by his projections of already extant ideas about the nature of society, the reality of the past, or anxieties to do with an existential threat. This might go some way to explaining the prevalence of conjectural historical language and conventions in his administrative output. In his capacity as an East India Company soldier and resident he was engaging in a similar discursive enterprise as his historical work; he was attempting to learn about, describe, and ultimately know India.[86]

[86] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 21.

Chapter 4: Conjectural History in the Service of Empire

Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw how Walker often put the written record of his time in India to direct use in the construction of histories, in part by transplanting essays, letters and memoranda from the original imperial contexts of their composition and into the prose of texts written as part of Enlightenment literary cultures. In this way, information generated to inform imperial expansion, for the purposes of maintaining colonial rule, or which was generated in the wake of colonial conquest, fuelled and was transformed by Walker's engagement with Enlightenment history.[1] The reverse of this was also frequently the case: there are also a number of significant moments throughout Walker's archive that indicate that languages and understandings of the world lifted from Scottish Enlightenment 'philosophical history' (and, in particular, conjectural history) played a substantial, sometimes formative role in the concoction of colonialist perspectives on racial difference and Indian policy.[2]

This chapter, furthermore, identifies Walker's surviving administrative materials as being revealing of moments in which elements of Scottish Enlightenment history were appropriated to further the military, political and economic interests of the East India Company. The texts chosen for analysis here include: two essays on governing Malabar, produced by Walker during the late 1790s; an 1800 essay recommending military expansion northwards into Gujarat, planned in response to the threat of Napoleonic France; an 1805 essay Walker wrote in response to a request by Arthur Wellesley, on the expediency of conscripting African soldiers to maintain the East India Company's possessions in South Asia; letters sent by and to Walker before and during his campaign against infanticide in Kathiawar in 1807 and 1808; and an 1812 essay Walker wrote on his parting from India, which revisits the topic of his 1800 essay on British geopolitical strategy.[3] My analyses of each of these sources demonstrate the heavy influence of 'philosophical' historical language and concepts upon Walker's approach to Indian governance. Furthermore, by moving through these sources chronologically, I also

[1] Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 9.
[2] Bayly, 'Race in Britain and India', p. 72.
[3] Alexander Walker, 'Memoranda and other papers, chiefly of Alexander Walker', 1801-05, NLS, MS.13653; Walker, 'Memoranda of Alexander Walker on the state of India in 1800, and the governing of India in general and Malabar in particular in 1802', 1800, 02, NLS, MS.13828.; Walker, 'Manuscript concerning Hindu Infanticide', 1816-1817, MS.13898, pp. 31-53; Walker, 'Incomplete memoranda on the theme of the government of India, probably written after Alexander Walker's return from India.', Circa. 1812, NLS, MS.13950.

chart how Walker's development as an administrator mirrored – and was arguably inseparable from – his intellectual maturation.

Walker's use of ideas taken from Scottish Enlightenment history and natural philosophy during the practice of administration meant that his administrative writings were inflected with a variety of important colonialist significations. Much of his administrative writing utilised elements of conjectural history – especially theories dealing with the causes and signs of social development and/or stagnation – to formulate and justify colonial policy and rule, often with the ostensible end of promoting the civilisation of India in mind. Walker's material therefore suggests that in the context of British India, the hierarchies of racial difference and social evolution implied by stadial theory were often called upon to justify and reinforce the colonial domination of India by, as they saw it, its more 'civilized' European administrators.[4] In addition, although conceptualizations of a universal human nature (and Indians' natures) feature in Walker's administrative discourses as means of rationalizing and predicting the effectiveness of specific strands of colonial policy, these ideas were fundamentally at odds with the manner in which Walker put them to use.[5] Hence, where this concept does appear throughout Walker's administrative writing, it played an essential role not just in the formulation of colonial strategy, but also in the construction of ideas of Indian racial difference and the disavowal of colonial violence.[6]

Consequently, I argue, the presence of Enlightenment modes and concepts in Walker's administrative writing is also reflective of the extent to which the East India Company's bureaucracy was invested in projects of epistemological control and narrative authority. As Raman Bhavani has argued in her *Document Raj*, from 'the late eighteenth century, the Company instituted a government of writing under parliamentary pressure to perpetuate the mastery of the Indian subcontinent for the metropole's finance and manufacturing empires.'[7] Administrative documentation not only represented a means for the Company to limit corruption and to invest its agents with political and moral accountability, but it also provided a means for the Company to exercise power through Indian-run government institutions such

[4] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 8.
[5] Tricoire, 'Introduction', in Damien Tricoire (ed.), *Enlightened Colonialism*, pp. 5-6.
[6] Hall and Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', pp. 5-9, 11, 19.
[7] Raman Bhavani, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), pp. 2-3.

as the Company cutcherry, which mobilized networks of scribes as intermediaries between bazaar credit systems and the colonial state.[8]

Although Walker occupied stations of military and political but not judicial intermediary power, his administrative materials reveal that he also actively mobilized colonial intermediaries as a way to gather information and exercise political power. During his efforts at encouraging Kathiwar's Rajput communities to outlaw infanticide, as we shall see, Walker looked to cutcherrys and Indian scribes as avenues of cultural and legal authority when his face to face engagements with local princes were unsuccessful. Covering the experiences and practices of the Brahmin and Munshi scribes Walker interacted with falls outside of the remit of this thesis, because it is primarily concerned with understanding the generation and operation of colonialist discourses from a British imperialistic perspective. Regardless, however, it needs to be acknowledged that these individuals were an integral part of the practices through which Walker formulated and enacted colonial policy. Even more importantly, it must also be remarked that despite their centrality to the networks of knowledge acquisition Walker depended upon, Indian scribes only take up marginal positions in the official narratives represented by his administrative documentation, notwithstanding their indelible but obfuscated presences within his texts.[9]

On this note, Bernard Cohn's argument that the production of texts to do with Indian languages, society, culture and topography contributed to Orientalist discourses that 'had the effect of converting Indian forms of knowledge into European objects' is acutely relevant.[10] In the previous chapter we saw how indigenous Indian literature and history fell afoul of Walker's historicizing gaze, and how the scribes Walker relied upon for translations of Indian histories were granted only peripheral credit and acknowledgement in Walker's finished texts. In turn, this chapter demonstrates how Walker's administrative writings, which are in and of themselves products of nexuses of communication between indigenous scribes and a European colonial agent, nonetheless privileged European voices with narrative mastery and authority. Overall, this process of knowledge conversion was by no means absolute or complete, as Christopher Bayly's work on how Indian scribal autonomy generated slippages and ruptures in the British Indian 'information order' bears out.[11] This chapter does argue, however, that the

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8, 14-15, 193-95.
[9] Peabody, 'Knowledge Formation in Colonial India', pp. 75-77, 88-89, pp. 91, 95-96; Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 4-5.
[10] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 21.
[11] Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 9.

marginalisation of Indian voices and perspectives, and the refiguring of Indian knowledge through European cultural idioms, were central functions of Walker's administrative discourse.[12]

The Malabar Commission

Consisting of copies of administrative and political essays by a number of East India Company officials and soldiers, an entry to the Walker of Bowland Papers labelled 'Official memoranda and correspondence concerning the condition of Malabar and the activities of the Commission' offers considerable insight into the nature of the administrative and intellectual discourses of the Malabar Commission, as well as Walker's own activity within it. This collection constitutes an assortment of 46 discreet essays, memoranda and letters, written and circulated for administrative purposes by numerous, often unidentified, members of the Commission. These include 'A political and commercial view of our interests in India', 'A paper on the affairs of Malabar', and 'Military and Political considerations in respect to Malabar', each the product of unknown authors. Two essays of Walker's composition, however, include 'Reflections on the establishment of Military Law in Malabar' and a 'Memoir on the State of Malabar'.[13] Before eventually making his own written contributions to Malabar's administration, as a junior member of the Commission Walker was likely called upon to produce copies of exactly this kind of material, as and when it either reached or left his superior's hands. Because Walker kept copies of materials relating to the Commission during this time, it is possible to infer that even when he was not writing or rewriting administrative material, he was almost certainly reading it, and was moreover included as a recipient of copies of often secretive administrative discourse.[14]

In an essay named 'Reflections on the establishment of Military Law in Malabar', Walker dealt with the subject of local unrest in Malabar, which, during the assumption of British power in the region, erupted following the displacement of local Hindu rulers from positions of military and judicial power. Walker, however, described this as having resulted not so much from the Company's de facto takeover of Malabar, but its imposition of modern judiciary systems in lieu of less 'civilised' forms of dispensing the law:

[12] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26.
[13] Walker, 'Official memoranda and correspondence concerning the condition of Malabar and the activities of the Commission', 1796-1800, MS.13616.
[14] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', pp. 52, 56; Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, pp. 158-59.

> There is nothing on which men are so much divided in their opinions as the subject of Government. Few however will deny but that the proper object of it is the security of happiness to the greatest possible number of Individuals. That Government therefore may be presumed the best which is adopted to the genius and manners of a people. It may be doubted, whether it is for the advantage of a county lately subdued by force of arms and accustomed before to a despotic yoke, to be suddenly placed under the influence of civil laws. This must be more especially the case if the inhabitants should be ignorant and uncultivated.
>
> Walker, 'Reflections on the establishment of Military Law in Malabar', f. 46.

In this opening statement, Walker set up the central argument of his essay – that a military government was a desirable alternative to modes of civil jurisprudence unsuitable to Malabar's social state – whilst also underpinning it with a justificatory epistemology reminiscent of discourse on India's 'ancient constitutions'. This discourse, as Travers has shown, provided a way for British Indian officials to rationalise and construct systems of colonial governance under the rubric that ancient forms of Indian governance were historically suited to the nature of India's peoples and societies.[15]

Walker underlined 'the security of happiness' as the prime object of governance, and as such justified his suggestions as to the selection of appropriate, Indian forms of government in Malabar as pursuing exactly this beneficent end. While mediating arguments over the desirable extents of EIC government in India, Walker likely had in mind the philosophy of John Locke. Published in the wake of the Glorious Revolution and directly concerned with its legitimacy, Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) achieved significant intellectual currency toward the latter end of the eighteenth century in the English- and French-speaking worlds, especially as and when it came to be often appropriated in political debates on the American Revolutionary War and the French Revolution.[16] Locke theorised that while humankind enjoys absolute freedom in a 'state of nature', 'the Enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the Invasion of others.' It was because of this, he believed, that people band together into political societies, giving up some of their natural freedoms in return for 'the mutual preservation of their Lives, Liberties and Estates'. Though Walker elided

[15] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 7-8, 16.
[16] Delphine Soulard, 'The Reception of Locke's Politics: Locke in the République des Lettres', in J. Champion et. al (eds), *Politics, Religion and Ideas in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Mark Goldie* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), p. 201; Mark Goldie, *The Reception of Locke's Politics* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999), Vol. 1, xxviii.

Locke's emphasis on good governance striking a necessary balance between these protections and the freedom humankind might otherwise enjoy outside of civil society, he certainly drew on this philosophy, emphasising 'the security of happiness to the greatest possible number of Individuals' as a vital measure of good governance.[17]

Walker's notion that that 'Government therefore may be presumed the best which is adopted to the genius and manners of a people' evokes a core assumption of Company discourse on 'ancient Hindu constitutions', namely that long-standing historical modes of governance in different Hindu 'nations' were uniquely well calculated to the 'genius and manners' of these 'nations'. This line of argument, especially Walker's deployment of the analytical category of 'genius' in a legal context, can be traced back to the French Enlightenment philosopher Montesquieu, and the concept of 'national spirits'. A foundational text with regards to its influence on Scottish Enlightenment 'philosophical' and, more specifically, conjectural history, Montesquieu's *De l'Espirit des Lois* (1748) envisioned the characters of different societies as being formed in reciprocal relationships to their legal, social and commercial institutions.[18]

Coining the phrase 'the spirit of laws' to describe the 'various relations which the laws may have with different things', Montesquieu identified such spirits as being unique to each of the world's distinct nations, and accordingly suggested that different legal systems might be better suited to the world's differing national characters. Even further, among the hypothetical nations and historical circumstances he built his arguments around, he outlined an example of what might happen should a commercial nation send 'colonies abroad… rather to extend its commerce than its dominion':

> The conquered state would have an excellent civil government, but it might be oppressed by the law of nations; and laws would be imposed from one nation to another, which would be such as to render its propensity precarious, and dependent on the will of a master.[19]

The notion that 'laws imposed from one nation to another' were often unsuited to the 'national spirits' of conquered nations constituted a major concern for Walker. For instance, Walker

[17] John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government: In the Former, the False Principles and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, and his Followers, are Detected and Overthrown. The Latter, is an Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent, and End of Civil-Government* (London: John Churchill, 1713), p. 123.
[18] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 22, 26-27, 34, 40.
[19] Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws,* Vol. 1, pp. 9, 445.

identified the displacement of Malabar's noble families from positions of power as a cause for the then recent local unrest there. That said, however, Walker's application of ideas on the suitability of particular forms of government to particular nations was chiefly rooted in his analysis of society in Malabar, rather than in the general historical principles which Montesquieu, as well as much discourse on 'ancient constitutions', alluded to.[20]

Indeed, Walker's identification of which mode of governance might be most appropriate in Malabar related more to his observations on the ignorance and lack of cultivation of Malabar's inhabitants, and to the application of a stadial-progressive view of societal development to the subject of jurisprudence. The reason given by Walker for his deviation here is that his essay took it for granted that the eventual introduction of more 'civilised' modes of jurisprudence in Malabar was – if not expedient in the short term – desirable in the long run. To Walker, the introduction of alternative forms of government, those better fitted to Malabar's societal state, was not an end, but a means of conquest and of providing a basis for gradual societal improvement. 'The introduction of a regular Government must be brought about by perseverance, and established by time,' he suggests, 'on the minds of the people, from a conviction of its utility.' The problem at hand in Malabar was that 'ignorance opposes the progress of good Government, and places improvement in the light of tyrannical innovations.' Under this circumstance, Walker went on to argue, 'the firm and decisive interference of Military law would be the happiest system of Government', particularly to ensure the eventual ascension of 'good Government'. Instituting martial law, he concluded, 'would maintain the rights of the conqueror, secure the property of the people, and render animosity hopeless by its prompt and irreversible decrees.' (Walker, 'Reflections on the establishment of Military Law in Malabar', f. 46).[21]

During these arguments, then, Walker formulated an explanation of unrest in Malabar which relied on notions of Indian racial difference: the people of Malabar were unfit for and unready to profit from EIC governance, despite the benefits it might have otherwise brought and, he supposed, the Company's good intentions. Because of this, his arguments functioned in such a way as to predicate European rule in India on the dissemination of civilisation, especially to prepare India for 'civilised' forms of jurisprudence and self-rule. At the same time, however, he also withheld access to this idealised state because of the Indian unreadiness

[20] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 7-8.
[21] Bayly, 'Race in Britain and India', p. 81.

he perceived.[22] Walker's essay is, therefore, highly reminiscent of the more general colonial trend in which, as Dipesh Chakrabarty has put it, this kind of historicism 'came to non-European peoples in the nineteenth century as somebody's way of say "not yet" to somebody else.'[23] It is also possible to draw from this a sense of how historical information was integral to the perpetuation of Company rule in India. In this instance, historical and philosophical frameworks informed retrospective and predictive schemes of governmental and societal cause and effect, around which the Company might – should it have sought out Walker's advice – construct its policy.[24]

Additionally, Walker wrote on the same topic of unrest in Malabar in his 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', except on this occasion he adopted history for use in administration for more informational than advisory ends. This essay, in fact, forms a stark counterpart to Walker's 'Reflections', in that instead of abstracted reflections it takes the shape of a linear narrative history of recent events in Malabar. Descriptive narrative histories of this kind could nonetheless perform vital administrative functions, insofar as the collection of information on India underpinned exactly the kind of abstract political reflections seen above. Walker began his narrative by focusing on the Company's military alliances with the displaced Rajahs of Kadathanadu ('Cartinaad'), Kolattunādu ('Cherakul') and Kozhikode ('Calicute') in preparation for the Third Anglo-Mysore War. Their holdings in North Kerala had been invaded during Mysore's expansion toward the Malabar Coast, and they had predominantly sought refuge in Travancore to the south. This, in time, set the stage for Walker's relation of his views on the causes for these Rajahs' eventual rebellion: that they primarily resulted from the Company's failing to observe their full restoration in the region. Walker, however, spuriously justified this as having resulting from slippages in the Company's treaties with these rulers, and in so doing actively worked to absolve the Company of responsibility for the conflict.[25]

Walker began by stating that the nature of the 'cowls' or agreements struck by the Company 'and the circumstances under which they were granted demand particular attention, as on them chiefly the Northern Rajahs have founded their resistance to the introduction of our Government.' (Walker, 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', f. 139) And within his subsequent

[22] Inden, *Imagining India*, p. 86.
[23] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 8; Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, p. 10.
[24] Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 53; Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, pp. 174-75.
[25] Hall and Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', pp. 5-9; James Summers and Alex Gough, *Non-State Actors and International Obligations: Creation, Evolution and Enforcement* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 55-57.

discussion of this, Walker indeed paid very particular attention to these cowls, outlining their terms whilst also underlining phrases to emphasise their precise legal implications:

> The first cowl was granted to the Rajah of Cartinaad and it stipulated that… the English East India Company engaged to assist and protect him; and do every thing in their power to render him independent of Tippoo Sultan, and that he had agreed to enter into an alliance with the Honble Company on the same basis of friendship that formerly subsisted between both parties…
>
> Walker, 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', f. 139.

While on the one hand the 'Rajahs expected no thing less than absolute freedom…' and nor 'were they immediately deceived in this expectation', Walker identifies in the terms of the cowl between the Company and Cartinaad several linguistic ambiguities (Walker, 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', f. 140). That Cartinaad should be 'independent of Tippoo Sultan' did not necessarily legally enshrine Cartinaad's right to independence from the Company, nor did it preclude the Company from instituting its own civil courts and taking over the collection of tithes there.[26]

This ambiguity was brought into question in short order. 'About two months after the cowls were granted', Walker said, 'the Chief and Factors of Tellicherry who had themselves drawn out the agreements enquired of the Bombay Government by what mode of tenure they were to hold their possessions, whether as independent Rajahs and Chiefs or as Zemindars of the English?' (Walker, 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', f. 139) This questioning, however, and the original slippage in the treaty, Walker assured his audience, were not the product of deliberate trickery nor opportunism:

> Had [this question] existed at the time of entering into those engagements, it would have naturally been inserted as a clause, and made a subject of reference to the Governor in Council.
>
> Walker, 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', f. 139.

As a matter of principle, *of course* the Company would have enshrined the independence of Malabar's Rajahs in the treaty, had the question been raised. Yet the looming reality that the matter had not been settled, and the fact that the Cowls struck between the Company and

[26] Inge Van Hulle, 'Grotius, Informal Empire and the Conclusion of Unequal Treaties', *Grotiana*, 37.1 (2016), pp. 56-57.

Malabar's princes meant different things to each party, had left the door open, so far as the actual conduct of the Bombay Government was concerned, for the erosion of this independence.[27]

Describing the Bombay Government's orders to take over judiciary proceedings in Malabar, Walker explained that 'had the state of society been prepared to receive improved institutions, we should not now probably have to regret a want of success' (Walker, 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', f. 141). Not only, therefore, did Walker present the Company's actions as justifiable on the basis that it's assumption of power in Malabar might further civilisation there, but he also moved towards alleviating his colleagues and the Company at large of responsibility for the then present unrest. In doing so, he instead located the lack of readiness for civilisation in the state of Malabarian society as the prime cause. In Walker's eyes, the introduction of judicial regulations 'framed on the model of those established in Bengal' by the British did not in itself prohibit the observance of Malabar's 'ancient constitutions'. As he described the transition from Indian to British forms of jurisprudence, Walker suggested that by attempting to maintain traditional Hindu freedoms and forms of government the Bombay Government was inevitably drawn into conflict with Malabar's local princes. In particular, Walker characterised these local rulers as being incapable of preserving law and order, and as having abused the very same Zemindari systems of land revenue and taxation which the Company now ostensibly sought to preserve.[28]

Accordingly, British troops 'stationed in different parts of the country to preserve order and to countenance the collection of the revenue' were forced to protect 'the inhabitants against the depredations of robbers' and to check 'the extortions of their own chiefs.' The British, then, were caught between 'the maintenance of the ancient constitution of Malabar and the prevention of injustice.' The consequence was that:

> Attention to the Rajahs gradually fell into disuse. Their military honors were discontinued. The original laws of the country were suspended by a code drawn from a dissimilar and more improved state of society. The exercise of civil as well as criminal jurisdiction was no longer entrusted to the natives.
>
> Walker, 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', f. 143.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.
[28] Frew, 'Scots and the Imposition of Improvement in South India', in *The Scottish Experience in Asia*, pp. 103, 106, 112; Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 125-126, 132-135.

And while this, again, was supposedly therefore justifiable, EIC conflict with local rulers, Walker concluded, was itself the reason for unrest in Malabar. Though expedient to the ends of justice and good government, according to Walker, this deprivation of 'the Rajahs of their hereditary authority… made no calculation for the constitution of human nature.' The error of the Company was not in the civilising end it strove for, nor in it being moved to act toward this end, but rather its miscalculation of the best means of achieving it.[29]

Appealing once more to human nature as a means of explaining historical causation, Walker reasoned that: 'Such a degradation could only be submitted to from weakness, and only maintained by the constant operation of force… The system we established could not fail to promote a counteraction and opposition.' (Walker, 'Memoir on the State of Malabar', f. 144) In failing to anticipate the natural attachments to hereditary land and the inclinations toward freedom of Malabar's peoples, the Company had, Walker believed, made a misstep. Nevertheless, this was as damning of the Company as Walker was willing to be. Instead of holding the British takeover of Malabar and the actors behind it as accountable for the eruption of civil disturbances there, Walker weaved a historical narrative which served to absolve the Company of responsibility for the mismanagement of Malabar. In the end, it was the people of Malabar, who were racially characterised as uncivilised and unready for modern systems of government, who were the real obstacles to progress. Though this tract, despite envisioning the world through the lens of discourse on 'ancient constitutions', had little directly to do with pre-emptively shaping imperial policy during this exact historical episode, it did serve another function equally as significant to the maintenance of empire. This was in the writing of history by the victor, and in the promulgation of a culture of disavowal within the Bombay Army and Government.[30]

'Memoranda of Alexander Walker on the state of India in 1800'

Walker's 'Memoranda… on the state of India in 1800' was one of his first significant administrative tracts shared with the Bombay Government written independently of the Malabar Commission. The object of Walker's political and strategic analyses here was substantially broadened, in that he took the whole of India (and the ability of the Company to either conquer or maintain its territory there) as his subject. He was also responding at this time to anxiety over the threat of Post-Revolutionary France in the wake of Napoleon Bonaparte's

[29] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', pp. 56-57.
[30] Kroeker, 'The Science of Human Nature in the Scottish Enlightenment', p. 227; Also, see again Hall and Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', pp. 5-9.

expedition into Egypt and Syria. Throughout, Walker ruminated over the possibilities of French alliances with hostile Indian states and a French or French-allied invasion into North-West India. Walker's use of Enlightenment concepts, ways of thinking and modes of speech here largely subsists in his application of 'philosophical' historical units of social division to produce behavioural analyses of 'nations' as actors in international politics. He also used historical precedent to conjecture a range of possible outcomes to the Company's potential conflicts with France, implicitly putting into practice truisms to do with the constancy of human nature to correlate India's historical and present circumstances.[31]

Walker began by assessing India's utility to the British Empire, and the purpose of the East India Company's mission there. He identified this in trade from India and its luxury goods, a trade which he suggested at that time merited a 'just' application of military force for its preservation:

> Commercial pursuits first made us visit India; but a scene of brilliant exploits little connected with commerce led to the establishment of an extensive empire, which must now be supported by a just combination of strength, with objects relating to trade. Hence the encouragement of Military and Commercial exertion is the chief object of national concern.[32]

This intertwinement of 'Military and Commercial exertion' as two mutually constitutive necessities goes on to underpin the entirety of Walker's arguments within this essay. As a matter of national consequence, the maintenance of the Company's trade in India was essential, and thereby any military force exerted to protect it was defensible.[33]

With this view in mind, Walker then suggested that further territorial expansion could serve to protect the Company's economic interests. Crucially, the nub of his analysis on this head was not that such conquest was a violation of the rights of other peoples to self-determination. Instead, the question of the necessity of conquest lay in the ability of the Company to maintain its extensive empire. Walker mused that whether 'or not we do wisely in extending our possessions to the interior parts of India father than we have already done is a question of great political consideration.' The Company's expansion in the region might not

---

[31] *Ibid.,* p. 229; Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, p. 12.
[32] Walker, 'Memoranda of Alexander Walker on the state of India in 1800, and the governing of India in general and Malabar in particular in 1802', 1800, 02, NLS, MS.13828., ff. 5-6.
[33] Emily Erikson, *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company, 1600-1757* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 2-4.

be cost effective, should the expense of maintaining newly conquered territories outweigh the economic benefits of possessing them. This problem, Walker suggested, was the consequence of it being 'difficult to resist the temptation and attachments of conquest. Nations and individuals are alike insatiable in their desires; and it is rarely that either know the temperate medium which should bound their acquisitions' (Walker, 'Memoranda on the state of India in 1800', f. 6).[34]

In likening the desires of 'Nations and individuals', Walker tacitly assumed that it was only natural that 'Nations' should seek expansion. There was a precedent for this form of discussion in the economic determinist wing of Scottish Enlightenment history and philosophy, exemplified by Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Smith had, in fact, been critical of East India Company expansion in India and the East Indies, stating that it had 'arose from no necessity… though the utility which has resulted' from Indian trade 'has been very great'.[35] That Company expansion was underpinned by 'no necessity' strikes at a core assumption underpinning Smith's work: that because nations are the amalgamation of individuals with wants and desires that go beyond acquiring the minimum means of human subsistence, nations are themselves also subject to emulating these human passions:

> That order of things which necessity imposes in general, though not in every particular country, is, in every particular country, promoted by the natural inclinations of man. If human institutions had never thwarted those natural inclinations, the town could no where have increased beyond what the improvement and cultivation of the territory in which they were situated could support…[36]

Throughout his subsequent passages, Walker likewise envisioned 'nations' including Britain, France, and Indian states as historical actors, the amalgamation of peoples who, based on the operations of a universal human nature and their own unique national characteristics, could be known to act predictably.

Shifting his focus towards Gujarat and territories north and west of the Indus Valley, Walker moved on to recommend that inland expansion in this direction was desirable for the

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
[35] Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 2, p. 149; See also Mark Donoghue, 'Adam Smith and the Honourable East India Company', *History of Economic Review*, 77.1 (2020), p. 2, for an appraisal of criticisms of the Company added in later editions.
[36] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 461.

end of strategic defence. Based on historical precedent, in fact, it would be especially wise to secure India's north-western frontier:

> The route by which Alexander and other conquerors arrived in India is still open and the people whose ancestors composed their armies possess at this moment perhaps an equal degree of courage and adventure as their forefathers. They require but an ambitious or enterprising leader to pour forth their uncivilised bands and to overspread like a torrent the fertile fields of Hindostan…
>
> Walker, 'Memoranda on the state of India in 1800', f. 7.

Walker's precise choice of imagery here, depicting the pouring fourth of 'uncivilized bands' and the sweeping away of the British from India as if they were caught in a flood, painted as grim a picture of British prospects against French-allied Indian uprisings as it does of the state of society in which he supposed the people of the Indus Valley to live. Worse still, the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War had already provided for Walker a taste of how this might happen. While Mysore had by this time been conquered, Napoleon Bonaparte's previous alliance with Tipu Sultan, and popular allusions to the French intending to follow in Alexander the Great's footsteps (and march across Asia and into India in order to unite with Mysore), posited Napoleon as exactly the kind of 'ambitious or enterprising leader' that might effect such a disaster.[37]

Comparisons between Napoleon Bonaparte and Alexander the Great, according to Agnieszka Fulińska, appear to have been ubiquitous during the first few years of the 1800s, despite the fact that Alexander the Great had drifted out of cultural relevancy by the later Romantic period. Indeed, as Fulińska puts it, 'in the late 18th and early 19th centuries Alexander had been a commonplace' cultural icon, and 'was one of the most readily exploited ancient figures, providing [a] model for both virtues and vices…' and an 'association and allegorical image for Napoleon.'[38] Walker, then, was not alone in drawing parallels between ancient history and his contemporary present, nor in perceiving the repetition of Alexander's expedition into India by Napoleon as a real danger. And while the threat of a French alliance with Mysore had been stifled, and Napoleon turned back from Asia at the siege of Acre, Alexander the Great's former route into India was still more or less open. In this instance, ancient history served Walker as a vivid imaginative touchstone, one which collapsed both past

[37] Das, *Defending British India Against Napoleon*, p. 4.
[38] Fulinska, 'Alexander and Napoleon', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, pp. 545.

and present together into the historical *longue durée.* It shaped his perception of the reality of his contemporary present, and what was and was not possible or likely within it, in ways that affected him deeply. This was so, in fact, to the extent that allegories between Alexander and Napoleon deeply shaped his approach to strategic policy.[39]

Walker also discussed the alignment of the Mahratta Confederacy against the East India Company in this light. In general, he reasoned, the ascendancy of British power on the Indian subcontinent, through no real fault of the Company, aligned Indian powers against them. When speaking particularly of the Maratha Confederacy, he also expanded on how he saw this favour for the French over the British as potentially manifesting:

> It cannot however be doubtful but that they [the Mahrattas] are secretly disposed to the French, and will whenever occasion may offer, assist their schemes of commerce, or aggrandisement, in opposition to us.
>
> Walker, 'Memoranda on the state of India in 1800', f. 9.

The exact form of this assistance, he further feared, might be that the Marathas would assist the French in landing an armed force on the Indian subcontinent.[40]

The lack of a British presence in Gujarat might in such an event spell military disaster. Walker noted that if 'a French force were to land in the Conkan or Guzeratte with the good will [sic] of the Mahrattas they surely would not be less formidable than if they were set down at the Gates of Fort William.' (Walker, 'Memoranda on the state of India in 1800', ff. 13-14) Subsequently, Walker insisted, the only sound course of policy for the East India Company was to neglect ineffectual expansion in central India, and look instead to the north:

> We should on all these accounts strengthen ourselves not only at Bombay, the coast of Malabar, and Surat, but endeavour to prevail possession of a part, or the whole of Guzeratte, which would give us a sufficient influence from Cape Comorin to the mouths of the Indus. The possession of Guzeratte would be attended with Military and Commercial advantages of first importance.
>
> Walker, 'Memoranda on the state of India in 1800', ff. 15-16.

[39] Das, *Defending British India Against Napoleon*, pp. 91-92.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

From this instance, it is therefore possible to trace Walker's proposals for the British conquest of Gujarat back to anxieties over Napoleonic France, anxieties which, significantly, were magnified and expressed by and through allegories to ancient history.[41]

Here, the relevance of Alexander the Great as a historical figure, and of his conquests as something which precedent dictated might reoccur, speaks to the ways in which conjectural-historical thinking and broader popular imaginings of the historical *longue-durée* could shape the experience of the present in the eighteenth century. Walker's reliance on this mode of thought also reflects the extent to which he saw himself and his contemporaries as being subject to the forces of history, to the shifts in power and circumstantial changes in the manifestation of human nature one could observe as far back as antiquity.[42] And while in the view on display here the French had clearly supplanted the British as Alexander's successors, this also speaks to the power in influence cultural forms lifted from Classical history might otherwise have had – and even did have in this instance – on the way the British in India imagined themselves. Even if Walker's eventual role as resident of Baroda, and later participation in the thrust of the East India Company northwards, do not necessarily confirm that his policy recommendations in 1800 were a force for actuating British conquest, his ideas certainly show how ways of thinking connected to the conjectural historical mode informed desires for imperial conquest.[43]

'Considerations on employing negroes as soldiers in India', 1805

In a collection named 'Memoranda and other papers, chiefly of Alexander Walker' survives the first instance of an essay titled 'Considerations on employing negroes as soldiers in India'. This essay was drafted in response to a request for information by Arthur Wellesley – who posited recruiting African soldiers as potential solution to manpower shortages experienced by the Company during and after the Napoleonic Wars – and was presumably circulated among a broad network of Company administrators.[44] In response, Walker set about weighing the relative value of European, Indian, and African soldiers, as well as the risks that attended the employment of African troops. These risks, as Walker saw it, included potential disobedience from black soldiers, their being unable to command authority over Sepoy mercenaries, and their lack of martial skill. His opinions on each class of troop here suggested

[41] Fulinska, 'Alexander and Napoleon', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, pp. 547.
[42] Mairs, 'The Men Who Would be Alexander', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, p. 577.
[43] Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, p. 9.
[44] Walker, 'Memoranda and other papers, chiefly of Alexander Walker', f. 1.

a hierarchy of racial superiority, with European soldiers being the most desirable for service in India, Africans the least, and Indians in the middle.[45]

The structure of this ordering likewise mirrored the hierarchies of social evolution circulated within Scottish Enlightenment conjectural history, although in this instance Walker's analyses were squarely fixed on the racial characterisation of Europeans, Africans and Indians. Assessing Indian mercenaries, Walker surmised that they possessed 'obedience, docility, and fidelity beyond all others... no less conspicuous in the British Service than in that of the powers of the country':

> It is unnecessary to seek in the History and in the frame of the body or mind of this people for the causes which make these qualities so remarkable in them; but it is sufficient that we have had experience of the fact for more than half a century.
>
> Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 5.

