

Notes

Introduction

1. Alexander Dow, *The History of Hindostan, from the Death of Akbar, to the Complete Settlement of the Empire under Aurungzebe. To which are prefixed, I. A Dissertation on the Origin and Nature of Despotism in Hindostan. II. An Enquiry into the State of Bengal, with a Plan for Restoring that Kingdom to its Former Prosperity and Splendour*, 3 vols (London: T. Beckett and P.A. De Hondt, 1773), vol. 1, pp. xii–xl.
2. The term is from Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992). Pratt explores the ‘strategies of representation’ European colonisers employed ‘to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony’ (p. 7).
3. Jonathan Lamb, *The Evolution of Sympathy in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009). Lamb lists four categories of sympathy that were operative during the long eighteenth century and suggests a fifth: mechanical, social, theatrical, complete and horrid. Lamb shares with this book the premise that ‘almost all contributors to this debate occupy a sceptical position’ (p. 2).
4. Among the numerous existing studies on imaginative and literary engagement with India are: Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992); Harish Trivedi, *Colonial Transactions: English Literature and India* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Bart Moore-Gilbert (ed.), *Writing India, 1757–1990: The Literature of British India* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); J.J. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western Thought* (London: Routledge, 1997); Amal Chatterjee, *Representations of India, 1740–1840: The Creation of India in the Colonial Imagination* (London: Macmillan, 1998) and Michael J. Franklin (ed.), *Romantic Representations of British India* (London: Routledge, 2006).
5. Geoffrey Carnall, ‘Thomas Campbell’, in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 9, p. 864.
6. See William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 215. See also Appendix 9, pp. 590–1.
7. Thomas Campbell, *The Pleasures of Hope; with other Poems* (Edinburgh: Mundell & Son, 1799), pp. 19, 25. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
8. See David Arnold, ‘Hunger in the Garden of Plenty: The Bengal Famine of 1770’, in Alessa Johns (ed.), *Dreadful Visitations: Confronting National Catastrophe in the Age of Enlightenment* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 81–111.
9. Published in *Asiatick Researches; or, Transactions of the Society, Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia*, 20 vols (Calcutta: Manuel Cantopher, 1788–1836), vol. 1.

10. Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orient: Fictions of the East in England, 1662–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
11. Shelley wrote to Peacock about the possibility of employment within the East India Company in a letter (now lost) of 1821; see Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 71. Southey was considered for a legal position in India by his friend Charles Watkin Williams Wynn; see W.A. Speck, *Robert Southey: Entire Man of Letters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 87–8.
12. See P.J. Marshall, 'Taming the Exotic: The British in India in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (eds), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 46–65 and Nigel Leask, "'Wandering through Eblis"; Absorption and Containment in Romantic Exoticism', in Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson (eds), *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 165–88.
13. See Julia M. Wright's commentary on the continuum of sentimentalism in *Ireland, India, and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
14. The historian J.R. Seeley commented that the British seemed to have 'conquered and peopled half the world' in a 'fit of absence of mind' in *The Expansion of England*, ed. John Gross (London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 12. See P.J. Marshall, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead – Eastern India, 1740–1812* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) and C.A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
15. See Natasha Easton, 'Between Mimesis and Alterity: Art, Gift and Diplomacy in Colonial India', in Franklin (ed.), *Romantic Representations of British India*, pp. 84–112.
16. C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780–1830* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 6.
17. Studies on British India relating to this period tend to emphasise competing political visions and disagreements about the forms colonial government should take. See most notably Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1959) and also Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (London: Routledge, 2002); and Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
18. Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India, in an Attempt to Trace the History of Mysore; from the Origin of the Hindoo Government of that State, to the Extinction of the Mohammedan Dynasty in 1799*, 3 vols (London: Longman et al., 1810–17), preface, p. 15.
19. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder, Calkin & Budd, 1829–32).
20. Sir William Jones, *Works, with the Life of the Author*, ed. Lord Teignmouth, 13 vols (London: John Stockdale, 1807), vol. 3, p. 1.
21. See Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997) and M.J. Franklin

- (ed.), *The European Discovery of India: Key Indological Sources of Romanticism*, 6 vols (London: Ganesha Publishing/ Edition Synapse, 2001).
22. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 3.
 23. See Dennis Potter, 'Orientalism and its Problems', in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen and Diana Loxley (eds), *The Politics of Theory: Conference on the Sociology of Literature: Papers* (Colchester: University of Essex, 1983) and John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
 24. See Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
 25. See Uday Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Liberal Thought* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999) and Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003).
 26. Charles Wilkins, *The Bhāgvat-Gēētā; or, Dialogues of Krēṣhṇā and Ārjōon; in eighteen lectures; with notes* (London: C. Nourse, 1785), 'Letter to Nathaniel Smith', p. 13.
 27. See Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600–1850* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002).
 28. There is an extensive secondary literature on slavery and the literary culture of this period, including Carl Plasa, *Textual Politics from Slavery to Postcolonialism: Race and Identification* (London: Macmillan, 2000); Tim Morton, *The Poetics of Spice: Romantic Consumerism and the Exotic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Brycchan Carey and Peter Kitson (eds), *Slavery and the Cultures of Abolition: Essays Marking the British Abolition Act of 1807* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007). See also James Walvin's *Slaves and Slavery: The British Colonial Encounter* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992) and *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (London: HarperCollins, 2001).
 29. S.T. Coleridge, *The Collected Works* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969–), vol. 1 (ed. Lewis Patton and Peter Mann), p. 243.
 30. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 229.
 31. P.J. Marshall, 'The Moral Swing to the East: British Humanitarianism, India and the West Indies', *Caribbean Societies II*, Collected Seminar Papers 34 (London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1985), pp. 13–20 (p. 19).
 32. Timothy Touchstone, *Tea and Sugar; or, The Nabob and the Creole; A Poem, in Two Cantos* (London: J. Ridgway, 1792), pp. 8–11.
 33. Abbé Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, trans. J.O. Justamond, 8 vols (London: A. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1788), vol. 2, pp. 187–8.
 34. William Hickey, *Memoirs*, ed. Alfred Spencer, 4 vols (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1913), vol. 3, pp. 343–4.
 35. James Beattie, *Elements of Moral Science*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: T. Cadell, 1790–93), vol. 1, p. 180.
 36. P.J. Marshall, 'A Free though Conquering People': *Britain and Asia in the Eighteenth Century* (London: King's College London, 1981), p. 19.

37. Raymond Schwab, *Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680–1880*, trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 18.
38. E.S. Shaffer, 'Kubla Khan' and The Fall of Jerusalem: *The Mythological School in Biblical Criticism and Secular Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
39. Alan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh (eds), *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture, 1780–1834* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 4–5. Amongst the works that have established the critical study of literature and empire are Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Fulford and Kitson (eds), *Romanticism and Colonialism*; and Peter Kitson, *Romantic Literature, Race, and Colonial Encounter* (New York: Palgrave, 2007).
40. Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, p. 9. Several critics have similarly emphasised the radical instability that empire created for the colonial and the colonised self more generally: see Parama Roy, *Indian Traffic: Identities in Question in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (London: California University Press, 1988); Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988); Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001); and Rajani Sudani, *Fair Exotics: Xenophobic Subjects in English Literature, 1720–1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).
41. See J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, vol. 4, *Barbarians, Savages and Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
42. Thomas Nixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
43. Horace Walpole, 'Book of Materials', 3 vols (1759–86), vol. 3, p. 41.
44. John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
45. Francis Hutcheson, *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions. With Illustrations on the Moral Sense* (London: S. Powell, 1728). For background on this area, see Christopher J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997).
46. See, for example, John B. Radner, 'The Art of Sympathy in Eighteenth-Century Moral Thought', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 9 (1979), pp. 189–210.
47. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 11.
48. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. P.H. Nidditch and L.A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 428–9. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
49. Mark Salber Phillips, 'Relocating Inwardness: Historical Distance and the Transition from Enlightenment to Romantic Historiography', *PMLA* 118.3 (2003), pp. 436–49. See also Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Understanding* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), chs 1–2.
50. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D.D. Raphael and A.L. Macfie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 9. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.

51. John Mullan observes that, for Smith, sympathy is capable of arousing feelings that are analogous to those of the sufferer but not identical; see *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 44.
52. Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 6, 8.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
54. Mary Wollstonecraft, 'Sacontalá; or, The Fatal Ring', *Analytical Review* 7 (1790), pp. 361–73 (p. 362).
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. Leask, 'Wandering through Eblis', pp. 175–6.
58. Edmund Burke, *Writing and Speeches*, ed. Paul Langford, 9 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), vol. 3, p. 427.
59. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 403.
60. See Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
61. See Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
62. See P.J. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).
63. Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 11; David Hume, *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. P.H. Nidditch and L.A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 227.
64. Alexander Chalmers, *Works of the English Poets* (1810), cited in Garland Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Literary Orientalism', in C.C. Barfoot and Theo D'haen (eds), *Oriental Prospects: Western Literature and the Lure of the East* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), p. 27.
65. Jones, *Works*, vol. 3, pp. 185–204.
66. H.E. Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta: Being Chiefly Reminiscences of the Days of Warren Hastings, Francis and Impey* (London: W. Thacker, 1908).
67. See Synda McMillan Congar (ed.), *Sensibility in Transformation: Creative Resistance to Sentiment from the Augustans to the Romantics* (London: Associated University Press, 1994).
68. E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800–1947* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), p. 7.
69. See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India 1707–1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), ch. 7, 'Government, Indians and Missions', pp. 156–85.
70. John Barrell, *The Infection of Thomas De Quincey: A Psychopathology of Imperialism* (London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 10. The term 'self-consolidating other' is from Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'The Rani of Simur', in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen and Diana Loxley (eds), *Europe and its Others: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature July 1984*, 2 vols (Colchester: University of Essex, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 128–51 (p. 133).
71. Henry Martyn, *Journals and Letters*, ed. S. Wilberforce, 2 vols (London: R.B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1837), vol. 1, p. 334.

72. Homi K. Bhabha gives an ingenious analysis of the early nineteenth-century missionary movement in these terms in his article, 'Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817', in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 102–22. See also 'Sly Civility', pp. 93–101, on the native's 'refusal to satisfy the coloniser's narrative demand' (p. 99).
73. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 39.

Chapter 1

1. The best factual account of Hastings' trial is Marshall's *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings*. There have also been a number of attempts to assess the wider cultural significance of the trial: see Geoffrey Carnall and Colin Nicholson (eds), *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings: Papers from the Bicentenary Commemoration* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989) and Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (London: Harvard University Press, 2006).
2. See James Sayers' imitation ticket *For the Trial of Warren Ha[-stings]* (BM 7276) and James Gillray's *Impeachment Ticket* (BM 7277).
3. Frances De Bruyn, 'Edmund Burke's Gothic Romance: The Portrayal of Warren Hastings in Burke's Writings and Speeches on India', *Criticism* 29.4 (1987), pp. 415–38 (p. 425).
4. David Musselwhite, 'The Trial of Warren Hastings', in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen and Diana Loxley (eds), *Literature, Politics and Theory: Conference Papers, 1976–84* (London: Methuen, 1986), pp. 77–103 (p. 99).
5. Suleri, *Rhetoric of English India*, pp. 68–74.
6. Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native*, ed. George Woodcock (London: Penguin, 1978), p. 10.
7. Burke, *Writing and Speeches*, vol. 6, p. 276. Unless otherwise specified, all quotations from Burke's speeches at the trial will be taken from this edition.
8. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire*, p. 125.
9. O'Brien's title is a line from W.B. Yeats's poem 'The Seven Sages' (1933). F.P. Lock's biography of Burke takes a similarly 'biographical' line, seeing Irish identity and suffering at the root of many of his later political projects. For example, on his mother's family: 'the plight of aristocrats or decayed gentlefolk living in reduced circumstances always exerted a powerful emotional appeal on Burke. The Nagles first impressed this idea on his mind. He served the impoverished or dispossessed nobility of India and France chiefly through his writings and speeches'; see *Edmund Burke: Volume I, 1730–1784* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 14.
10. Luke Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics and the Colonial Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
11. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, ed. Adam Philips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 41.
12. Philip Mercer, *Sympathy and Ethics: A Study of the Relationship between Sympathy and Morality with Special Reference to Hume's Treatise* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 9.

13. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 42. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
14. Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland*, ch. 2, 'Philoctetes and Colonial Ireland: The Wounded Body as National Narrative', pp. 39–79.
15. See, for example, Neal Wood, 'The Aesthetic Dimensions of Burke's Political Thought', *Journal of British Studies* 4.1 (November 1964), pp. 41–64; Tom Furniss, *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology: Language, Gender, and Political Economy in Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Stephen K. White, 'Burke on Politics, Aesthetics, and the Dangers of Modernity', *Political Theory* 21.3 (August 1993), pp. 507–27.
16. See Geoffrey Carnall, 'Burke as Modern Cicero', in Carnall and Nicholson, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings*, pp. 76–90, and H.V. Canter, 'The Impeachments of Verres and Hastings: Cicero and Burke', *Classical Journal* 9 (1914), pp. 199–211.
17. See Nicholas K. Robinson, *Edmund Burke: A Life in Caricature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
18. Isaac Kramnick first explored questions surrounding Burke's sexuality in *The Rage of Edmund Burke: Portrait of an Ambivalent Conservative* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), making use of Burke's then recently published correspondence. Claudia Johnson briefly pursues this line of enquiry in her *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender and Sentimentality in the 1790s*. Wollstonecraft, Radcliffe, Burney, Austen (London: Chicago University Press, 1996).
19. Anthony Pasquin, i.e. John Williams, *Authentic Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Esq, late Governor-General of Bengal, with Strictures on the Management of his Impeachment: to which is added, an Examination into the Causes of the Alarm in the Empire* (London: J. Bew, 1793), p. 65.
20. Olivia Smith, *The Politics of Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 38.
21. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London relative to that Event*, ed. Conor Cruise O'Brien (London: Penguin, 1969), pp. 169–70.
22. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays Contributed to the Edinburgh Review* (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1877), p. 643. Dr William Dodd was hanged for alleged forgery in 1777. His execution was controversial and Macaulay refers to it here as a legal *cause célèbre*.
23. Suleri, *Rhetoric of English India*, pp. 28–30.
24. Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland*, p. 6.
25. Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire*, p. 42, p. 21. See also Frederick G. Whelan, *Edmund Burke and India: Political Morality and Empire* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), pp. 40–2.
26. Burke, *Writing and Speeches*, vol. 6, p. 277.
27. James Raven, *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), especially ch. 11, 'Assumptive Gentry and the Threat to Stability'.
28. William Cowper, *Poetical Works* (London: William Tegg, 1858), p. 174.
29. For example, Sir Robert Raymond in Samuel Jackson Pratt's *Emma Corbett; or, The Miseries of Civil War* (1780), Admiral Harrison in Charlotte Palmer's *Female Stability; or, The History of Miss Belville*, (1780) and the eponymous Mr. Venneck in *The Indian Adventurer; or, The History of Mr. Vanneck* (1780); see Raven, *Judging New Wealth*.

30. Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, p. 535.
31. Cowper, *Poetical Works*, p. 428.
32. William Pitt, First Earl of Chatham, *Correspondence*, eds W.S. Taylor and J.H. Pringle, 4 vols (London: John Murray, 1839–40), vol. 3, p. 405.
33. See Mark Bence-Jones, *Clive of India* (London: Constable, 1974), pp. 279–90.
34. For popular representations of nabobs in the late eighteenth century, see James M. Holzman, *The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760–1785* (New York, 1926); Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, “‘Our Execrable Banditti’: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain”, *Albion* 16.3 (1984), pp. 225–41; and Michael Edwardes, *The Nabobs at Home* (London: Constable, 1991).
35. See also M.O. Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), ch. 5, ‘Levellers, Nabobs and the Manners of the Great: The Novel’s Defence of Hierarchy’.
36. See Lucy S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), pp. 329–414 and C.H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784–1834* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), Appendix I.
37. Horace Walpole, *Correspondence*, ed. W.S. Lewis, 48 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937–83), ‘To Horace Mann’, 13 July 1773, vol. 23, p. 400. Lawson and Phillips provide a counterargument to this, acknowledging that while numbers of MPs representing the East India interest rose from 12 in 1761 to 27 in 1780, nabobs never constituted a ‘unified and coherent lobby’, nor did they display any wish to subvert the political system (‘Our Execrable Banditti’, p. 228).
38. Eliza Fenwick, *Secresy; or; The Ruin on the Rock*, ed. Gina Luria (London: Garland, 1974), p. 225.
39. Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, ed. Brian Vickers (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 76.
40. Further to his ironical endorsement of Burke’s position in his novel, Mackenzie expressed wariness of Burke’s motives in prosecuting Hastings in his *Review of the Principal Proceedings of the Parliament of 1784*; see Henry Mackenzie, *Works*, 8 vols (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne, 1808), vol. 7.
41. Bence-Jones, *Clive of India*, pp. 242–3. Another prominent nabob on whom the character of Mite was possibly based was General Richard Smith (c. 1734–1803).
42. Samuel Foote, *The Nabob: A Comedy, in Three Acts* (London: Coleman, 1778), p. 59. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
43. See Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel*, pp. 138–40.
44. Foote, *The Nabob*, p. 5. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
45. Cited in Marshall’s introduction to Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 5, p. 18.
46. For Burke’s early involvement with Indian affairs, see Marshall, *Impeachment of Warren Hastings*, pp. 1–38 and Conor Cruise O’Brien, *The Great Melody: A Thematic Biography and Commented Anthology of Edmund Burke* (London: Chicago University Press, 1992), pp. 257–311.
47. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 5, p. 403.

48. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 5, p. 403.
49. Suleri, *Rhetoric of English India*, p. 30.
50. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 3, p. 389.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p. 254.
53. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 3, p. 402. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
54. O'Brien, *Great Melody*, pp. 139–44.
55. James Sayers, *Galante Show*, engraving (London: T. Cornell, 6 May 1788), BM 7313.
56. James Gillray, *Camera-Obscura*, engraving (London: S.W. Fores, 9 May 1788), BM 7314. Gillray's practice was to feign Sayers's initials (J.S.F.: 'James Sayers fecit') on his satirical responses to specific works by Sayers.
57. Suleri, *Rhetoric of English India*, p. 57. *The History of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.* (London: Debrett, Vernor & Hood, 1796) is a partisan account compiled from newspaper reports, although Suleri uses it as the basis of her reading. See also the pro-Hastings *The Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., Complete from February 1788, to June 1794; with a Preface* (London: J. Owen, 1794).
58. Fanny Burney, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay (1778–1840)*, ed. Charlotte Barrett, 6 vols (London: Macmillan, 1905), vol. 3, p. 413.
59. See David Marshall, *The Figure of Theatre: Shaftesbury, Defoe, Adam Smith, and George Eliot* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) and *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rousseau and Mary Shelley* (London: Chicago University Press, 1988).
60. Burney, *Diary and Letters*, vol. 3, p. 413.
61. Marshall, introduction to Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 6, pp. 16–17.
62. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 6, p. 346. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
63. William Davy and Joseph White (trans.), *Institutes Political and Military written originally in the Mogul Language by the Great Timur* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1783). On the relativism of Hastings' administration in Bengal, see Sen, *Distant Sovereignty*, which argues that 'in the eighteenth century, and perhaps even in the early nineteenth, the self-image of British rule in India could not be fully or comfortably unfastened from the nominal regality of the Mughals. The British did not wish to be seen as an Indian power and they did not wish to assume indiscreetly the mantle of a sovereign authority in India' (introduction, p. xiii).
64. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 6, pp. 457–8.
65. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 7, p. 459.
66. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 40.
67. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 6, p. 350.
68. Whelan produces an illuminating comparison of Burke's speeches to the late essays of Kant, notably the latter's 'Perpetual Peace' (1795); see *Edmund Burke and India*, p. 2 and 2n.
69. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 7, p. 245.
70. E.A. Bond (ed.), *Speeches of the Managers and Counsel in the Trial of Warren Hastings*, 4 vols (London: Longman and others, 1859–61), vol. 1, pp. 593–4.
71. Burke, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 6, p. 275.

72. Anon., *History of the Trial of Warren Hastings*, pp. 151–8; Pasquin, *Authentic Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, pp. 26–7.
73. Anon., *History of the Trial of Warren Hastings*, vol. 6, p. 421.
74. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 36 and Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 9.
75. See Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) and Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2003).
76. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, p. 87.
77. Elizabeth Ryves, *The Hastiniad; An Historic Poem, in Three Cantos* (London: J. Debrett, 1785), p. 7.
78. Joseph Richardson, *The Rolliad, in Two Parts: Probationary Odes for the Laureatship; and Miscellanies: with Criticism and Illustrations* (London: J. Ridgway, 1795). The title alludes to the MP for Devonshire, John Rolle, a contemporary politician and buffoon figure.
79. Ralph Broome, *Letters from Simpkin the Second to his Dear Brother in Wales; Containing a Humble Description of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. With Simon's Answer* (London: J. Bell, 1788), p. 12. A second series was published by John Stockdale in 1790.
80. James Sayers, *The Last Scene of the Managers Farce*, engraving (London: H. Humphrey, 8 May 1795), BM 8647.
81. Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire*, p. 170.
82. Sir Charles Lawson, *The Private Life of Warren Hastings, First Governor-General of India* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), p. 42.
83. Percival Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study in the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth-Century India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 147.

Chapter 2

1. Sir William Jones, *Letters*, ed. Garland Cannon, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 'To 2nd Earl Spencer', 4–30 August 1787, vol. 2, p. 749. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
2. Jones repeats the paraphrase of *The Tempest*, Act 5 Scene 1 in his letter to Edmund Burke of 17 March 1782; see Jones, *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 520.
3. Sir William Jones, *Poems, consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick Languages. To Which are Added, Two Essays, I. On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations. II. On the Arts, commonly called Imitative* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1772), p. 217.
4. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 78.
5. Studies of Jones and Orientalism that broadly follow the approach inaugurated by Said include Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient* (London: Macmillan, 1986); Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (London: Hurst, 1990); Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*; Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*; and Chatterjee, *Representations of India*. Studies that take a more critical view of this approach include Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992); MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*; and Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism* (London: Prometheus Books, 2007).

6. See Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp. 20–1 for an analysis of Jones's appropriation of Indian law
7. Jones, *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 642, p. 615. Jones's *Dialogue* was distributed by the Society for Constitutional Information and became the subject of a sedition trial when William Shipley, Dean of St Asaph and Jones's future brother-in-law, republished it as *The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer* in 1783. On the inconsistency in Jones's political views regarding India, see S.N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth-Century British Attitudes to India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); R.K. Kaul, *Studies in Sir William Jones: An Interpreter of Oriental Literature* (Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1995); and Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India 1600–1800* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 193–4.
8. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (London: Meridian, 1945), p. 266.
9. A.J. Arberry, *Asiatic Jones: The Life and Influence of Sir William Jones (1746–1794)* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1946), p. 39.
10. David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernisation 1773–1835* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 24–5.
11. Garland Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 358.
12. Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, p. 192, pp. 194–5.
13. Rosane Rocher, 'Weaving Knowledge: Sir William Jones and the Indian Pandits', in Cannon and Kevin R. Brine (eds), *Objects of Enquiry: The Life, Contributions and Influences of Sir William Jones (1746–1794)* (London: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 51–79 (p. 63).
14. Said, 'Orientalism Reconsidered', in Barker *et al.* (eds), *Europe and its Others*, vol. 1, pp. 14–27 (p. 15).
15. See also Ahmad, *In Theory* and Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000).
16. P.J. Marshall, *The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 17.
17. See M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 87–8.
18. Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Literary Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 128.
19. Sir William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (London: W. & J. Richardson, 1771), preface, p. xii.
20. On the literariness of the *Grammar*, see Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and the New Pluralism over Language and Cultures', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 28 (1998), pp. 128–43 (p. 130).
21. Jones, *Poems*, preface, p. xiii.
22. Cannon, for example, has described the volume's title as 'somewhat misleading', given its assortment of translated Oriental and Italian poetry, alongside Jones's own juvenile verse compositions (*Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, p. 48).
23. Jones, *Poems*, preface, p. vii.

24. See, for instance, his comments to Richard Wilson in 1784 'that *Jūdishteir, Arjen, Corno*, and the other warriors of the *M'hab'harat* appear greater in my eyes than Agamemnon, Ajax, and Achilles appeared, when I first read the *Iliad*' (*Letters*, vol. 2, p. 652) and his remarks in the eleventh anniversary discourse 'On the Philosophy of the Asiatics' (1794).
25. Sir William Jones, *Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, ed. Michael J. Franklin (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), p. 320. Quotations will be taken from this edition where texts are available (page numbers are given in the text).
26. Zak Sitter, 'William Jones, "Eastern" Poetry, and the Problem of Imitation', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 50.4 (Winter 2008), pp. 385–407 (p. 402).
27. William Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson and Ernest de Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 735.
28. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, p. 88.
29. Jones, *Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, p. 343. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
30. Consider, for example, Henry Homes, Lord Kames's account of the 'common sense of mankind' in his *Elements of Criticism*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Miller, Kincaid & Bell, 1762), where he states that 'every doubt with relation to this standard, occasioned by the practice of different nations and different times, may be cleared by appealing to the principles that ought to govern the taste of every individual' (vol. 2, pp. 497–8).
31. Sitter, 'William Jones', p. 403.
32. Jones, *Poems*, preface, p. i.
33. Jones, *Poems*, preface, pp. iii–v.
34. Leask, 'Wandering through Eblis', p. 172.
35. John Guillory, *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 87.
36. Jones, *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 24. See Garland Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Dr Johnson's Literary Club', *Modern Philology* 63.1 (August 1965), pp. 20–37, where Cannon notes that the young Jones was valued for 'Oriental learning rather than poetry; the latter naturally being the province of Goldsmith', (p. 22).
37. Dow's translation of Ināyat Allah appeared as *Tales, Translated from the Persian of Inatullah of Delhi*, 2 vols (London: T. Becket & P.A. De Hondt, 1768). The section corresponding to Jones's 'The Palace of Fortune' is 'The Baar Danesh; or, Garden of Knowledge', vol. 2, pp. 56–103.
38. Although Dow explains that while he has adapted the English language 'in order to bend it to the Persian idiom' he has also 'retrenched many of the redundancies of [the] author' (*Tales*, vol. 1, Preface).
39. Jones, *Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, p. 37n. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
40. This quintessential Orientalist image reappeared in Southey's *The Curse of Kehama* (London: Longman *et al.*, 1810) and Shelley's *Queen Mab* (1813). See E. Koepfel, 'Shelley's *Queen Mab* and Sir William Jones's *The Palace of Fortune*', *Englische Studien* 28 (1900), pp. 43–53. The magical Palace of Fortune itself, undoubtedly inspired the 'stately pleasure dome' of Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan':

on a rock of ice, by magick rais'd,
 High in the midst a gorgeous palace blaz'd;
 The sunbeams on the gilded portals glanc'd,

Play'd on the spires, and on the turrets danc'd;
 To four bright gates four ivory bridges led,
 With pearls illumin'd, and with roses spread.

(Jones, *Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, p. 40)

For a full range of Jones's influences on the Romantics, see Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Literary Orientalism'.