It is both significant and telling that Walker raised history, and investigations into 'the body or mind of this people', as means of discerning the suitability of Indian troops for military service.[46] To begin with, Walker believed, it was because of the inherently 'happy disposition' of Indian society that Europeans had been able to even improve their Sepoy charges, militarily and otherwise, by teaching them 'our habits and our discipline', without 'loosening their submission to that authority which we have imposed on them.' Even further, as a proof of this Walker recommended that they 'have endured privations repugnant to their cast and religions, and have assisted us in retaining their own country in subjection, with a fidelity scarce less than our own countrymen.' (Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 5)

As such, going into the self-imposed task of comparing Indian, European and African soldiers, Walker had a high estimation of the racial characteristics of Indian sepoys and their suitedness to acting effectively on behalf of the British in India. And yet this seemingly positive assessment also took place within the kind of hierarchical framework provided to Walker both by stadial theory and climate theory, and moreover within the remit of prevailing anthropological discourse on the supposed femininity of Hindu culture and society.[47] Sara Suleri points to a 1761 essay posthumously appended to Robert Orme's *Historical Fragments*

[45] Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, pp. 36, 108.
[46] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, pp. 13-14, 57-58; Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*, p. 2.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

of the Mogul Empire (1782) in 1805 as a key example of this phenomenon. In Walker's appraisal, willing Indian 'submission to authority' constituted a definitive Indian characteristic, and although in this instance Walker's writing was disconnected from climatological discourse on Hindu history and society, the manner in which he characterised Hindus was very much in line with Orme's statement that: 'Breathing in the softest of climates; having so few real wants; and receiving even the luxuries of other nations with little labour, from the fertility of their own soil; the Indian must become the most effeminate inhabitant of the globe; and this is the very point at which we now see him.'[48]

Walker's discourse on Europeans teaching Indian's their 'habits' and 'discipline' struck also at an integral assumption, namely that without a European contingent to lead them they would prove ineffectual in maintaining and defending India. This related back to Wellesley's proposal, insofar as Walker was keen to see that any measure of recruiting European soldiers from India to serve in Europe did not undermine the East India Company's ability to maintain its dependencies. 'Still', he continued, 'our dominion in the Country must be retained by the valour of European troops.' Given the importance of European soldiers in India as disseminators of civilisation, loyalty and military skill, he predicted that when 'the number of these from the urgency of the public service in Europe is too much reduced, the vigour and ascendency of our armies must decline.' (Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 5) Walker's predictions betray a sense of his perceiving European soldiers not only as a civilising force in India, but moreover as developmental and racial superiors. And this was not even withstanding the alternative of replacing European soldiers with conscripts from Africa, whom Walker described as wholly unfit to take up the integral role European soldiers played in India as disseminators of European discipline and colonial order.[49]

In expressing this opinion, Walker was careful not to be outright dismissive of Wellesley interest in recruiting African soldiers, no doubt out of deference. Walker took pains to construe the 'qualities of these negroe troops' as an unknown quantity, something which the proposal to employ them as soldiers could not anticipate:

> The expediency and propriety of this measure must depend on the qualities of these negroe troops. If His majesty's ministers are assured of the fidelity, courage, discipline, and obedience of the Negroe Regiments, although they never can be adequate

[48] Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*, p. 16; Robert Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Morattoes, and of the English Concerns, in Indostan* (London: C. Nourse, 1805), p. 472.
[49] Welsch, *The Company's Sword*, pp. 55-56.

compensation for the loss of Europeans, yet as a measure of expediency and necessity, it may be requisite to give it a trial.

Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 6.

In the end, though, Walker was humouring this proposal out of politeness. He questioned whether 'these Regiments however really bear this character?' And moreover, he asked, whilst thinking perhaps of previous African slave revolts in the Caribbean (including in 1733 on St. John, Tacky's Rebellion in 1760s Jamaica, the Haitian Revolution in 1789, and Fedon's 1790s revolution in Grenada), if in the past Africans had 'not discovered symptoms of insubordination in the West Indies, and are not the Colonists there desirous of removing them from their possessions?' (Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 6)

Assuming then, that the notion that potential recruits for India from Africa could be possessed of 'fidelity, courage, discipline and obedience' was more likely than not false, Walker cautioned that if 'there be the smallest foundation for these conjectures the project of sending these Regiments to India would be dangerous in the Extreme.' (Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 6) And further, in order to compound this warning, Walker laid out his full opinion on the character of prospective African recruits. Here Walker had recourse once again to the language and ideas of 'philosophical history', in that he deployed 'character' as a central analytical category, whilst also drawing on the descriptive trope of 'ignorance', and the supposed irreligiosity of Africans, in his outlining of their 'character': 'The ferocious character of the africans, their slavery, ignorance and want of religion, form in my opinion when combined with the preceeding considerations inseperable objections against the propriety of introducing large bodies of them into our army in India.' (Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 7) His warning off against Parliament employing African soldiers was predicated thereby on a unilateral view of their 'character', and the imagining of them not as individuals but as a collective with uniform and definitive racial characteristics.[50]

While it is unknowable if Walker had Hume's essay 'Of National Characters' in mind as he wrote this, the affinities between Walker and Hume's thought are stark. Notwithstanding his speculation that 'the negroes' were 'naturally inferior to the whites', Hume expanded that there:

[50] Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"', pp. 248, 250.

> …never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences… Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction betwixt these breeds of men. Not to mention our colonies, there are Negroe slaves dispersed all over Europe, of which none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity…[51]

Though Walker did not go so far as Hume in explicitly arguing that the insurmountable difference between blacks and whites he envisioned was the result of 'an original distinction' in nature, he certainly followed Hume in the racialized characterisation of Africans as ignorant.[52]

Not only did Walker's assessments of African soldiers fail to stack up against his assessments of Indian soldiers, he also believed that the recent history of British conquest in India had created a unique situation in which Indian Sepoys had been gradually convinced of British superiority and as such acclimatised toward docility and obedience. In relaying these thoughts Walker was communicating back to Wellesley a historical narrative of sorts, crude, but dependent on logics of historical cause and effect nonetheless:

> On our first arrival in this country neither the natives, nor ourselves suspected the great superiority we had over them. It was not until after a trial of each others skill and courage that this was established. It was a long time before the natives felt and confessed their inferiority. The conquest of Seringapatam and the late decisive victories over the Mahrattahs have contributed more than any former events to fix the ascendency of the British troops in the minds of the natives.
>
> Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 8.

This, in Walker's mind, explained in part why Sepoy troops accepted the presence of Europeans in India and were additionally well disposed to either follow them or serve loyally in their absence. His stating as much echoes prevailing sentiment amongst British authorities in India that India had been won and was to be maintained 'by the sword'.[53]

This was especially relevant, as Walker saw it, to the question of employing African soldiers in India. Because Company soldiers had had to fight to establish a sense of their

[51] Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects,* p. 125
[52] Eze, 'Hume, Race, and Human Nature', pp. 697-98.
[53] Welsch, *The Company's Sword*, pp. 1-4.

superiority in India, it 'would therefore require the same experience of the bravery of the negroes, supported by a series of victories equally brilliant, before they could be deemed equal to Europeans.' (Walker, 'Considerations on employing negroes', f. 9) Questions might then also be raised as to how Indian soldiers and Indians at large might respond to the transplantation of African soldiers into India. In consequence, replacing European soldiers with Africans was impossible to effect peacefully, because they lacked both an established historical precedent of military supremacy and the ability to serve effectively and obediently to begin with.[54]

Walker's assessments of African and Indian soldiers are evocative of the extent to which comparative-historical assessments of different 'nations' corresponded to real world racial prejudices in action in the eighteenth century. Walker's opining positioned Europeans above Indians and Indians above Africans in a view of the world as being dominated by racial hierarchies. That Walker should search recent history for proofs of this hierarchy also indicates the extent to which this view of the world was subject to Walker's understanding of himself and the British as having arrived in their present state of global ascendency in consequence of the undulations of natural principles across history.[55] While Walker produced hierarchical assumptions about the abilities and likely behaviours of Indians and Africans that mirrored the likes of Hume, this comparison ends insofar as, to Walker, these features of Indian and African racial characters were far from static. And yet though Walker's visions of global hierarchy permitted gradual change and acknowledged historical factors, rather than staking pseudo-scientific claims of racial essentialism, his discourse here produced a racial hierarchy nonetheless.[56]

Understanding Infanticide

Walker's report on infanticide to the Bombay Government of the 15 March 1808 made up of a sequence of three hundred numbered points on Kathiawar history, the nature and causes of infanticide there, the opinions on infanticide of Enlightenment authors including Montesquieu and Robertson, Walker's activities in Kathiawar, and the details of Walker's treaties against infanticide.[57] The first two hundred points roughly constitute information emanating from Kathiawar itself, and as such are heavily informed by communications from

[54] Eze, 'Hume, Race, and Human Nature', pp. 694-95.
[55] Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 68.
[56] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, p. 10.
[57] Walker, 'Manuscript concerning Hindu Infanticide, containing the Parliamentary paper 'Copy of all correspondence which has taken place on the subject of Hindoo infanticide … 1789-1820', 1816-1817, NLS, MS.13898, p. 26.

Walker's primary native informant, 'Sunderhee Sevajee', a Brahmin scholar based in 'Mandavee' (Mandvi, Kachchh district), as well as Walker's interactions with Kati rulers. The narrative voice within the report is predominantly Walker's, and implicitly represents his own claims to mastery over knowledge about infanticide in Kathiawar rather than regularly highlighting 'Sevajee's' specific contributions. The chronology (while linear) was suspended frequently in the first two hundred statements to allow Walker to deploy analyses and epistemological positionings that make the prose strongly reminiscent of the mode in which he wrote his historical tracts.[58]

Walker began by outlining a moral modus operandi which justified Company interference against infanticide in Kathiawar.

> 7. When the customs and rites of any people are harmless, whatever form they assume, and from whatever source they may be derived, they are entitled to toleration and protection; but they ought to be punished or amended when their evident tendency is to diminish population, and to alienate the natural affections of mankind.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 31.

The drift of this statement was that not only was his interference in Kathiawar was reasonable, but also that it was highly necessary for the good of society there. Walker's reference to infanticides 'tendency to diminish population' also suggests his view was influenced by the thought of Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus, in that he assumed population growth to be a vital component for social development. Walker's observation on the alienation of 'the natural affections of mankind' – which implies affection between mother and child – however, speaks best to his prevailing concerns, in that it betrays Walker's adoption of assumptions to do with what constituted natural and unnatural human behaviour (within the narrow conceptual remit of 'human nature') as a means through which to conceive of infanticide as both unnatural and immoral. Moral right, on the other hand, was aligned with the preservation of population and the 'natural' role mothers should occupy in caring for their children.[59]

Walker's research into explanations for the continued practice of infanticide offered by oral history and Kathiawar Brahmin experts reflects his frequently dismissive treatment of

[58] Bayly, *Empire and Information*, pp. 74-76, 87-88.
[59] Heidi Schlipphacke, *The Aesthetics of Kinship: Form and Family in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: Bucknell University Press, 2023), pp. 9-11, 23-24; Kroeker, 'The Science of Human Nature in the Scottish Enlightenment', pp. 227-32.

Hindu myth and legend in his historical texts. His exploration of the folkloric story of a Rajput Rajah's choice to kill a daughter for whom he could not find a suitable husband – described in the introduction to this thesis – did enable him to conjecture on what he perceived to be the actual historical circumstances which gave rise to infanticide in Kathiawar, to be sure. And yet he also reflected that:

> 17. From this narrative curiosity receives little gratification, and the mind no pleasure. It resembles the tales of infancy, rather than the grave history of a transaction involving the fate of a numerous portion of the human race.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 32.

Here, Hindu folklore was seen to offer little but 'narrative curiosity', rather than 'grave history.' The language used here, which refers to such folklore as resembling 'tales of infancy', is suggestive of Walker's views as to the relatively young state of society from which this story emanated. In lieu of recourse to this tale, then, Walker needed to put together his own 'grave history' to properly understand the origins of infanticide.[60]

Walker did so by inflecting Hindu folklore through a framework of ideas revolving around the typical course of social development in human nations, thus producing an explanation as to how the sentiments and passions of Jarejah Rajputs had given rise to infanticide in Kathiawar. Walker suggested, for example, that the 'sentiments of nature and humanity' in Kathiawar society 'were supplanted by the passions of avarice and pride', and that across time, because of caste tradition and interest, the Jadeja 'right of destroying their daughters grew into a privilege, which they regarded as a distinction and honour peculiar to their caste.' (Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 32) This logic of cause and effect explained, for Walker, how infanticide had originated, and simultaneously also painted a scolding picture of the national characteristics of Jarejah Rajputs in his contemporary present.[61]

Tracing this back to the Muslim conquest of Sindh, the moment which Walker supposed gave rise to a historical lack of male Hindu suitors, Walker expanded that:

> 34. At the period of the conquest of Scind the Jahrejahs were not arrived at that state of society when the sentiments of humanity have much influence; but, under the guidance

[60] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', p. 54.
[61] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26.

> of their passions and prejudices, they were capable of acutely feeling every circumstance that affected the honour of their family or caste.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 33.

It is implied, therein, that Rajput 'passions and prejudices' had rendered the development of their society stagnant by preventing the ascension in influence of 'the sentiments of humanity' in their national character. Indeed, here the characterisation of Hindu communities as peculiarly 'feeling every circumstance that affected the honour of their family or caste' compounded Walker's reliance on conjectural historical logic.[62]

While Walker assumed that he had come to understand infanticide in Kathiawar, he was less certain as to why infanticide could be found among other peoples, especially across north-western India. Noting that the 'Jahrejahs are aware that the custom of infanticide is practiced by many other tribes besides their own', Walker lamented that although it was 'probable that they have a common origin, I could not discover the traditionary motive that had led to the introduction of infanticide amongst so many people in Hindostan.' (Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 44) The variety of folkloric narrative Walker earlier dismissed as infantile might have served him, in this instance, in connecting the practice of infanticide in India to one or more exact historical moments, which once identified might then yield insight into how to tackle the issue in the present. From here, more so out of curiosity, Walker might also have tracked how the practice had spread outwards from Kathiawar and other epicentres of infanticide across history, in much the same way that he later went on, in his 'Ancient Intercourse', to trace the origins of Kati Rajputs backwards through Kutch and Scind and to the Indus Valley (see again Chapter 3).[63]

Walker was content, however, to confidently state that the same, to him very real historical forces which attended the development of nations might also be identified with accuracy across the whole of India in relation to the appearance of infanticide. In this vein, he explained that:

> 203. The practice, however, appears to be maintained among them [other Indian nations] by the same causes which operated with the Jahrejahs. Pride, avarice, the cares of a family, the disgrace that would attend the misconduct of their women, the difficulty of establishing them in life, and an apprehension of exposing their daughters to ill

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 34
[63] Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, p. 242.

> treatment, were assigned invariably, by every person acquainted with this subject, as the causes that induced these tribes to commit infanticide.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 44.

'Pride' and 'avarice' therefore were to be seen as common motives among Hindu nations which practiced infanticide. In attempting to understand infanticide and its causes and origins, Walker had developed views of Indian societies which subsumed their cultural specificities under a broader moral and racial characterisation of the Hindu mind.[64] Significantly, Walker's characterisations here mirrored the widely read classification of *homo sapiens* 'Asiaticus' produced by Linneaus, which described their behaviour as 'stern, haughty, [and] greedy'.[65]

This zooming out of scope and focusing on the relation of the operations of human nature to infanticide continued across Walker's subsequent heads, in which he looked to examples of infanticide from global history to cross-reference with his understanding of infanticide – and the reasons for it – in India. This section of Walker's report is especially telling of the extent to which Enlightenment history provided him with the raw intellectual materials with which to construct an understanding of infanticide as a historical practice and a consequence of specific historical conditions. It is also indicative of the extent to which Enlightenment modes of historical writing provided him with a means of communicating his views through an acceptable and readily understandable cultural and discursive medium. Here, he landed on the supposition that infanticide was the combined, compounded product of an unnatural lack of sentiment towards children and an avaricious attention to short-term material incentives for depopulation, and in so doing implied that these factors might follow from two causes: a given society's remaining undeveloped; and a given society's regressing from a state of previous developmental ascendancy.[66]

Walker began the course of his comparative references with a brief allusion to Amazon society (as an example of a nation preferring the children of one sex over another), before fixing himself on the example of the early Roman monarchy. Noting that 'Romulus is said to have laid the citizens under an obligation to educate all their male children, and the eldest of their daughters', Walker set about conjecturing upon probable causes for this measure. 'The

---

[64] Robert Wokler, 'Anthropology and Conjectural History in the Enlightenment', in Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, and Robert Wokler (eds), *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 38-41.
[65] Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae*, 10th edn., Vol. 1, pp. 20-22
[66] Mitter, 'Colonial Modern: A Clash of Colonial and Indigenous Chronologies', pp. 67-68

requiring of this obligation from the citizens', he continued, 'must have been suggested by the necessity of restraining the practice of Infanticide; and Romulus probably trusted in procuring wives for his males from the other tribes in his neighbourhood with as little difficulty as the Jahrejas do at present.' This pointed toward a correspondence between the nature of early-stage Roman society (prior to its civilizational ascendency during Classical antiquity) and that of present day Indian society, and toward a similarity in their social practices. In identifying this, Walker was a step closer toward discovering the historical and (un)natural principles from which infanticide derived, although to elucidate on these specifically he enlisted the help of further authority in the form of the Baron de Montesquieu.[67]

The above observations on Romulus and Rome were not entirely Walker's own. He likely had pause to make them when looking to Montesquieu's *De l'espirit des loix* (1748) for wisdom:

> 210. Montesquieu has the following observations on this subject, which makes the resemblance still more complete, and proves that the same motives prevailed with the Roman fathers for exposing their children as with the nations of India, who commit infanticide. "We find not any Roman law that permitted the exposing of children. This was, without doubt, an abuse introduced towards the decline of the Republic, when luxury robbed them of their freedom; when wealth divided was called poverty; when the father believed that all was lost which he gave to his family, and when the family was distinct from his property."
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 45.

Montesquieu's focus on the decline of the Roman Republic as opposed to the earlier Roman Kingdom is not so much taken here as a repudiation of Walker's observations on Roman society, but rather eclectically as a complementary addition to them. In Walker's eyes, the weighing in on the topic of infanticide of an authority as respected as Montesquieu served as a wholly positive justification for the notion that infanticide occurred because of the 'same motives' in the early Roman Kingdom, the Roman Republic and contemporary India.

These motives, the above passage implied, included jealousy, greed and envy, passions which under civilised circumstances might otherwise be uncommon and unnatural. Under more advanced conditions, these passions might otherwise be channelled into or overcome by

[67] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 39.

conceptions of shared communal 'property' which encompassed the family, and which linked its preservation to the moral and material preservation of the nation and society.[68] Critically, while 'unnatural' practices such as infanticide could be observed throughout history at most stages of human societal development, Walker nonetheless associated infanticide with social and moral decline. Indeed, Montesquieu's passage also evoked for Walker parallels between the decline of Rome and the present, regressed state of Indian society in Kathiawar, by linking infanticide and the material factors which motivated it to social regression away from purportedly advanced conceptions of social 'property'.[69]

The passage Walker quotes from Montesquieu reveals that Walker was using Montesquieu as an informational touchstone. The above quotation was taken by Walker from the 22nd chapter, 'Of the exposing of children', of the 23rd book, 'Of laws in the relation they bear to the number of inhabitants.'[70] Notwithstanding the possibility that Walker happened upon this particular passage whilst coincidentally reading Montesquieu, it is more likely that he knew of the passage or had read it beforehand, and was dipping in and out of *The Spirit of the Law* whilst using its contents page as a guide. While no evidence remains to support the suspicion that commonplacing or note-taking was involved in this process, Walker's use of Montesquieu reveals again that he viewed British historiography as a repository of useful information; information that – regardless of its historicity – might be of eminent use in the present, in no small part because of the overarching consistency of human nature in all times and places. This might go some way toward explaining why, indeed, he found recourse to Montesquieu during his conducting a project of colonial cultural control.[71]

Walker likewise then looked with Montesquieu toward infanticide in ancient Greece. Here, Walker focused on the economic and social conditions he saw as giving rise to infanticide. Walker assumed that there was an integral relationship between population growth and societal development, and contended that the most rational material explanation for infanticide was the 'apprehension of want' in conditions of material poverty:

> 213. Aristotle appears an advocate for the exposing of children, and conceives, where this is not the case, that the number of those brought forth ought to be limited…

[68] Anna di Robilant, *The Making of Modern Property: Reinventing Roman Law in Europe and its Peripheries, 1789-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), p. 63; Schlipphacke, *The Aesthetics of Kinship*, pp. 8, 12-14, 23-24.
[69] Bayly, 'Race in Britain and India', pp. 71-72.
[70] Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, Vol. 2, pp. 136-37.
[71] Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, p. 105.

> 214. The Greeks appear to have been led to expose their offspring from the sterility of their territory, and the apprehension of want, excited by a redundant population.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 45.

The 'sterility of their territory', in Aristotle and Walker's views alike, had provided a cause, however contemptible it might have been, for the limiting of the Greek population by means of infanticide, in order to secure a satisfactory subsistence.[72]

Montesquieu was not the only modern authority Walker drew on in order to historicise and understand infanticide. After weaving his way through brief notices of infanticide in then contemporary China and ancient Carthage, Walker turned to William Robertson's *The History of America* (1777, 1796) as a source of information on the practice of infanticide in the Americas:

> 217. In Robertson's history of America we are informed, that the difficulty of training up an infant to maturity amidst the hardships of savage life, often stifles the voice of nature among the Americans, and suppresses the strong emotions of parental tenderness. Some of these women are stated, in particular, to destroy their female children in their infancy.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 45.

Walker appears to have been reading from book 4 of Robertson's *History of America*, particularly information on 'the hardships of savage life', through an analytical lens which emulated the original text. This was especially so when it came to Walker's identification of an absence of parental attachment to children in early-stage societies, and his belief that this was a consequence of harsh climatic conditions and a societal want for subsistence.[73]

Walker also seems to have derived from Robertson a wider, more ambiguous range of ideas on the possible motivations for infanticide. Later in book 4, Robertson likened the state of being a wife in a 'savage' society to slavery, and suggested that almost unilaterally husbands in such societies considered their wives to be their property. In instances of this kind, it was not the suppression of the 'strong emotions of parental tenderness' that produced specifically female infanticide. Rather, Robertson suggested, 'some women, in a wild emotion of maternal

[72] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 46.
[73] Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, p. 59.

tenderness, have destroyed their female children in their infancy, in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage to which they knew they were doomed.'[74]

Although Walker did not speculate that infanticide in Kathiawar was always the product of women attempting to protect their daughters from sexual discrimination, he did posit this, before quoting Robertson, as one among a multiplicity of possible motivations: '…pride, avarice, the cares of a family, the disgrace that would attend the misconduct of their women, the difficulty of establishing them in life, and an apprehension of exposing their daughters to ill treatment, were assigned invariably, by every person acquainted with this subject, as the causes that induced these tribes to commit infanticide' (Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 45). Walker's implication, moreover, that women in Kathiawar contended with 'intolerable bondage' or 'ill treatment' in a way which was comparable to women in other 'savage' societies also corresponded to his broader assessment of Rajput social development. Indeed, historians such as Robertson were often cited in Enlightenment literature on female conduct which, as Mary Catherine Moran puts it, 'typically contrasted the favourable position of woman in civil society with the degraded status of her 'primitive' sister'.[75]

Much of what follows in Robertson's fourth book of *The History of America* is however consistent with Walker's more general view that deprived material conditions stifled 'the voice of nature' in Kathiawar's past, as well as in other comparable undeveloped societies. Robertson concluded a passage on the inattentiveness of 'savage' parents to their children, indeed, by generally suggesting that:

> Thus the ideas which seem to be natural to man in his savage state, as they result necessarily from his circumstances and condition in that period of his progress, affect the two capital relations in domestic life. They render the union between husband and wife unequal. They shorten the duration and weaken the force, of the connection between parents and children.[76]

Significantly, in the pages of *The History of America*, Native Americans and the 'savage' are equivocated and prefigured as a type of discursive object, taken to represent 'mankind' in its earliest stage of societal development. In much the same way as Robertson subsumed his

[74] Robertson, 'The History of America', in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 9, p. 106. See also p. 71 onwards.
[75] Mary Catherine Moran, 'Between the Savage and the Civil: Dr John Gregory's Natural History of Femininity', in Barbara Taylor and Sarah Knott (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 14.
[76] Robertson, 'The History of America', in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 9, pp. 110-11.

Native American examples of 'savage society' into his representation of this type, so too did Walker, in quoting Robertson, attempt to rationalise the occurrence of infanticide in Kathiawar by relating it to behaviours that had emanated from other, comparable underdeveloped societies.[77]

Legislating Against Infanticide

Walker's comments on Robertson conclude his attempts to historicise infanticide in Kathiawar. From here onwards he began telling the story of his own efforts to end it, and it is in this specific account that one can identify the most obvious signs as to how conjectural history informed Walker's approaches to diplomacy and social engineering. Walker started by alluding to advice he had received from local informants regarding the likelihood of his being successful in convincing Kathiawar's rulers and populous to disuse infanticide:

> 220. I entered on this undertaking with sanguine expectations of success, but which were for a long time disappointed; and I must own that the natives had formed much more just opinions on the subject, when they fore told the difficulties that would attend the attempt, which few of them thought could be overcome but by the Company making a conquest of the country.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 46.

Walker, by his own admission, from the outset had underestimated the difficulty of imposing new standards for behaviour and conduct in a social setting that was not his own. His mentioning that local opinion indicated that measures against infanticide could only be enforced through conquest did, however, pre-emptively suggest to Walker that his eventual diplomatic success was unprecedented.[78]

As to the reasons for his initially optimistic outlook, he ascribed this to his strength of belief in the accuracy of Enlightenment discourse on human nature. Walker stated, for instance, that 'I conceived that reason and feeling would effect the relinquishment of a barbarous custom', and that this would be all the more possible because infanticide was 'unconnected with the principles of society… which all the passions of the human mind, and all the forms and maxims of religion, were combined to destroy.' Based on this anticipation, he implied that

[77] Avramescu, *An Intellectual History of Cannibalism*, p. 73; Bickham, *Savages within the Empire*, p. 173.
[78] Frew, 'Scots and the Imposition of Improvement in South India', in *The Scottish Experience in Asia*, pp. 105-06, 111-12; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 262.

putting aside infanticide ought to have been a simple matter for Jadeja society, a return to natural forms of behaviour which would follow easily from and compliment their social and religious customs. But, as Walker then stated, he instead found that the 'sentiments of nature and humanity have no influence with the Jahrejas; and I was soon, however, reluctantly obliged to relinquish the favourable expectations I had formed of success' (Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 46).[79]

Jadeja Rajput society had thus confounded him. In finding little success in talking Kathiawar's peoples and rulers out of infanticide, Walker's faith in the principles of human progress was being called into question. The result of this, and of his undoubtedly strong attachment to these ideas, was that rather than questioning the accuracy of his own approach and perspective, Walker settled on the idea that the Jadeja community's internal disposition was unnatural and inhuman, an exception to the rules of human nature. While with the eventual success of his expedition Walker walked back from this belief, here Walker had conceived of Kathiawar's peoples in such a way as to deny them representation within the colonialist ambit of conjectural theory.[80] In addition, this particular representation veered towards the racial essentialism of Adam Smith's stadial binaries, as well as that of later nineteenth century German Romantic and Rationalist Orientalists. This is insofar as Walker's denial of the Rajput possession of the usual 'sentiments of nature' left a void in which alternative explanations to the universality of human nature might suffice to explain infanticide. It was implied that Rajput's possessed a separate national or racial nature to Europeans, and that therein they lacked the sympathy and humanity to 'effect the relinquishment of a barbarous custom'.[81]

Walker then moved on to relating his failure to convince 'Jehajee', the Rajput chief of 'Moorbee', to outlaw female infanticide. In his efforts to establish an ideological foothold in Kathiawar he also turned, in this episode, to the women of 'Jehajee's' family, especially his (unnamed) mother, attempting to convince them of the righteousness of his cause to indirectly influence the otherwise unreceptive prince of 'Moorbee'. Walker's rationalisation of this decision reflects not only how he relied heavily on Enlightenment historical logics to structure diplomatic tactics and strategies, but also the extent to which Walker's understanding men and women as being inherently, naturally different also played a part in these processes:

[79] Sebastiani, 'Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', p. 13.
[80] Spivak, '"Can the Subaltern Speak?"', p. 40.
[81] Inden, *Imagining India*, p. 93; Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, pp. 19-20.

> 236. The humanity and tenderness congenial to the sex induced me to expect the assistance of the women of Jehajee's family. The preservation of their offspring appeared naturally and peculiarly their business.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 47.

Walker's generalisations of the 'humanity and tenderness' of women in comparison to men is deeply reminiscent of eighteenth-century British gender-essentialist discourse, which often envisioned acceptable gendered social behaviours as being confined to specific spheres of social activity.[82]

This 'separation of spheres' was understood by Davidoff and Hall to have corresponded to contemporary notions regarding the natural dispositions of men and women as being adapted towards different but complimentary roles within the family and nation, with men being considered best suited to the sphere of public politics and women to the sphere of private domesticity. The lines along which this was imagined, however, as Karen O'Brien describes, were subject throughout the eighteenth century to fierce debate:

> On the one hand, the period from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries witnessed the development of a medical science which emphasised the enormous extent of physiological and psychological difference between men and women. On the other hand, Enlightenment sociologists dwelled upon the greater social and intellectual convergence between the sexes brought about by historical progress.[83]

Debates revolving around the 'the extent to which woman was to be understood primarily as a natural or as a social category' had profound implications towards attitudes concerning women's intellectual capabilities and activity. Reactionary French authors, in particular, envisioned female intellectualism not only as a distraction from women's social duties, but as a 'deviation from their biological nature'.[84] Furthermore, ideals regarding the role and position of women within society also came to be situated within broader discourse on historical progress, and in relation to 'race'. Silvia Sebastiani, for instance, describes how because

[82] Leonore Davidoff, and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), p. 168.
[83] Karen O'Brien, 'Introduction', in Barbara Taylor and Sarah Knott (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 3.
[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

'progress was understood to be linear and uniform, the way in which women were treated served as an index of social development.'[85]

While, indeed, the extent to and manner in which late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century British society reflected gender-essentialist ideas has been subject to debate, particularly across the intersectional lines of nationality and class background, Walker put biological notions of sex into practice in informing his diplomatic approach in 'Moorbee'.[86] This suggests that ideas of this kind informed his understanding of how to navigate the politics of unfamiliar, gendered social environments. Walker's report on how he was received by 'Jehajee's' mother, hints, for example, if only fleetingly, at the female spaces in 'Jehajee's' home and family. Although Walker does not specify exactly how he was granted access to these spaces, he claimed that 'Jehajee's' mother 'possessed considerable influence over her son', perhaps implying that this meeting between a Company official and a Rajasthani woman was made possible by her own social and political influence:

> 240. My overtures to this lady were, at first received with the feelings natural to her sex, and she seemed disposed, with the rest of the women, who held several consultations together on the subject, to unite their influence for the abolition of Infanticide.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 47.

Walker thereby rationalised 'Jehajee's' mother's receptiveness to him as a proof of his conjectures about her naturally feminine 'humanity and tenderness' and understood this behaviour as correspondingly gendered. Beneath this mode of representation lies a suggestion, unfortunately transient, of the women of 'Jehajee's' household acting as a political unit, and of the political capital Walker saw them as potentially wielding in favour of his cause.[87]

And yet despite this initial success, Walker was soon thereafter disappointed when the women backed away:

---

[85] Silvia Sebastiani, ''Race', Women and Progress in the Scottish Enlightenment', in Barbara Taylor and Sarah Knott (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 79.
[86] Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', The Historical Jounral, 36.2 (1993), p. 383; Linda Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *Journal of American History*, 75.1 (1988), p. 39; K. Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 21.
[87] Spivak, '"Can the Subaltern Speak?"', pp. 56-57.

> 241. But these ebullitions were of short duration; the Jahrejas were alarmed, and the women contended for the ancient privilege of the caste: they were led away from the path of nature and humanity by the example and influence of their husbands.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 47.

The actual nature of familial events attending this shift in attitude are left unclear, closing an all too limited glimpse at 'Moorbee' elite family politics. This episode does represent, even if obliquely, the operation of patriarchal power within a Hindu household, but at the same time, it was also reflected, rationalised and consequently inextricably altered through its being mediated to page via Walker's perspective. Walker's representation of these women constitutes a meeting point between eighteenth-century discourses on 'nations' and 'sex', and in this respect also in itself constitutes the manifestation and dominance of paternalistic ideas and social behaviours through a double bind of imperial and patriarchal power. [88]

Walker left off the topic of his disappointments, however, in favour of relating the political steps that ensured his success against female infanticide in Kathiawar. Much, it seems, as Walker had resorted to the women of 'Moorbee' as a means of applying indirect political pressure on 'Jehajee', he also took his cause to public administrative judiciary offices for the same ends. Walker noted that 'the inveterate prejudices of the Jahrejas began to be shaken' after he resorted to speaking 'in the public Cutcherry', and thereby inroads to communicate effectively with Kathiawar's princes were opened up through Kathiawar's networks of scribes (Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 47). Walker conducted such conversations remotely from his army camp, communicating to local rulers, including the 'Gondul chief', through Brahmin court delegates including 'Wassonjee Esmurjee':

> 258. Wassonjee Esmurjee, the vakeel of the Gondul chief, residing in camp, enabled me to frequently converse with him on the subject; and this sensible and respectable Bramin was easily prevailed on to unite his influence with mine, in order to prevail on his master to enter into a formal obligation for abolishing infanticide.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 48.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

While ‘Esmurjee’ and his interactions with the Gondul chief are the only specified examples of this kind of diplomacy, this does likely reflect how Walker set about communicating with the vast network of princely states in Kathiawar.

What is missing from the picture Walker leaves us is any notion as to the extent of collaboration Walker entered into with ‘Esmurjee’ and other Brahmin experts in drafting the treaty. ‘Gondul’, was, however, the first Jarejah state to sign Walker’s proposed treaty, and in so doing set a significant political precedent for later signatories in ascribing to the first full iteration of its terms. Walker quotes, in his 262nd point, the terms of the treaty at length:

> 262. The following is a translation of this instrument: “Whereas the Honourable English Company, and Anund Row Guicawar, Sen Khaskel Shamsher Bahadur, having set forth to us the dictates of the Shasters, and the true faith of the Hindus, as well as that the Brimhaway Wurtuck Pooran declares the killing of children to be a heinous sin, it being written that I is as great an offence to kill and embryo as a Bramin… and that the perpetrators of this sin shall be damned to the hell, Hule Sotheeta… We, Jahreja Dewajee, and Coer Nuthoo, Zemindars of Gondul (the custom of female infanticide having long prevailed in our caste), do hereby agree for ourselves and for our offspring, as also we bind our selves in behalf of our relations and their offspring for ever, for the sake of our own prosperity, and for the credit of the Hindu faith, that we shall from this day renounce this practice, and, in doubt of this, that we acknowledge ourselves offenders against the sircars. Moreover, should any one in future commit this offence we shall expel him from our caste, and he shall be punished according to the pleasure of the two Governments, and the rule of the Shasters [sic]
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 49.

The treaty looked toward Hindu religious script to justify its legal and religious legitimacy, calling upon instances of the forbidding of infanticide in Puranas and Shastras. The deployment of these texts in this legal and political context signifies an instance in which Walker’s extensive knowledge of Hindu texts served him in the enactment of cultural imperialism, although the texts cited here do seem to have changed in order to accommodate local religious customs (see also Appendix 3).[89]

[89] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 118-19; Heath, *Purifying Empire*, p. 154.

The most significant legal statement in the treaty is that which stipulates the expulsion of offenders against it from their castes, as well as the delegation of punitive judiciary power to Baroda State and the East India Company. These terms laid the foundation for the East India Company, in the 1830s onwards, to use infanticide as a pretext for further territorial and economic expansion in Kathiawar, insofar as Walker's treaty served to legally justify this action.[90] They were also, by Walker's own admission, left deliberately vague:

> 292. It might have been desirable, but it was not easily practicable, to have defined the nature of the punishment to be inflicted on future offenders.
>
> 293. The great inequality in the power and rank of the Jahrejas rendered it impossible to fix on a common standard of punishment. There may also be some advantage in leaving this matter uncertain and unlimited.
>
> Report by Walker, 15 March 1808, MS.13898, p. 51.

The Company, then, might feel justified in the future exercise in Kathiawar of unrestricted power. As to whether Walker envisioned the 'advantage' of leaving the terms of the treaty vague as pertaining solely to the enforcement of the cessation of infanticide, or as concerning the Company's broader territorial and economic interests, his statement here offers a stark reflection of his earlier discoursing on enforcing treaties in Malabar. In the past, uncertain terms had left Malabarian independence without legal precedent, thus providing the Company with justificatory loopholes for further expansion, through which expansion Walker believed the Company might have brought improvement to Malabar. Likewise, Walker's lack of further stipulation in his treaties with Kathiawar's princes invited the joining of exploitation with the rationale of progress.[91]

'Memoranda on the Theme of Government', 1812

Though Walker later communicated extensively with the East India House in London during his retirement, his 1812 'Memoranda on the theme of government' likely embodied – in the moment in which he wrote it – what he believed would be his final act of intervention in East India Company policy. Sent directly to the East India Company's Board of Directors in London, this essay speaks to Walker's seniority within the East India Company by the end of

[90] Vishwanath, 'Efforts of Colonial State to Suppress Female Infanticide', pp. 1104-1112.
[91] Bayly, 'Race in Britain and India', p. 81; Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, pp. 176-77; Hall and Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', pp. 5-9.

his career in India, and his confidence in communicating freely with the Company's board of directors. It is also especially significant because it represents the culmination of gradual changes (and a marked turning point) in Walker's opinions on Company expansion throughout India. Walker's 1812 memorandum is consistent with his essay of 1800/02, insofar as even in 1800 he advocated for limited territorial expansion on the part of the EIC and did so under the pretext of guaranteeing the security of the Company's most important economic possessions. He does so here, too, and yet the extent of his recommendations goes further, to the point of arguing that the Company might best dissolve its financial debt by relinquishing previously conquered territory. Where he had once advocated for the conquest of Gujarat in 1800, and argued its possession might bring the British untold economic benefits, here he suggested that the prospective upkeep of the region far outweighed any income the company might garner from it.[92]

A further important development here was Walker's recommending that the Company employ Indians in its administrative ranks. This was a measure that Walker explicitly saw as ameliorating Indian discontent with British rule in India. And yet despite there being some slight sense as to Walker's perspective having shifted on the morality of denying conquered Indian peoples any right to self-determination, importantly this argument was secondary to a course of policy recommendation designed to perpetuate the EIC and its interests. It is also the case that Walker's recommendation that the Company employ Indians in its bureaucracy responded as much to the potential, informational benefits Walker saw in this measure as it did to a sense of justice or of the capability of native researchers.[93]

Walker's proposals demonstrate that he recognised the importance of his efforts at information collection, historical or otherwise, to the maintenance of Company power in India, and as such are indicative of the formation of the information orders that came to underpin colonial rule in the nineteenth century.[94] Through this, it is therefore possible to connect later administrative discourses (such as those produced by the Indian Civil Service) back to Enlightenment modes of historical research, theorisation and informational observation. There are, furthermore, important changes, and consistencies, with regards to how Walker's drawing on Enlightenment ideas to do with the development of nations featured in this essay. While Walker applied truisms to do with the apparent suitedness of specific judiciary institutions to

[92] H. V. Bowen, 'Bullion for Trade, War, and Debt-Relief: British Movements of Silver to, Around, and From Asia', *Modern Asian Studies*, 44.3 (2010), pp. 457, 460-61.
[93] Peabody, 'Knowledge Formation in Colonial India', p. 91.
[94] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 21; Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 9.

societies at different points of social development, and with human nature inclining peoples (particularly Hindu nations) toward liberty, he did so for very different ends than in his essay of 1800. What is most remarkable within this is that the grift of his beliefs as to the operations of human nature and societal progress, despite the difference of context in which he employed them, largely remained intact.[95]

A main practical theme running throughout Walker's 1812 essay was the defensibility of the India sub-continent. 'Assuming it for granted that a commanding influence on the continent of India is indispensable', he began, 'it must be evident that our means of Defense are inadequate to cover and protect territories of such magnitude.' The primary problem with attempting to guard the entirety of India was that the East India Company scarcely had the force to do so, even factoring in their employment of Sepoy mercenaries. 'The difficulty of defence is proportionate to their extent,' he continued, 'and our troops can scarcely assemble at any one point without leaving the other exposed to invasion and depredation, or a prey to insurrection.'[96] Thus Walker introduced a new theme, that of British territory falling 'prey to insurrection'. His final actions in India suggest that this fear was based on experience. Not long after he had left Baroda State in 1809, Futteh Singh, Anand Rao's former regent, had led an open rebellion against the Company, which Walker was then recalled to quash.[97]

There is little explicit evidence that Futteh Singh's rebellion represented to Walker a personal betrayal or provoked in him a crisis of confidence in the work of his residency at Baroda. That said, that an uprising had happened almost immediately after he had left Baroda left him palpably anxious, especially over the likelihood that the absence of a sizable British armed force in India might permit and lead to future insurrection. Consequently, Walker deemed it prudent to ask whether it was 'more advisable to contract our limits, and by removing temptation and opportunity, contribute to the real and effective security of those dominions which are essential to our interests?' (Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', f. 7) Limiting British possessions in India might not only make them more defensible, he reasoned, but also remove cause for outsider 'temptation and opportunity' altogether.[98]

[95] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, p. 16
[96] Walker, 'Incomplete memoranda on the theme of the government of India, probably written after Alexander Walker's return from India.', Circa. 1812, NLS, MS.13950, f. 5.
[97] Walker, 'Miscellaneous Autobiographical Notes of Alexander Walker', ff. 15-16.
[98] Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 124, 132.

As to which territories the Company might be best off relinquishing, Walker suggested that areas which provided inconsequential economic and strategic benefits relative to the cost of their maintenance should be first to go:

> There are certain tracts of territory in India which have uniformly been the source of continual expence and of inquietude to those who possessed the sovereignty over them, without yielding any solid advantage whatsoever… Under this description may be included all the Rajput states, from Bhurtpore to Guzerat, the Nair principalities of Malabar, the Poligars of the Carnatic; and generally speaking the hilly and jungly tracts inhabited by the Hindu rajahs and zemindars.
>
> Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', f. 9.

Although Walker had once argued for the Company to expand only along India's coastlines in order to reap the benefits of augmented trade and naval superiority in his 1800 essay, here he now suggested that the Company give up much of its inland territory. His specific mention of 'all the Rajput states' presumably included those in Kathiawar, also, as well as in inland Gujarat and territory stretching northwards into modern Rajasthan.[99]

Having made this suggestion, Walker anticipated that the Board of Directors might question whether leaving Rajput, Nair and Poligar princely states independent, and thus capable of military organisation and conquest, would in turn leave the Company open to more territorial risk. In pre-emptive answer to this, Walker once again deployed generalisations on Indian history and society, this time in order to argue that the present state of Hindu societies, and the tenure of their racial character, could act as safe assurances that Hindu states were unlikely to entertain and practicably unable to enact projects of conquest against the Company. 'In the course of the Indian history,' he argued, 'from the Musselman conquest, we do not observe that any of these Hindu chieftains have discovered any extensive views of ambition; or have been able to effect any considerable conquest.' (Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', f. 9) This, Walker assumed, operated as an accurate indication of the military organisation of 'Hindu nations', and therefore as a proof of the continued improbability of a 'Hindu nation' challenging the Company.[100]

[99] For a postcolonial narrative on these areas, see Arik Moran, *Kingship and Polity on the Himalayan Borderland: Rajput Identity during the Early Colonial Encounter* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019).
[100] Chen, 'Gendering India', pp. 193-94.

Walker further reasoned that whatever armed hostility the Company had had to contend with from within Hindu territories derived from a singular cause: the dispossession of Hindu peoples and rulers from their rightful property, a hurt which – Walker suggested – these people were primed to feel more than even their European counterparts:

> Of all the partialities that distinguish the human mind, attachment to the rights connected with territorial property will appear the strongest and most prevalent, and this propensity probably exists with more strength among the tribes above alluded to than Europeans conceive… Indeed scarce any conquest has ever been permanent or complete amongst them. The descendants of that race which opposed Alexander still occupy with little variation the seats of their ancestors.
>
> Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', f. 10.

In imputing a particular 'attachment to the rights connected with territorial property' to the 'race' that 'opposed Alexander', Walker further reproduced the comparative historical trope of India's being in a state of developmental stasis. Given, he assumed, that Indian society had changed and advanced little throughout recent history, one could readily assume that the same disposition toward freedom that characterised the Indus Valley peoples who resisted Alexander could also be found throughout India in the contemporary present.[101]

'If then it is possible to divest the human mind of the fascination which extensive dominion produces,' Walker continued, 'would not the absolute relinquishment of the territorial sovereignty of Malabar to its native landlords, be a measure of sound policy from which we may derive numerous advantages?' (Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', f. 12) Regarding the notion that Hindus were naturally inclined to resist occupation, Walker subsequently reasoned that to perpetuate the Company's possession of Hindu territories would only invite further, unending resistance, and consequently incur military hardship and fiscal ruin. In the face of increasing anglicist discourse and policy advocating direct rule in India as a means of, as Gust puts it, 'Christianizing Indian society', Walker's position here appears to be a retrenchment towards the non-interventionist style of

[101] Fulińska, 'Alexander and Napoleon', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, pp. 545, 567.

government practiced under the Hastings administration by the previous generations of EIC orientalists whose intellectualism most influenced Walker.[102]

After suggesting that the Company retract its territories, Walker followed up with the idea that employing Indians within the Company and sharing with them a stake in the governing of their home countries might also help to ameliorate Indian public feeling back in favour of the Company. While rationalising this suggestion, Walker looked to Indian history and the principles of human nature (as they operated through the feelings of individuals and nations):

> It is proved by the uniform evidence of history, that scarcely any circumstance has been more galling to the spirits and feelings of a people placed under a foreign government, than an exclusion from the enjoyment of those offices; which they conceive as their natural rights; and to which their rank in society affords them pretensions.
>
> Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', f. 26.

To Walker, then, the exclusion of Indians from judicial, military and public offices represented a significant cause for their discontent. The removal of this cause might, he then suggested, not only form an act of justice toward the people of India, but also secure the Company's possessions by dissuading rebellion.[103]

There was a further way in which Walker proposed that this would benefit the Company. By employing Indians in the Company, the Board of Directors might discover an augmented and more cost-effective means of understanding and collecting information on India:

> By the total exclusion of natives of respectability from our service, we are deprived of the means of acquiring information… The fact is that the company's government wants information; and it is deprived of the only means of obtaining it. The want in reality of this information has exposed the company to the frauds of its own officers as well as of the natives and has caused a very considerable part of its enormous expenditure.
>
> Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', f. 30.

Walker's statement that 'the company's government wants information' perhaps lies at the nub of what he was trying to accomplish by employing a knowledge of historical events, places,

[102] Gust, ''The Perilous Territory of Not Belonging': Exile and Empire in Sir James Mackintosh's Letters from early nineteenth-century Bombay', p. 33.
[103] Schwarz, 'Aesthetic Imperialism: Literature and the Conquest of India', pp. 565-66.

peoples and natural phenomena in his administrative work. Not only had fraud and controversy mired the best the Company had to offer with a bad reputation, as he saw it, but a lack of effective oversight and knowledge had impaired the Company's ability to govern efficiently.[104]

Where before in his essays within the Malabar Commission Walker had argued that the best means of judicial regulation for Indian nations were those that suited their state of society and 'ancient consitutions', here he repeated these arguments with the benefits of employing Indian company servants in mind. In so doing he looked to Sir William Jones for wisdom:

> In an examination of our judicial system it will be useful to quote the sentiments of Sir William Jones, in his preface to the Institutes of Menu – that laws are of no avail without manners or in other terms that the best legislative provisions would have no beneficial effect even at first, and none at all in a short course of time, unless they were congenial to the disposition and habits, to the religious prejudices and approved immemorial usages of the people for whom they were enacted.
>
> Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', ff. 31-32.

Walker's reference to William Jones' preface to his translation *Institutes of Hindu Law: or, the Ordinances of Menu* (1797), was in fact a nearly entirely faithful copying of Jones' own words.[105] Jones' original arguments had focused on the prospect of observing the content of the *Ordinances of Menu* to best keep India's laws in line with Hindu 'manners'. Employing Indians within the Company, Walker further reasoned, would better empower the Company to account for the 'disposition and habits', 'religious prejudices' and 'immemorial usages' of Hindu societies, specifically via engaging those who were best acquainted with Hindu law (especially as and when it related to these social factors) in the concoction of the Company's legislation.[106]

In advancing these arguments, Walker once more reiterated his beliefs as to the differences in the stages of society exhibited by European and Indian nations. He summed up by arguing that: 'Different stages of society require a very different mode of government.' And, using the Court of King's Bench as an example of a mode of government unsuited to India, he continued that 'it is little more absurd than extending the same judicial system, with uniform

[104] Bayly, *Empire and Information*, pp. 100, 140-41.
[105] Manu Manavadharmasastra, *Institutes of Hindu law; or the ordinances of Menu, according to the gloss of Cullúca, comprising the Indian system of duties religious and civil: verbally translated from the original Sanscrit*, trans. by William Jones (Calcutta: 1794), p. iii.
[106] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 125-26.

powers throughout our territories in India, without regarding the vast difference in the stage and progress of society.' (Walker, 'Memoranda on the theme of government', f. 32) While much had changed in Walker's perception of the situation on the ground in India, of the precarity of British possessions there and the response of the East India Company's newfound Indian subjects to their rule, this much did not. In 1812, as in 1800, Walker looked to the logics of stadial schemes for societal development to rationalise and construct as sense of the racial difference between Indian and European societies, thereby tacitly positioning Europe above India on an imagined scale of global societal development, progress and racial hierarchy.[107]

Conclusion

Though much might be said of Walker's eventual shift away from favouring the expansion of East India Company territory and his gently advocating for increasing Indian autonomy and self-governance, he nonetheless still considered Indian society relatively underdeveloped by comparison with Europe and continued to support the necessity of a British presence in India for British national and East India Company interests alike. That Walker's understanding of India's place in history and the state of Indian society had changed little here speaks in turn to the limitations of Enlightenment historical discourses when they reckoned with human diversity. Walker's fixation on administrative and judicial offices as societal institutions which were tied deeply to the manners and sentiments of the 'peoples' he sought to govern reflects a desire to engage with Indian culture on its own terms. At the same time, though, throughout Walker's administrative discourse this kind of engagement was subservient to the end of social 'progress', and to the prospect that limited Company interference was best calculated to eventually improve Indian society.[108]

What is most crucial about Walker's deployment of historical ideas and concepts in his administrative work is the extent to which this reflects how Enlightenment discourses influenced and structured what it was and was not possible for Walker to see and think, even and especially within the context of colonial activity. As we have seen, assumptions to do with the universality of human nature – and hence the universality of the utility of discourses which sought to breakdown and understand the operations of the human mind in the different stages of society – could be and were integral to the manner in which Walker envisioned and justified

[107] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 8.
[108] Frew, 'Scots and the Imposition of Improvement in South India', in *The Scottish Experience in Asia*, pp. 111-12.

acts of colonial conquest and cultural control.[109] The schema for societal development that came with these ideas likewise served Walker in this way, particularly in the application of interpretations of the operations of Hindu national spirits in conjectured contexts which imagined as the likely products of future policy. Through Walker it is evident that concepts and languages closely aligned with conjectural history could and did play a formative role in the justification of colonial policy, and that, moreover, the most problematic aspects of these discourses, those which implied qualitative judgements based on racial difference and social development, were adopted by British imperialists in discourses that both supported and opposed the subjugation of the Indian subcontinent.[110]

[109] Lifschitz, *Language and Enlightenment*, p. 21; Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England,* p. 36.
[110] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 7-8; McLaren *British India and British Scotland, 1780-1830*, p. 189.

Chapter 5: William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*

Introduction

So far, this thesis has profiled Alexander Walker's engagements with Enlightenment history and Orientalist discourse by examining his lived experience through texts that he produced, along with what evidence there is in his archive of the processes of textual production he engaged in. There are, however, several major questions regarding his participation in these discourses as a reader and student that I have yet to explore, beyond the analysis of his education at St. Andrews provided in chapter 1. For instance, how did Walker go about learning and engaging with the teleological frameworks of 'philosophical' and, more specifically, conjectural history throughout his lifetime? How and why did he also come to appropriate key concepts and methods (discourse on the universality of human nature, conjectural etymology, and descriptors connected to undeveloped 'states of society') from Enlightenment history in his own writing? To begin answering these questions and more fully mapping out the wider extents of Walker's past discursive activity, this and the following chapter examine evidence of his reading.[1]

Whereas chapter 6 analyses Walker's response to James Mill's *The History of British India* (1817) throughout letters he exchanged with Mill in 1819 and 1820, this chapter examines notes Walker made on William Robertson's *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (1791) in 1814. Although each of these readings took place after Walker's career in India, and so cannot plausibly account for his earliest adoptions of 'philosophical history' in and of themselves, they do provide a window into the dynamic, ongoing processes in which he navigated and appropriated meanings imposed by Enlightenment histories for use in his own discourses.[2] Furthermore, while the description of Walker's response to Robertson provided here represents only one of the possible shapes this process could take, this example is nonetheless significant because it reflects what was possible when well-educated imperialists like Walker read into Enlightenment history on India.[3]

This chapter begins with a discussion of the reception of Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* among the British in eighteenth-century India, both to get a better grasp of the

[1] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26; Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, pp. 47-48.
[2] Chartier, *The Order of Books*, p. viii
[3] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, pp. xx-xxi.

context in which Walker read it and to better approximate the way Robertson intended his book to be read. Such an estimate of Robertson's authorial intent facilitates interesting discussion of how Walker and his colleagues appropriated the text under the unique conditions of East India Company service.[4] This chapter will then transition into close analyses of Walker's notes on the text, considering his response to specific sections and quotations he lifted from it. I use this analysis to suggest that Walker, if only in a private capacity, saw his intervention into Robertson's *Disquisition* as a contribution toward extant British historiography on India, comprised both by his first-hand experience there as well as his own historical expertise.

Although this analysis is limited insofar as it is impossible to know how his reading of Robertson fit in with any potential intentions to publish his work he may or may not have had, it is possible to envision Walker as regardless participating in polite Enlightenment reading culture as a highly self-confident historical mind and well-experienced expert on India. Indeed, an important purpose of my analysis of Walker's notes is to draw hints at the modes of speech and reception Walker adopted when reading Enlightenment discourse on the history of India, especially as and when he reckoned with authors such as Robertson. In addition, it will also be crucial to observe how Walker's approach to reading Robertson often reflected the concerns and ideas of his Indian writing, particularly with regards to his fastidious attention to observational detail, and his reliance on conjectural-historical doctrine in constructing historical conjectures on India's unrecorded past.[5]

This chapter also discusses which particular parts of Robertson's *Disquisition* most drew Walker's eye, whilst taking a more general view of the structure – or lack thereof – of his notes. The subject of what Walker chose to consider and ignore in the *Disquisition* is significant because it betrays a thoroughgoing attention to detail with regards to the accuracy of place names and logistical information. Because Walker took his notes as he read instead of organising them after the fact, the task of discerning an overarching structuring principle behind them comes with unique challenges and opportunities. It is possible to interpret Walker's notes on the text, for example, as a deliberate effort to engage with it as an artifice representing a part of Britain's collective historical knowledge on India. It is also, alternatively, possible to interpret the mode of Walker's notes as a stream of consciousness, a reflection of his linear passage through the text and the impressions individual ideas and arguments made

[4] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 223.
[5] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 89.

on him as he encountered them. This is done throughout this section in order to glean some sense of the subconscious operations of his reading; which topics did he keep coming back to, and why? As we will see, this exercise suggests that Walker continued in the practices of informational reading and etymological conjecture well into his retirement, practices which were learned during his career and which were calculated, in the past, for making use of historical knowledge in an administrative, imperialistic capacity.[6]

The Life of William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* in India

Writing at the twilight of his career as a Presbyterian Minister, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and a historian, William Robertson looked to India – where two of his sons, James and David, had sought careers – for the subject of his final book.[7] Whereas his *History of Scotland* (1759), *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769) and *History of America* (1777, 1796) had depicted the emergence of modern European political and economic orders from the early modern period onwards, Robertson's last history was to reimagine this process and its implications in increasingly global terms.[8] The result, the *Historical Disquisition of India* (1791), laid out an ambitious narrative concerning international trade with India spanning the time from Pre-Ptolemaic Egypt to 1498. Within, Robertson drew together a plethora of voices, from modern travellers from the East India Company to the Grecian recorders of Alexander the Great's ancient conquests, in order to sketch out India's geographical and commercial conditions across time.[9]

Taken alongside his *History of Scotland* (1759), *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769) and *History of America* (1777, 1796), Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* was likely the least widely read and acclaimed of his major works.[10] There is, nevertheless, evidence to suggest that it found its way into the hands of a relatively large audience both at home and abroad, owing in no small part to Robertson's fame as a historian. In the British domestic publishing scene, the *Historical Disquisition* received an initial print run of copies (3,000) roughly equivalent to Robertson's *History of Charles V* (4,000) and *History of America* (3,000). It is also necessary to consider the inclusion of the *Disquisition* in collections of Robertson's works, beginning with the 1796 collection including a posthumous account of

[6] Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, pp. 180-81.
[7] Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson*, p. 226.
[8] Brown, 'William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the Historical Disquisition on India of 1791', p. 291.
[9] Robertson, 'An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India', in *The Works of William Robertson,* Vol. 12.
[10] Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson*, p. 225.

Robertson's life by Dugald Stewart, signifying that readership of the *Disquisition* may have been substantially larger than its individual sales figures suggest.[11]

Furthermore, the upcoming 'Libraries, Reading Communities & Cultural Formation in the 18th Century Atlantic' research project (currently being led from the University of Liverpool) has identified the presence of Robertson's *Disquisition* in roughly half of the eighteenth-century libraries in Britain and America for which it has holding records. At the Bristol Library Society, for instance, it attracted a number of regular borrowers, including General Mordaunt, a military officer (borrowed 31 Aug – 5 Sep 1791), John Casberd, an Oxford educated doctor of divinity and Anglican vicar (23 Dec 1791 – 10 Jan 1792), William Berkin Esq., a member of the gentry (11 - 31 May 1792), Rev. Samuel Seyer, master of Bristol Grammar School (1 – 16 Nov 1792), and Rev. William Helps, curate of Bristol Temple (3 Jul – 2 Oct 1795).[12]

Likewise, in Bengal, evidence of reading and book ownership recorded in EIC library catalogues and inventories of deceased estates also suggests that the text was well read in the years following its initial release. Where Dora Lockyer has shown that history was made available to EIC agents through factory libraries throughout the eighteenth century, Sharon Murphy's work on cantonment libraries has further demonstrated that history remained a significant genre in company sponsored collections well into the nineteenth century.[13] The *Historical Disquisition* and collections of Robertson's works do appear in records of the possessions of deceased persons in Bengal from around 1805 onwards. This is notwithstanding a relative time-lag in their appearance due to the logistics of printing, dispersing and acquiring new texts in India, as well as the fact that Robertson's other texts are listed far more commonly. Among the individuals known to have owned the *Disquisition* was Mr. G. Plowden (d. 1805), who owned all of Robertson's major works separately (*Charles V*, *History of America*, *History of Scotland*) and whose copy of the *Disquisition* sold at probate auction for 7₹.[14] Thomas Boileau Esq. (d. 1807) also owned a copy of the *Disquisition*, which is listed alongside hundreds of texts made up largely of history, philosophy, legal tracts and Indian grammars.[15]

[11] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, p. 87.
[12] 'Libraries, Reading Communities & Cultural Formation in the 18th Century Atlantic', AH/S007083/1: Many thanks to Mark Towsey for providing me early access to spreadsheet information pertaining to the project.
[13] Lockyer, 'The Provision of Books and Libraries by the East India Company in India, 1611-1858'; Murphy, *The British Soldier and His Libraries*, p. 44.
[14] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal (1805), IOR/AG/L/34/27/31, ff. 119.
[15] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal (1807), IOR/AG/L/34/27/35, ff. 33

The *Historical Disquisition* did not, however, maintain the same staying power among British domestic audiences as Robertson's other texts when sold individually.[16] Stewart Brown speculates that this may be because, among Robertson's previous historical corpus, the *Disquisition* is ostensibly ill-fitting, in that it 'shifted from a political narrative to an account of commercial relations, technological innovations, and cultural connections.' [17] Where, moreover, the focus of Robertson's previous three best-sellers was largely Eurocentric, and centred on events of the sixteenth century perceived to have fundamentally shaped the modern world, the *Disquisition* withdrew from sixteenth-century Europe to Classical and Early Modern India. This shift was even further compounded because Robertson, as Brown notes, was likely using his *Historical Disquisition* to distance himself from the perception that, in his *History of America*, he had been 'excessively… dismissive of non-Europeans.'[18]

Indeed, recent scholars have tended to praise the *Disquisition* for its sympathetic approach towards depicting non-Europeans. As Smitten has noted, Robertson frequently moves throughout 'to stretch Eurocentric assumptions gently', pre-empting received derogatory arguments to do with Indian culture with a vivid account of the high advancement of early Indian societies.[19] His account of caste overturned its negative connotations in favour of arguing that the caste system signified the early division of labour within Indian societies, and was in fact proof of India's early societal advancement (a point of view Walker later reiterated when taking on James Mill – see Chapter 6).[20] Robertson, furthermore, also avoided calling for further missionary Christianization of India, a notable move taking into account the mounting pressure for such action at the time of the publication of the *Historical Disquisition*, and Robertson's own leadership role in the Church of Scotland.[21]

The *Disquisition* is divided up into two main portions, the first being a narrative devoted to charting an unbroken chronology of commercial contact with India. The narrative portion is divided up further into four sections, which cover, respectively, periods defined by India's trade: via the Red Sea with pre-Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic Egypt; with the Roman and Byzantine Empires; and with a succession of Muslim states beginning with the Umayyad Caliphate. Robertson concludes his narrative at 1498, the year in which Vasco de Gama became the first

[16] Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson*, p. 225.
[17] Brown, 'William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the Historical Disquisition on India of 1791', p. 290.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 300.
[19] Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson*, p. 228.
[20] Robertson, 'An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India' in *The Works of William Robertson*, Vol. 12, p. 358.
[21] Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson*, p. 229.

European to reach India by circumnavigating Africa, marking a point at which 'an entire revolution was made' in trade with India by the opening up of a connection with modern Europe (Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, p. 265). The final of the four sub-sections draws comparative observations between trade with India pre- and post-1498, thus connecting back to the thematic focus on the emergence of modern Europe of Robertson's previous texts. Yet here this focus is also reframed, through comparisons to the rise and fall of non-European global orders throughout history, to portray European history as increasingly global in its scope and consequences.

The second portion of the text, which is constituted by a narrative appendix and illustrative notes, is comprised largely of descriptions of contemporary Hindu society and customs. Although inconspicuously situated outside of the main text, the appendix makes up a third of the main body of prose. Within, Robertson aimed to uncover the reasons for India's desirability as a trading partner throughout history, which he ascribed as not so much due to the 'natural productions of that country' but rather 'the superior improvement of its inhabitants' (Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, 290). Robertson celebrated the early advancement of Indian societies during antiquity and the early modern period, which he evidenced with analyses of Indian crafts and export goods, the early division of ranks in Indian society, Indian systems of government and Hindu religious practices. Much as one might expect to find Europeans on the receiving end of favourable developmental comparisons with Native American and African peoples in other conjectural histories, India is likewise here the recipient of such double-edged praise.[22]

There are, nevertheless, limits to the 'Enlightened Cosmopolitanism' of Robertson's book, and these namely lie in his approval of British military intervention as a means of maintaining Indian commerce, and in the tacit implications produced by the conjectural methodologies deployed in his work. This observation dos not necessarily contradict the assessments of Stewart Brown, who suggests that 'the *Historical Disquisition*,' or at least parts of it, 'represented an effort to rescue human achievements in the useful arts and peaceful commerce from the condescension of historians.'[23] Rather, this is to say that despite the obvious merits of Robertson's text, it was nonetheless written within the same intellectual environment and using the same kind of language present in less generous histories, and as

[22] Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 61.
[23] Brown, 'William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the Historical Disquisition on India of 1791', p. 304.

such the text sometimes reflects the Eurocentric and Racist logics of Enlightenment comparative history.