41. Dow, *Tales*, vol. 2, pp. 75–6.
42. Jones had access to the Arabic original, courtesy of a friend in Aleppo, and also Antoine Galland's French translation, *Mille et une nuits* (1704). The latter was popularised in English through the so-called 'Grub Street' edition; the sections that correspond to 'The Seven Fountains' are Nights 57–62, *Arabian Nights Entertainments: consisting of One Thousand and One Stories told by the Sultaness of the Indies ... Translated into French from the Arabian MSS, by M. Galland, of the Royal Academy; and now done into English from the last Paris edition*, 6 vols (London: J. Osborne & T. Longman, 1725), vol. 1, pp. 95–116. See Margaret Sironval, 'The Image of Sheherazade in French and English editions of the *Thousand and One Nights*', in Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio (eds), *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East and West* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), pp. 219–45.
43. See Ballaster, *Fabulous Orient*s.
44. Horace Walpole, *Correspondence*, 'To Rev. William Mason', 25 May 1772, vol. 28, p. 36.
45. Elizabeth Montagu to James Beattie, 5 September 1772, in Jones, *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 111; Chalmers, *Works of the English Poets* (1810), vol. 18, p. 440. See Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Literary Orientalism'.
46. Jenny Sharpe, 'The Violence of Light in the Land of Desire; or, How William Jones Discovered India', *Boundary 2*, 20.1 (Spring 1993), pp. 26–46 (p. 43).
47. Marshall, *British Discovery of Hinduism*, p. 33. Bishop James Ussher pinpointed the Creation date at 4004 BC in his *Annales veteris testamenti* (1650), although his findings built on medieval tradition; see Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), Patrick Wyse Jackson, *The Chronologers' Quest: The Search for the Age of the Earth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) and Alan Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
48. See Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959) and Nigel Leask, 'Mythology', in Iain McCalman (gen. ed.), *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 338–45.
49. Jones, *Letters*, 'To Viscount Althorp', 19 August 1777, vol. 1, pp. 239–40.
50. See Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones*, pp. 95–6. Rocher alerts us to the provisional nature of Jones's thoughts on linguistic affinities during the 1770s and 1780s, claiming that 'his statement on the relationship of what were to be called the Indo-European languages was later quoted out of context, and made the charter of a new discipline', i.e. comparative linguistics (Rosane Rocher, *Orientalism, Poetry and the Millennium: The Checkered Life of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed 1751–1830* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), pp. 243–4).

51. Jones, *Letters*, 'To Adam Czartoryski', 17 February 1779, vol. 1, p. 285.
52. Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language* (Hoogly: [Charles Wilkins], 1778), preface. Charles Wilkins hand-made the Bengali types for this pioneering book, which earned him the epithet 'Caxton of Bengal'. See Rocher, *Orientalism, Poetry and the Millennium*, p. 83.
53. Jones, *Letters*, 'To Adam Czartoryski', 17 February 1779, vol. 1, p. 285.
54. Jones, *Letters*, 'To Richard Johnson', 15 December 1783, vol. 2, p. 624.
55. Jones, *Letters*, 'To Charles Wilkins', 6 January 1784, vol. 2, p. 625 and 'To John Hyde', January 1784, vol. 2, p. 626.
56. Jones, *Letters*, 'To Warren Hastings', 22 January 1784, vol. 2, p. 627. The Members of the Society invited Hastings and his fellow members of the Supreme Council to become patrons of the society. Hastings declined but was continually supportive of the Society, notably in his dedicatory letter published in Wilkins's *Bhāgvāt-Gēētā*. The Society was renamed the Asiatic Society of Bengal following the establishment by Henry Colebrooke of the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1823.
57. The title page of the first volume of *Asiatick Researches* bears the date 1788. The Appendix, listing society members, was not printed until 1789. Drew gives an account of how demand for copies seemed to outstrip supply. Due to the shortage of copies much of the content of the *Asiatick Researches*, including some of Jones's essays, reached the public in the form of reprints or extracts in critical reviews (John Drew, *India and the Romantic Imagination* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 71).
58. See Sharpe, 'Violence of Light in the Land of Desire', p. 29, and Rocher, 'Weaving Knowledge', p. 63. Jones himself commented on the situation 'among *Europeans* resident in *India*', whereby 'every individual is a man of business in the civil or military state, and constantly occupied either in the affairs of government, in the administration of justice, in some department of revenue or commerce, or in the one of the liberal professions'; under these unpropitious circumstances, 'a change of toil' must perforce be considered 'a species of repose' (*Asiatick Researches* 1 (1788), introduction).
59. Inden acknowledges Jones's desire to produce a 'totalizing account of India' but considers him to have failed, the first truly 'hegemonic account' being James Mill's *History of British India* of 1817. See *Imagining India*, pp. 44–5.
60. Jones, *Works*, vol. 3, p. 319.
61. See Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*; and Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).
62. Jones, *Works*, vol. 3, p. 320. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
63. Marshall, *British Discovery of Hinduism*, p. 36. Jones's findings were taken up by, amongst others, William Robertson in his *An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (London: A. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1791) and Thomas Maurice in his *Indian Antiquities; or, Dissertations, relative to the Ancient Geographical Divisions, the Pure System of Primeval Theology, the Grand Code of Civil Laws, the Original Form of Government, the Widely-Extended Commerce, and the Various and Profound Literature, of Hindostan: compared, throughout, with the Religion, Laws, Government, and Literature, of Persia, Egypt, and Greece*, 7 vols (London: H.L. Galabin, 1800).
64. Inden, *Imagining India*, p. 42.

65. See Drew, *India and the Romantic Imagination*, p. 53. Drew takes this as evidence that, for Jones, 'an extended response to Asia was possible in terms of ideas concerning the mystical state already existent within the European tradition', i.e. Platonic philosophy (p. 67).
66. Sharada Sugirtharajah, *Imagining Hinduism: A Postcolonial Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2003), ch. 1.
67. Three volumes of this influential Indian journal were published as *The Asiatic Miscellany, consisting of Translations, Imitations, Fugitive Pieces, Original Productions, and Extracts from Curious Publications. By W. Chambers, Esq. and Sir W. Jones, Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, at Fort William in Bengal, and other literary gentlemen, now resident in India*, 2 vols (Calcutta: Daniel Stuart, 1785; Calcutta: William Makay, 1786) and 1 vol. (London: J. Wallis, 1787). A fourth appeared as *The New Asiatic Miscellany: Consisting of Original Essays, Translations, and Fugitive Pieces* (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1789).
68. Jones, *Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, p. 81. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
69. *The Enchanted Fruit* was reviewed in London in 1787 as part of the contents of the *Asiatic Miscellany*. The *Monthly Review* was typical in regarding it as a piece of artful gaiety: the critic John Parsons encouraged readers who have 'a taste for delicacy, as well as sprightliness and vivacity', to 'gather the fruit for themselves'. See 'The Asiatic Miscellany, Nos I. and II.', *Monthly Review* 76 (January–June 1787), pp. 480–4 (p. 482).
70. Jones, *Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, p. 154. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
71. Bennett Zon, 'From "Very Acute and Plausible" to "Curiously Misplaced": Sir William Jones's "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus" (1792) and its Reception in Later Music Treatises', in Franklin, *Romantic Representations of British India*, pp. 197–219 (p. 204). See also Tilar J. Mazzeo's chapter 'The Strains of Empire: Shelley and the Music of India' in the same volume, pp. 180–96.
72. Jones, *Works*, vol. 4, p. 190. Jones explains that the source for the content of the essay was the '*Rāgavibódha*, or '*The Doctrine of Musical Modes*', which he describes as 'the most valuable work, that I have seen, and perhaps the most valuable that exists, on the subject of *Indian* musick' (*Works*, vol. 4, p. 182).
73. Jones, *Works*, vol. 4, pp. 196–7, p. 206.
74. See Zon, 'From "Very Acute and Plausible"', p. 197.
75. Jones, *Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, p. 114. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
76. Drew, *India and the Romantic Imagination*.
77. Jones, *Works*, vol. 4, pp. 219–20.
78. Jones, *Works*, vol. 4, p. 220.
79. Jones, *Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, p. 106. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
80. Drew provides an account of the influence of the hymns and 'The Palace of Fortune' on the poetry of Shelley (*India and the Romantic Imagination*, pp. 266–79).
81. The play was published in Calcutta in 1789 for the benefit of insolvent debtors and subsequently in London in the following year. Both editions were anonymous, although certain clues in the preface led to the rapid association of Jones's name with the work. The two editions were *Sacontalá; or, The*

Fatal Ring; An Indian Drama by Cálidás: translated from the original Sanscrit and Prácrit (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1789) and *Sacontalá; or, The Fatal Ring; An Indian Drama by Cálidás: translated from the original Sanscrit and Prácrit* (London: J. Cooper, 1790).

82. Cited in Schwab, *Oriental Renaissance*, p. 59.
83. Jones, *Letters*, vol. 2, pp. 766–68.
84. See Richard King's *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East'* (London: Routledge, 1999), which accuses Jones and other members of the Asiatic Society in Bengal of fabricating a 'mystical' version of Hinduism based upon eighteenth-century European conceptions of neo-Platonism (pp. 89–90).
85. Rocher, 'Weaving Knowledge', p. 52.
86. Jones, *Works*, vol. 3, pp. 12–13.
87. *Asiatick Researches* 1, introduction.