Robertson himself acknowledged – when discussing the merits of caste – that assessments of Indian social advancement inevitably dredged up perceptions of modern European ascendancy to set the qualitative bar, however undesirable he may have found this:

> This system, though extremely repugnant to the ideas which we, by being placed in a very different state of society, have formed, will be found, upon attentive inspection, better adapted to attain the end in view, than a careless observer, at first sight, is apt to imagine.
>
> Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, p. 293.

Robertson's use of a conjectural perspective also led to the assumption that India, for all its early advancement, had become locked into a state of developmental stasis by the degenerative influence of the caste system:

> To this early division of the people into castes we must likewise ascribe a striking peculiarity in the state of India; the permanence of its institutions, and the immutability in the manners of its inhabitants.
>
> Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, p. 294.

Consequently, it is also necessary to consider the potential for interpretative slippage contained within the text. This is to say that for all the strides towards treating the history of India Robertson made he nevertheless wrote much of his *Disquisition* in the conjectural mode, hence meaning that implications of Indian developmental stasis and European ascendancy nonetheless populated the text.[24]

Informational Reading

This discrepancy raises further important questions about the differences between the intellectual climates in which Robertson wrote his *Disquisition* and in which his readers, particularly those in British India, were immersed. Mark Towsey's research into responses to the *Disquisition* by EIC agents Gusty Ducarel, Robert Cater Oakley and Thomas Turner

[24] Brown, 'William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the Historical Disquisition on India of 1791', p. 300.

Roberts has demonstrated that for many of those who were engaged in the acquisition and running of Britain's Indian territories, Robertson's well-intentioned depiction of India was subsumed by a desire for useful historical information.[25] In their readings, the attention paid by Robertson to framing Indian history as part of a global story of economic connections and trade is elided in favour of a fixation on the potentially useful details included in the text on India's geography, societies and customs. Once extracted, this information could then be useful to them in developing a sense of India as a geographical and topographical space, in informing strategies for military conquest, and in the process of governing and understanding Britain's Indian subjects. Hence, as Towsey states, in an imperial context the *Disquisition* bore the potential to be 'unwittingly co-opted as part of what Christopher Bayly terms the 'information order' that facilitated the rapid conquest of India'.[26]

For the purposes of analysing Walker's reading of the *Disquisition*, it will hence be worth acknowledging that prior to understanding how the ideological content of the text was transformed by and influenced Walker's own historical perspective and discourse, something must first be said of how the way Walker approached the *Disquisition* fits in with how Robertson intended his readers to take it on. Importantly, Walker shared with Ducarel and Turner Roberts a participation in a modality which Towsey has termed an 'informational approach' to reading, paying close attention to the details of Robertson's narrative throughout.[27] Where Walker differs with the subjects of Towsey's *Reading History*, however, is in the purpose of this attention. Having left India for the final time in 1810 and formalising his notes during his retirement, Walker could not as plausibly have been mining the text for useful information for direct use in Company service at this time. Instead, as a potentially budding author and expert on India, Walker brought his own information to the text, offering corrections and verifications to Robertson's narrative based on his long experience as an EIC officer, in order to make his own (albeit private) contribution to extant British historical knowledge on India. Walker's approach to taking notes on the *Disquisition* therefore reflects much about his attitudes towards the importance of accurate historical information as a former administrator, and hence the heavy intersection between historical discourse and British approaches to colonial governance.[28]

[25] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 223.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 229.
[28] Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class?*, p. 11.

It is possible that Walker had previously read the *Disquisition* before 1814 but had not taken notes. However, because he was likely reading it from within an 1801 collection of Robertson's complete works recorded within the Bowland House library and was in India at the time the *Disquisition* was first published, it is also just as possible that this was the first instance in which he had access to the text or, indeed, time to read it (see again Chapter 1). Even without knowing this for certain, we do know that he wrote his surviving notes on the *Disquisition* after he had concluded his career, at a time in which he no longer had a use for Robertson's text as an initial guide to his Indian surroundings. Because of this, Walker approached the *Disquisition* in a way which ostensibly appears to best reflect his private interests in reading and writing history, whilst also partly reflecting the information gathering processes he engaged in during imperial governance.[29]

Despite the fact that Walker's notes on Robertson constitute some of his few surviving reading notes (notwithstanding his letters to James Mill), we know Walker widely read related Enlightenment histories, and that he included information he gleaned from authors like Robertson in administrative documents and letters (see again Chapters 3 and 4). For this reason, the account book is treated here as a select, vertical slice of Walker's reading, knowledge and expertise up to this historical moment, and the following analysis is especially interested in what Walker brought to Robertson's text, in terms of ideas, preoccupations and structural-formic conventions, and how these might reflect both his broader historical interests as well as the nature of administrative activities he undertook long before 1814.[30]

Throughout his reading, Walker took little issue with Robertson's overarching tale of India's development, nor with Robertson's assessment of India's place within the global economic history of the ancient world.[31] And yet, he also spent much of his time with the text tracing locations in the present back to the past and vice-versa, using etymologies of Sanskrit place names to make sense of India's past and present geographies. Importantly, when taken outside of this specific context, a consequence of this kind of etymological practice, which hinged on an expertise in linguistics attained through Walker's participation in orientalist

[29] 'Catalogue of the Library at Bowland House [Circa. 1830]', MS14053B, p. 1.
[30] See again Introduction, and 'Catalogue of the Library at Bowland House [Circa. 1830]', MS14053B.
[31] Walker, 'Account book, 1787, begun by Barbara Montgomery, later wife to Alexander Walker, but also used for notes, 1814, from 'Historical disquisition on India' by William Robertson', MS.14908A, f. 20, f. 55. Absent material on the *Disquisition* may have been kept in the now missing gap between folios 20 and 55, the last of which is the final used part of the account book.

studies, was that the collected knowledge on India presented by Robertson could be appropriated for historical and bureaucratic purposes alike.[32]

Not only did Walker draw on conjectural-historical concepts for use in military, administrative and private intellectual circumstances throughout his career, but it is also likely that the historical practices he developed in India continued to shape his discursive activity in ways lasting long after he had left.[33] This, in turn, goes some way to explain the intersection of ostensibly intellectual historical language and administrative activity in the service of empire. To complete military and administrative tasks in India, Walker was to draw on the information and stylings of historians the likes of Robertson in official communication; In his examination of Robertson in 1814, Walker was induced to offer factual corrections of a logistical nature which at first glance appear more at home in administrative material, insofar as his focus avoided the kind of cultural and anthropological knowledge which was more commonly (though not exclusively) the stock of orientalist scholarship.[34]

There is another dimension to this, in that in order to make corrections on Robertson, Walker was likely drawing on the same kind of material he made use of in constructing his own draft histories. This, namely, was the collected notes and memoranda he had made throughout his career, both for leisurely and administrative purposes.[35] Walker had at his disposal an archive of what he clearly believed to be valuable primary evidence on India, which he himself had collected. This not only further explains the penetration of administrative thinking into the domain of history, but it also raises questions as to how far in Walker's mind the distinction between these two fields of knowledge was obfuscated. Reflecting back on what Walker later remarked at the heading of his most accomplished attempt at historical writing, his 'Ancient Intercourse with India', that the 'great school of politics and war is still to be found in the study of Ancient History', it seems probable that he saw little distinction between the use of his own military archive and the deployment of Classical sources (emanating frequently from periods of conquest) in the writing of Indian history.[36]

[32] Towsey*, Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 223-24.
[33] Williams, *The Social Life of Books,* p. 95; Murphy, *The British Soldier and His Libraries,* p. 30.
[34] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 73.
[35] 'Catalogue of the Library at Bowland House [Circa. 1830]', 1830, NLS, MS14053B: Walker's own memoranda and draft histories are also detailed here in a bespoke section, suggesting some degree of perceived equivalency between his own work and that of others.
[36] Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', 1825, NLS, MS.13888, p. 1.

Walker's Reading of the *Historical Disquisition*

Walker's notes on Robertson begin with a lengthy section critiquing Robertson's account of Alexander the Great's expedition through the Indus Valley. Here, Walker dwelt on assumptions made by Robertson to do with the physiological impact of India's climate on the bodies of modern and ancient soldiers. In the section from which Walker drew, Robertson stated that because Alexander's march was 'performed in the rainy season, when even Indian armies cannot keep the field, it gives a high idea both of Alexander's persevering spirit, and of the extraordinary vigour and hardiness of constitution which soldiers, in ancient times, derived from the united effects of gymnastic exercise and military discipline.' (Robertson, *Historical Disquisition,* pp. 150-51) Walker, however, responded by noting that neither Robertson's inference of the superiority of ancient soldiers nor his observation of the shortcomings of modern armies 'correspond with the facts.' 'The Indian Armies', he expanded, noting from experience, 'frequently keep the Field in the rains… exposed to all the vicissitudes of the climate and performing the Military duties incident to a state of tour.' The claim that India's climate, especially in the rainy season, could pose a comparatively large obstacle to modern Indian and European armies struck ill with Walker, not least because he himself recounted witnessing the contrary.[37]

Walker's rebuttal, however, was motivated not just by first-hand observation. Robertson seems to have touched a nerve, in that Walker continued to respond on this head with the intention of redeeming the quality of the modern EIC soldier from Robertson's comparison. Following up on his first passage, Walker states that:

> In the following page 17 of the Disquisition we find a remarkable instance of the inferiority of Alexanders soldiers both in respect to Discipline and perseverance and which an Army of the present day would be ashamed of. With one voice they refused to advance further… This instance amongst many others might be produced to show that modern Armies are better disciplined and much more obedient to their commanders than those of Antiquity.
>
> Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 2.

[37] Walker, '[N]otes, 1814, from 'Historical disquisition on India' by William Robertson', NLS, MS.14908A, ff. 0-1.

That Walker should be less preoccupied with the relation of Roberson's arguments to theorisations on the effects of climate on the body than with defending the quality of modern armies is acutely revealing. It is demonstrative of the experiential disconnect between authors like Robertson, the likes of whom developed theories seeking to describe human nature and development, and the spaces they sought to historicise.[38] In lieu of a conjectural historical understanding of climate and its effects on the body, we find with Walker a contrasting, generalised focus on historical specificities rather than principles. We also see here a leaning towards the kinds of consideration with which Walker, as a commanding officer, was faced with during his career, as well as a prideful defence of his own affiliation to the Bombay Army.[39]

Walker's attention in his notes, however, quickly shifts away from the subject of the martial prowess of the modern company soldier and towards the etymology and linguistics underpinning Robertson's narrative. In response to a passage by Robertson which, by Walker's reckoning, incorrectly conflated Patala with the modern city 'Tatta, [which] is distinguished for its fertility and population' (Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, pp. 153-54), Walker observed that:

> Page 20 – "Pātālā, the modern Tatta" – Patala is the name of any low Country – as it is for one of the Hills of the Hindus. It is a low region. The name of the district or region was probably mistaken by Alexanders Historians for that of an City or Town.'
>
> Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 3.

While at this stage he as of yet had little to say regarding the consequences of his needing to make such a correction, Walker is incisive in doing so. As John MacKenzie puts it, the 'discovery of affinities was a major objective of the Scottish Orientalists,' who predominantly preoccupied themselves searching 'for parallels in folklore, languages or social structures.'[40] That Walker should take time away from his previous discussions on the content of Robertson's work is indicative of the kind of work he saw himself as doing within the *Historical Disquisition*. This involved taking an empirical approach to repairing the factual

[38] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 101.
[39] Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack, 'Defining Soldiers: Britain's Military, c. 1740-1815', War in History, 20.2 (2013), pp. 147, 155-57.
[40] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', p. 56.

inconsistencies in Robertson's work and sources, and thus embodied a desire to improve the text, possibly in advance of Walker's own attempts at historical writing.[41]

Throughout his notes the attention Walker pays to cross-referencing Robertson's use of sources with his own knowledge of classical histories on India is particularly striking. Robertson's assessment of the accuracy of Arrian's account on India pointed out that while the journals of Aristobulus and Nearchus 'have not indeed reached our times … it is probable that the most important facts which they contained are preserved, as Arrian professes to have followed them as his guides in his History of the Expedition of Alexander'. (Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, pp. 154-55) But where Robertson valued Arrian for his preservation of otherwise lost voices and perspectives, Walker instead took time to note that many 'of the names of the people and places' mentioned by Arrian 'are traceable in the Sanscrit language, which was probably at that time the vernacular language of India.' (Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 4) Certainly, while the inclusion of information provided Aristobulus and Nearchus in Arrian's history did not serve to disqualify Arrian, Walker was more interested in the accuracy of this information. While Robertson believed that the accounts of Aristobulus and Nearchus enhanced the empirical value of Arrian, he particularly prized them as sources because diversity in perspective served to make up for his own lack of direct experience in India. Walker, on the other hand, assessed the factuality of Arrian using criteria that he believed to be firmly objective – observations on India drawn from his own first-hand experience.[42]

Walker's focus on Arrian prompted him to disengage somewhat from the content of Robertson's *Disquisition*, and to instead map out his own analysis of ancient sources on Indian history in place of Robertson's. Indeed, while Walker tacitly approved of Robertson's use of Arrian as a source insofar as he agreed that Arrian 'mentions many circumstances respecting India which are true at this moment', he also used his notebook to expand on his own thoughts regarding the presumption that India was, to a greater or lesser extent, developmentally frozen:

> The Monsoons and the physical appearance of the Country must be permanent; but at the distance of 2000 years many changes have undoubtedly taken place in the manners and the dress of the people. In these particularities man is ever changing altho' some people alter their habits more slowly and less frequently than others. This is all that can

[41] Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, p. 242.
[42] Momma, 'A Man on the Cusp: Sir William Jones's "Philology" and "Oriental Studies"', pp. 163-64.

be said of the people of India; but because those changes amongst them are not so observable, we consider them, contrary to reason and experience, to be immutable.

Walker, 'Notes, 1814', ff. 4-5.

Unpacking Walker's stance on this issue raises problems, not least because, just as he shows some degree clemency here, as we know he readily withdrew this sympathy at various other points in his written material.[43] His general perception seems not so much to have been that India's societies had in fact developed at a pace akin to European societies, but that rather the actual speed and nature of changes – relatively slow but nonetheless existent – within ostensibly alien societies had generally been unaccounted for by historians without the requisite experience to know otherwise.[44] It is however clear that what Walker had in mind here was societal change in relation to 'the manners and the dress of the people', rather than religious or institutional change. On the other hand, indeed, what Walker had in mind regarding circumstances 'respecting India which are true at this moment' likely related to India's customary law and 'ancient constitutions', which – if they had not been entirely unchanged – nonetheless represented significant bridges in continuity between India's ancient past and contemporary present.[45]

One further crucial observation to be made of this is that while Walker arrived at a different conclusion to Robertson with regards to India's pace of historical societal change, he did so via the same modes of thinking, and using the same language, associated with conjectural history.[46] And while this particular medium of thought did not necessarily thoroughly shape Walker's ideological convictions, it did, however, lead to him making an application of historical information in practical settings in the present. Alexander's march through the Indus could be particularly instructive to East India Company men because, as Walker observes, it provided a historical precedent through which to frame the threat of post-revolutionary France at the turn of the century. Specifically, he notes that the 'districts on the Indus which were the scene of Alexanders operations' had become well known to historians and cartographers 'as they became in consequence of Bonaparte's avowed intention of invading India by the assistance of Persia an object of political consideration.' (Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 5) This was neither the first nor last time, as we know, that Walker drew on Alexander's campaign for

[43] Walker, 'Manuscript concerning Hindu Infanticide', 1816-1817, NLS, MS.13898, pp. 21-60.
[44] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 101.
[45] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: The British in Bengal*, p. 125.
[46] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, p. 10.

historical guidance in this content, his Memoranda of 1800 and 1802 being prime examples. His repetition of this here does, nevertheless, highlight that Walker retrospectively, and perhaps even in the moment, bore Robertson's *Disquisition* in mind as a source for this cross-referencing enterprise.[47]

In short order, however, Walker moved onwards through the *Disquisition*, as Robertson's attention likewise shifted towards the means by which Egypt and Rome carried out trade with India in ancient times. Again, transplanting his knowledge of modern trade logistics onto the past, Walker used Robertson's discussion of the capacity for sail of the Romans and Egyptians as another point of discursive divergence. Noting that it was '…probable that the Egyptians and Romans both employed Arabian vessels and Arabian sailors in their commerce with India', Walker went on to suggest that ancient Egypt's lack of technology and personnel suited 'to a seafaring life would naturally lead them to accept this mode of intercourse, and the Romans … would be equally made to avail themselves of the enterprising character and skill of the Arabians.' (Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 6) Knowing that Ottoman and Persian vessels carried a great deal of travel via the Red Sea and Indian Ocean in contemporary times, Walker projected this knowledge backwards to make sense of a largely unevidenced ancient past.[48]

Ancient Names in the Enlightenment Present

From this point onwards, Walker preoccupied himself almost entirely with cross-referencing and verifying Robertson's use of Classical sources. He began by examining nearly lost Alexandrian voices (which reached the present though Pliny's history) which recounted the course of Alexander's expedition through the Indus Valley, namely those of Hippalus and Nearchus. Walker's focus in his discussion of Hippalus in this instance is not so much an examination of Hippalus' veracity, but rather a contextualisation of his discoveries:

> Page 57. Eagerness of gain, as Pliny observes, brought India itself nearer to the rest of the World… It was not until a century nearly after Egypt became a Roman province that Hippalus the Commander of a ship engaged in the Indian trade stretched across the sea which separates Arabia from India and was carried by the Western Monsoon to

[47] Walker, 'Memoranda of Alexander Walker on the state of India in 1800, and the governing of India in general and Malabar in particular in 1802', 1800, 02, NLS, MS.13828.
[48] Daniel Panzac, 'International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24.2 (1992), 189-206.

> Musiris a Harbour on the Malabar Coast. This was a discovery to Hippalus and the Romans; but it is impossible that the regular change of the wild periodical winds could be unknown to the Natives and the circumstance only proves the slow progress of the Romans in navigation.
>
> Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 12.

The implications of this point on the slow development of Roman sailing relative to India's ancient kingdoms are twofold: that, as Walker and Robertson concur, the technological advancement of India in ancient times was not to be underestimated; and moreover that India, and Indian sources, could be just as valuable a source of knowledge both in the past and present as the Classical greats, even if, as we saw in chapter 3, this implied the task of discerning between fact and allegory. To this end, Walker continued that 'we know that the natives of India were early navigators and the multitude of vessels which Alexander found in the Indus proves an intensive use of shipping.' Walker, here, set out to counterfactually supply a lack of evidence on the means by which Nearchus acquired vessels in the Indus with his own understanding of India's past. As such, he concluded, the vessels used by Nearchus 'were only however constructed for the navigation of a river, they had no doubt stronger vessels for the ocean which were exempted from the reach of Alexander' (Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 13). [49]

Walker's decision to focus so incisively on Hippalus, and by extension Pliny, in consideration of the Robertson passage he quoted from, reflects both the extent of his knowledge of Classical authors and the empirical leanings of his research strategy. Robertson's treatment of Pliny, and Pliny's sources, is deliberately brief, brushing over Pliny's treatment of subjects already covered in the *Disquisition* by reference to other authors under the pretence that 'he follows the same guides with Strabo, and seems to have had no knowledge of the interior country, but what he derived from the memoirs of the officers who served under Alexander and his immediate successors'. (Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, p. 191) Consequently, Walker's delving into Pliny can be linked to a preference, which washed poorly with Robertson, for Pliny over other Classical authors. Walker's decision to introduce further detail about Pliny into a space of Robertson's text in which Pliny was deliberately neglected,

[49] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', pp. 58-59.

however, is also further telling of a deeply empirical bent in Walker's approach to history, whereby he sought to leave no source uncovered. [50]

This approach also involved a proclivity for intertextual referencing and verification based on a potent mixture of his own experiences, Modern history, Classical history, and a broad knowledge of Indian languages. On the importance of the last of these evidence bases, linguistic expertise, Walker explicitly elaborated. Picking up from page 53 of the *Disquisition*, he began by commenting that when 'tracing the plans mentioned by Ancient writers on India, their names should be sought for in the Sanscrit language rather than in any resemblance of their present appellation.' To justify this, he turned again to Arrian, noting that nearly 'every Town and district of India [mentioned by Arrian] bears a different name in Sanscrit from that which it is known at present.' As such, it is implied, any attempt to discern from classical authors information about present day India without reference to Sanskrit must inevitably be mired in errors and misinterpretations. One could, nevertheless, find recourse in that 'old names however are still preserved by the Bramans and sanscrit writing.' He also knew, further, that when 'alexander visited India the sanscrit language was the vernacular tongue of the country and it would be the medium through which he knew the peoples names.' (Walker, 'Notes, 1814', ff. 14-15) Consequently, it could then indeed be possible to accurately link the writings of ancient authors with places in the present, because a direct link of reference could be drawn between place names preserved in Sanskrit manuscripts and those used in Classical histories.[51]

Knowledge of Indian languages even seems, perhaps, to have been the lynchpin around which Walker's approach to constructing and verifying historical fact revolved, in that it was most frequently in the practice of verifying place names that Walker brought together the multiple fields of knowledge from which he drew. It is also worth reflecting on the possible purposes of this mode of approaching history. In the context of Walker's comments on Robertson, etymology represents a method through which Walker attempted to flesh out the gaps in Robertson's history. As has already been discussed, that Walker should rely so heavily on this betrays the fact that both he and Robertson were writing within an environment in which accounts up to thousands of years old could be used to investigate the present, because of the presumed immutability and timelessness of human nature as an explanatory historical factor.[52]

[50] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 229.
[51] Momma, 'A Man on the Cusp: Sir William Jones's "Philology" and "Oriental Studies"', pp. 173-74.
[52] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, And The Limits Of Progress*, p. 8.

That Walker should be so heavily preoccupied with adding to and verifying Robertson's stock of historical voices is indicative of both the way he viewed history and the nature of his engagements with it. From Walker's intervention in Robertson's text, there is a sense that he perceived the *Historical Disquisition* to be a representation, and bringing together, of the western world's collective historical knowledge on India, and that he saw his notations as contributions to this collective knowledge, much akin to sources upon which Robertson originally drew (see again Chapter 3, and Walker's introduction to his 'Ancient Intercourse with India').[53] Walker's continued note-taking further reflects this, in that he assumed modern European knowledge of India to be superior to ancient knowledge on the basis that the sources that modern historians had to draw on were both more numerous and superior in quality:

> Page 70. It was not because the ancients had little intercourse with India that their acquaintance with it was so limited and often so erroneous; but this arose from the carelessness and ignorance of those who visited it… They were perhaps not so well educated as our Travelling packmen…
>
> Walker, 'Notes, 1814', ff. 16.

Because in the present day many with a solid education ventured to India among the ranks of the East India Company, one could ensure a more thorough and accurate process of cross-referencing and fact verification on India's history.[54]

This does not, however, indicate that Walker had a specific distaste for Classical authors such as Ptolemy. While Walker believed that the quality of the sources used by Classical authors could denigrate the quality of their accounts, they were, to him, still men of genius:

> How many Countries do these people visit? How scanty and incorrect is the information they bring back? It is this only that can account for the blunders and errors of Ptolemy a man of science and research, and who had access to the best information. Yet being in Alexandria where many natives of India would be found and where an intercourse subsisted with India, almost as regularly as in the present time, he mapped the peninsula of India from west to east instead of from north to south. This fact must infinitely prove,

[53] Mairs, 'The Men Who Would be Alexander', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, p. 577.
[54] Callie Wilkinson, 'The East India College Debate and the Fashioning of Imperial Officials, 1806-1858', *Historical Journal*, 60.4 (2017), pp. 946-48; Tribe, 'Professors Malthus and Jones', p. 328.

> not that the intercourse with India was little, but that those who frequented that Country were unenlightened and brought only inaccurate information.
>
> Walker, 'Notes, 1814', ff. 16-17.

Although it is only implied, from this we can glean a further sense of how Walker perceived Robertson as an author in relation to his tinkering on the *Disquisition*. It was not so much that Walker saw little value in Robertson's history, but rather that Walker saw himself as contributing to an ongoing process of historical verification and cross-referencing with possibly quite broad communal intellectual implications.[55]

The passage from Robertson which Walker quoted on this count is likewise revealing of a similar epistemological position on the part of Robertson:

> Although Ptolemy was led to form such an erroneous opinion concerning the general dimensions of the Indian continent, his information with respect to the country in detail, and the situation of particular places, was more accurate; and he is the first author possessed of such knowledge as enabled him to trace the sea-coast, to mention the most noted places situated upon it, and to specify the longitude and latitude of each from cape Comorin eastward, to the utmost boundary of ancient navigation… It is foreign to the object of this Disquisition, to enter into such a minute detail; but in several instances we may observe, that not only the conformity of position, but the similarity of ancient and modern names, is very striking.
>
> Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, p. 195.

That Robertson's assessment of the accuracy of Ptolemy's mapping of India should mirror the close attention Walker likewise paid to analysing the geographical and etymological specificities of the *Disquisition* itself is curious, in that it reveals a further sense in which the activities which Walker engaged in in the name of empire – mapping and information collection – could fall under the remit of both the EIC agent and the historian's skill sets.[56]

Walker continued by arguing that ancient authors such as Ptolemy could still be mined for useful information, not least because it was the task of such men of history to weed out

[55] Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, p. 153.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 157-58; Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp. 20-21.

truth from falsities via a thorough examination of what information they did have. Furthermore, just as Walker praised Ptolemy for using his sources to accurately map out India's coastline, this conclusion was only possible for Walker because he engaged in much the same kind of activity, through cross-referencing Ptolemy with his own knowledge of modern maps and place names. Moreover, in doing so, he also seems to have been making a distinction between the different kinds of evidence upon which modern historians could draw:

> Page 91. The information of Ptolemy and the ancient writers on India was derived from such casual sources that their mistakes should not surprise us. With this allowance however their information is more scanty than we can easily account for. Some of these writers Ptolemy especially sought every where for information; but they display always a great inclination in noticing the manners and the progress of nations. In those ages the same curiosity, love of knowledge and of adventure no doubt existed as in our time; but their was neither the same facility nor the same desire to make it publick.
>
> Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 18.

On the one hand, observations on the character of Indian peoples and societies had been made in large enough quantities in antiquity for authors such as Ptolemy to sort fact from fiction. On the other, the over attention of ancient travellers to this realm of experience detracted from the overall quality of Classical accounts of India.[57]

Qualitative observations, in line with the language and assumptions underpinning Scottish Enlightenment conjectural history, could nevertheless be extremely useful. In some of his final notes on the *Disquisition*, Walker returned to using this kind of evidence to further support his rebuttal of Robertson's take on Ancient Persian trade activity:

> Page 94. The creation of a commercial spirit among the Persians is not easily accounted for… The last circumstances would rather incline them to resume their ancient policy; but are we sure that the Persians possessed that aversion for sea affairs implanted to them? We are certain that their descendants at this day, the followers of Zoraster and worshippers of fire are keen and active merchants.
>
> Walker, 'Notes, 1814', f. 20.

[57] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26. Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, pp. 47-48.

While, indeed, Walker found it difficult to evidence the development of a 'commercial spirit' in ancient Persia, he did see fit to suggest that the character of Persians in his contemporary reality indicated some degree of continuity. That Persia should be a commercial nation in the present meant, therefore, that at some point in history Persia must have thrown off its ancient preference for isolation and ventured into trade with India.[58]

Tracing Walker's Focus

Having looked in detail at how Walker navigated his way through Robertson's *Disquisition*, it should now be worthwhile to take a more expansive view of the overall structure of his notes. The analysis below does so in order to grasp some sense of the subconscious operations of Walker's reading: Which themes most drew his attention? What kind of principles, both stated and unstated, drove his interventions in Robertson's text? And what kind of stylistic choices did he make in his note taking? The answers to these questions, I hope, connect back to the preceding sections, in that they develop on the fleeting glimpses we have already seen of Walker's intentions for his notes, the identities he took on when writing them, and moreover the way he jostled against the imposed discursive conventions of historical and administrative writing alike.[59]

Walker focused almost squarely on the first of the four parts of the narrative portion of the *Disquisition*, with only a small section at the end of the account book covering the second narrative chapter. The reason for this, though only to be guessed at, quite plausibly may be due to him having set out to make notes on the text in its entirety but stopping short either due to a lapse in interest or time. It is, however, also possible to analyse his decisions over the content of his notes with a sense of his perspective as a former EIC agent and private historian of India in mind.[60] Upon closer inspection, Walker's focus on the first chapter of the *Disquisition* coincides with his having a sustained fascination with Alexander the Great, the geographical confines of his experience in India, and a predilection towards the Greek historians whom Robertson quoted. That Walker preoccupied himself with taking notes on subjects with which he was familiar is no surprise given the way he goes about writing them. Throughout, there is

[58] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, pp. 47-48.
[59] Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 9.
[60] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 13.

a persistent sense of Walker's assumed authority on the history of India, and of the potential importance he saw in his adding useful corrections to Robertson's *Disquisition.*[61]

The most startling observation to be made about this is that there is significant overlap in this modality of historical discourse and the discursive modes in which Walker engaged as an administrator. On the surface level, this indicates that for men in positions such as Walker's, history could be and was considered a useful tool for the mining of information and drawing of lessons to aid in the governing of Britain's overseas territories.[62] Upon closer inspection, however, this instance of 'informational reading' can also be viewed as an artefact of the converging influence of British literary culture and historical discourse and the day-to-day language of colonial administration on one another.[63] Just as the formic conventions and ideological content of Walker's historical reading structured his approach to thinking about governing empire, the demands which his methods of governance were organised around likewise structured his approach to reading history. Walker made no distinction between the dual purposes of collecting historical information on places and Indian demographics. While, on the one hand, the accuracy of such information was perceivably crucial in the construction of historical narratives and arguments, on the other it could be readily considered just as crucial to British approaches to managing empire. It is plausible that from the perspective of a historian, such as Robertson or Walker, writing with an audience of EIC soldiers and administrators in mind, the necessity of such a distinction between purposes was collapsed.[64]

Regarding formal and structural similarities between Walker's reading of Robertson and the ways in which he thought about governance, the reading notes largely consist of prose in which Walker used parts of Robertson's *Disquisition* as prompts from which to launch his own historical analyses. Although Walker's notes on different parts of the disquisition are distinguished at the beginning of each prose section by the notation of page numbers, Walker generally tended to avoid quoting Robertson directly in favour of paraphrasing. This format of notetaking lends Walker's commonplace book a similar quality to his Indian essays and memoranda, as well as his later attempts at historical monographs. This is expressly insofar as Walker's notes are predominantly argument driven, as opposed to being – as one might expect

[61] Allan, *A Nation of* Readers, p. 11.
[62] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India,* pp. 7-8.
[63] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America,* pp. 229-230.
[64] O'Brien, 'History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain', p. 399.

a domestic Britons use of a commonplace book to be – organised around the collection of useful and instructive information.[65]

Besides defying understandings and conventions connected to the use of commonplace books for instructive purposes, Walker also wrote his notes to address a plural 'we'. There is some ambiguity as to whether this acted to address a specifically EIC audience, if it signifies Walker's identification with a specifically orientalist or Enlightenment community of historians and experts on India, or even all of these at once. Nevertheless, the subject of Walker's notes is more certainly the collective knowledges of hyper-realised ideas of Britain's historical and colonial communities, and what Robertson had contributed to this, not just Robertson and his text directly.[66] The nub, here, is that Walker generally avoided commenting on Robertson's overarching narrative themes, and where Walker's notes linger on the topic of Alexander the Great this is especially true. This historical subject, and the prevalence of comparisons between Alexander the Great and Napoleon Bonaparte, as we have seen in his memoranda of 1800 (see again Chapter 4), provided him with both mind-set and materials with which to plan against the looming threat of France against British India. It also, here, appears to have continued to long captivate him following his retirement.[67]

And yet, this fascination was, perhaps, even more significant for being symptomatic of a preoccupation with etymology – transplanted by Walker onto history from orientalist approaches to governing – than for the emotional imprint it left on him.[68] A running theme throughout his notes is that Walker focused his critiques of Robertson on sections which centre on mapping out military and trade routes. He moreover favoured analysing the accuracy of Robertson's identification of the modern counterparts to ancient places and peoples as opposed to drawing generalisation or rules from history. Indeed, while Walker shared with Robertson a number of assumptions to do with the linear-progressive development of societies (notwithstanding his rebuking the perception that India had changed little according to this model of history) and the physiological impact of climate on the human body, he was chiefly expressive on these heads when speaking in relation to historical particularities.[69]

[65] Allan, *A Nation of Readers*, p. 8.
[66] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 37.
[67] Fulinska, 'Alexander and Napoleon', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, p. 550.
[68] Thomas Osbourne, 'Bureaucracy as a vocation: Governmentality and Administration in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7.3 (1994), p. 297.
[69] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, pp. 34-35.

In other crucial respects, however, Walker's approach to note-taking shared more than meets the eye with both his own and Robertson's approaches towards writing history, and married the approaches towards India of the historian with that of the governing Orientalist. Much as the narrative portion Robertson's text is built on a historical method driven by empiricism and was the meeting point of a bevy of sources – both modern and ancient – drawn together by Robertson for careful cross-referencing and verification, Walker's notes appear to have been – intentionally or not – an extension of this. Careful attention was paid, as is the case throughout most Walker's collected materials, to Classical Hellenistic and Latin sources on India. Robertson spent a great deal of time across the *Disquisition* working through specific ancient accounts of India when relevant to his subject focuses. Walker, in turn, took to critiquing these sections with his own takes on the accuracy of authors, often clashing with Robertson by bringing in a predetermined preference for Arrian and Pliny. It was also to these sources especially that Walker looked when wishing to cross-reference his own knowledge of Indian place names with other parts of Robertson's text, and in doing so he demonstrated a simultaneous adeptness at linguistics and empirical historiographical method.[70]

Conclusion

On the note of cross-referencing, it will be worth concluding by bearing in mind the material dimensions of Walker's likely use of his own archive to produce these notes. While at this point, he was some distance in time away from his intermingling of historical and administrative language on the ground in India, his continued use of material he produced in this context in his retirement prolonged his adherence to the discursive conventions of administrative writing. It also, plausibly, structured – and set limits on the horizons of possibility of – his responses to Robertson more than narrowly than the numerous other Enlightenment texts and ideas he had encountered by this time.[71] While Walker was indeed to some extent drawing on his own memory – and hence from beyond the confines of his written archive to answer the *Disquisition* – his collected papers, however vast, were nonetheless limited. That his papers also tended to linger on subjects which, as aforementioned, seem to have particularly occupied his attention also appears to have reinforced several thematic preoccupations, especially those to do with Alexander the Great, the works of Classical

[70] Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp. 20-21.
[71] Jauss and Benzinger, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', p. 21.

historians, and the informational potential of alternative evidence bases such as Sanskrit manuscripts.[72]

In a practical sense, what Walker was doing here was drawing on first-hand evidence of military circumstances in India (which he had written himself) in the writing, or re-writing, of Robertson's history. And in this, he seems to have closed much of the distance between how he imagined himself and the ancient authors who inspired him.[73] In 1819, Walker, when providing feedback to James Mill on his *History of British India* (1817), went on to argue:

> It is difficult indeed to imagine how it can operate as a disqualification that a man has seen the original from which he is to draw. It can never surely detract from the merit or qualifications of an historian, that he has lived amongst the people, whose manners he has to describe. It is to this that we owe the exquisite descriptions and characters of Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy and almost all the ancient historians.[74]

But despite this insistence, there was clearly some difference between Walker and, as Sebastiani puts it, the variety of 'armchair historian' with whom he was corresponding, although not in the sense which Walker meant.[75] One who, although not having to contend with writing about India solely in the abstract, wrote about India in a way which deeply reflected the knowledge and ways of organising information – an attention to geographic detail, logistics, weather, Indian language sources and the practical usefulness of historical information – he had acquired and developed there.[76]

[72] Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 6.
[73] Anderson, *Imagined* Communities, p. 37.
[74] Alexander Walker, 'Detailed textual criticisms, made by Alexander Walker, of the first edition of 'History of British India' by James Mill', 1819, NLS, MS.13737, p. 2-3.
[75] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 101.
[76] Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, pp. 157-59.

Chapter 6: James Mill's *The History of British India*

Introduction

This chapter subjects Alexander Walker's correspondence with James Mill, author of *The History of British India* (1817), to analysis using the same theoretical tools as the previous chapter on William Robertson. Walker's response to Mill's *History* represents a lived instance of him engaging with long-eighteenth-century history writing on India receptively, in much the same way as his notes on Robertson's *Disquisition* also reflected the concerns and ideas he brought to and took away from his readings into conjectural history and orientalist discourse. Both of these sources show how Walker navigated and appropriated eighteenth-century discourse on India, and which aspects of British conjectural history writing he most favoured and disfavoured.[1] While the previous chapter demonstrated that one possible shape of Walker's receptive discursive engagement involved him intervening in Robertson's texts in a way that repeated a preoccupation with informational density, accuracy and practical utility he picked up during his career as an imperialist, his engagement with Mill represents a very different kind of possible reader response.[2]

From the time he read Robertson to the time he corresponded with James Mill, Walker's self-esteem regarding his historical and Indian expertise had clearly increased, no doubt partly because he dedicated the intervening years to private study. While Walker generally showed Mill deference with regards to his skill as a historian, he also brought the full weight of his first-hand experience in India to bear on Mill's *The History of British India.* A recurring theme throughout Walker's reading is that he regularly called into question the factuality of Mill's claims about India, and moreover often subtly took issue with the extent of Mill's racism in the text. These rifts between the two men are demonstrative of a break with the Enlightenment and orientalist discourses in which Walker immersed himself as a young man made by the new anglicist wing of speakers on India.[3] This is especially, as John MacKenzie has pointed out, inasmuch as Mill represented one of the foremost voices of a new utilitarian philosophy and

[1] Chartier, *The Order of Books*, p. viii.
[2] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, pp. xx-xxi.
[3] Inden, *Imagining India*, p. 45; Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', p. 69.

approach to Indian governmental, educational and religious reform, which aimed to impart British cultural forms and civilisation to India.[4]

While examining this episode from Walker's life, I hone on Walker's implicit defence of the Enlightenment values of polite cosmopolitanism and cross-cultural understanding as a means of identifying the limits of the imaginative potential opened by intersections between the languages of 'philosophical history' and of Indian governance. Taken alongside one another, Walker's readings of Robertson and Mill represent two almost opposite possibilities enabled by the Scots' scientific method. One the one hand, Walker's reading of Robertson reflected, in part, how informational approaches to reading could and did connect back to administrative fact finding connected with EIC imperialism. On the other, Walker's reading of Mill reflected an instance in which ideas to do with the universality of human nature were called upon to defend India from derogatory description and racial, hierarchical classification.[5]

In addition, factoring Mill into this picture might further elucidate how the conjectural mode enabled societal comparisons across a positive and negative spectrum, insofar as Mill's *History* represented, for Walker, an undesirable logical extreme. This is especially with regards to Mill's fixing upon the idea of Europeans being more advanced than Indians in their societal development as more of a racialized maxim than an individual observation. Even further, I suggest here that when viewing Walker's administrative and historical writing in relation to the range of possible responses highlighted by Walker's communication with Mill, it is also possible to connect them back to the inherent imaginative tension of the conjectural-historical developmental-come-hierarchical framework (see Conclusion).[6]

To realise these arguments, this chapter will begin by examining the publication of Mill's *History of British India* within its political context; written at the crux of conflict, as Majeed puts it, between a 'revitalised conservatism … which had emerged in response to the threat of the French revolution' and the emerging bodies of Anglicist and Utilitarian discourse, Mill's text prompted significant government involvement and reform in India.[7] Afterwards, I provide a structural overview of Mill's *History*, as well as an overview of his interactions with Alexander Walker. This chapter then bridges into a chronological appraisal of Walker and

[4] Loizides, 'Induction, Deduction, and James Mill's "Government"', p. 34; MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', p. 58.
[5] Towsey*, Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 223-24.
[6] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 8.
[7] J. Majeed, 'James Mill's 'The History of British India' and Utilitarianism as a Rhetoric of Reform', *Modern Asian Studies*, 24.2 (1990, p. 209.

Mill's correspondence, cut across by analysis of: Walker and Mill's diverging opinions on Hindu religious practices; their respective understandings and uses of conjectural historical concepts and modes; and each's relationship to their source materials.[8]

The History of British India

A close associate of Jeremy Bentham and David Ricardo, in the early years of the nineteenth century James Mill had transitioned early from an unpromising career in the Church of Scotland towards independent historical, philosophical, and literary work. Whereas Walker had been educated a generation earlier in St. Andrews, Mill was among those intellectuals active at the beginning of the nineteenth century whose disciplinary influences can be most prominently traced back to the teaching of Dugald Stewart at Edinburgh University.[9] In this sense, it could be said that if Walker was a child of the Enlightenment, Mill was one of the Enlightenment's inheritors, and was (unlike his elder) part of the Anglicist generation which determined the course of post-Enlightenment discourse on India in the century to come.[10]

Beginning to find prominence in 1808 when writing for the Edinburgh review, it was in this year also that he met Bentham. Scholarship on James Mill has established that he was deeply influenced by Bentham's strand of utilitarianism, and that much of his work was created with the intention of acting and arguing towards guarantees of maximum public utility.[11] Though his public profile continued to rise steadily during the early nineteenth century, through contributions to the periodical *Philanthropist* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the publication of *The History of British India* in 1818 constituted a turning point in his professional career and fortunes. The following year, largely as a result of his book, Mill was granted an appointment to the India House in the department of the Examiner of Indian Correspondence. Eventually becoming head of the department, Mill also continued his literary career as a high-profile public figure, often writing in association with the Radical party and finding himself under fire as one of the foremost advocates of utilitarianism.[12]

Mill began work on *The History of British India* in 1805, with the course of his writing taking roughly twelve years. The hostile position he took within the text towards Hindu

[8] Anderson, *Imagined* Communities, p. 37.
[9] Alexander Bain, *James Mill: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 16.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127; Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, pp. 112, 117.
[11] John Regan, 'No 'nonsense upon stilts': James Mill's *History of British India* and the Poetics of Benthamite Historiography', in P. Fermanis and J. Regan (eds.), *Rethinking British Romantic History, 1770-1845* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 72.
[12] Bain, *James Mill: A Biography*, pp. 186, 189.

civilization is consistent with stances he took in articles as early as 1807 (published in the process of his working out the history).[13] There is, as Callum Barrell has pointed out, more to his intentions in the text than simply an Indophobic desire to depict Hindus in a negative light. The text itself, given its eventual import to Government and Company policy, is arguably inseparable from the context of the internal Whig Party ideological conflicts fought between reformism and post-Napoleonic conservatism, as well as the gradual imposition of parliamentary control over the EIC. Indeed, the object of the text, in Mill's words, was not so much 'to depict or denounce Indian society, but rather to provide the stimulus for its reform.' From the standpoint of social utility, as he saw it, despite Hindu society's outward shows of civility it lacked crucial advancements in its cultural, political and religious establishments that might otherwise guarantee the greatest possible wellbeing for India's Hindu population.[14]

Mill geared his history towards suggesting and advocating for solutions to years of East India Company mismanagement in India. *The History of British India* was penned as a rationalist philosophical answer to the failings of empirical history, which Mill saw in William Robertson, Sir William Jones, and the early orientalists as having allowed confirmation bias – originating from their emotional attachments to India – to seep into their work.[15] And while Mill believed that outward shows of cultural refinement from Hindu society had tricked these men, he instead insisted that such shows obscured an inner barbarity that was deeply embedded in the Hindu mind and national character.[16] The *History* as such was premised on the principle – inspired by Humean inductive reasoning – that investigations into human nature in action in India ought not to allow circumstantial evidence of Hindu historical attainment to distract from identifying and recommending solutions to the backwardness of Hindu society. This standpoint – from which Mill conducted his 'judging history' – was self-sustaining, insofar as the conceptual orders of discourse emanating from *The History of British India* actively worked to exclude contradictory concepts, statements and ideas from its confines.[17]

As an extension of this, Mill also took inspiration from Scottish Enlightenment conjectural history, particularly insofar as he adopted civilisation as a unit of historical analysis as well as a practical end for which his history could strive, and as well as in how he brought

[13] Barrell, *History and Historiography in Classical Utilitarianism,* pp. 65-66.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[15] Regan, 'No 'nonsense upon stilts'', p. 73.
[16] Barrell, *History and Historiography in Classical Utilitarianism*, p. 69.
[17] *Ibid*., pp. 69-71.

forward a methodology of scientific (but not empirical) inductive reasoning.[18] Where he differed from his Scots predecessors, however, as Barrell has also pointed out, was in how far he took his measurements of Indian societal civility and advancement.[19] Where a generation earlier Smith, Millar, Ferguson, Robertson, Kames and Dunbar weighed the relative development of a society based upon the apparent politeness and advancement of its social conventions and institutions, Mill doubted their preciseness in following this method. Writing to Walker on the 6 November 1819, in response to criticisms made by Walker to do with the implications of conjectural-historical language in his text, Mill put it like so:

> I fully agree with you that we have no standard of civilisation, & of course no precise & accurate ideas or language in which to convey them… I had persuaded myself however that the views of Sir William Jones, Dr. Robertson & others, who led the public on this subject before my time, were too high with respect to the comparative progress of the Hindus…
>
> Mill to Walker, 6 November 1819, MS.13724, ff. 177-178.

Mill had nonetheless chosen to rank Hindu society, implicitly and explicitly, and relatively low on his scale of civilizational development at that. From his perspective, this connected back to the social imperatives of his work – insofar as he believed that earlier estimates of Hindu civility '…had led the British rulers of India into measures injurious to the Hindus, as being ill fitted to their stage of society.' The racism which permeates his work is striking, even when taken in this context, and this was noticed especially by Walker.[20]

The History of British India was originally published in three separate volumes divided into six separate books. Each book was subdivided further into chapters, as well as a preface and index. The first of these books concerned the history of British trade with and knowledge of India in the period prior to the establishment of the East India Company, whilst the second provided a conjectural-historical analysis of Hindu society in the period before the Mughal conquests. The third book then shifted gears again toward narrative history, covering the period from Muslim ascendancy in India to the beginnings of East India Company rule. The fourth, fifth and sixth books – which comprise the second and third volumes – cover the full history

[18] Loizides, 'Induction, Deduction, and James Mill's "Government"', p. 36.
[19] Barrell, *History and Historiography in Classical Utilitarianism*, pp. 67-68.
[20] Letter from James Mill to Alexander Walker, dated 6 November 1819, East India House, in 'Correspondence of Alexander Walker during his retirement (1819)', NLS, MS.13724, f. 177-78.

of British involvement in India: the fourth tackling the period from the establishment of the company in 1708 until the Regulating Act in 1773; the fifth picking up from 1773 until Pitt's India Act in 1784; and the final comprising the period from 1784 until the conclusion of the Anglo-Maratha Wars in 1805. These final three books are principally concerned with characterising British rule in India alongside the passage of Mill's narrative. The first book considers India's early history in a relatively less narratively driven manner, though the second particularly stands out from the text's otherwise teleological progress as the portion most akin to the conjectural history of Robertson, Ferguson, Millar and Kames.[21]

Mill's second book, 'Of the Hindus', was the primary focus of Walker's notes, and is divided into ten discreet chapters. While the first deals with the 'Chronology and Ancient History of the Hindus' and the second the 'Classification and Distribution of the People' geographically, the remaining chapters of the book are dedicated to the description of features of Hindu society. Chapter three begins by providing an assessment of Hindu systems of government, criticising the singular investment of military, administrative and judiciary power solely in Indian monarchs as appose to separate branches of government. Chapter four, which seems to have been the first to especially capture Walker's attention, covers Hindu law, primarily through a highly critical reading of orientalist translations of Hindu legal tracts such as *The Ordinances of Menu*. Five continues as an extension of this topic, covering taxation and property, whilst chapter six covers religion. [22]

Mill's take on Hinduism in his sixth chapter, particularly in how he chose to represent Brahmins, forms arguably the most critical segment of the second book. Much of Mill's attention in this chapter concerns his belief that religious practices dominated the greater part of Hindu daily life in India, having a greater material influence than government or law (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 198). While this was consistent with Mill's general anticlericalism throughout his career, his assessment here comes across as particularly harsh as well out of touch with the realities of Hindu religious practices. Here Hindu polytheism was attributed by Mill to a tendency toward 'exaggeration and flattery', whilst he also later concluded that none 'have ever drawn a more gross, irrational, and disgusting picture of the universe than what is presented in the writings of the Hindus.' (Mill, *History of British India*, pp. 225-26, p. 237). Chapter seven, on manners, which Mill takes to describe the conveyance of everyday life,

[21] Höpfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', pp. 25-26.
[22] Mill, *The History of British India*, Vol. 1, pp. 124-28: See here with reference to my comments on chapter three.

continues in this vein, whilst also taking aim at the purportedly detrimental effect of caste upon Hindu civility. Chapters eight and nine then shift attention towards the arts and literature respectively, of which Mill provides a low estimation in India. Lastly, chapter ten, provides general reflections as a bookend to the book.[23]

Meeting James Mill

Alexander Walker likely met James Mill during the summer of 1819, not long after the appointment of the latter to the department of the Examiner of Indian Correspondence in the offices of the India House. Though the circumstances of this meeting are unclear beyond it likely being through or maybe even in the India House, Walker certainly seemed to have left an impression on Mill. Mill appears, in fact, to have been impressed to such an extent that when Mill's India House colleague William McCulloch introduced him to a memorandum by Walker on the 'History of Kutch', he sought Walker's aid in editing the second edition of *The History of British India* (1817):

> My Dear Sir,
>
> Mr Mc Culloch who returned to us yesterday after a month absence, has had the kindness to show me a letter of yours, one passage of which was more calculated to yield me pleasure, than a good many of the fine things which the world contains… I know a few men… in whom I am sure that the ruling passion is the love of mankind. But I never saw a man in whom I was so immediately & powerfully struck with the marks of that sentiment, as I was in you, after the first half hours conversation I had with you… I am employed in preparing the work [*The History of British India*] for a second edition. I am persuaded that I should profit more than I will repose to lay by your remarks. I therefore hope to earnestly request, that you will place a sheet of paper by your side when you read & put down your strictures as you proceed – above all that you will mark well the points on which you think that I am materially wrong.
>
> James Mill to Alexander Walker, 14 September, MS.13724, f. 114.

Already, it seems, about to read the History, Walker readily took up Mill's request. From the 30 September 1819 until as late as March the next year, Walker sat down in his library at Bowland House – before *The History of British India* and with paper beside it – and proceeded

[23] Anna Plassart, 'James Mill, the Scottish Enlightenment and the Problem of Civil Religion', *Modern Intellectual History*, 16.3 (2019).

to write to Mill with nearly 300 folios worth of notes. Hints throughout these letters confirm that the correspondence was conveyed between the two by David Ricardo, whom Walker, based in and near Edinburgh, was most likely referred to by Mill.[24]

Upon immediate inspection, what is most striking is that Walker's notes repeatedly critiqued Mill's famously harsh treatment of Hinduism in the second book of his history. To be sure, Mill had invited criticism in the interest of improving his text, and as such Walker's mode of speaking neatly fitted the request. That the subject of Walker's notes, however, revolved principally around Mill's recurring choice to characterise Hindu social structures, religious practices and culture as developmentally backward, indicates the presence of a deeper discursive rift besides the matter of fine-tuning Mill's facts and source materials. This conflict between the two, I argue, depended primarily not upon differences in opinion to do with the practicalities of Indian policy but rather on their differing linguistic aesthetics and moral sensibilities, and moreover a significant difference of opinion with regards to the social utility of discourse excoriating Indian society.[25] Where Walker held dear his experiences in India and high his esteem of Hindu society and culture – on relative terms – Mill, who had never been to India, identified India's Hindus as prime candidates for social reform and, by extension, subsumed them into the discourse of his political philosophy as a locus for his discontent.[26]

Borrowing both parlance and logic from the Scottish Enlightenment conjectural history with which Walker grew up but also believing that his history ought most to inform Indian policy-making, Mill sought to explain the ascendancy of Muslim and later British rule in India whilst also making recommendations to counteract the moral failings of company rule.[27] In order to emphasise the moral imperative of Indian cultural (and as such educational and government) reform, Mill laboured to underline the poor conditions and abuses of the period marked by Company conquest, in part by highlighting the wretchedness of Hindu society both before and after it. To be sure, while this strand of *The History of British India* was intended as a critique of powerful institutional interests in Britain influencing rule in India, and moreover attempted to advocate for an improved utilitarian vision of Indian society, this entailed labelling Hindus as developmentally stunted, immoral, ineffectual and excessively superstitious.[28]

---

[24] *Ibid.,* f. 127.
[25] Schwarz, 'Aesthetic Imperialism: Literature and the Conquest of India', p. 565.
[26] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 48.
[27] Majeed, 'James Mill's 'The History of British India' and Utilitarianism as a Rhetoric of Reform', p. 212.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 213-14.

The force of Mill's Indophobia was such that towards the conclusion of his notes (and likely after his correspondence with Mill ceased) Walker stated repeatedly:

> In the History of British India the Hindus are never praised, nor once spoken well of. Their vices are exposed with the steadfast implacability of a foe. No virtue is ever discovered in any race or individual of that unfortunate nation, and it seems to be laid down as an axiom that a benevolent or a worthy deed was impossible in a Hindu.'
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 181.

This tension between Walker and Mill surfaces frequently across the body of Walker's notes, culminating in a relationship that comes across as being built upon a respectful yet thoroughly active and often awkward intellectual antagonism between the two.

Walker's notes on *The History of British India* are split across ten separate letters, notwithstanding material from folio 150 onward, which does not clearly belong to a particular message. While his first letter (dated 30 September 1819) considered Mill's preface, first book and the first chapter of his second book 'On Hindus' in brief, the next two letters (1 and 3 October 1819) considered book two chapter two. His fourth letter (5 October 1819) covered chapter three, while he then lingered on Mill's fourth chapter for the next three (7, 9 and 12 October 1819). These first seven letters are all relatively short, spanning no more than ten folios at most individually, and it is at this point that Walker and Mill's interchange appears to have been most active, with Mill responding regularly (on the 5, 18, and 21 October 1819). Chapters five and six were both covered in Walker's eighth letter, which spans about fifty folios and appears to have taken much longer to write, given that it was dated the 21 October 1819. Following this letter, it appears that Walker took a break from the *History*, likely out of business or in order to await further correspondence, although eventually he received a letter from Mill on the 6 November 1819, to which he responded on 21 November 1819. The next batch of notes are dated the 4 December 1819, and cover Mill's seventh chapter over the course of around 30 folios. Walker's next letter was a similar length, and took on the eighth chapter (16 December 1819), leaving the ninth chapter onwards and parts of Mill's third book to be covered by Walker privately until Mill requested the remainder of his notes in March 1820.[29]

[29] Walker, 'Detailed textual criticisms on Mill', 1819, NLS, MS.13737.

Gradually, across these letters Walker's moments of praise for Mill dwindled. Frequent in his writing was the tactic of questioning the moral qualities and prejudices of Mill's sources in place of Mill himself. Significant also was a two-month stalling in their correspondence from December 1819 to February 1820, though the conversation was eventually revived by Mill. While the first half of Walker's notes can be traced to 1819, the second remain undated, unsigned, and without a named recipient, and moreover only appear to have been sent to Mill in March 1820 after his repeated insistence.[30] The final forty folios which are compiled together in the National Library of Scotland constitute selective reproductions of previous material from the notes, indicating (based also on further evidence in his conversations with Mill) that they were intended for Walker's personal study. This portion, moreover, ends abruptly with the absence of subsequent pages previously adjoined to an unfinished sentence, hinting possibly at a spontaneous abandonment of the enterprise, an uncaring negligence for the maintenance of this part, or even its deliberate destruction.[31]

Walker's critical fervour when reading *The History of British India*, especially in light of his comparatively informational approach to reading William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, provides a fascinating window into his life as a reader and retired EIC official, one which offers great insight into the frequent overlaps of the languages of polite Enlightenment philosophical and political doctrine and Empire.[32] Walker's feedback to Mill likewise hinged on how his own experiences in India, and his expansive knowledge on the veracity of sources about India, related to the accuracy of the text at large. Here the task at hand was to provide well-meaning assistance as an expert on India, rather than the personal assemblage of useful information and the self-positioning of oneself as an author par excellence. In reckoning with the pages of Mill's *The History of British India* Walker was confronting a text attached to an author still very much alive and with whom he was personally acquainted, and in doing so he was actively speaking back to a discourse which – due to the extensive readership Mill's history cultivated – bore considerable influence on shifting Parliamentary policy on India and future EIC postings away from the influence of post-Napoleonic conservatism.[33]

[30] Walker, 'Correspondence of Alexander Walker during his retirement (1820-1821)', NLS, MS.13725, ff. 12-13, ff. 14-19, ff. 20-21, ff. 22-23, ff. 47-56.
[31] Walker, 'Detailed textual criticisms on Mill', 1819, NLS, MS.13737, f. 269.
[32] See again Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 89.
[33] Majeed, 'James Mill's 'The History of British India' and Utilitarianism as a Rhetoric of Reform', p. 218.

Speaking to Mill at the end of November 1819, already some way into his appraisal of the *History*, Walker reflected that '[one] of my strongest desires is still to be useful to the people of India and to enfuse into the minds of my countrymen sentiments towards them of kindness and justice.' Clearly conscious of the influence which Mill's *History of British India* might have upon future policy makers on and travellers to India, he further urged that '[it] is in your power to correct a multitude of errors and to remove many prejudices.' (Walker to Mill, 21 November 1819, MS.13724, f. 189). If we are to grasp at why the potential consequences Mill's book had for the well-being of Indians both motivated and troubled Walker, it might be best to say that this was likely have been imagined as a matter of the manner of ruling and of the manner of speaking. While the two men both agreed that the objectives of Indian policy making ought to include the betterment of India's peoples, their differing aesthetic sensibilities of depictions of India produced equally different perspectives on the best route towards this goal. Walker, it seems, unlike Mill, feared that the rhetorical belittlement of Britain's colonial subjects might open the door to further abuses in policy and government – borne of misunderstanding and prejudice – rather than exclusively motivating the institution of effective government policy.[34]

Epistemology, Generalisation and Specificity

In the pursuit of his notes on *The History*, the potentially disastrous consequences of Mill's discourse for Indian society captured Walker's concern. Walker's remarks on Mill's preface are especially telling of this, as well as further conceptual and logical differences in the epistemological positions of the two men. Mill argued his preface that 'the powers of observation, in every individual, are exceedingly limited' and that it was 'only by combining the observations of a number of individuals, that a competent knowledge of any extensive subject can ever be acquired.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. xiv). This preface was geared towards justifying Mill's ability to write effectively about India despite his never having been there. What is more, he also sought in it to position himself as the best placed individual – because of the scope of his research and his lack of emotional attachment to his subject matter – to write on India in general. On this head, Mill mused over 'what it is that a man can learn, by going to India, and understanding its languages.' Granted, he admitted, such a man 'can treasure up the facts, which are presented to his senses; he can learn the facts which are recorded in such native books, as have not been translated; and he can ascertain facts by conversation

[34] Hall & Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', pp. 5-9.

with the natives, which have never yet been committed to writing.' With all of that said, he concluded: 'This he can do; and I am not aware that he can do any thing further.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. xiv).[35]

Mill's suggestion here was that a traveller in India could very well 'treasure up facts' but was none the better placed to write extensively on India, being – even in physical proximity – unable to fully comprehend its confines as a subject. Hence Mill's intervention, the necessary (as he saw it) assemblage of facts from disparate, incomplete perspectives under the purview of one wholly capable, philosophizing mind unaffected by personal affection toward India.[36] In response to this line in Mill's thought, Walker acutely remarked that 'it is probable that had the argument never been stated the objection would never have been made – at least it would have been innocuous. p. xiv.'[37] Perhaps sensing that Mill's justification of his work spilled into the realms of self-aggrandisement – and at the expense of the standing of other authorities on India at that – he further added:

> It can never surely detract from the merit of qualifications of an historian, that he has lived amongst the people, whose manners he has to describe. It is to this that we owe the exquisite descriptions and characters of Thuycides, Xenephon, Livy, and almost all the ancient Historians. It was to acquire this personal knowledge that Herodotus travelled into Eygpt and probably even to India. It is not certain that Tacitus was never in Germany, and the son in law of Agricola must have at least enjoyed peculiar advantages of being acquainted with the character and genius of that people.
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', ff. 1-2.

Walker's appeals to Classical and Latin history – while consistent from a practical standpoint with his activity as both an administrator and private historian in his own right – garner additional meaning in the context of his discussions with Mill. Having, indeed, developed an image of himself as an experienced traveller and resident in India, this disqualification of first-hand experience likely sat uneasily. To redeem the legitimacy of reports from travellers to India, Walker marshalled these names together to provide not just real examples of authority

[35] Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation,* Vol. 1 (London: Lowe & Brydone, 1966), p. 3; Nicholas Phillipson, 'The Scottish Enlightenment', in R. S. Porter and M. Teich (eds), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 20; Levitin, 'Egyptology, the Limits of Antiquarianism, and the Origins of Conjectural History', p. 724
[36] Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, p. 120.
[37] Walker, 'Detailed textual criticisms on Mill', 1819, NLS, MS.13737, f. 1.

on India but also to evoke a degree of rhetorical association between Classical and Modern travellers to India – a move reminiscent of his later envisioning himself as walking in Alexander the Great's footsteps in his own work.[38]

In addition to his general defence of personal knowledge on India, Walker also provided examples of the extent of what he believed remained to be discovered about India in the country itself. While Mill might have been content to settle for orientalist translations and the reports of travellers as evidence, Walker suggested that there was much more waiting to be discovered by orientalist scholars in India:

> Almost every district and Family of Rank in India possesses a chronological account of its transactions. Many families maintain writers for the purposes of recording the names and deeds of their ancestors. We have as yet made no search into those tracts. We have constantly looked for a general History of India united as a great empire. But the genius and nature of the Govt. of that people were adjusted to small communities… Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes says that it [India] contained 122 nations.
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 7.

Walker's mentioning of written family histories evokes more than just a gap in the possible extent of Mill's research from afar. Having been acquainted with the existence of such personal script collections first-hand, not to mention the cultural multiplicity of India, he perhaps knew better the difficulties and pitfalls of attempting to draw up too general a character of Indian society and history. Too much haste and the assumption of exclusive authority in such an endeavour might, he implied, work to obfuscate the actual realities of India. In short, Walker's relative theoretical empiricism responded to real material differences in the opinions engendered by Walker and Mill's lived experiences, insofar as he had appreciated first-hand the scope of variation in India's history.[39]

The course of Walker's feedback from here moved to regularly destabilise generalisations made by Mill with evidence drawn from Walker's time in India. Another early example – from Walker's second letter to Mill – is Walker's response to Mill's treatment of Hindu religious practices and institutions. A sign of more to come later, here Mill characterised

[38] See again Walker, 'Ancient Intercourse with India', 1825, MS.13888; See also Fulińska, 'Alexander and Napoleon', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, pp. 545, 567.
[39] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 101.

and criticised Hindu society as being structured around religious superstition: 'No where among mankind have the laws and ordinances been more exclusively referred to the Divinity…' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 107). Besides this, moreover, he condemned India's Brahmin for having maintained too rigid a control and high an eminence over and among India's societies, as well as their moral character in general. Walker, in response, answered that 'Bramans support a very various character… the Braman belongs to different stations and to various casts,' though of course, it is true, that '[among] them may be found individuals who have all that duplicity and darkness of character, which Europeans in their race for classification, ascribe to the whole body.' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', ff. 12-13).[40]

This was to say that to characterise Brahmins unilaterally negatively was to do them a rhetorical injustice. Mill's subsequent imposition that Brahmin control over Hindu society maintained the caste system and hence social inequality, however, attracted a somewhat more ambivalent answer, based not upon evidentiary contradiction but rather a difference of interpretation to do with the application of natural philosophy to India. Where Mill saw the caste system as violating humanity's natural tendency toward personal freedoms and equality, Walker, borrowing likely from the economic determinism of John Millar, responded that the 'inequality of rank is a natural consequence of society. It is indeed necessary to its existence… The distinctions of rank have a place equally among free inhabitants and those who live under a tyrannical Govt.' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 16). Thus, Walker reasoned, because the distinction of ranks was a natural part of the early development of societies, it 'was not therefore surprising that the Bramans should be raised to eminence' in India's past. He did concede that 'it is surprising that they should have retained this situation so long', but nevertheless continued that: 'It has been affirmed that they have prevented the people from making a just use of their reason… I would say that the reverse of this is the case and that they have retained their influence by a natural use of it' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 16).[41]

Walker continued in answer to these arguments across his third letter just as Mill continued this thread in his text. Toward the end of his second chapter, Mill further concluded that the reason for the pre-eminence of Brahmin scholars in Indian society was that 'the greater

[40] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', p. 54; Majeed, 'James Mill's 'The History of British India' and Utilitarianism as a Rhetoric of Reform', pp. 213-14.
[41] Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, p. 5.

part of life among the Hindus is engrossed by the performance of an infinite and burdensome ritual' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 112). A natural consequence of this was that 'the Brahmens, who are the sole judges and directors in these complicated and endless duties, are rendered the uncontrollable masters of human life.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 113) On the other hand, Walker retorted that, yes, the 'Hindu ritual is burthened with ceremonies, but it is a mistake to think that they occupy the whole life and attention of the votaries.' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 16). Significant, here, was that Walker did not deny the bases for Mill's impressions of Hindu society, but rather seeks to explain that these impressions were too narrow in scope to holistically describe the full character of life in India.[42]

On the same day that Walker wrote his fourth letter, 5 October 1819, the first reply to his notes from Mill were sent. Having read Walker's first bout of feedback, Mill seems to have been earnestly impressed with the quality of Walker's criticisms. Thanking him for 'the countenance of your good opinion', he further added that 'I shall not in general trouble you with any particular reply to your criticisms, most of all where they fully convince me…' Nonetheless, he did pick up on Walker's rebuttal of the epistemological position laid out in his preface, and doubled down with a defence of 'a priori' history. He also, moreover, attempted to clarify his position with regards to his harsh assessment of Hinduism:

> My object in this inquiry has been frequently misunderstood by Indian gentlemen, whose sympathies are engaged on the side of the Hindus, & who have accused me of being <u>prejudiced</u> against them. Now assuredly I am not prejudiced against them, for never was there a human being more anxious to do them good; but I am convinced that a true estimate of the state of their civilisation… is an essential condition to the adoption of the measures which are best calculated to do them good…
>
> Mill to Walker, 5 October 1819, MS.13724, ff. 132-133.