Chapter 3

1. Eliza Fay, *Original Letters from India (1779–1815)*, ed. E.M. Forster (London: Hogarth Press, 1925; originally 1817), p. 20.
2. See, for example, Isobel Grundy, "'The Barbarous Character We Give Them': White Women Report on Other Races', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 22 (1992), pp. 73–86, and the entry on Fay in Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy (eds), *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1990), p. 360.
3. Anne Jessie Van Sant, *Eighteenth-century Sensibility and the Novel: The Senses in a Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 15.
4. On the changes taking place in the culture of sensibility and its association with Jacobinism, see Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986); Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*; and Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London: Routledge, 1993).
5. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p. 3.
6. Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans. Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller and Harold Samuel Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 234. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
7. Montesquieu cites the original French editions of François Bernier's *Histoire de la dernière révolution des États du Gran Mogol*, 4 vols (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1670–1) and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's *Six Voyages de J.B. Tavernier ... en Turquie, en Perse at aux Indes*, 2 vols (Paris, 1676).
8. David Hume, 'Of National Characters', in *Selected Essays*, ed. Stephen Copley and Andrew Edgar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 116. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
9. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p. 24.
10. *The World* 1.1 (15 October 1791), p. 3.
11. Paul Keen, *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s: Print Culture and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

12. Prints of the paintings by Thomas and William Daniell were compiled and published in Britain as *Oriental Scenery* (London: Longman *et al.*, 1812). The phrase comes from the 1824 poem of the same name by James Atkinson; see J.P. Losty, *Calcutta, City of Palaces: A Survey of the City in the Days of the East India Company 1690–1858* (London: The British Library, 1990), p. 8.
13. William Hodges, *Travels in India, during the years 1780–1783* (London: J. Edwards, 1793), p. 16.
14. Fay, *Original Letters from India*, p. 202.
15. Hickey, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 137.
16. Sir John Kaye, 'The English in India – Our Social Morality', *Calcutta Review* 2.1 (May–August 1844), pp. 290–336 (p. 300).
17. Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757–1800* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 61, and Thankappan Nair, *A History of the Calcutta Press: The Beginnings* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1987), p. 83.
18. See Busteded, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, pp. 182–3.
19. Busteded, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, p. 194; Kaye, 'The English in India', p. 314.
20. Nair, *History of the Calcutta Press*, pp. xiii–xv. Despite the unavailability of a daily newspaper until the arrival of the *Bengal Hircarrah* in 1795, Nair describes the arrangement whereby different newspapers were timed to appear on different days of the week, effectively providing a daily coverage (pp. 217–18).
21. Graham Shaw, *Printing in Calcutta to 1800: A Description and a Checklist of Printing in Late 18th-Century Calcutta* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1981), p. 1.
22. Jerome McGann (ed.), *The New Oxford Book of Romantic Period Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), introduction, p. xxi.
23. Christopher Anstey, *The New Bath Guide; or, Memoirs of the B----r---d Family, in a series of poetical epistles* (Cambridge: Fletcher & Hodson, 1766).
24. See the account in Shaw, *Printing in Calcutta to 1800*, pp. 48–50.
25. Emily Brittle, *The India Guide; or, Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies, in the year MDCCLXXX, in Poetical Epistle to her Mother* (Calcutta: George Gordon, 1785), p. 14.
26. Balachandra Rajan, 'Feminising the Feminine: Early Women Writers on India', in Richardson and Hofkosh, *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture*, p. 155.
27. Fay, *Original Letters from India*, p. 68, Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
28. Fay gives a brief account of Ayres up to 1780: a former saddler's apprentice turned highwayman born in London, he was spared the death sentence only on condition he was transported from Britain for life. He sailed to India and resumed his criminal activities there, narrowly escaping several convictions in the Bengal Supreme Court. He fled British Bengal for Mysore in 1773, where Hyder Ali employed him as a mercenary. 'Being a thorough paced villain, he has during these seven years taken the lead in every species of barbarity ... the least punishment inflicted by him was cutting off the noses and ears of those miserable wretches, whose hard fate subjected them to his tyranny' (p. 116).
29. As a woman's captivity narrative, Fay's account is curiously underplayed in Linda Colley's otherwise extensive study of British victimhood in the earlier colonial era, *Captives*, except for a passing reference (p. 277).

30. Grundy, 'The Barbarous Character we Give Them', pp. 76–7.
31. Hodges, *Travels in India*, print facing p. 84; see Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, pp. 37–73 and Lata Mani, *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India* (London: University of California Press, 1998).
32. James Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions* (London: Thomas & George Underwood, 1827; originally 1813), p. 552 and *The Oriental Voyager; or, Descriptive Sketches and Cursory Remarks, on a Voyage to India and China* (London: James Aspeme, 1807). See Dane Kennedy, 'The Perils of the Midday Sun: Climate Anxieties in the Colonial Tropics', in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and the Natural World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 118–40.
33. See Blain, 'Phebe Gibbes', in *Feminist Companion to Literature in English*, p. 420.
34. Cited in H.E.A. Cotton and John Macfarlane's edition of Phebe Gibbes, *Hartly House, Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1908), p. 293n.
35. See Felicity Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) and Balachandra Rajan's reading of the novel, 'Feminising the Feminine'.
36. Phebe Gibbes, *Hartly House, Calcutta* (Dublin: William Jones, 1789), p. 1.
37. Gibbes, *Hartly House, Calcutta*, p. 192.
38. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, p. 20.
39. Rajan, 'Feminising the Feminine', p. 154.
40. Franklin, 'Radically Feminising India: Phebe Gibbes' *Hartly House, Calcutta* (1789) and Sydney Owenson's *The Missionary: An Indian Tale* (1811)' in *Romantic Representations of British India*, pp. 154–79 (p. 162). See the comprehensive account of eighteenth-century interracial amatory fiction in Roxan Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2000), pp. 138–75.
41. Gibbes, *Hartly House, Calcutta*, p. 8. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
42. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, pp. 172, 182.
43. Grundy, 'The Barbarous Character We Give Them', p. 78.
44. Gibbes, *Hartly House, Calcutta*, pp. 22–4.
45. The quotation is from James Thomson, *The Seasons*, 'Summer', ll. 451–3.
46. Gibbes, *Hartly House, Calcutta*, p. 104. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
47. Grundy, 'The Barbarous Character We Give Them', p. 80. On the image of rape in colonial discourse, see Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (London: Minnesota University Press, 1993).
48. Gibbes, *Hartly House, Calcutta*, p. 292.
49. Elizabeth Hamilton, *Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah; written previous to, and during the period of his residence in England*, 2 vols. (Dublin: H. Colbert, 1797), vol. 1, preliminary dissertation, xxiv.
50. Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel*, p. 148n.
51. Susan B. Egenolf, *The Art of Political Fiction in Hamilton, Edgeworth and Owenson* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 18.
52. Hamilton, *Translation*, vol. 1, p. x. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.

53. See Clifford Siskin, 'The Year of the System', in *1798: The Year of The Lyrical Ballads*, ed. Richard Cronin (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 9–31.
54. Gary Kelly comments on the 'footnote novel' in *Women, Writing and Revolution 1790–1827* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 16. There is also an extensive secondary literature on the sometimes veiled political function of novels written by women: see Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Desire and Truth: Functions of Plot in Eighteenth-Century English Novels* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Catherine Craft-Fairchild, *Masquerade and Gender: Disguise and Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century Fictions by Women* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993); and Mary Ann Schofield, *Masking and Unmasking the Female Mind: Disguising Romances in Feminine Fiction, 1713–1799* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990).
55. Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750–1810* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 329; see also Claudia L. Johnson, *Jane Austen: Women, Politics and the Novel* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), where Johnson describes Hamilton as 'ideologically compromised' (p. 9).
56. Colley, *Captives*, p. 304.
57. Hamilton, *Translation*, vol. 1, p. 198.
58. Gary Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789–1830* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 60.
59. Anne K. Mellor, 'Romantic Orientalism Begins at Home: Elizabeth Hamilton's *Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*', *Studies in Romanticism* 44.2 (Summer 2005), pp. 151–64 (p. 156).
60. Hamilton, *Translation*, vol. 1, p. 135.
61. Hamilton's footnote reads: 'The benevolent reader will be happy to learn from the account of the Rajah ... that the race of peacocks has not been utterly exterminated by the cruel rapacity of the British governors of Bengal! If the misrepresentations of credulity had been always restrained to external objects, their confutation would have been an easy task. But who can follow the historian, who pretends to expose the secret workings of the human mind and pursues the victim of his prejudice [Clive] even to the throne of God!' (Hamilton, *Translation*, vol. 1, p. 135).
62. See, for example, the contesting viewpoints expressed in Sir Philip Francis's anonymous *Observations on Mr. Hastings' Narrative of his Transactions in Banares in the Year 1781* (London: J. Ridgway, 1786) and Hastings' rejoinder, *Memoirs relative to the State of Bengal* (London: John Murray, 1787). Francis was responding to Hastings' earlier *Present State of the East Indies. With Notes by the Editor* (London: John Stockdale, 1786).
63. Hamilton, *Translation*, vol. 1, pp. 127–8).
64. Bayly has written on how Hastings and his circle, of whom Charles and by extension Elizabeth Hamilton herself were very much a part, 'sought to present themselves as inheritors of the Indian polity as refounded by the Emperor Akbar'; see *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 52.
65. Hamilton, *Translation*, vol. 1, p. 147. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.

66. Kelly, *Women, Writing and Revolution*, p. 136; see also Mellor, 'Romantic Orientalism Begins at Home'.
67. Hamilton, *Translation*, vol. 2, p. 110. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.

Chapter 4

1. See Colin Haydon, S. Taylor, and J. Walsh (eds), *The Church of England 1689–1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and John Kent, *Wesley and the Wesleys: Religion in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
2. See Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*; Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2001); and Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire 1815–1914* (Harlow: Pearson, 2008).
3. Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 200.
4. Alexandra Warwick, 'Colonial Gothic', in Marie Mulvey-Roberts (ed.), *The Handbook to Gothic Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), pp. 261–2. See also Elizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, 'Colonial and Postcolonial Gothic: The Caribbean', in Jerrold E. Hogle (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 229–57.
5. Massimiliano Demata, 'Discovering Eastern Horrors: Beckford, Maturin and the Discourse of Travel Literature', in William Hughes and Andrew Smith (eds), *Empire and the Gothic: The Politics of Genre* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 21.
6. On the perceptions and realities of *thagi* see Mike Dash, *Thug: The True History of India's Murderous Cult* (London: Granta, 2005) and Kim A. Wagner, *Thuggee: Banditry and the British in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
7. Cited in Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, p. 74.
8. Teignmouth, *Considerations on the Practicability, Policy, and Obligation of Communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity* (London: John Hatchard, 1808), p. 57.
9. Cited in William Wilberforce, *Substance of the Speeches of William Wilberforce, Esq. on the Clause in the East-India Bill for Promoting the Religious Instruction and Moral Improvement of the Natives of the British Dominion in India, on the 22nd of June, and the 1st and 12th of July, 1813* (London: John Hatchard et al., 1813), p. 49.
10. William Ward, *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos: Including a Minute Description of their Manners and Customs, and Translations from their Principal Works*, 4 vols (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1811), vol. 1, p. 103.
11. See Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714–80* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) and Brian Young, "'The Lust of Empire and Religious Hate': Christianity, History and India, 1790–1820' in Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young (eds), *History, Religion and Culture: British Intellectual History 1750–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 91–111. For a consideration of anti-Catholicism

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12. Portions of this unpublished work appeared in Moor's *Oriental Fragments* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1834); see Moor's own account of this putative work, p. 94.
 13. Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia: With Notices of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental Languages* (Cambridge: J. Smith, 1811), p. 155.
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 16. See Porter, *Religion versus Empire?* and Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Apollos, 1990).
 17. Charles Grant, *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals; and on the means of improving it – Written chiefly in the Year 1792* (London, 1813), p. 25.
 18. Lord Teignmouth (John Shore), *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence, of Sir William Jones* (London: John Hatchard, 1804), p. 173.
 19. Teignmouth, *Memoir*, p. 232.
 20. Teignmouth, *Memoir*, p. 370.
 21. Teignmouth, *Considerations*, p. 57.
 22. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4 vols (London: White & Cochrane, 1813), vol. 4, pp. 276–349. See K.K. Dyson, *A Various Universe: A Study of the Memoirs and Journals of British Men and Women in the Indian Subcontinent, 1765–1856* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978).
 23. Forbes, *Reflections on the Character of the Hindoos: And of the Importance of Converting them to Christianity* (London: White & Cochrane, 1810), p. 28.
 24. Jones went so far as to contrast Hindu morality with Christian teaching in a letter to Spencer of 4 September 1787: 'I am no Hindu; but I hold the doctrine of the Hindus concerning a future state to be incomparably more rational, more pious, and more likely to deter men from vice, than the horrid opinions inculcated by Christians on punishments *without end*' (*Letters*, vol. 2, p. 766).
 25. Maurice, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. 4, viii.
 26. Ward, *View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos*, introduction, p. 100.
 27. See John Sarjent, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. Late Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company* (London: J. Hatchard, 1819) and the more recent John R.C. Martyn, *Henry Martyn (1781–1812): Scholar and Missionary to India and Persia* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999).
 28. Martyn, *Journals and Letters*, vol. 1, p. 156.
 29. Sarjent, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn*, p. 132. Reginald Heber, who took his passage to India in 1823, found a much greater receptivity to Christianity among the ship's company, which he ascribed to a generally improved state of morals. See his *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824–1825*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1828), 'Journal of a Voyage to India', vol. 1, xlii.

30. Martyn, *Journals and Letters*, vol. 1, p. 172. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
31. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 93.
32. Anon., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels ... from the curious and valuable LIBRARY of the late EARL OF OXFORD*, 2 vols (London: Thomas Osbourne, 1745). Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
33. Buchanan, *Christian Researches*, pp. 24–7.
34. Buchanan, *Christian Researches*, p. 27.
35. On Southey's involvement with India, see Diego Saglia, "'Words and Things': Southey's East and the Materiality of Oriental Discourse', in Linda Pratt (ed.), *Robert Southey and the Contexts of English Romanticism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 167–86 (p. 184); Pratt, 'Southey the Literary East Indiaman', in Franklin (ed.), *Romantic Representations of British India*, pp. 131–53; and Carol Bolton, *Writing the Empire: Robert Southey and Romantic Colonialism* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007).
36. Robert Southey, 'Oriental Memoirs', *Quarterly Review* 12 (October 1814–May 1815), pp. 180–227 (p. 196).
37. Southey, 'Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society', *Quarterly Review* 1 (May–June 1809), pp. 193–226 (p. 210).
38. Byron referred to the denunciation of Southey in Parliament by the MP William Smith in the preface to *The Vision of Judgement* (1821) and dubbed Southey an 'epic renegade' in the dedication to *Don Juan* (1819–24); see George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Poetical Works*, ed. Frederick Page (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 156, 635. On Southey's conservatism, see Geoffrey Carnall, *Robert Southey and his Age: The Development of a Conservative Mind* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) and David M. Craig, *Robert Southey and Romantic Apostasy: Political Argument in Britain, 1780–1840* (Woodridge: Boydell Press, 2007).
39. Southey, *Poetical Works 1793–1810*, gen. ed. Lynda Pratt, vol. 4, *The Curse of Kehama*, ed. Daniel Sanjiv Roberts (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2004), p. 112.
40. Southey, *The Curse of Kehama*, p. 113.
41. Southey, *The Book of the Church*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1824), vol. 1, p. 305.
42. Southey, *The Curse of Kehama*, p. 155.
43. Southey, *The Curse of Kehama*, p. 188.
44. Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan, *The Missionary: An Indian Tale*, 3 vols (London: J.J. Stockdale, 1811), vol. 2, pp. 7–8.
45. See Franklin, 'Radically Feminising India', pp. 166–7.
46. A possible source of information for Morgan was Henry Colebrooke's essay 'On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow', in *Asiatick Researches* 4 (1799), pp. 209–19. Colebrooke relates that 'it is held to be the duty of a widow to burn herself with her husband's corpse, but she has an alternative: "On the death of her husband to live as *Brahmachàri*, or commit herself to the flames" VISHNU' (p. 213).
47. Morgan, *The Missionary*, vol. 1, pp. 149–50. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
48. See Michael J. Franklin, "'Passion's Empire": Sydney Owenson's "Indian Venture", Phoenicianism, Orientalism and Binarism', *Studies in Romanticism* 44.2 (Summer 2006), pp. 181–97 for a consideration of this figure.

49. Maturin's anti-Catholicism complicates Demata's interpretation of *Melmoth the Wanderer* as a critique of English colonialism 'from an Irish perspective'; see Demata, 'Discovering Eastern Horrors', p. 30 and Joseph W. Lew, "Unprepared for Sudden Transformations": Identity and Politics in *Melmoth the Wanderer*, *Studies in the Novel* 26 (Summer 1994), pp. 173–95.
50. Charles Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, ed. Douglas Grant (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 273. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
51. S.T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. Nigel Leask (London: Everyman, 1997), p. 342. These comments were published in the *Courier*, 29 August and 7, 9–11 September 1816; see Charles I. Patterson, 'The Authenticity of Coleridge's Reviews of Gothic Romance', *Journal of English and German Philology* 50 (1951), pp. 512–21 and Alethea Hayter, 'Coleridge, Maturin's Bertram', in Donald Sultana (ed.), *New Approaches to Coleridge: Biographical and Critical Essays* (London: Vision, 1981), pp. 17–37.
52. Maturin, *Melmoth*, p. 5.
53. Maturin, *Melmoth*, p. 303n.