Whether Mill's intentions toward the well-being of Britain's Indian subjects were good or not, it remains the case that his characterisation of Hindus and Hinduism relied on imagery which reinforced their subjectivity as social inferiors and objects of colonial rule and knowledge. As we established earlier, Walker too could be culpable of subsuming ideas of India/Indians into colonial discourses as knowledge-objects. The key difference between them was in the extent

[42] See also Sébastien Charles, 'Introduction: What is Enlightenment Scepticism? A Critical Rereading of Richard Popkin', in S. Charles, and P. J. Smith (eds), *Scepticism in the Eighteenth Century: Enlightenment, Lumières, Aufklärung* (London: Springer International Publishing, 2013), p. 12.

to which each of their perspectives on subjects such as Hindu religion and morals were shaped by the concept of race over Enlightenment historical thought.[43]

In his fourth letter Walker critiqued Mill's characterisation of Indian political organisation and judiciary structures. Asserting that the separation of judiciary power from the office of monarchy was an essential stage in the development of societies, Mill deduced that prior to Muslim conquest, to 'this pitch of civilization the Hindus had not attained.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 127) In response, Walker again resulted to the discursive tactic of offering contradictions to Mill's ironclad generalisations. 'We must not however suppose', he retorted, 'that all the judicial business in his dominion is transacted by the king in person in India.' Moreover, from place to place the 'practice will vary according to the character of the sovereign, the extent of his dominion and the state of the society.' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 25). As such, he implied, it was unfair to characterise Hindu society as having not achieved a separation of monarchical and judicial power, although he did not go so far as to say so explicitly.[44]

This kind of interchange typifies much of this part of Walker and Mill's correspondence. In Mill's case, the conjectural method of making predictions across time enabled broad descriptive strokes, a pertinent example being his handling of source materials on public participation in Indian courts:

> One of the most attentive and intelligent of our witnesses affords a picture of the practical state of judicature in India, which, there is every reason to believe, may, with immaterial variations, be applied to Hindu society from the period at which it first attained its existing form.
>
> Mill, *History of British India*, p. 129.

To counteract Mill's drawing generalisations about India from philosophical principle over empirical evidence, Walker was repeatedly moved to interject knowledge gleaned from his past experiences. This pattern in their discourse speaks further to the two men's differing approaches to history, and what each did differently with their Enlightenment inheritance.[45]

[43] Bayly, 'Race in Britain and India', pp. 71-72, 74-75.
[44] For parallels with Robertson's treatment of caste, see Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson*, pp. 228-29.
[45] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', p. 58.

Mill's fourth chapter to the second book of *The History of British India* shifted toward describing the character of Hindu law as opposed to the nature and means of its administration. The chapter, as such, attempted to summarise the scope of written Hindu law, notably citing the institutes of Menu as one of its key primary materials. Before examining this source, Mill preliminarily observed that 'amid the imperfections adhering to the state of law among a rude and ignorant people, they preserve not their maxims of justice, and their rules of judicial procedure, distinct from other subjects.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 133). Walker, knowing that works of Hindu law existed, much to the contrary, seemed to grow in confidence in rebuking Mill's inaccuracies:

> In order to judge of the legislation of this people it is necessary that we should be fully acquainted with it. The Hindu law books are many. They consists of Text Books, of Digests and Commentaries. The only translations we possess are 1. The work of Halhed translated through the Persian: an imperfect work. 2nd. The text book of Menu by Sir William Jones and 3rd the digest of Jayanatha by Mr. Colebrook.
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 28.

While the amount of additional time Walker spent with chapter four – the span of his fifth, sixth and seventh letters – was consistent with its more expansive length relative to the preceding chapters, it did mark a turning point in his correspondence with Mill, as well as in his gradually evolving reaction to Mill's book. To be specific, it is from here on in that we see Walker begin to take more time to meticulously critique Mill's text instead of passing over it in brief and picking up points of contention fleetingly.[46]

Enlightened Inheritances

A significant aspect of this shift in Walker's response to Mill was his newfound willingness to delve into the accuracy of Mill's source materials, their appropriateness for Mill's analytical ends, and even the quality of Mill's interpretation of his evidence. Expanding further on his own knowledge of Hindu legal texts, Walker remarked that the 'institutes of Menu are much more valuable as a literary than a practical work, and many parts are said to be inaccurately translated.' Besides implying that Mill's decidedly literal interpretation of the relationship between the poetics of *The Ordinances of Menu* and the lived, practical reality of

[46] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 125-26.

the practice of Hindu law across history was ill founded, he also backed this up by noting that the 'Sercapanchanana of Mr Colebrook is not the work of a lawyer; but of a Grammarian and Rhetorician.' Hence, he concluded, '[with] such limited and unexceptionable materials, it is impossible to judge decisively and correctly of the great mass of Hindu jurisprudence' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 28).[47]

After having dealt with the quality and suitability of Mill's sources at large, Walker then set his sights once again on providing contradictory particularities to rebuke Mill's generalisations. Toward the conclusion of his fourth chapter, Mill cited Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's Persian translation *A Code of Gentoo Laws* to link the supposed harshness of Hindu law against adultery with a prototypical looseness in Hindu manners, especially with regards to the idea that Hindu men habitually made inappropriate advances upon women. Noting that 'Mr. Halhed here maintains… that the Hindu morals are certainly as gross as the Hindu laws' Mill further added 'that the latter grossness is, in fact, altogether the result of the former.' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', p. 161). Walker did not contradict this last piece of conjecture, nor did he deny the imposition that Hindu men were overly lascivious. That said, he instead set his sights on critiquing Mill and Halhed's highly prescriptive moral lens:

> p. 161. The freedom and indecency of their expressions with regard to women deserve every reprehension; but the fastidiousness of our manners have established rules on this head, which altho' I would not wish to see transgressed, are still probably too rigid and surreptitious.
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 39.

While again Walker shared in a similar idiom of cultural relativism to Mill, he maintained a degree of self-reflexivity in making this kind of comparison, such as in, also as we have seen, the likes of William Robertson's *Disquisition*. As such, the subject-othering function performed by his adoption of Hindu culture as an object of analysis shied from the extent of prejudicial excess found in Mill, notwithstanding the inherent discursive functionality of Walker's tacit acceptance of the greater idea that Hindu men lacked sexual restraint.[48]

[47] Regan, 'No 'nonsense upon stilts'', pp. 75-76.
[48] Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English* India, p. 16-18.

A further shift in the format and style of Walker's feedback to Mill occurred in the writing of his eighth letter. Whereas his previous seven were written separately over the course of a few days at a time and spanned around ten folios in length at most, from the 12th to the 21st of October, Walker set about writing a forty-five-folio letter covering both Mill's fifth and sixth chapters of book two from *The History*. Mill's fifth chapter shifted onto the subject of taxation, and, during this, property. Mill was treading ground that had been well established in conjectural historiography as early as Adam Smith's *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1763).[49] Notably, where Adam Smith connected the growth of private property – and advancements in conceptions of property – to growth in civil government, Mill similarly did so by interrogating how Indian taxation and the extraction of land revenue reflected and derived from Hindu social structures. Mill suggested that because the rights to the ownership of property, the means of their distribution, and the right to levy tax were possessed entirely by monarchs with no intermediaries, Hindu society had not yet achieved the same level of advancement in this arena as even Feudal Europe.[50]

Mill began by marking a comparison with Africa, conjured as an idiom for pre-political society, noting that '[in] many rude parts of Africa, the property of the land is understood to reside in the sovereign…' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 181). Continuing in this vein in relation to India, Mill then expanded that 'those who contemplate the prevalence of this institution, among nations contiguous to the Hindus, and resembling them in the state of civilisation, it cannot appear surprising, that among them, too, the sovereign was the lord of the soil.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 182). Walker, on the other hand, had formed differing opinions during his career with regards to the social structures built around the ownership and distribution of property and wealth in India. Responding to a footnote in which Mill justified his interchanging the word 'paramount' for 'supreme' in a quote from Menu to avoid evoking associations with Feudalism, Walker addressed this by providing his own assessment of the sub-division of property in India:

> Are we sure that the feudal institutions of Europe had no existence in India? There is something at court very like them. There is some evidence that the King was the

[49] Smith, *Lectures On Jurisprudence*, p. 14.
[50] Höpfl, ''From Savage to Scotsman'', p. 34; Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 123-25; See again Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. 1, p. 158

> paramount lord of the soil in India. On the sale of an estate a fee was paid to the King and the transaction would not be finished without his consent.
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 60.

The implication here, in Walker's affirmative use of the word 'paramount' in a plural collective sense (as opposed to 'supreme' with singular and exclusive connotations), was that while Hindu monarchs maintained a right to universal land ownership within their realms, they also sub-divided their land among vassals, who also exercised rights to the re-distribution of land and collection of tax.[51]

Mill's sixth chapter, covering religion, prompted further nuancing from Walker. In his assessment of Hindu theology, Mill presented disgust in polytheism and moreover equivocated the presence of demigods in Hindu legend with a Hindu belief in multiple supreme deities. Walker, on the other hand, speaking from experience, knew better, and responded that '[the] well informed Bramans and Hindus are certainly Deists.' Rather than maintaining a belief in multiple Gods, Walker maintained, Hindus 'consider God above to be the real object of worship; but to him they erect neither states nor temples. He is every where and cannot be impersonated' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 66).[52] He also, in a movement that is starkly evocative of his modus operandi when approaching Hindu religious history and prehistory as a court resident, provided a corrective to Mill's literal reading of translations of Hindu religious texts. 'In judging of the Hindu religion', he argued, 'it is necessary to separate vulgar and popular stories invented mainly for the sake of the story. These are strangely mixed with Historical and allegorical relations.' Having applied a similar logic to pick apart fact from fiction when attempting to reconstruct the history of Rajput peoples, this stance appears to have been the product of practical sensibilities developed in the line of work. The upshot here is that this mode of thinking resulted in Walker mounting a defence of Hinduism, offering up a redemptive comparison between modern India and the civilizational heights of Classical Greece: 'It was the same case with Greeks and we can only now form conjectures about the origin of all their fables' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 72).[53]

Mill's seventh chapter – covered by Walker's ninth letter – took as its subject Hindu manners, and subsequently set about appraising the way Hindu society treated women. While

[51] Summers and Gough, *Non-State Actors and International Obligations*, pp. 55-57.
[52] Plassart, 'James Mill, the Scottish Enlightenment and the Problem of Civil Religion', pp. 700-01.
[53] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', pp. 54-55.

Mill had departed much from the likes the of Robertson and Jones with regards to the character of his conjectural-historical assessments of India, the standing and treatment of women in society was a paramount analytical category across much eighteenth-century conjectural history. Indeed, Mill maintained that the 'condition of the women is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the manners of nations, and one of the most decisive criterions of the stage of society at which they have arrived. Among rude people, the women are generally degraded; among civilised people, they are exalted.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 293) And after providing a lengthy number of examples of women in a degraded social state – quoted from Millar's *Distinction of Ranks* – to the end of illustrating that the 'history of uncultivated nations uniformly represents the women as in a state of abject slavery' Mill concluded that a 'a state of dependence more strict and humiliating than that which is ordained for the weaker sex among the Hindus cannot easily be conceived' (Mill, *History of British India*, pp. 293-94).[54]

Familiar with Millar's work, however, Walker was not readily convinced that Mill's use of him as a source properly substantiated his claims with regards to the condition of contemporary Hindu women. Whereas Mill selected Millar's appraisal of African, Tartar, Arabian and early European societies as familiar images of barbarity with which to compare India, Walker offered a more favourable comparison:

> The description however which Millar gives of the condition of the Grecian women is very like their state among the Hindus. The latter have more liberty. Their education is acutely calculated to inform their industry, and to render them useful members of society. Their employments are domestic; their appointments are natural and private…
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', ff. 95-96.

To be sure, Walker was still very much running the same gamut of images and idioms as Mill in his making a comparison between Hindu and Grecian society. The nature of his argument, however, is further illustrative of his favourable attachment to the idea of Hindu civility, as well as the extent to which he was informed by the economically focused brand of conjectural analysis propagated by Smith and Millar.[55]

Mill's next major category of analysis in this chapter was an appraisal of the physical appearance and strength of the Hindu body. Perhaps unsurprisingly arguing that the 'muscular

[54] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress*, p. 133.
[55] Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 123-25.

strength … of the Hindus, is small; even less … the appearance of their bodies, though expressive of weakness, would lead the spectator to infer' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 311) Mill then sought to explain these deficiencies:

> This listless apathy and corporeal weakness which so remarkably distinguish the natives of Hindustan, have been ascribed to the climate under which they live. But other nations, subject to the influence of as warm a sun, are neither indolent nor weak… There is a state of barbarity and rudeness which implies, perhaps, a weakness of mind too great to be capable of perceiving, with a clearness sufficient to operate upon the will, the benefits of labour. This, however, is a state beyond which the Hindus have long since passed; and there is but one cause to which among the Hindus the absence of the motives for labour can be ascribed; their subjection to a wretched government, under which the fruits of labour were never secure.
>
> Mill, *History of British India*, pp. 313-314.

Moving away from Montesquieuian and Millarian climactic explanations of human physical development, Mill instead insisted that the tyrannical forms of government under which Hindus had existed (pre and post Mughal conquests) disincentivised individual labour across time because the individual could never hope to better their social standing through work.[56]

Not sharing in Mill's belief that Hindus were physically weak and lazy, Walker responded that:

> 311. The physical form of the Hindus embraces a great variety. It probably depends both on the nature of their [ileg.] and climate. The southern race are light, active and slender, In the more northern and central parts of India the people are robust and athletic. They have commendable muscular powers and frequently exceed the stature of Europeans.
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 114.

Furthermore, in an effort to elevate the bases of his disagreement, Walker was drawn to the exact conjectural historical concepts which Mill rejected in his text. Rather than a reliance on

[56] Höpfl, 'From Savage To Scotsman', p. 25.

the precept that governmental despotism had degenerated individual inclinations toward labour, Walker cautiously suggested that:

> In India, as nature is more fruitful, some of the most essential objects of labour are obtained with less trouble than in those northern regions, and this circumstance ought to have a great influence on the exertions of the inhabitants. In the pursuits however of ambition and wealth they are active and restless as we are. I do not know the origin of the assertion about their love of repose. It is not like a Hindu saying and I never knew any of them acquainted with it excepting through the medium of Europeans. I should like to discover its origin. Is it possible that it can be of European manufacture?
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 115.

I say cautiously suggested, because aside from offering an alternative, climate-labour based explanation of Hindu laziness, to begin with he outright rejected Mill's description of Hindu manners and instead exposited on the potential origin of this misinformation.[57]

Communication Breakdown: 'Taunting Terms' versus 'Candour and Benevolence'

At the conclusion of his ninth letter, written after a month-long lapse in their communication, Walker attached a cover letter (breaking the mode of his speaking in the notes and addressing Mill personally) in which he expressed an apology for his remarks:

> My dear sir,
>
> I have finished my remarks on the 7th chaptr. They are committed to paper in a very desultory form and sometimes in the midst of interruption. Some of the remarks are very unimportant and even trivial; but I have written as I would have spoken to you. I am ashamed of my proclivity; but this irregular and hasty way of writing was unfavourable to resolution and compression. As we get on I shall have nothing to say, but to agree with you and to applaud your Historical exposition of [illeg.] and causes.

Appended below the main body of the letter was this additional message:

[57] Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, pp. 1-2; Curran, *The Anatomy of* Blackness, pp. 121-24.

> I write also in perfect confidence to yourself and it has not been seen by a human eye excepting by my own good wife when she comes in her vocation to compress the sheets into a decorous form for Mr. Ricardos cover. I remain most sincerely fully, yours,
>
> A. Walker
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 127.

Outside of Mill having explicitly requested Walker's confidence in person, why might Walker have been eager to impress upon him the idea that only he and his wife had seen what he had to say? While the two men would indeed speak again several months later at Mill's urging, from here on out Walker appears to have been increasingly self-conscious of his disagreements with Mill, so much so that he clearly felt their differences of opinion risked sparking outright confrontation.[58]

The final letter of notes on Mill's *British India* sent to Mill in 1819 was dated by Walker on 16 December, and covered Mill's eighth chapter on Hindu arts. A particularly active topic of contention here was Mill's assessment of Indian architecture, in which he took examples of Indian architectural refinement and explained them away as the exceptional products of an otherwise unrefined society. 'One thing, first of all,' he began his piece, 'may be observed of the Hindus, that they little courted the pleasures derived from the arts, whatever skill they attained in them. The houses, even of the great, were mean, and almost destitute of furniture.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 332) Following from here, Mill took to proving this argument by counterexample, attacking a passage from Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* praising Hindu society for having constructed a building as impressive as the Chillambaram Pagoda, as well as covering Robert Orme's descriptions of the Seringham Pagoda and the Cave of Elphanta in a similar vein. 'As for the vague terms of general eulogy bestowed upon the ornaments,' he thusly spoke of Robertson, 'they are almost entirely without significance—the loose and exaggerated expressions, at second hand, of the surprise of the early travellers at meeting with an object which they were not prepared to expect.' (Mill, *History of British India*, p. 333) The contention here, besides suggesting that what architectural achievements had been made in India were exceptional, was that in general Indian architecture was rude and

[58] Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827,* pp. 4-5.

undeveloped, and that Robertson – having been predisposed towards proofs of Hindu civility – had read too much into evidence that Mill believed to be overly scanty.[59]

In answer to this, Walker chose again to remain somewhat ambivalent as to Mill's claims on Hindu civilizational attainment. He instead, however, sought to disprove the more general imposition that Hindu architecture was rude, and moreover critiqued Mill's dismissal of the sources Robertson relied upon for his descriptions. While acknowledging that there 'may be a difference of opinion as to the extent of their improvement' Walker interjected that 'there can be none as to the efforts they have made…' On the subject of Mill's appraisal of other accounts of Indian architecture, moreover, he added that: 'If Dr. Robertson's praise of the elegance of the ornamented parts of Hindu architecture is objected to as second hand, many original accounts to the same effect may be found in the Asiatic Remarks, The Oriental Repository, The Archaelogia and many other works; but the numerous and splendid collections of drawings of the India House might put this matter out of all dispute.' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', ff. 128-129) The last of these suggestions as to where Mill might look to find proofs of the high quality of Indian architecture, may, indeed, have hit close to home (see again the contents of Walker's library at Bowland House, detailed in Chapter 2).[60]

Walker concluded his notes on Mill's eighth chapter – and this letter – on his 149th folio, and from here on begins the portion of his notes that never found their way to Mill during their regular correspondence. Where previously Walker's notes were regularly divided into letters, this body of work lacks a coherent structure from which to glean information about when and where he worked on Mill's *History.* And while Mill was eventually given the chance to read this material, the long period of its composition (from December 1819 to March 1820) and a substantial break in their communication until February 1820 indicates that Walker carried out work on this part of his notes perhaps with the expectation that they would remain private. Besides Walker's hesitancy to send over this part of his work – which we shall see more on shortly – there are further hints of this within a major tonal shift in Walker's writing. In his response to Mill's ninth chapter onwards, Walker comments less upon the particularities of Mill text but rather relates his observations on it to broader remarks on *The History*. And it is in these in which his frustrations with Mill's racism come most prominently to the fore.

[59] Regan, 'No 'nonsense upon stilts'', p. 73.
[60] 'Catalogue of the Library at Bowland House [Circa. 1830]', MS14053B.

An especially significant argument made by Walker here – which appears to have not only echoed comments Walker made to Mill in person and to have moreover left a particularly strong impression on Mill – pertained to how Walker perceived Mill to have been going about the business of comparative history. Where he had frequently seen Mill argue that India ranked lowly on the scale of civilizational progress, Walker argued that the basis for these criticisms was ill-founded because the 'ideas of mankind respecting civilization are remarkably vague and imperfect.' And where Mill had been working on the assumption that India had been enfeebled by a comparative lack of refinement to early-modern Europe, Walker moreover added that '[h]uman society has never yet reached a state of the greatest refinement, and in all its known stages, even where it has made the greatest progress, we are continually surprised by meeting examples of the utmost rudeness and barbarity, mixed with the most elegant and polished institutions' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 182).[61]

More telling of his frustrations with Mill, however, was that besides rebuking his ideas, Walker also chose for the first time to openly criticise his conduct: '451. 452. In these pages the Author repeats all his splendid offenses against the poor Hindus. He must not however imagine that everything which is asserted has been proved.' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 193) Not only this, but Walker also seems to have been sensible that Mill had only passively acknowledged his defence of Hinduism, and as such was unsatisfied that his recommendations were unlikely to influence the content of future editions of *The History of British India*: '455. In the observations that have been sent to Mr. Mill perhaps enough has been said to vindicate the Hindu laws from an atrocious and sanguinary character.' (Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 198) This, furthermore, gave way to additional venting over the subject of how Mill had mistreated his source materials:

> 458-459. There is nothing so deserving of remark in these pages as the taunting terms in which the Author mentions those who entertain different opinions from himself. This is unlike the candour and benevolent liberality of his own mind. It is besides bad policy to treat any adversary with contempt. He accuses his opponents of a loose mode of thinking, or rather of talking without thinking.'
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 202.

[61] Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society*, pp. 10-11.

This statement perhaps best encapsulates Walker's position on Mill's *British India*. Upon meeting Mill he may well have been impressed by his character and the promise of his future career in the India House. Now, however, he had seen his best impressions contradicted.

It appears, nonetheless, that Walker was still invested in the enterprise enough to see the utility in organising what notes he had previously made further. The last twenty surviving folios in the NLS, indeed, constitute selective reiterations of material already sent to Mill, and while much of this material offers little deviation from his original remarks, some of the changes made in this series of revisions is acutely telling of how Walker's perception of Mill and his text had changed by the time he had finished its second book. Returning to where he began, Walker wrote of Mill's preface that:

> Preface. p. xiv. "For let us enquire" &c. – A man may learn all this by going to India and understanding its languages. But what is to prevent him from learning any other kind of competent knowledge. It is not necessary that the power of observation should be limited to the individual; he may combine the knowledge and experience of others with his own… partial impressions may be acquired in Europe as well as in India and perhaps they are more dangerous. The habits of weighing and examining evidence are generally diffused among our countrymen who visit India. The whole of the arguments brought forward to disqualify a man who has visited India from writing its history are either gratuitous or hypothetical.
>
> Walker, 'Detailed Textual Criticisms of Mill', f. 230.

No longer underpinning his observations with the tactful suggestion that Mill might not have needed to justify his fitness to write on India to begin with, here we find Walker not only refining and shortening his original arguments, but we also see him openly coming out against Mill's historical approach. Nor here was there any need to appeal to classical authorities to justify Walker's position – for now he clearly felt strongly enough to say, based solely on his own analytical power, that he (and others, who like him, who had been there) was knowledgeable enough to treat on India.[62]

[62] Barrell, *History and Historiography in Classical Utilitarianism,* pp. 69-71.

Conclusion

Walker's letter of 16 December 1819 was the last one exchanged between him and Mill until Mill attempted to revive their conversation the following February. His next letter, of the 26 February, expressed regret at Walker's not having been in touch, and moreover pressed him to finish and send his last batch of notes. Mill also, at least ostensibly, moved to acknowledge Walker's humane objections: 'Above all you have convinced me that I had drawn the moral character of the Hindus in too dark colours, & this I shall acknowledge' (Mill to Walker, 26 February 1820, MS.13725, ff. 12-13). Nonetheless, Walker was never cited by Mill in any future editions of *The History of British India*, and nor were any major changes made to the text to rectify its criticisms of Hindu society. After a cordial back and forth regarding Walker's absence over the Christmas holiday, Walker sent the remainder of his notes to Mill on 14 March 1820. Mill's final letter to Walker was sent on 20 March 1820, and stipulated his having received the notes, but did not answer any of Walker's criticisms. Because Mill had either not yet read the final part of Walker's notes at this point, or had chosen not to reply to them, we have no concrete way of knowing how he responded to them.[63]

Walker, on the other hand, sent his final known letter to Mill on the 8 April 1820. Beginning with praise for the second and third volumes of the history, Walker quickly shifted gears to say that 'you will I fear have thought me a very impertinent and perhaps a prejudiced advocate of the people of India.' The continuation of these comments constituted a reiteration of his belief that Mill had judged Hindus harshly, and that his judgements had used partial evidence under the cover of inductive reasoning (although this latter implication was to be made tactfully):

> If by prejudice is meant a prepossession in favour of the people and a desire that they should not be judged by partial evidence, I have not much objection to the term. The evidence on which they have been judged is also I might say the effect of prejudice; but more inveterate and dangerous as it is attended by actual and immediate injury… I could not write a panegyrie on the people of India nor on any other. All I wish to contend for is that they are like any of the great bodies of mankind, and contain in their character a mixture of good and bad qualities.
>
> Walker to Mill, 8 April 1820, MS.13725, ff. 47-56, ff. 47-48.

[63] Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 293.

At the last, Walker identified with the greatest clarity what had troubled him within Mill's *History*; that not only might the text effect negative esteem of Indian civilisation in the minds of Mill's readers, but moreover that a consequence of this might be that his audience would come to view Hindus apart from 'the great bodies of mankind'. Where Walker was reticent to take his own conjectural historical comparisons too far, he feared that Mill had taken the practice of ranking civilisations beyond the logical confines of the conjectural method: judging Indians based on preconceived, prejudicial ideas of race, rather than on material evidence of their state of society.[64]

[64] Sebastiani, 'Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', p. 13.

Conclusion

The Limits and Possibilities of Thought on 'the great bodies of mankind'

When, at the end of his correspondence with James Mill, Walker contended that Hindus were 'like any of the great bodies of mankind', he was arguing for their relative commonality in human nature vis-à-vis the other peoples of the world.[1] His statement did, however, contain no small degree of conceptual slippage. That the world was occupied by 'bodies of mankind', and not a single 'body of mankind', is evocative of the degree to which he had become accustomed to analysing Indian society with human difference and a stock of national and racial group descriptors in mind. His defence of Hindu society, well-meaning as it was, was wrought with conceptual tension, a tension between his analysing Indians simultaneously within and apart from the remainder of humankind.[2] Walker's engagement with conjectural history, stadial theory and Enlightenment history and literature at large provided Walker tools with which to criticise Mill's delineations of human difference, and with which to counter the most extreme prejudicial excesses of Mill's *History of British India*. Ironically, however, these discourses also had their limits. As Silvia Sebastiani puts it, the 'diachronic scheme of progress' implied by stadial and conjectural analyses invariably 'transformed difference in the degree of civilisation' into distance. Indeed, the fact that Walker saw the world as being occupied by 'bodies of mankind' – and not a single 'body of mankind' – is evocative of the degree to which he had become accustomed to analysing Indian society with racial difference in mind.[3]

Even solely in Walker's hands, conjectural history could and did provide a language which could support a wide variety of different positions, be they on specific human societies or the philosophical reality of human difference and human nature in general. Much as he came to defend India against Mill during his retirement, Walker had in the past put the conjectural mode to use in framing understandings of Indians, Native Americans and Africans which revolved around constructions of racial hierarchy. As a young soldier fighting in the Second Anglo-Mysore War, he had once reasoned that 'human nature is affected by causes in proportion to its strength or ability which is different among different races of men' to the effect that of all the 'races of men', Europeans were the 'strongest, possessed of more courage

[1] Letter from Alexander Walker to James Mill, dated 8 April 1820, in 'Correspondence of Alexander Walker during his retirement (1820)', NLS, MS.13725, ff. 47-48.
[2] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

and attachment to the cause, [and] they endured danger and hardship better and longer than the sepoys.'[4]

Alexander Walker does represent, at least to some extent, some of the important bodies of discourse which characterised the intellectual life of the British elite in India in the long eighteenth-century. Much of his deployment of conjectural historical idioms was in conjunction with discourses which preoccupied many of his contemporaries, such as, as Robert Travers has demonstrated, justifications of British rule on the basis of the East India Company's observing India's 'ancient constitutions'.[5] Walker's frequent recourse to etymological conjecture as a historiographical tool was undoubtedly inspired by and connected with the Bengal and Bombay schools of intellectual orientalism.[6] Furthermore, his incisive attention to detail with regards to information on his Indian surroundings, both in his own writing and his reading notes, made him very alike with many of the British travellers to India who relied on books as informational touchstones.[7] And lastly, his reliance on ways of thinking imparted by conjectural histories and histories of civil society in the line of administration was by no means, as increasing scholarship is showing, unique to him.[8]

Even notwithstanding these commonalities, those aspects of Walker's intellectual life which were most unique to him might likewise cast relief upon these discourses. As Carlo Ginzburg explained in his *The Cheese and the Worms*, 'distinctiveness has very definite limits… culture offers to the individual a horizon of latent possibilities – a flexible and invisible cage in which he can exercise his own conditional liberty.'[9] In ways and circumstances which – even though they frequently reflected the concerns of contemporary Enlightenment authors and imperialists alike – were inimitable and unique to his lived experience, Alexander Walker put 'philosophical' and conjectural history to use in making sense of the world. Nonetheless, in so doing, he was constrained by the discursive norms and conventions of conjectural history, by a language with a finite lexicon and range of concepts which likewise played out through the discourses of his contemporaries.[10]

[4] Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', 1781-1784, NLS, MS.13775, pp. 379-80.
[5] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 7-8.
[6] Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, p. 242; Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, pp. 110-11, 122-25.
[7] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 257.
[8] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', pp. 56-58; McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780-1830*, pp. 65-66, 119-32; Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, pp. 157-59.
[9] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, pp. xx-xxi.
[10] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* pp. 17-18.