Chapter 5

1. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*.
2. James Mill, *The History of British India*, ed. Horace Hayman Wilson, 10 vols (London: James Madden, 1858; originally 1817), vol. 2, pp. 35–6.
3. Jones, *Poems*, p. 198. Wilson's 1858 edition of Mill's *History*, in its turn, endeavoured to fight a rearguard action against the Anglicist assertions in the original in the form of an ongoing critical commentary.
4. See St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, appendix 9, p. 619.
5. Mill, *History of British India*, vol. 2, p. 347.
6. Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's The History of British India and Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 195. Mill's identification of Jones with the British *ancien régime* is highly ironic considering that both men sought East India Company patronage to support themselves financially. Unlike Jones (whose appointment came from the Crown), Mill was rewarded for his Indian scholarship with the post of Assistant Examiner of Correspondence in 1819.
7. Jeremy Bentham, *The Rationale of Reward*, ed. and trans. Richard Smith (London: J. & H.L. Hunt, 1825), p. 206.
8. Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings*, pp. 184–5.
9. Cited in Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings*, p. 85.
10. Byron, *Poetical Works*, p. 627.
11. Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, trans. G. Gregory, 2 vols (London: J. Johnson, 1787), vol. 1, pp. 44–5. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
12. For discussions of the sublime in a European context, see Peter De Bolla, *The Discourse of the Sublime: Readings in History, Aesthetics and the Subject* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Frances Ferguson, *Solitude and the Sublime: Romanticism and the Aesthetics of Individuation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Samuel Holt Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIIIth-Century England* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1960); and Thomas

- Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime: Studies in the Structure and Psychology of Transcendence* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).
13. Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 3 vols (London, 1787), vol. 1, pp. 141–7.
 14. Jones, *Works*, vol. 4, p. 112.
 15. Jones, *Works*, vol. 4, pp. 211–2.
 16. Jones, *Works*, vol. 4, p. 212. See the commentary in Drew, *India and the Romantic Imagination*, pp. 44–82, and Shaffer, 'Kubla Khan', pp. 20–22, 116–23.
 17. Charles Wilkins, *A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language* (London: W. Bulmer, 1808), preface.
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 19. Charles Stuart, *Vindication of the Hindoos from the Aspersions of the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, M.A. ... By a Bengal Officer* (London: R. and J. Dodwell, 1808), p. 97.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
 21. See Nigel Leask, 'Francis Wilford and the Colonial Construction of Hindu Geography', in Amanda Gilroy (ed.), *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775–1844* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 204–22.
 22. Friedrich Von Schlegel, *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works*, trans. E.J. Millington (London: Bohn, 1849), p. 522.
 23. Schlegel, *Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works*, p. 526.
 24. Cited in Schlegel, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*, ed. Sebastiano Timpanaro (Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V., 1977), p. 29.
 25. Schlegel, *Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 445–9. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
 26. Inden, *Imagining India*, p. 67.
 27. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 31. See also Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990), for the role of Hegelian dialectics, particularly 'The Oriental World' section of Hegel's *Philosophy of History* (1830) in bringing about 'the phenomenon of Eurocentrism' (p. 2).
 28. Heinrich Heine, *Travel-Pictures: Including The Tour in the Harz, Norderney, and Book of Ideas, together with The Romantic School*, trans. Francis Storr (London: George Bell & Sons, 1887), p. 245. Despite this apparent scepticism for Hindu culture, Heine nevertheless published three sonnets inspired by *Sakuntala* in 1824.
 29. Schlegel, *Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works*, p. 499.
 30. Schlegel, *Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works*, p. 526.
 31. Schwab, *Oriental Renaissance*, p. 18.
 32. Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation*, 2 vols (London: Free Association Books, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 230–6.
 33. Cited in Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings*, p. 122.
 34. Mill, *History of British India*, vol. 1, xxiii.
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37. Mill, *History of British India*, vol. 2, pp. 35–6. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
38. Philip Connell, *Romanticism, Economics and the Question of 'Culture'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 11.
39. On the complex interrelation of colonial politics and educational curricula, particularly regarding the study of English literature, see Harish Trivedi, *Colonial Transactions*, and Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).
40. Macaulay, 'Minute on Indian Education', cited in Barbara Harlow and Mia Carter (eds), *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 58.
41. Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, p. 735.
42. Coleridge, *Lectures 1809–1819 on Literature*, ed. R.A. Foakes, 2 vols, in *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987–), vol. 2, p. 192.
43. On Coleridge's year in Germany, see Shaffer, 'Kubla Khan', pp. 20–3.
44. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, pp. 232–3.
45. Coleridge, *Collected Works*, vol. 5b, p. 191.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, p. 12.
48. Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries: English Literature and its Background 1760–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 64–8.
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50. Byron, *Letters and Journals*, ed. Leslie A. Marchand, 13 vols (London: John Murray, 1973–94), vol. 3, p. 101; Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, p. 14.
51. Southey, *The Curse of Kehama*, preface.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Fulford writes on the persistent difficulty of Indian subject matter, despite Jones's 'relative tact'; see 'Plants, Pagodas and Penises' in Pratt (ed.), *Robert Southey and the Contexts of English Romanticism*, pp. 187–201 (p. 194).
54. Anon, 'The Curse of Kehama', *Monthly Mirror* 9 (February 1811), pp. 122–35, cited in Lionel Madden (ed.), *Robert Southey: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 133.
55. Madden, *Robert Southey*, pp. 133–4.
56. *Critical Review* 22 (March 1811), cited in Madden, *Robert Southey*, p. 136.
57. John Foster, 'The Curse of Kehama', *Eclectic Review* 7.1 (January–June 1811), pp. 183–205 and 334–50 (p. 205).
58. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

59. 'The Curse of Kehama', *Quarterly Review* 5 (August 1810), pp. 40–61, 54–5, 61.
60. Thomas Moore, *Poetical Works*, 10 vols (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1841), vol. 6, preface.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Francis Jeffrey, 'Lalla Rookh', *Edinburgh Review* 21.57 (November 1817), pp. 1–35 (p. 1).
63. Moore, *Poetical Works*, vol. 6, preface.
64. Byron, *Poetical Works*, p. 277.
65. Mohammed Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994), p. 172.
66. Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, p. 113. Majeed notes that Moore, despite his nationalism, urged Irish Catholics to participate in the British constitution in his *Letter to the Roman Catholics of Dublin* (1810); see *Ungoverned Imaginings*, pp. 90–1.
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68. Jeffrey Vail, 'Thomas Moore in Ireland and America: The Growth of a Poet's Mind', *Romanticism* 10. 1 (2004), pp. 41–61 (p. 52).
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74. Moore, *Poetical Works*, vol. 6, pp. 146–8. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
75. Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism*, p. 212.
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77. Jeffrey, 'Lalla Rookh', p. 2. Page numbers for subsequent citations are given in the text.
78. The reference is to Terence's aphorism, '*Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto*' ('I am a man: nothing that is human is foreign to me').

Epilogue

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3. Onora O'Neill, 'Transnational Justice', in David Held (ed.), *Political Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).
4. Martha Nussbaum, *Poetic Justice: The Literary Imagination and Public Life* (London: Beacon, 1997).

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Index

- Akbar, (Mughal Emperor), 110
Alam II, Shah (Mughal Emperor), 7
Ali, Hyder, 98, 99
Anstey, Christopher, 96
Arabian Nights Entertainments, 24, 66–67, 152–153
Asiatic(k) Researches (1788–1833), 9, 70, 72, 86, 95
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 9, 22, 56, 70, 85, 119, 146
Aurangzeb (Mughal Emperor), 157
Austen, Jane, 87, 125
- Barry, James, 30–31
Beattie, James, 13
Beckford, William, 118, 161
Bentham, Jeremy, 141–142, 150
Bernier, François, 91, 126
Blair, Hugh, 144
Bombay, 8, 13
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 13, 139
'Brittle, Emily', 96–97
Brontë, Charlotte, 118
Broome, Ralph, 52
Bruton, William, 126
Bryant, Jacob, 68–69, 128
Buchanan, Claudius, 23, 120–121, 125–128, 130, 137, 145
Burke, Edmund, 25, 68, 117, 165–167
 British India, speeches on, 20–21, 32, 33, 38–43, 63
 Hastings, Warren, trial of, 43–51, 54
 life, 32–33
 Philosophical Enquiry (1757), 20, 27, 29–30, 49, 54
 Reflections, 31–32, 113
 rhetoric, 27, 31, 32, 41, 43
 satire against, 31, 43, 50, 51–54, 113
Burke, William, 28
Burney, Charles, 77
Burney, Fanny, 27, 45–46
Busteed, H.E., 23, 96
- Byron, George Gordon (Lord), 24, 141, 142–143, 153–154, 156–157, 159, 161, 163–164
- Calcutta, 9, 12, 15, 22–23, 52, 56, 70, 75, 89, 92–97, 98, 101–103, 107, 110–11, 120, 124, 136
'Black Hole' of, 10
Campbell, Thomas
 Pleasures of Hope (1799), 3–6, 7
Catholicism, 117, 120–121, 128–129, 130, 133–136, 138–139, 148
Chalmers, Alexander, 22, 67
Christianity, 67–68, 72, 89, 106, 108, 110, 114–6, 117, 119, 121–124, 126, 128, 132–133, 136, 146, 162
 see also Catholicism
 see also evangelicalism
Clapham Sect, 11, 21, 23–24, 119, 121, 124
climate, 15, 22–23, 61–62, 86, 87–93, 97–101, 104–6, 110, 112, 116
Clive, Robert, 12, 35, 36, 109, 155
Colebrooke, Henry, 121
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 7, 10, 13, 138, 142, 147, 151–153, 155
Cornwallis, Lord, 8, 13, 55
Cowper, William, 34
Czartoryski, Adam, 69
- Daniell, Thomas and William Daniell, 93
Daula, Siraj-ud, 93
despotism, 1, 4, 6, 8, 38, 46–47, 58, 61, 91, 109, 130, 167
Diderot, Denis, 12
Dow, Alexander, 1, 65, 157
- East India Company, 1, 6–7, 15, 20–21, 24, 26, 28, 38, 41, 60, 88, 101, 108, 111, 124
 Charter of 1813, 21, 119