Alexander Walker in Review

In chapter 1, we saw how Walker's reliance on the conjectural mode and the language of conjectural history developed across his lifetime. As a young child and teenager, Walker studied at the University of St. Andrews, where he borrowed a range of histories and texts on surveying, and took part in a holistic programme of education which sought to prepare him and other young Scots with a range of learning and observational practices suited for navigating the daily business of life.[11] As a young man, he travelled out to India, serving in the Second Anglo-Mysore War and in an expedition to Nookta Sound, all the while putting these skills to use in making sense of conflict, India, and America in ways which – of all the moments in his archive – were the most actively racist.[12] Later in his career, in the 1790s, his knowledge of conjectural history further served him when he was adopted into the ranks of the Malabar Commission, which put investigations into India's constitutional past to use in justifying the imposition of British-led programmes of Indian jurisprudence.[13] As a senior East India Company officer, he served an eight-year residency as the de facto ruler of Baroda State, where he forged subsidiary alliances and mounted a campaign of cultural imperialism, moving to quash infanticide to further Kathiawar's social improvement.[14] In his retirement he continued reading Enlightenment conjectural histories while building his family home. Here he also intellectually jostled against James Mill, mounting defences of Indian society from a markedly softened standpoint on human difference.[15] And lastly, as the Governor of St. Helena, his worldview was tested – but, critically, not ruptured – when he came face to face with the realities of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.[16]

In chapter 2, I explored the wider social and discursive worlds which Walker occupied and was surrounded by. We saw how much of the British Indian orientalist scholarship of the eighteenth century was connected to the intellectual traditions of the Scottish Enlightenment, and how the conjectural mode served as a popular idiom for histories on India's civil society.[17] Meanwhile, the concept of race took on new meanings at this time, meanings which – though

[11] 'Students' receipt book', 1772-1776, UA, UYLY207/2, pp. 177, 191; Bator, 'The Unpublished Rhetoric Lectures of Robert Watson, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at the University of St. Andrews, 1756-1778', p. 73.
[12] Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', 1781-1784, NLS, MS.13775; Walker, 'Voyage to America', 1785-86, NLS, MS.13780; Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"', pp. 248, 250.
[13] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', pp. 56-57.
[14] Vishwanath, 'Efforts of Colonial State to Suppress Female Infanticide', pp. 1104-1112.
[15] 'Catalogue of the Library at Bowland House [Circa. 1830]', 1830, NLS, MS14053B.
[16] Hall and Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', pp. 5-9.
[17] Höpfl, 'From Savage To Scotsman', p. 25; Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 76.

formally distinct from 'scientific' understandings of race concocted in the later nineteenth century – often superseded and undermined Enlightenment understandings of the universality of human nature.[18] I also explored the interrelation of these constructions of racial difference with discourses on India's climate, Indian barbarity, and attempts to understand India through analyses of Hindu religion.[19] From here, I then conducted a survey of British literary consumption in colonial India, and moreover used this study to gesture towards where other instances of ideological appropriation and percolation (such as those evidenced by Walker's archive) might have occurred in the eighteenth-century colonial world.[20]

In chapter 3, I covered Walker's private attempts at travel writing and historical authorship and related these back to the influence of Scottish Enlightenment conjectural history. In Walker's 'Farrago Libelli', he rationalised racialized generalisations about the relative bravery of Europeans and cowardice of Indians using an understanding of human nature and racial difference which was intellectually adjacent to Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*.[21] In his 'Voyage to America', Walker metered out observations on Nookta Sound's Native American population using the comparative language of 'philosophical history', whilst also intervening in debates on the exact characteristics of humankind in a 'state of nature.'[22] In his unfinished history of India, Walker adopted 'arts' and 'civilisation' as analytical categories in a way that was reminiscent of the comparative linguistics of the German Enlightenment and the philosophy of Lord Monboddo, using them as a means to reconstruct the relationship between the historical development of Indian social institutions and the acculturation of the Indian mind.[23] In his 'History of Malabar' Walker attempted to reconstruct Indian history from Hindu legend and mythology, and at the same time ambiguously complained of the mendacity of Indian folklore in a way which was partly – despite their later disagreements – prescient of James Mills' denigrations of Hindu superstition.[24] Lastly, in his 'Ancient Intercourse with India', Walker adopted the style and format of William Robertson's

[18] Hudson, '"From "Nation" to "Race"', p. 250; Sebastiani, 'Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', p. 2; Gust, *Unhomely Empire*, p. 43.
[19] Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, p. 19; Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947,* pp. 1-2, 7, 29; Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain*, pp. 208-10; Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, pp. 16-20; Inden, *Imagining India*, pp. 6, 90, 93.
[20] Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal, Madras and Bombay (1780-1937), BL, London, UK, India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/AG/L/34/27/1-425A; Shaw, 'The British Book in India', pp. 566-67.
[21] Walker, 'Farrago Libelli', 1781-1784, NLS, MS.13775; Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 439.
[22] Walker, 'Voyage to America', 1785-86, NLS, MS.13780; Bickham, *Savages within the Empire*, p. 176.
[23] Lifschitz, *Language and Enlightenment*, p. 1; Blanke, 'Lord Monboddo's Ourang-Outang and the Origin and Progress of Language', p. 38.
[24] Roberts, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', p. 54.

Historical Disquisition, piecing together a history of ancient Indian trade and civilisation by collating modern and ancient accounts of the Indian subcontinent in a way which mirrored the ethnographically focused linguistics of William Jones.[25]

In chapter 4, we saw how the concepts and language of conjectural history likewise served Walker in the arena of colonial governance. In his early contributions to the Malabar Commission, Walker relied upon philosophical concepts – social contractarian theory and the theory of 'national spirits' – promulgated by Locke and Montesquieu, using them to meter out a system of martial law which he saw as better suited to the state of society in Malabar than British legal models.[26] In his strategic recommendations in his 1800 'memoranda on the state of India', Walker found himself haunted by the spectres of Alexander the Great and Napoleon Bonaparte, envisioning the risk of a French invasion of India as a potential repetition of ancient Macedonian history. This episode as whole speaks to how understandings of the past could also be vividly applied to the present in the eighteenth century when the present itself was envisioned as a part of the historical *longue durée*.[27] Later, in an 1805 essay to Arthur Wellesley, Walker recommended against employing Africans in the East India Companies armies, and in so doing reflected the racialized, tropic characterisations of Indians and Africans previously articulated by the likes of Robert Orme and David Hume.[28] Writing to the Bombay Government during an expedition into Kathiawar aimed at stomping out infanticide, Walker appropriated the histories of Montesquieu and Robertson in the construction of treaties aimed at enacting cultural imperialism.[29] And in 1812, Walker wrote a final essay to the Company, which, although it advocated against further territorial expansion in India, was nonetheless rationalised using understandings of human society and hierarchy extracted from conjectural history.[30]

In chapter 5, I analysed Walker's approach to reading William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition on India*. Within, I suggested that while Walker's circumstances differed greatly with a number of the other historical individuals who left behind evidence of their reading the text (Roberts, Oakley, Turner Roberts), his approach to the book did reflect the broader popularity of informational approaches to historical reading in the Anglophone eighteenth

[25] Momma, 'A Man on the Cusp: Sir William Jones's "Philology" and "Oriental Studies"', pp. 163-65.
[26] Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India*, pp. 7-8, 16.
[27] Fulinska, 'Alexander and Napoleon', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, pp. 545.
[28] Eze, 'Hume, Race, and Human Nature', pp. 694-95.
[29] Spivak, '"Can the Subaltern Speak?"', pp. 56-57.
[30] Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, p. 8.

century.[31] I also argued that his reading of Robertson reflected his tendency toward etymological conjecture, wherein he used connections between modern and ancient names to bridge unevidenced gaps in his knowledge of Indian places and geography.[32] I then gestured toward the more pernicious implications of this practice, through which information which was useful to the political, economic and territorial ends of empire could be extracted.[33]

In chapter 6, we witnessed the lettered correspondence between Walker and James Mill, in which Walker was conscripted by Mill to provide feedback on his *History of British India.* Throughout their dialogue, Walker protested the depth of Mill's racial prejudice, a point of contention which exposed deep discursive rifts between the two men. While, on the one hand, Walker was born of the intellectual cultures of the Scottish Enlightenment and early Scots orientalism, Mill's approach to history represented a break with these traditions in favour of a 'judging', utilitarian history which aimed at motivating Indian reform.[34] The position which Walker took up here also reflects much about his own cultural heritage and intellectualism: while a shift in the centre of positions on Indian society necessitated, so far as he saw it, advocacy in India's defence, the arguments he deployed against Mill had served him at the forefront of empire. These contrasts, between Walker and Mill and Walker and his younger self, represent the positive and negative extremes of the ideological potential opened by the conjectural mode and conjectural-historical language.[35]

Conjecture, Orientalism and Empire

If the shape of Walker's life and archive – the discursive possibilities he found and the limits he jostled up against – is both at once illustrative of his acculturation with conjectural history and the mode of hierarchical comparisons that this way of thinking tended to imply, then I believe it is also reasonable to gesture toward further conclusions regarding the significance of conjectural history to the intellectual dimensions of long eighteenth-century British imperialism. Through Walker, we might visualise how the languages and ways of thinking attached to 'philosophical history' and conjectural history might have also been deeply embedded in the activity of other British imperialists.[36] And additionally, through Walker, we might also visualise the broader ramifications of this. Conjectural history provided a language

[31] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, pp. 223-24.
[32] Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, p. 242.
[33] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 21; Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 9.
[34] Regan, 'No 'nonsense upon stilts'', p. 73.
[35] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, pp. xx-xxi.
[36] McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780-1830,* p. 131.

which colonial officials could adopt to justify acts of imperialism as working toward the promotion of social progress, and, because of its interrelation with understandings of human nature and human behaviour, provided men like Walker with practical applications and solutions to social problems they imagined themselves as facing during British colonial expansion.[37]

Looking toward conjectural history or even more broadly Scots Enlightenment 'philosophical history' for a unitary, empirically solid, provable explanation of the origins and realities of British imperialism would, of course, be to go too far. Conjectural history was but one among innumerable discourses which attended East India Company expansion in India, nor was it the first, and nor can it ever holistically explain the desires and behaviours which powered colonial violence. It could be, however, as this thesis has strived to show, an important part of the intellectual life of British imperialists at the time of the European Enlightenments.[38] While the relative significance of conjectural historical discourse on the ground in sites of colonial conquest continues to remain largely undefined, and must in each instance be proven rather than assumed, I hope to have shown that conjectural history and the notions of racial hierarchy it entailed certainly could deeply influence the way imperialism was understood, acted out, and justified. It makes sense then to insist that continued scholarly attention be paid to the interrelatedness – and the profound historical price – of conjecture, Orientalism and empire in the long eighteenth-century.[39]

[37] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, pp. 229-30.
[38] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', pp. 52, 56.
[39] Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America*, p. 10.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Literature and Biography on Alexander Walker

Besides the Walker of Bowland Papers there are several more recent biographical articles and online resources about him from which to draw information from. The most detailed modern works include entries to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, along with work by Ken Hall and Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg.[1] Cursory online searches of the phrases 'Alexander Walker of Bowland' and 'Alexander Walker' produce hits from the Christ Church Art Gallery in New Zealand (which owns portraits of Walker and his wife, Barbara Montgomery, painted by Henry Raeburn) and the aforementioned article from the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.[2] Work on Walker shared via my own online presence has also attracted inquiries from other historians interested in him, along with opportunities for collaboration.[3]

Walker has thus been given a diffuse yet notable presence in modern historiography through his mention in a range of disciplinary contexts, frequently as a peripheral figure in studies directly interested in, closely related or even adjacent to British colonialism in India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These have included histories interested in James Mill which have drawn on Walker's lettered criticism of *The History of British India* (Loizides, Barrell); work by historians interested in early British colonial exploration into Canada and by extension Walker's own voyage there (Fisher, Bumsted); scholarship on British colonial encounters with Jain communities, which has made use of Walker's 'Account of the Jeyn' (Luithle-Hardenberg, Dundas); histories of British attempts to suppress female infanticide in north and western India (Vishwanath); and histories covering the abolition of slavery on St. Helena (Fox, Pearson).[4] And, finally, while none of Walker's monographs saw publication

[1] Carlyle, 'Walker, Alexander', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; J. M. Bumsted, 'Walker, Alexander', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/walker_alexander_6E.html [accessed 28 March 2022]; Hall, 'The East India Company man: Brigadier-General Alexander Walker', in *Christchurch Art Gallery*; Luithle-Hardenberg, 'Alexander Walker of Bowland's "Account of the Jeyn"'.

[2] Christchurch Art Gallery, *Brigadier-General Alexander Walker of Bowland*, https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/collection/79-282/sir-henry-raeburn/brigadier-general-alexander-walker-of-bowland [accessed 28 March 2022].

[3] Hannah Kelly, *The Writing, and Reading, of Alexander Walker of Bowland, 1780-1831*, https://hannahkellyliverpool.wordpress.com/2020/07/07/the-writing-and-reading-of-alexander-walker-of-bowland-1780-1831/ [accessed 28 March 2022].

[4] Loizides, 'Induction, Deduction, and James Mill's "Government"', p. 442; Barrell, *History and Historiography in Classical Utilitarianism*, p. 63; Paul Dundas, 'The Jains in the Colonial World: A Review', *International Journal of Jaina Studies*, 17.2 (2021), 1-13; Vishwanath, 'Efforts of Colonial State to Suppress Female Infanticide', pp. 1104-1112; Fox, *A Bitter Draught*; Pearson, *Distant Freedom.*

during his own lifetime, a transcription of his journal of his *Voyage to the North West Coast of America* by Robin Fisher and J. M. Bumsted was published in 1982.[5]

Appendix 2: Evidence on Walker's Upbringing

The late J. M. Bumsted's biographical article on Walker in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, currently available online, has been the source of some confusion. Prior to more recent studies (Luithle-Hardenberg) Bumsted's article was one of the few published works which sought to provide definitive mention as to where Walker was educated, linking him to St. Andrews, and is moreover exceptional in its dwelling, albeit briefly, on the material circumstances of his childhood. The problem, however, is that no footnote or endnote references to the original sources from which Bumsted gleaned this information are provided, potentially as a mixed result of the age of the article, the age of the webpage hosting it, a subsequent loss of this information in the articles digitization, or the misplacement of archival materials within or from the NLS. Furthermore, what references are provided in the article's bibliography link to a narrow portion of the Walker of Bowland papers including Walker's autobiographical notes, which themselves provide no mention of Walker's childhood. Our ability to understand Walker's financial circumstances as a child and a young man, what economic factors influenced his experiences and choices, is therefore to an extent both piqued by Bumsted and yet also compromised by these same issues.[6]

Bumsted, in the following passage, quotes Walker (in his later life) as having shared some details on how money, or the lack thereof, affected his upbringing:

> Although educated in St Andrews at the grammar school and the university, Walker later recorded that "poverty was vouchsafed … as a Counter balance to Family Pride," adding that "younger Branches had to seek their fortunes in distant lands."[7]

This quote, if authentic, offers a tantalising insight into the material factors which may have led Walker to seek a career in the East India Company. The problem here, again, however, is that no specific source is cited, making the task of verifying this information at best enormously time consuming. To be sure, this does appear to be consistent with what we do know about Walker's life, insofar as it stands to reason that the death of his father deprived his family of

[5] Alexander Walker, *An Account of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America in 1785 & 1786* transcribed and edited by Robin Fisher and J. M. Bumsted (Vancouver: Douglas & Mclntyre, Ltd., 1982).
[6] Bumsted, 'Walker, Alexander', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*
[7] *Ibid.*

income. The notion that Walker pursued a career in the East India Company to provide for his family and to advance his place in the world also aligns neatly with much of what we know about the young men who made up the Company's prospective cadets, many of whom came from middle economic strata Scottish backgrounds and/or received patronage from influential Company Scots (such as Henry Dundas). Until this quotation is directly verifiable, though, this line of interpretation warrants a degree of caution.[8]

Appendix 3: Catalogues of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Manuscripts

Following Walker's 'Voyage to America' there is a substantial gap in his archive, with regards to monographs, from the late 1780s to the mid-late 1800s. This is not to say, however, that this was a period in which Walker's historical interests stagnated. Some degree of evidence of Walker's interaction with Indian language sources, particularly Indian manuscript histories, survives from this period, and it is also known that Walker left India with a large collection of Indian manuscripts in his possession. Much of this material was eventually donated to the Bodleian Library by Walker's son, Sir William Walker, in 1845. What survives in the Bodleian comprises 215 individual manuscripts spanning Persian, Sanskrit and Arabic historical, poetical, legal and medical tracts, although a unified catalogue compiled in 1810 indicates that the full extent of the collection which made it back to Scotland comprised roughly 650 scripts.[9]

Walker also kept three catalogues of the manuscripts in his possession in 1805, which now survive in the National Library of Scotland, each respectively titled a 'Catalogue of Sanscrit Works', a 'Catalogue of Persian & Arabic works' and a 'Catalogue of histories of India in the Persian language'. These have been chosen over the later catalogue for analysis because they detail the presence of an even greater number of texts, 738 manuscripts in total, suggesting that some manuscripts might have been lost between 1805 and 1810. The way Walker constructed these catalogues (with long descriptions of each text) nonetheless suggests that he took a great deal of care to learn extensively about his collection, and moreover that he had some degree of ability to translate the manuscripts, or, otherwise, had access to willing Indian language experts through EIC colleagues or his posting in Baroda.[10]

[8] McGilvary, 'The Scottish Connection with India, 1725-1833', pp. 17, 20.
[9] 'Persian, Sanskrit and Arabic manuscripts of Alexander Walker', GB 161 MSS. A. Walker 1-168, 171-202 204-13, 218-22.
[10] Walker, 'Catalogue of Sanskrit Works', 1805, NLS, MS.13923; Walker, 'Catalogue of Persian & Arabic Works', 1805, NLS, MS.13924; Walker, 'Catalogue of histories of India in the Persian language', 1805, NLS, MS.13925.

There are, unfortunately, no sources which attribute his acquisition of these materials to particular times, places or means. Speculatively, it is entirely possible he acquired them through benign measures, and that he gained access to the better part of them during his tenure as court resident. Likewise, it is also possible that he acquired some if not the bulk of them through more unscrupulous means, with his presence at the 1799 siege and sack of Seringapatam looming as a potential explanation. This corresponds to the common preponderance of Persian within Walker's collection, Persian being the polite language of Tipu Sultan's court (Kannada was used for administration). In addition, while 2,000 volumes of Tipu Sultan's library at Seringapatam were to be transported to the EICs College at Calcutta on the orders of Arthur Wellesley, much of the library – estimated to have originally numbered 3,000 - 4,000 texts – disappeared in 1799 without trace.[11]

While these catalogues offer limited insight into how Walker's engagement with conjectural history shaped his understanding India, there is a great deal this material can tell us about his approaches (epistemological and practical) to the selection of source materials for use in his own histories, and how this was both inspired by his Enlightenment learning and connected to traditions of genealogical and comparative linguistics practiced by orientalist scholars. The catalogues in and of themselves, alongside explicit references to the manuscripts Walker made throughout his monographs, indicate that Walker valued these manuscripts as sources which the historian might use to gain an insight into India's past. His later histories, his unfinished history of India and 'History of Malabar' in particular, used Indian legend and mythology as the grounds for historical conjecture about India's geographical pre-history. Indeed, in chapter 3, we saw how Walker connected stories surrounding Parashuramen – taken from a text he knew as the 'Kerulood Fatty' – to historical changes in the water level and geography of Malabar's coastline.[12]

Within the catalogues Walker also alluded to viewing several of the manuscripts as accurate histories, although he likewise dismissed a significant portion of his collection as ahistorical. Because of this, these catalogues also represent the transformation of Indian cultural objects into objects of European discourse; and the substitution out of Indian manuscripts, and in of a supposedly scientific European discourse *about* these texts, as a locus

[11] Ehrlich, 'Plunder and Prestige', 478-92.
[12] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', p. 52; Momma, 'A Man on the Cusp: Sir William Jones's "Philology" and "Oriental Studies"', pp. 163-64; See also Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, p. 283: A notable similarity between Walker and Jones was their common intervention in the periodization and teleology of Hindu myth.

of authority.[13] These documents also illuminate the deep connections between Walker's later efforts at historical writing and the material gains of imperial conquest. This is not least to mention their likely physical connection to the Siege of Seringapatam, which problematically links the flowering of this (albiet isolated) knowledge formation back to the material reality of colonial rule.[14]

Walker's first 1805 catalogue, on Sanskrit works, lists titles under headings determined by genre and textual association, such as 'Dhurin Shastra, or Scripture', 'Vedanta Shastra', 'Qooran', 'Kaer or miscellaneous Poetry', 'Vyakem or Philology', 'Natice – Drama', and 'Kosha. Dictionaries', and contains 391 bespoke entries (Walker, 'Catalogue of Sanscrit Works', ff. 1-12). These headings most likely correspond to the way the texts were organised before Walker obtained them rather than how he arranged them himself. For each entry, the catalogue provides information in two separate columns, one for titles and the other for the names of authors. Though authors names are not always recorded and attributed, the second column was also occasionally used to house descriptions of the contents of certain manuscripts. Titles include a text named 'Gavansagur' attributed to an author noted as 'Dhuitisatsumoocheya' and described as treating 'on things proper and improper', 'Sahastraosdeshi' or 'The hundred rules', 'astronomical and religious treaties', 'Gannesh – Tales –', a large series of grammars, a range of histories including a 'History of the Rajahs of Dehli at the time of Dehungsir' and another 'of Guzerat – in the Guzerattee Language', 'A Dictionary-Etymology' by 'Dhaloopath' and a series of 'Ordinances for religious Duties' (Walker, 'Catalogue of Sanscrit Works', ff. 1-15)

The next two catalogues, detailing Persian and Arabic works, likewise follow this format, notwithstanding the addition of an extra column for remarks on each text. The addition of this column and hence more consistent textual comments provides further insight into what Walker thought of each of these texts, beyond his simply understanding their origins and contents. While most comments in Walker's second catalogue (which contains 259 entries) are descriptive, some crop up with information regarding his experiences reading them and overarching thoughts on their quality. For instance, an item named 'Insha Togra' and attributed to 'Mullasagra', is described as 'In praise of Moradbuksh – written in a difficult & obtuse style & specimen of composition'. Another titled 'Torhimg Jhan' on the other hand is listed as 'a

[13] Donato, 'Introduction: Archives, Record Keeping and Imperial Governance, 1500-1800', pp. 317, 322-23; See again Momma, 'A Man on the Cusp: Sir William Jones's "Philology" and "Oriental Studies"', p. 170.
[14] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 21; Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 9.

very valuable Dictionary of the Persian language.' Other texts present here connect to Walker's personal historical interests, including several entries described as being a 'History of the Land Exploits of Alexander' and a further item described as a 'Naval History of Alexander' (Walker, 'Catalogue of Persian & Arabic works', ff. 5-8). Walker's identification of the last of these texts – those related to Alexander the Great – serves as a particularly vivid example of both his preoccupation with Alexander, and of the connections between the manuscripts in this catalogue and the historical texts they later informed, especially in his unfinished history of India and 'Ancient Intercourse with India.'[15]

By far the most detailed of the three catalogues, the third (on 86 histories written in Persian) contains extensive notes on each text, strongly suggesting that Walker had a particular interest in these histories, knew Persian, and read them extensively. For this reason, it is likely (though not certain) that this catalogue was constructed from texts he lifted from the remaining bulk of his collection, and which were selected by him specifically for their containing historical facts useful to his own studies. In his first remarks, Walker described a text named 'Lusser Namah' or 'The Book of Victory' as relating 'the victories of the Emporer Tymoin in a clear and distinct manner, and is a work much valued for its adherence to truth'. While in general his opinion on the text was positive, and he posited that the compiler's ('Molana Shirfudin Yuzudee') 'stile is excellent', he nonetheless observed that the text was 'tainted with pedantry'. On the receiving end of even more lukewarm criticism, a 'collection of tales on the subject of the lives of Menka and Munohae' is listed as 'a Book of small merit'. While one entry, 'The History of Sultan Baber' is described as bearing 'considerable merit & authority', another named 'Ramayen Surjuma' (a Persian translation of the Sanscrit epic the Ramayana) is described as losing 'a great deal of its beauty and expression in the Translation' (Walker, 'Catalogue of histories of India in the Persian language', ff. 1-2, f. 9). That the nature of Walker's value judgements of these texts concerned their historical factuality reflects his likely intent to use them to inform his own histories, as well as the broader preoccupation of British history writers in the Enlightenment with empirical veracity.[16]

Worse still, for Walker's purposes, he also noted that 'at present the Hindoo names' mentioned in the Ramayana 'are very incorrect in almost all the copies', providing an

[15] For more on the parallels between Walker and other eighteenth century imperialists fascinated by Alexander the Great, see again Mairs, 'The Men Who Would be Alexander', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*.
[16] O'Brien, 'History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain', p. 399.

interminable obstacle to the historian attempting to cross-reference these with the names of places and peoples mentioned in other texts. Other entries do however reveal the presence of tracts which Walker might have alternatively found useful to drawn upon in the writing of his own histories. A script titled 'The Mirror of Alexander' is described by Walker as a 'Complete History of the Mahommedan Dynasty of Sultans in Guzerat', and another called 'The Mirror of Ahmed' is listed as a 'complete History of Guzerat from the earliest times'. A volume known as 'The Book of Battles' is described as detailing a 'vast variety of events and transactions connected with the Religion and Government of the Hindoos', Secunder Nameh's 'The Naval History of Alexander' and 'The History of Alexanders Conquest and Marches' also appear here, in addition to the Alexandrian histories detailed in the previous catalogue (Walker, 'Catalogue of histories of India in the Persian language', ff. 7-9, ff. 15-16). The further marking out of Alexandrian histories situates this material – again – firmly in relation to his own efforts at historical writing. The primary significance of this subsists in the latent and realised potential for this collected knowledge to be appropriated by Walker in the writing of histories and, through this, in their incorporation into Scottish Enlightenment nomenclature for the history of civil society, and adoption as evidence in stadial come global-hierarchical analyses of Indian history and culture.[17]

[17] MacKenzie, 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions', p. 57.

Bibliography

The Walker of Bowland Papers

Walker, Alexander, 'Official and private correspondence of Alexander Walker during his period as Military Secretary to General James Stuart, as assistant to the Malabar Commission and then as a Commissioner', 1795-1801, National Library of Scotland (Hereafter NLS), MS.13601-02.

— 'Official memoranda and correspondence concerning the condition of Malabar and the activities of the Commission', 1796-1800, NLS, MS.13616.

— 'Miscellaneous memoranda relating to Baroda, many of which are concerned with financial administration', 1801-08, NLS, MS.13639.

— 'Extracts from reports on negotiations with Malhar Rao', 1802-04, NLS, MS.13642.

— 'Memoranda and other papers, chiefly of Alexander Walker', 1801-05, NLS, MS.13653.

— 'Copies of official correspondence concerning the Gaikwar's subsidiary treaty, June-October 1804, and about the Baroda reforms, December 1808-January 1809' 1804, 1808-09, NLS, MS.13663.

— 'Volume entitled 'Pirates, Cambay and Kattywar'.', 1805-08, NLS, MS.13675.

— 'Volume entitled 'Cambay', containing memoranda, 1808, concerning the administrative and judicial responsibilities at Cambay, with the findings in respect of the charges made by and against George Corsellis, the Commercial Resident, which include a very detailed breakdown of the trade of Cambay, 1806-1808.', 1806-08, NLS, MS.13678.

— 'Journal kept by Alexander Walker during the Kathiawar campaign and covering the periods 1-12 July 1807 and 14 October-15 November 1807', 1807, NLS, MS.13687

— 'Correspondence of Alexander Walker during his retirement (1812-1823)', 1812-23, NLS, MS.13720-27.

— 'Miscellaneous Autobiographical Notes of Alexander Walker', 1812, NLS, MS.13735.

— 'Detailed textual criticisms, made by Alexander Walker, of the first edition of 'History of British India' by James Mill', 1819, NLS, MS.13737.

— 'Copies of official letters and instructions issued on behalf of Alexander Walker as Governor of St Helena to officers with various responsibilities on the island.', 1823-1828, NLS, MS.13752.

— 'Copies of official letters of Alexander Walker as Governor of St Helena, chiefly dealing with military matters.', 1823-1827, NLS, MS.13753.

— ‘Copies of private letters, 4 August 1824-24 December 1827, of Alexander Walker.’, 1824-27, NLS, MS.13754.

— ‘Miscellany of memoranda and other papers concerning St Helena affairs, Indian topics and other matters’, 1823-28, NLS, MS.13756.

— ‘Copies of official correspondence which charts the bitter wrangle between Alexander Walker and his predecessor on St Helena, Sir Hudson Lowe, concerning the disposal of Napoleon's furniture from Longwood.’, 1822-1825, NLS, MS.13757-13760.

— ‘Private journal kept by Alexander Walker on the ‘Repulse’’, 1823, NLS, MS.13768.

— ‘Volume entitled ‘Farrago Libelli’ by Alexander Walker, consisting of three chapters based on Walker’s first-hand experience of India’, 1781-1784, NLS, MS.13775.

— ‘Contemporary log of the voyage of the ‘Experiment’ from India to North West America, 1785-1786, with further comments and additions made by Alexander Walker circa 1817.’, Circa. 1817, NLS, MS.13779.

— ‘Final text of the ‘Voyage to America’ by Alexander Walker, which incorporates a number of additions and some illustrative material’, 1785-86, NLS, MS.13780.

— ‘Series of twelve chapters probably based on original memoranda, 1785-1799, with additions between 1818 and 1822’, 1785-99, 1818-22, NLS, MS.13783.

— ‘Transactions of the East India Company in Malabar, volume 1, taking the history of Malabar up to the death of Haidar Ali and the rise of Tipu’, Circa. 1825, NLS, MS.13785.

— ‘Fair copy of ‘History of Malabar’, volumes 1-5, by Alexander Walker.’, 1821, Vols. 1-5, NLS, MS.13797-801.

— ‘Fair copies of ‘Miscellaneous notices of various customs, manners and practices of India’ by Alexander Walker’, Circa. 1824, MS.13811-13886.

— ‘Arbores et herbae Malabaricae’, Vols. 1-2, circa. 1800/1826, NLS, MS.13817-18.

— ‘Memoranda of Alexander Walker on the state of India in 1800, and the governing of India in general and Malabar in particular in 1802’, 1800, 02, MS.13828.

— ‘Brief history of the peninsula of Guzerat, commonly called Kattywar…’, Circa. 1808, NLS, MS.13839.

— ‘Forty memoranda on a variety of topics including: the war with Sindhea, the administration of Gujarat, the Baroda finances, Hindu marriage, Alexander Walker's departure from India, and other matters.’, Circa. 1826, NLS, MS.13847A.

— ‘Historical account of Gujarat sent by Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan and intended to form the first part of ‘The British transactions in Gujarat.’, Circa. 1804, NLS, MS.13867.

— ‘Fair copies and drafts of ‘Historical notices of the people, religion and customs in different parts of India’ by Alexander Walker.’, 1818-1825, NLS, MSS.13872-13878.

— ‘Ancient Intercourse with India’, 1825, NLS, MS.13888.

— ‘Memoranda which constitute Alexander Walker’s “Remarks on Arrian’s history and the voyage of Nerchus”’, circa. 1805-1810, NLS, MS.13889-90.

— ‘‘History of the Sicca, or State Seals, etc., etc., etc., in India’, compiled circa 1822.’, Circa. 1822, NLS, MS.18891.

— ‘Memoranda, December 1808, on agricultural matters, which form a draft of MS.13893: ‘History of agriculture in India.’, 1808, NLS, MS.13894.

— ‘Manuscript concerning Hindu Infanticide, containing the Parliamentary paper ‘Copy of all correspondence which has taken place on the subject of Hindoo infanticide … 1789-1820’, 1816-1817, NLS, MS.13898.

— ‘Catalogue of Sanscrit Works’, 1805, NLS, MS.13923.

— ‘Catalogue Persian & Arabic works’, 1805, NLS, MS.13924.

— ‘Catalogue of histories of India in the Persian language’, 1805, NLS, MS.13925.

— ‘Notes for a Maratha history, circa 1805, with an introduction, 1824, by Alexander Walker.’, Circa. 1805, 1824, NLS, MS.13936.

— ‘“Remarks on reading Pliny’s history” and a draft introduction to MS.13917: Translations of a number of ‘Indians letters”’, 1805, NLS, MS.13938.

— ‘Two copies and various drafts of an historical summary of the 'progress and transactions of the East India Company from their first institution to the present day'.’, Circa. 1805, Circa. 1825, NLS, MSS.13939-19349.

— ‘Incomplete memoranda on the theme of the government of India, probably written after Alexander Walker’s return from India.’, Circa. 1812, NLS, MS.13950.

— ‘‘History of Arghoon Khan and his descendants…’, circa 1809, and material for a history of India, undated.’, 1809, NLS, MS.13957.

— ‘Notebook containing notes, undated, but circa 1780, from lectures on ‘composition’ given by William Leechman at Glasgow University’, circa. 1780, NLS, MS.14096.

— ‘Account book, 1787, begun by Barbara Montgomery, later wife to Alexander Walker, but also used for notes, 1814, from ‘Historical disquisition on India’ by William Robertson’, 1787, 1814, NLS, MS.14908A.

Unknown, ‘Reports and other papers., December 1827, concerning the East India Company’s schools on St Helena’, 1827, NLS, MS.13767.

— ‘Memoir of Tipu, undated, written by a Maratha Sirdar in his service, with a draft preface by Alexander Walker, circa 1825.’, Circa. 1825, NLS, MS.13795.

— ‘Catalogue of the Library at Bowland House [Circa. 1830]’, 1830, NLS, MS14053B.

— ‘General account books for the estate of Bowland’, 1811-1861, NLS, MS.14045-14049.

Primary Sources

Anderson, James M. (ed.), *The Matriculation Roll of the University of St. Andrews, 1747-1897*. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1905.

Bacon, Francis, *Lord Bacon's Essays: Continued in Twenty Seven Chapters, Translated from His Lordship's Treatise, De Augmentis Scientiariarum*, trans. by William Willymott (London: Henry Parson, 1720), Vols. 1-2.

Barron, William, *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity.* London: T. Cadell, 1777.

— *History of the Political Connection between England and Ireland from the reign of Henry II.* London: T. Cadell, 1780.

Blair, Hugh, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.* London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1783.

Crockett, W. S., and Francis James Grant (eds.), *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ: Synods of Fife, and of Angus and Mearns*, 1560-1900, Vol. 5. Tanner Ritchie Publishing: St. Andrews, 2011.

Dunbar, James, *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Uncultivated Ages.* London: W. Strahan, T. Cadell and J. Balfour, 1780.

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909).