East India Company – *continued*

- criticism of, 5, 11, 20–21, 29, 34, 39, 126
- diwani* (1765), granted over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 7
- evangelicalism, 8, 11, 21, 23–25, 107, 115–116, 117–126, 131, 134, 139, 140, 145–146, 154, 165–166
- exoticism, 3, 6–7, 14, 19, 24, 35, 42, 139, 142, 149, 153–154, 156, 166–167

Famine, Bengal (1769–70), 1, 12–13, 75–76

Fay, Eliza, 23
Original Letters (1779–1815), 87, 97–101

Fazl, Abu'l, 110
Fenwick, Eliza, 36

Foote, Samuel
Nabob, the (1772), 37–38

Forbes, James, 121–123, 128

Forster, E.M., 87

Foster, John, 155

Francis, Sir Philip, 28, 52

French Revolution, 3, 26, 89
see also Jacobinism

Gibbes, Phebe, 23, 101
Hartly House, Calcutta (1789), 101–5

Gibbon, Edward, 14, 35–36, 57, 149

Gilchrist, John, 124

Gillray, James, 43, 46, 89

Gladwin, Francis, 70, 73, 96

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 83

Goldsmith, Oliver, 65, 109
gothic mode, 23–24, 27, 50, 112, 117–119, 124–125, 133–135, 138–139, 140, 151, 166

Grant, Charles, 11, 121

Gray, Thomas, 65

Halhed, Nathaniel Brassey, 9, 69

Hamilton, Charles, 9, 89, 105, 107

Hamilton, Elizabeth, 105, 108, 117
Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah (1789), 6, 31, 89, 105–116, 117, 141

Hardy, Thomas, 28

Hastings, Warren

- accusations against, 28, 46–47, 47–48, 50
- Governor-General of India, as, 8, 54, 93, 95, 96, 106, 109, 113
- patronage, 10, 55
- trial of, 1, 21–22, 26, 43–46, 52, 54, 165
- heathenism, 21, 24, 79, 119, 122, 124–125, 129, 135, 137, 166, 168

Heine, Heinrich, 148

Hickey, William, 11–12, 93

Hicky, James, 95–96

Hinduism, 6, 21, 70–75, 76–77, 79, 80, 82, 85, 103, 106, 110–111, 116, 117–120, 121–126, 128–130, 132–135, 138–139, 141, 145, 147–148, 151, 154

Hodges, William, 93, 99

Hume, David, 3, 16–17, 89, 113, 165, 167

Hutcheson, Francis, 15, 167

India

- conversion to Christianity, 119–121, 129, 131, 135, 162
- cultural difference, 10, 15, 19–20, 39, 41–42, 72, 100, 115, 132, 148, 154, 165
- distance from Britain, 2, 14–15, 20, 25–26, 39, 41–43, 48, 119
- moral condition of, 11, 23–24, 93–95, 113, 118–121, 139–140, 146, 151, 154
- proximity to, 56–57, 70
- political reform, 8
- see also* climate
- westernised representations of, 10, 25, 64, 74, 85, 142, 156, 165
- Islam, 47, 61, 63, 67, 106, 110, 136, 158, 161

Jacobinism, 23, 89, 107, 138, 158–159

Jeffrey, Francis, 156, 158, 162–164

Johnson, James, 100–101

Johnson, Richard, 70

Johnson, Samuel, 6, 65, 115

Jones, Anna Maria, 68

- Jones, Sir William, 9, 22, 55, 56–86,
117, 121–122, 128, 140, 144–145,
146, 148, 151, 153, 165, 168
'Hindu Hymns', 22, 70, 75–82
Poems (1772), 60–67
Sacotalá (1789), 10, 19, 57, 82–85
theory of monoculturalism, 70–72,
78, 86
- Juggernaut, 23–24, 119, 124, 126–128,
130, 135–139
- Kalidasa, 10, 57, 82, 112
- Kames, Henry Home (Lord), 14, 63
- Kaye, Sir John, 93, 95, 96
- Lewis, Matthew, 138
- Lowth, Bishop Robert, 63, 143–145
- Lyttelton, George (Lord), 109
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 32, 35,
151
- Mackenzie, Henry, 36–37
- Madras, 8, 100
- Marana, Giovanni Paulo, 109
- Marshman, Joshua, 120, 121
- Martyn, Henry, 24, 124–126, 129
- Maturin, Charles, 135, 168
Melmoth the Wanderer (1820),
135–139
- Maurice, Thomas, 123–124, 136–137,
146
- Mill, James, 6, 140–141, 142, 155
History of British India (1817), 24,
140, 142, 149–151
- Mill, John Stuart, 6, 149
- Milton, John, 81, 126, 128, 129, 161
- missionaries, 9, 21, 23, 24, 96,
117–121, 124, 128, 131,
133–134, 168
- Montagu, Elizabeth, 67
- Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat,
Baron de, 88–91, 92, 98, 100, 109,
113, 115
- Moor, Edward, 120
- Moore, Thomas, 140, 142–143, 153,
157–158, 164, 165
Lalla Rookh (1817), 24, 140, 142,
155–164
- Mysore, 8, 99
- Nandakumar, Raja, 28
- nabobs, 7, 8, 11–12, 21, 23, 26,
34–36, 39, 52, 54, 88, 89, 102,
113, 115, 165
see also Foote, *The Nabob*
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 58
- Orientalism, 3–7, 9, 12, 19, 22, 25,
55, 56, 58–59, 68, 70, 75, 88,
105–108, 110–111, 121, 140,
142–143, 149, 153, 165
- Romantic Orientalism, 13–14, 142,
148–149, 167
see also Said, Edward
- Owenson, Sydney (Lady Morgan),
131, 136, 160
Missionary, The (1811), 131–134
- 'Pasquin, Anthony', a.k.a John
Williams, 31, 50
- Peacock, Thomas Love, 6
- Pitt, 'diamond', Thomas, 35
- Pitt 'the elder', William, 35
- Pitt 'the younger', William, 36
- Radcliffe, Anne, 125, 138
- Raynal, Abbé Guillaume Thomas
François, 12
- Richardson, Joseph, 52
- Ryves, Elizabeth, 52
- Said, Edward, 9, 57–58, 59, 74, 85,
126, 164
sati, 23, 99–100, 103–4, 108, 118,
120–121, 123, 134, 139
- Sayers, James, 43, 52–53
- Schlegel, Friedrich von, 147–148, 149
- Schwab, Raymond, 13, 58, 148
- Scott, Walter, 142
- sensibility, 2, 3, 13, 20, 22–23, 43, 46,
86–90, 96–98, 101, 104, 106, 109,
112–16, 149, 166, 176
- Serampore (Baptists), 76, 120, 124
- Shakespeare, William, 66, 112
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe (Lord), 7
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 27, 44, 50
- Shikuh, Soleiman, 133
- Sikhism, 118
- Simeon, Charles, 124

- slavery, 4, 10–11, 13, 91, 106, 108, 167
- Smith, Adam, 30–31, 39, 51, 163, 165, 167
Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759), 17–18
- Southey, Robert, 7, 9, 109, 128–131, 137, 139, 140, 154, 159, 163–164
Curse of Kehama, The (1810), 24, 109, 129–131, 140, 142–143, 154–156, 163
- Spencer, Earl (formerly Viscount Althorp), 56, 69, 83, 144
- Stuart, Charles ‘Hindu’, 146
- Sultan, Tipu, 136
- sympathy
 barriers to, 14, 15, 16–18, 42–43, 48, 51, 70, 92
 British subjects, for, 10, 106, 108
 colonial subjects, for, 9, 12–13, 23, 29, 34, 51, 54, 75–76, 79, 106–107, 111, 121
 evolution of, 2–3, 7, 14–16, 142
 interiority of, 62–63, 64, 84, 99
 literary criticism, in, 142, 153–155
 music and, 76–78, 83
 religion and, 115–116, 132–134, 139, 165
 Scottish Enlightenment, and, 2, 10, 14–15, 167
 slavery, for victims of, 10
 sympathetic revenge, 49–50
 threat to selfhood, 19
 ‘total’ sympathy, 80–82, 85
 sublime, the, 14, 22, 29–34, 48–51, 61, 67, 75, 80, 82, 85, 118, 123, 144–145
- Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, 91
- Teignmouth, Lord (John Shore), 23, 56, 119, 121, 122
- thagi*, 118
- Thomson, James, 104
- Tickell, Richard, 52
- Tod, James, 8
- ‘Touchstone, Timothy’, 11–12
- Utilitarianism, 141–142
- Vellore mutiny, 119
- Volney, Constantin François de Chassebœuf, comte de, 68
- Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), 61, 68, 157
- Walpole, Horace, 14–15, 36, 67, 109
- Ward, William, 120, 145
- Wedgwood, Josiah, 10
- Wilberforce, William, 11, 23, 119
- Wilford, Francis, 146, 151
- Wilkins, Charles, 10, 70, 118, 121, 125, 145
- Wilks, Mark, 8, 156, 158
- Wollstonecraft, Mary, 19–20, 100
- Wordsworth, William, 63, 81, 151–152, 155