India Office Records and Private Papers, Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates – Bengal, Madras and Bombay (1780-1937), British Library, London, IOR/AG/L/34/27/1-425A.

Ferguson, Adam, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society.* Edinburgh: A. Kincaid, 1767.

Hardy, James, 'Report of Meetings for 1887', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, instituted September 22, 1831*. Berwickshire Naturalists' Club: Scotland, 1890, Vol. 12.

Home, Henry, Lord Kames, *Historical Law Tracts.* Edinburgh: A. Kincaid, 1758, Vols. 1-2.

Hume, David, *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects*. London: J. Noon, 1740, Vols. 1-3.

— *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (London: A. Millar, 1758),

Humbolt, Alexander von, *Researches, Concerning the Institutions & Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America, with Descriptions & Views of Some of the Most Striking Scenes in the Cordilleras!*, trans. by Helen Maria Williams. London: Longman, 1814, Vols. 1-2.

Hutcheson, Francis, *A System of Moral Philosophy*. London: A. Millar, 1755, Vols. 1-3.

Jones, William, *The Works of Sir William Jones.* London: G., G. and J. Robinson, 1799, Vols. 1-6.

Linnaeus, Carl, *Systema Naturae*, 10th edn. Stockholm: Laurentii Salvii, 1758, Vol. 1.

— *The Animal Kingdom, or Zoological System*, ed. by Johann Friedrich Gmelin, trans. by Robert Kerr. London and Edinburgh: A. Strahan, T. Cadell, and W. Creech, 1792.

Locke, John, *Two Treatises of Government: In the Former, the False Principles and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, and his Followers, are Detected and Overthrown. The Latter, is an Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent, and End of Civil-Government.* London: John Churchill, 1713.

Manavadharmasastra, Manu, *Institutes of Hindu law; or the ordinances of Menu, according to the gloss of Cullúca, comprising the Indian system of duties religious and civil: verbally translated from the original Sanscrit*, trans. by William Jones. Calcutta: 1794.

Mandlik, Vishvanáth Náráyan (ed.), *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. London: John Murray, 1819, Vol. 1.

Mill, James, *The History of British India.* London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, 1817, Vols. 1-3.

Millar, John, *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society.* London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771.

— *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks; or, An Inquiry into the Circumstances which Give Rise to Influence and Authority in the Different Members of Society.* London: J. Murray, 1779.

Moor, Edward, 'Brigadier-General Alexander Walker, of the Bombay Army', in *The Annual Biography and Obituary: 1832*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1832, Vol. 16, 24-50.

Muniments of the University of St. Andrews, Unknown, 'Students' receipt book', 1772-1776, University of St. Andrews Archive Collections, UYLY207/2.

Orme, Robert, *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Morattoes, and of the English Concerns, in Indostan.* London: C. Nourse, 1805.

Rennel, James, *The Geographical System of Herodotus, Examined; and Explained, by a Comparison with those of Other Ancient Authors, and with Modern Geography.* London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1800.

Robertson, William, 'The History of Scotland', in *The Works of William Robertson, D.D. To which is Prefixed, An Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, by Dugald Stewart.* London: Cadell and Davies, 1817, Vol. 1

— ‘The History of America’, in *The Works of William Robertson, D.D. To which is Prefixed, An Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, by Dugald Stewart.* London: Cadell and Davies, 1817, Vols. 8-11.

— ‘An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India’, in *The Works of William Robertson, D.D. To which is Prefixed, An Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, by Dugald Stewart.* London: Cadell and Davies, 1817, Vol. 12.

Secondat, Charles-Louis, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*. London: J. Nourse and P. Vaillant, 1750, Vols. 1-2.

Smith, Adam, *Lectures On Jurisprudence*, ed. by Ronald L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

— *The Theory of Moral Sentiments.* London: A. Kincaid and J. Bell, 1759.

— *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776, Vols. 1-2.

Stewart, Dugald, ‘Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Smith’, in A. Smith, *The Works of Adam Smith, LL.D.* London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811.

Tod, James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Or the Central and Western Rajput States of India*, ed. by William Crooke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920, Vol. 1.

Unknown, ‘Students’ receipt book’, 1772-1776, Muniments of the University of St. Andrews, UA, UYLY207/2.

Walker, Alexander, *An Account of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America in 1785 & 1786*, eds. Robin Fisher and J. M. Bumsted. Vancouver: Douglas & Mclntyre, Ltd., 1982.

Walker, Andrew, ‘Number XXXVI. Parish of Collessie (County of Fife)’, in John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 1791-1845*. Edinburgh: William Creech, 1792, Vol. 2, 416-419.

Watson, Robert, *The History of the Reign of Phillip the Second, King of Spain.* Edinburgh: J. Balfour and W. Creech, 1777, Vols. 1-2.

Secondary Sources

Aarsleff, Hans, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*, 2nd ed. London: The Athlone Press, 1983.

Adderley, Rosanna, *"New Negroes from Africa": Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean.* Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Agnani, Sunil M., *Hating Empire Properly: The Two Indies at the Limits of Enlightenment Anticolonialism.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2003.

Allan, David, 'Barron, William', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-66118?rskey=ZJUA0F&result=5 [accessed 9 February 2023]

— *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England.* London: The British Library, 2008.

Altick, Richard D., *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 2006.

Anstey, Roger, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810.* London: Macmillan, 1975.

Archer-Parré, Caroline, 'Private Pleasure and Portable Presses: Do-It-Yourself Printers in the Eighteenth Century', in Caroline Archer-Parré and Malcolm Dick (eds), *Pen, Print and Communication in the Eighteenth Century.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020, 89-106.

Arondekar, Anjali R., *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Asiegbu, Johnson Uzoha Jonah, *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation, 1781-1861: A Study of Liberated African Emigration and British Anti-slavery Policy.* London: Longmans, 1969.

Bain, Alexander, *James Mill: A Biography.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Ballantyne, Tony, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Ballhatchet, Kenneth, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980.

Barrell, Callum, *History and Historiography in Classical Utilitarianism, 1800-1865.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Bator, Paul G., 'The Unpublished Rhetoric Lectures of Robert Watson, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at the University of St. Andrews, 1756-1778', *Rhetorica*, 12.1 (1994), 67-113.

Baucom, Ian, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Bayly, Christopher A., *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830.* Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1989.

— *'Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Bayly, Susan, 'Race in Britain and India', in Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann (eds.), *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, 71-95.

Berry, Christopher, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.

— 'Rude Religion: The Psychology Of Polytheism In The Scottish Enlightenment' in P. Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays In Reinterpretation.* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000, 315-34.

— *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Bhabha, Homi, 'Difference, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism', in F. Barker, P. Hulme, M. Iversen and D. Loxley (eds.), *Literature, Politics and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference 1976-1984.* London: Methuen, 1986, 148-72.

Bhavani, Raman, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012,

Bickham, Troy, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Blackburn, Stuart, 'Early Books and New Literary Practices, 1556-1800', in Francesca Orsini (ed.), *The History of the Book in South Asia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 105-58.

Blancke, Stefaan, 'Lord Monboddo's Ourang-Outang and the Origin and Progress of Language', in M. Pina and N. Gontier (eds), *The Evolution of Social Communication in Primates: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, Vol. 1. London: Springer International Publishing, 2014, 31-44.

Blanton, Casey, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Bloxham, Donald, *Why History? A History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Bowen, H. V., *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

— 'Bullion for Trade, War, and Debt-Relief: British Movements of Silver to, Around, and From Asia', *Modern Asian Studies*, 44.3 (2010), 445-75.

Broadie, Alexander, *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 1997.

Brown, Stewart J., 'William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the *Historical Disquisition* on India of 1791', *Scottish Historical Review*, 88.2 (2009), 289-312.

Bumsted, J. M., 'Walker, Alexander', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/walker_alexander_6E.html [accessed 28 March 2022].

Cannon, Garland, *The Life and Mind of Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Modern Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Carey, Daniel, and Sven Trakulhun, 'Universalism, Diversity, and the Postcolonial Enlightenment', in Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (eds.), *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 240–281

Cant, Ronald G., *The University of St. Andrews: A Short History.* Oliver and Boyd: Edinburgh, 1946.

— 'The Scottish Universities and Scottish society in the Eighteenth Century', *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 58 (1967), 1953-66

Carlyle, E. I., 'Walker, Alexander', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28467?rskey=T5uqzj&result=1 [accessed 28 March 2022].

Carroll, Siobhan, *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

Certeau, Michel de, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chanda, Mrinal Kanti, *History of the English Press in Bengal, 1780 to 1857.* Calcutta: K. P. Bagchi, 1987.

Charles, Sébastien, 'Introduction: What is Enlightenment Scepticism? A Critical Rereading of Richard Popkin', in S. Charles, and P. J. Smith (eds), *Scepticism in the Eighteenth Century: Enlightenment, Lumières, Aufklärung*. London: Springer International Publishing, 2013, 1-15.

Chartier, Roger, *The Order of Books.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Chatterjee, Partha, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Chaudhuri, S. B., 'Early English Printers and Publishers in Calcutta', *Bengal: Past and Present*, 87 (1968), 67-77.

Chen, Jeng-Guo S., 'Gendering India: Effeminacy and the Scottish Enlightenment's Debates over Virtue and Luxury', in *The Eighteenth Century*, 51.1 (2010), 193-210.

Christchurch Art Gallery, *Brigadier-General Alexander Walker of Bowland*, https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/collection/79-282/sir-henry-raeburn/brigadier-general-alexander-walker-of-bowland [accessed 28 March 2022].

Clark, Aylwin, *An Enlightened Scot: Hugh Cleghorn, 1752-1837.* New York: Black Ace Books, 1992.

Cleall, Esme, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Cohen, Ashley L., *The Global Indies: British Imperial Culture and the Reshaping of the World, 1756-1815.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.

Cohn, Bernard, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Colclough, Stephen, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1860.* London: Palgrave, 2007.

Colley, Linda, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850.* London: Pimlico, 2003.

Collingham, Elizabeth M., *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.

Collins, Holly, 'Reconstructed and Neo-slave Narratives in French: Filling the Gap Through Literature and Archives', *International Journal of Francophone Studies,* 24.1&2 (2021), 29-48.

Crawley, William, 'Sir William Jones: a Vision of Orientalism', *Asian Affairs*, 27.2 (1996), 163-176.

Curran, Andrew, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011.

Curtis, Michael, *Orientalism and Island: European Thinkers on Oriental Despotism in the Middle East and India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Darnton, Robert, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111 (1982), 65-83.

— 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', in James L. Machor and Phillip Goldstein (eds), *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, 2001, 160-179.

— 'Book Production in British India, 1850-1900', *Book History*, 5.1 (2002), 239-62.

— *George Washington's False Teeth: An Unconventional Guide to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 2003)

— *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History.* New York: Basic Books, 2009.

Das, Amita, *Defending British India Against Napoleon: The Foreign Policy of Governor-General Lord Minto.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016.

Datla, Kavita Saraswathi, 'The Origins of Indirect Rule in India: Hyderabad and the British Imperial Order', *Law and History Review*, 33.2 (2015), 321-50.

Davidoff, L., and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850.* London: Hutchinson, 1987.

Dawson, Graham, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*. Abingdon: Routledge, 1994.

DeLucia, JoEllen, *A Feminine Enlightenment: British Women Writers and the Philosophy of Progress, 1759-1820.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016.

Devine, T. M. and Angela McCarthy, 'Introduction', in T. M. Devine and A. McCarthy (eds), *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c. 1700 to the Present: Settlers and Sojourners* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1-21.

Dirks, Nicholas B., *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

— '*The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain.* Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 2006.

Donato, Maria Pia, 'Introduction: Archives, Record Keeping and Imperial Governance, 1500-1800', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 22 (2018), 311-26.

Donoghue. Mark, 'Adam Smith and the Honourable East India Company', *History of Economic Review*, 77.1 (2020), 1-19.

Douthwaite, Julia, *The Wild Girl, Natural Man and the Monster: Dangerous Experiments in the Age of Enlightenment.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Dundas, Paul, 'The Jains in the Colonial World: A Review', *International Journal of Jaina Studies*, 17.2 (2021), 1-13.

Eddy, Matthew, *Media and the Mind: Art, Science, and Notebooks as Paper Machines, 1700-1830*. London: University of Chicago Press, 2022.

Edelstein, Dan, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy.* London: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Emerson, Roger L., 'Scottish Universities in the Eighteenth Century, 1690-1800', *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 167 (1977), 453-74.

Erikson, Emily, *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company, 1600-1757.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Eze, Emmanuel, 'Hume, Race, and Human Nature', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 61.4 (2000), 691-98.

Ferguson, Christopher, 'Autobiography as a Micrometer for Empire: How a Nineteenth-Century English Tailor was – and was not – an Absent-Minded Imperialist', *Journal of the Historical Association*, 100 (2015), 58-84.

Fish, Stanley, *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretative Communities.* London: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Finn, Margot C., 'Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780-1820', *Modern Asian Studies*, 40.1 (2006), 203-31.

Formigari, Lia, 'Language and Society in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 35.2 (1974), 275-92.

Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* Oxford: Routledge, 2002.

Fox, Colin, *A Bitter Draught: St Helena and the Abolition of Slavery, 1792-1840.* Society of Friends of St. Helena, 2017.

Frew, Joanna, 'Scots and the Imposition of Improvement in South India', in T. M. Devine and A. McCarthy (eds), *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c. 1700 to the Present: Settlers and Sojourners* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 97-118.

Frost, Alan, 'The Pacific Ocean: The Eighteenth Century's 'New World'', in Anthony Pagden (ed.), *Facing Each Other: The World's Perception of Europe and Europe's Perception of the World* London: Routledge, 2000, Vols. 1-2, 591-634.

Fulińska, Agnieszka, 'Alexander and Napoleon', in Kenneth R. Moore (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great.* Leiden: Brill, 2018, 545-75.

Ganguly, Debjani, *Caste, Colonialism and Counter-Modernity: Notes on a Postcolonial Hermeneutics of Caste.* London: Routledge, 2005.

Gates, Henry Louis, *Colored People: A Memoir.* New York: Knopf, 1994.

Gay, Peter, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation.* London: Lowe & Brydone, 1966, Vol. 1.

Ghachem, Malick, 'Montesquieu in the Caribbean: The Colonial Enlightenment Between 'Code Noir' and 'Code Civil'', *Historical Reflections*, 25.2 (1999), 7–30.

Ghosh, Anindita, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778-1905.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Gilmour, David, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj.* London: Pimlico, 2005.

Ginzburg, Carlo, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Gleadle, K., *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-1867.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Goldie, Mark, *The Reception of Locke's Politics.* London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999, Vols. 1-6.

Gray, John, 'After the New Liberalism', *Social Research*, 61. 3 (1994), 120–124.

Greenblatt, Stephen (ed.), *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance*. Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1982.

Gupta, Abhijit, and Swapan Chakravorty (eds), *New Word Order: Transnational Themes in Book History.* New Delhi: Worldview, 2001.

— *Moveable Type: Book History in India.* New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2008.

Gust, Onni, 'Remembering and Forgetting the Scottish Highlands: Sir James Mackintosh and the Forging of a British Imperial Identity', *Journal of British Studies*, 52.3 (2013), 615-37.

Hall, Catherine, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.

— *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

— & Daniel Pick, 'Thinking About Denial', *History Workshop Journal*, 84.1 (2017), 1-23.

Hall, Ken, 'The East India Company man: Brigadier-General Alexander Walker', in *Christchurch Art Gallery*, https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/bulletin/170/the-east-india-company-man-brigadier-general-alexa [accessed 1 June 2022].

Hann, Binne de, 'The Eclipse of Biography in Life Writing', in Hans Renders (ed.), *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory and Life Writing.* Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Harrington, Jack, *Sir John Malcolm and the Creation of British India.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Harrison, Mark, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Heath, Deana, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India, and Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Historic Environment Scotland, 'Bowland House Including Garden Cottages, Walled Garden and Garage Block', https://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB17407 [accessed 09/02/2023]

Holden, Philip, 'Postcolonial auto/biography', in Ato Quayson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature.* Cambridge University Press, 2012, 107-136

Holden, Thomas, *Spectres of False Divinity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Höpfl, Harro M., 'From Savage to Scotsman: Conjectural History in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of British Studies*, 17 (1978), 19-40.

Hudson, Nicholas , '"From "Nation" to "Race": The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought"', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29.3 (1996), 247-64.

Inden, Ronald, *Imagining India*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

Iser, Wolfgang, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Israel, Jonathan, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750-1790.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Jajdelska, Elspeth, 'The Self in the History of Distributed Cognition: A View from the History of Reading', in Miranda Anderson, George Rousseau and Michael Wheeler (eds), *Distributed Cognition in Enlightenment and Romantic Culture.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020, 156-69.

Jauss, Hans Robert, and Elizabeth Benzinger, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', *New Literary History*, 2.1 (1970), 7-37.

Joshi, Priya, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

— 'Quantitative Method, Literary History', *Book History*, 5.1 (2002), 263-74.

Kalpagam, U., *Rule by Numbers: Governmentality in Colonial India.* New York: Lexington Books, 2014.

Kaushik, Roy, 'Military Synthesis in South Asia: Armies, Warfare, and Indian Society, c. 1740-1849', in *The Journal of Military History*, 69.3 (2005), 651-90.

Kelly, Hannah, *The Writing, and Reading, of Alexander Walker of Bowland, 1780-1831*, https://hannahkellyliverpool.wordpress.com/2020/07/07/the-writing-and-reading-of-alexander-walker-of-bowland-1780-1831/ [accessed 28 March 2022].

Kelly, Gary, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Kerber, L., 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *Journal of American History*, 75.1 (1988), 9-39.

Kidd, Colin, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protest Atlantic World, 1600-2000.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Kontler, László, 'Translating Scottish Stadial History: William Robertson in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany', in Karen Newman and Jane Tylus (eds.), *Early Modern Cultures of Translation.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015, 236-49.

Kopf, David, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: the Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835.* Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhya, 1969.

Kroeker, Esther Engels, 'The Science of Human Nature in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, 18.3 (2020), 227-32.

Lambert, David and Alan Lester (eds), *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Launay, Robert, 'Lafitau Revisited: American "Savages" and Universal History', *Anthropologica*, 52.2 (2010), 337-343.

Levi, Giovanni, 'The Uses of Biography', in Hans Renders (ed.), *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory and Life Writing.* Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Levitin, Dmitri, 'Egyptology, the Limits of Antiquarianism, and the Origins of Conjectural History, c. 1680-1740: New Sources and Perspectives', *History of European Ideas*, 41.6 (2015), 699-727.

Lifschitz, Avi, *Language and Enlightenment: the Berlin Debates of the Eighteenth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Livesey, James Gerard, *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Livsey, Tim, 'Open Secrets: The British 'Migrated Archives', Colonial History, and Postcolonial History', *History Workshop Journal*, 93.1 (2022), 95-116.

Lockyer, Dora, 'The Provision of Books and Libraries by the East India Company in India, 1611-1858'. Unpublished Thesis Approved for Fellowship of the Library Association, 1977.

Loizides, Antis, 'Induction, Deduction, and James Mill's "Government"', *Modern Intellectual History*, 15.1 (2018).

London, April, *Literary History Writing, 1770-1820.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.

Luithle-Hardenberg, Andrea, 'Alexander Walker of Bowland's "Account of the Jeyn": A Starting Point for British Encounters with the Jain Community in Gujarat', in Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg, John E. Cort and Leslie C. Orr (eds), *Cooperation, Contribution and Contestation: The Jain Community, Colonialism and Jainological Scholarship, 1800-1950.* Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 2020.

MacKenzie, John M., *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

— *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

— 'Scottish Orientalists, Administrators and Missions: A Distinction Scots Approach to Asia?', in T. M. Devine and Angela McCarthy (eds), *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c. 1700 to the Present: Settlers and Sojourners.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 51-73.

MacKillop, Andrew, 'Locality, Nation, and Empire: Scots in Asia, c. 1695-1813', in John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, *The Oxford History of the British Empire Companion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 54-83.

Mairs, Rachel, 'The Men Who Would be Alexander: Alexander the Great and His Graeco-Batcrian Successors in the Raj', in Kenneth R. Moore (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great.* Leiden: Brill, 2018, 576-95.

Majeed, J., 'James Mill's 'The History of British India' and Utilitarianism as a Rhetoric of Reform', *Modern Asian Studies*, 24.2 (1990), 209-224.

Mangamma, J., *Book Printing in India.* Nellore: Bangorey Books, 1975.

Mantena, Rama Sundari, *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology, 1780-1880.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Marsden, James, 'Ancient History in British Universities and Public Life, 1715-1810', Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Oxford, 2016.

Martinez, Jenny S., *The Slave Trade and the Origins of International Human Rights Law.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Marušić, Jennifer Smalligan, 'Dugald Stewart on Conjectural History and Human Nature', *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, 15.3 (2017), 261-74.

Maya Rota, Sandra Lila, 'The Limits of Postcolonial Autobiography and the Empowering Capaciy of Life-writing for the Postcolonial Subject', *Linguæ*, 8.1 (2009), 47-63.

McCallum, Donald P., 'Hill, George (1750-1819)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13274?rskey=6adlq0&result=3 [accessed 3 August 2022].

McGilvary, George K., 'The Scottish Connection with India, 1725-1833', *Études Écossaises*, 14 (2011), 13-31.

McLaren, Martha, *British India and British Scotland, 1780-1830: Career building, empire Building, and a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance.* Akron: University of Akron Press, 2001.

Meek, Ronald L., 'New light on Adam Smith's Glasgow lectures on Jurisprudence', *History of Political Economy*, 8.4 (1976), 439-77.

Meßling, Markus, 'Wilhelm von Humboldt and the 'Orient': On Edward W. Said's remarks on Humboldt's Orientalist studies', in *Language Sciences*, 30.5 (2008), 483-98.

Metze Stefanie, ‘An Imperial Enlightenment?: Notions of India and the Literati of Edinburgh, 1723-1791’. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2011.

Mitter, Partha, ‘Colonial Modern: A Clash of Colonial and Indigenous Chronologies: The Case of India’, in Dan Karlholm and Keith Moxey (eds), *Time in the History of Art: Temporality, Chronology, and Anachrony* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 62-78.

Momma, Haruko, ‘A Man on the Cusp: Sir William Jones’s “Philology” and “Oriental Studies”, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 41.2 (1999), 160-79.

Moore, Terrence O., ‘The Enlightened Curriculum: Liberal Education in Eighteenth-Century British Schools’, Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Edinburgh, 1998.

Moore-Gilbert, Bart, *Postcolonial Life-Writing: Culture, Politics and Self-representation.* London: Routledge, 2009.

Moran, Arik, *Kingship and Polity on the Himalayan Borderland: Rajput Identity during the Early Colonial Encounter.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019.

Moran, Mary Catherine, ‘Between the Savage and the Civil: Dr John Gregory’s Natural History of Femininity’, in Barbara Taylor and Sarah Knott (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 8-29.

Murphy, Sharon, *The British Soldier and His Libraries, c. 1822-1901.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Müller-White, Staffan, ‘Linnaeus and the Four Corners of the World’, in K. A. Coles, R. Bauer, Z. Nunes and C. L. Peterson (eds), *The Cultural Politics of Blood, 1500-1900.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 191-209.

Muthu, Sankar, *Enlightenment Against Empire.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Nechtman, Tillman W., *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Newbury, Colin, ‘Patronage and Professionalism: Manning a Transitional Empire, 1760-1870’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 42.2 (2014), 193-214.

Nunning, Vera and Ansgar Nunning, ‘Fictions of Empire and the Making of Imperialist Mentalities: Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Criticism Revisited’, *Forum for World Literature Studies*, 7.2 (2015), 171-98.

O’Brien, Karen, ‘History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68.1-2 (2005), 397-413.

— ‘Introduction’, in Barbara Taylor and Sarah Knott (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 3-7.

Ogborn, Miles, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the East India Company.* Chicago: University of Chicago press, 2007.

Osbourne, Thomas, ‘Bureaucracy as a vocation: Governmentality and Administration in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7.3 (1994), 289-313.

Oz-Salzberger, Fania, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish Civic Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Germany.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Page, Anthony, ‘Rational Dissent, Enlightenment, and Abolition of the British Slave Trade’, *The Historical Journal*, 54.3 (2011), 741-72.

Palmeri, Frank, *State of Nature, Stages of Society: Enlightenment Conjectural History and Modern Social Discourse.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Pande, Amrita, ‘De(coding) ‘Loose Women’ in Colonial Archives’, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 15.1 (2020), 1-16.

Panzac, Daniel, ‘International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24.2 (1992), 189-206.

Patterson, Jessica, *Religion, Enlightenment and Empire: British Interpretations of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Peabody, Norbert, ‘Knowledge Formation in Colonial India’, in Douglas M. Peers and Nandini Gooptu, *India and the British Empire.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 75-100.

Phillipson, Nicholas, ‘The Scottish Enlightenment’, in R. S. Porter and M. Teich (eds), *The Enlightenment in National Context.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 19-40.

Philips, Mark Salber, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Plassart, Anna, ‘James Mill, the Scottish Enlightenment and the Problem of Civil Religion’, *Modern Intellectual History*, 16.3 (2019).

Pocock, John G. A., *Barbarism and Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-2015, Vols. 1-6

Porter, Bernard, *The Absent Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Priolkar, Anant Kakba, *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginnings and Early Development.* Bombay: Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1958.

Ramusack, Barbara N., *The New Cambridge History of India: The Indian Princes and their States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Rao, Parimala V., 'Beyond Monolithic Colonialism: A Defiant Scot Against British Elitism, Thomas Munro's Policies on Education and Employment of Indians', *Paedagogica Historica*, 33.1 (2022).

Raven, James, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002.

Raven, James, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (eds), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Regan, John, 'No 'nonsense upon stilts': James Mill's *History of British India* and the Poetics of Benthamite Historiography', in P. Fermanis and J. Regan (eds.), *Rethinking British Romantic History, 1770-1845.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Rendall, Jane, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *The Historical Journal*, 25.1 (1982), 43-69.

Rensing, Julia, 'Ovizire · Somgu: From Where Do We Speak?': Artistic Interventions in the Namibian Colonial Archive (2018–2020)', *Journal of South African Studies*, 48.1 (2022), 81-102.

Rice, Charles Duncan, 'Archibald Dalzel, the Scottish Intelligentsia, and the Problem of Slavery', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 62.2 (1983), 121-36.

Roberts, Daniel Sanjiv, 'The Fanciful Traditions of Early Nations', in P. Fermanis and J. Regan (eds.), *Rethinking British Romantic History, 1770-1845.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, 54-71.

Robilant, Anna di, *The Making of Modern Property: Reinventing Roman Law in Europe and its Peripheries, 1789-1950.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Rocher, Rosanne, 'Lord Monboddo, Sanskrit and Comparative Linguistics', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 100.1 (1980), 12-17.

Rose, Jonathan, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes.* London: Yale University Press, 2001.

Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage, 1994.

— *Out of Place.* New York: Knopf, 1999.

— *Orientalism.* London: Penguin, 2003.

Schlipphacke, Heidi, *The Aesthetics of Kinship: Form and Family in the Long Eighteenth Century.* Chicago: Bucknell University Press, 2023.

Schuler, Monic, *"Alas, Alas, Kongo": A Social History of Indentured African Immigration Into Jamaica, 1841-1865.* London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Schwarz, Henry, 'Aesthetic Imperialism: Literature and the Conquest of India', Modern Language Quarterly, 61.4 (2000), 563-86.

Sebastiani, Silvia, 'Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: The Polygenetic Discourses of Kames and Pinkerton', *Cromohs*, 8 (2003), 1-14.

— ''Race', Women and Progress in the Scottish Enlightenment', in Barbara Taylor and Sarah Knott (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 75-96.

— *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Secord, James, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.* London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Sen, Sudipta, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India.* New York: Routledge, 2002.

Sharpe, Kevin, *Reading Revolutions: the Politics of Reading in Early Modern England.* London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Shaw, Graham, *Printing in Calcutta to 1800: A Description and Checklist of Printing in Late 18th--Century Calcutta*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1981.

— 'The British Book in India', in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Vol. 5, 1695-1830.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 569-76.

Sher, Richard, 'Wilkie, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29414?rskey=SLTW4n&result=4 [accessed 09/02/2023]

— *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and the Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and North America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Skinner, Quentin, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory*, 8 (1969), 3-53.

Smith, Sidone, and Julia Watson, *A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives: Reading Autobiography*, 2nd edition. London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Smitten, Jeffrey R., 'Watson, Robert', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www-oxforddnb-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28861?rskey=oW9zzu&result=5 [accessed 9 February 2023]

— *The Life of William Robertson: Minister, Historian and Principal.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.

Soulard, Delphine, 'The Reception of Locke's Politics: Locke in the République des Lettres', in J. Champion et. al (eds), *Politics, Religion and Ideas in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Mark Goldie.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2019, 201-17.

Spadafora, David, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* London: Yale University Press, 1990.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

— '"Can the Subaltern Speak?" revised edition, from the "History" chapter of Critique of Postcolonial Reason' in Rosalind Morris (ed.), *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

St. Clair, William, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Stanley, Peter, *White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India, 1825-1875*. London: Hurst & Company, 1998.

Strugnell, Anthony, 'Diderot's Anti-Colonialism: A Problematic Notion', in James Fowler (ed.), *New Essays on Diderot.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 74-85

Suleri, Sara, *Meatless Days.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

— *The Rhetoric of English India.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Summers, James and Alex Gough, *Non-State Actors and International Obligations: Creation, Evolution and Enforcement.* Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Thomas, Nicholas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.

Thompson, Edward John, *The Making of Indian Princes.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.

Towsey, Mark R. M., *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820.* Leiden: Brill, 2010.

— *Reading History in Britain and America, c. 1750 – c. 1840.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Trakulhun, Sven, 'Europe in an Indian Mirror: Comparing Conceptions of Civil Government in Abu Taleb's *Travels* (1810)', in D. Tricoire (ed.), *Enlightened Colonialism: Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason.* Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 179-204.

Trautmann, Thomas, *Aryans and British India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Travers, Robert, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: The British in Bengal.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Tribe, Keith, 'Professors Malthus and Jones: Political Economy at the East India College, 1806-1858', *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, 2.2 (1995), 327-55.

Tricoire, Damien, 'Introduction', in Damien Tricoire (ed.), *Enlightened Colonialism: Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 1-22.

Tzoref-Ashkenazi. Chen, 'Romantic Attitudes toward Oriental Despotism', *The Journal of Modern History*, 85.2 (2013), 280-320.

Van Hulle, Inge, 'Grotius, Informal Empire and the Conclusion of Unequal Treaties', *Grotiana*, 37.1 (2016), 43-60.

Verghese, Ajay, 'Colonialism, Landlords, and Public Goods Provision in India: A Controlled Comparative Analysis', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 55.7 (2019), 1345-63.

Vickery, A., 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36.2 (1993), 383-414.

Vishwanath, L. S., 'Efforts of Colonial State to Suppress Female Infanticide: Use of Sacred Texts, Generation of Knowledge', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 33.19, 1998, 1104-1112.

Viswanathan, Gauri, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Walker, Jim, 'Alexander Walker (1764-1831)', *Wikitree*, https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Walker-2826#S261 [accessed 31 May 2022].

Walker, Linda Robinson, 'Jane Austen, the Second Anglo-Mysore Warm and Colonel Brandon's Forcible Circumcision: A Rereading of Sense and Sensibility', in *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal Online*, 34.1 (2013).

Wahrman, Dror, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Watt, James, *British Orientalisms, 1759-1835.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Webster, Alison, 'The Contribution of the Scottish Enlightenment to the Abandonment of the Institution of Slavery', *The European Legacy*, 8.4 (2003), 481-89.

Wellman, Jennifer, 'Orality and Outcasts: Joseph Conrad and the Imperial Narrator', in *Conradiana*, 45.1 (2013), 5-29.

Welsch. Christina, *The Company's Sword: The East India Company and the Politics of Militarism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Wheeler, Roxann, 'Limited Visions of Africa: Geographies of Savagery and Civility in Early Eighteenth-Century Narratives', in James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing.* London: Routledge, 1999, 14-48.

— *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture.* Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 2010.

White, Daniel E., *From Little London to Little Bengal: Religion, Print and Modernity in Early British India.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013.

Whitlock, Gillian, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography.* London: Bloomsbury, 2000.

Wilkinson, Callie, 'The East India College Debate and the Fashioning of Imperial Officials, 1806-1858', *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, 2.2 (1995), 327-55.

Williams, Abigail, *The Social Life of Books: Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

Wittman, Reinhard, 'Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds), *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. by Laura G. Cochrane. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999, 284-312.

Wokler, Robert, 'Anthropology and Conjectural History in the Enlightenment', in Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, and Robert Wokler (eds), *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1995, 31-52.

Wood, Paul B., 'The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment', *History of Science*, 28.1 (1990), 89-123.