The Ethical Fellowship Series, vol. I.

BRITISH INDIA

AND

ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITIES

BY

J. CLARKE, M.A.

LONDON

SWAN SONNENSCHEIN & CO., LIM.

PATERNOSTER SQUARE

PRINTED BY
COWAN & CO LTD
PERTH

PREFATORY NOTE

BELIEVING that morality is absolutely essential in Political life, the Ethical Fellowship propose, amongst other efforts, to prepare a small series of little volumes upon political problems. The first deals very briefly with India.

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, that do ye even unto them."

BRITISH INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST TRADING.—The discovery of the New World whetted the curiosity and stimulated the adventurous spirits of Europe. Many eyes turned Eastward. Long ere the British embarked in Eastern enterprise, the Indies had been a source of wonder to the West. Arabian and Venetian merchants had opened up an overland trade. Gums, spices, and curiosities had been brought to European markets, and European merchants turned their eyes to these far distant Eastern lands.

A NEW ROUTE.—But a new route was opened by the end of the fifteenth century. Under Vasco de Gama the Portuguese rounded Africa and reached India by sea. It was the beginning of a new page of history. Asia and Europe were to be brought together, and whether in the din of battle or the rivalry of the mart, Europe was to be triumphant.

THE GIFT OF THE POPE.—Nor did the Portuguese enter into their labours of trade and of conquest without high hope. Rich as she was in the persons of her enterprising sons, Portugal felt richer by reason of her Faith. The lands of the earth belonged to God. From His Vice-regent on earth, the lands of the East had been duly received. As a mark of esteem, and as a recognition of devotion, the Pope had given the Indies to the Crown of Portugal. And so, as the sixteenth

seemed as though the Eastern world might have to bow before the authority of the adventurers.

THE LOSS OF THE EMPIRE.—Two things were ever in evidence. The Portuguese were full of greed, and they were also filled with zeal to impress the Catholic faith upon the conquered. Added to these, the conquerors generally showed a fierce cruelty. These things were their own undoing. A secret league of the Indian peoples was formed. The Portuguese possessions were attacked from various points. At this time the Dutch appeared upon the scene. Religious hatred, as well as trade prospects, gave zest to the conflict. The triumph of Holland in the West was repeated in the East, and rapidly as the Portuguese Eastern Empire had been built, so rapidly was it overturned. In little more than a century, Portugal had won and lost her Indian Empire.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.—By the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch had firmly established themselves. Alliances with Eastern potentates were formed. Factories were established in the Moluccas, and a Dutch East India Company was created. Here was the forerunner of other national companies. The work to which the new Company set itself was one of money-making, and with this aim in view the Dutch began their enterprise with studied moderation. In native eyes they appeared to great advantage when compared with the Portuguese. And so they speedily found themselves in possession of Empire, and on the road to wealth. But the greed of Empire did the same with the Dutch as it has always done with other peoples. It brought out their worst qualities.

THE ENGLISH APPEAR.—As the seventeenth century opened, the English appeared upon the scene. They developed a trade with the Spice Islands in the Malay Archipelago—a trade that was one of profit. Five factories had also been established by them in the island of Amboyna; they, too, flourished. This success

- Dutch. They trumped up a charge

nd after gross cruelties put

thrown off after they had established themselves. It seemed as though the lands existed but for Dutch profit: the natives but as sport for Dutch cruelty. Secret prisons were established in the Celebes. People were ruthlessly captured and sent off as slaves to the slave ships. Entire populations of villages were thus stolen. In the whole of Java scarce a family could be found that had not to mourn the loss of some member thus betrayed into slavery. In 1750, Banyauwngi had a population of 180,000 souls. By 1811, the number had dwindled down to 8,000. Such were the results of the cruel policy.

NEW COMERS.—A little later than the Dutch, the French founded their first East India Company. One after another, six Companies were formed in France. It was only, however, by the middle of the eighteenth century that France had any possession of note.

FIRST BRITISH ENDEAVOURS.—By the end of the fifteenth century, British adventurers had tried to gain a footing in India. In 1578, a Venetian vessel, laden with Indian ware, was wrecked off the Isle of Wight. This event gave a great fillip to the adventurous feeling, and a desire to open up trade with India was widely spread. Some few English merchants got as far as the Court of the Great Mogul, but nothing definite occurred before the days of Queen Elizabeth.

FIRST ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.—The English merchants received from Queen Elizabeth, in 1589, permission to trade with India, and in 1600 the East India Company was incorporated by Royal Charter. At first it was a quite small thing. India was as a fabled land, and Asiatic potentates were regarded with respect. For a time the Company was content to trade with the islands lying off the Indian coast; but politics were unkind. In 1610, an English fleet lying off Swally was attacked by the Portuguese. The Britons were victorious. The Portuguese, in bad odour with the natives, did the English a good turn. The news travelled to Delhi, and the Great Mogul, rejoicing in the defeat of Portugal, gave the victors leave to

and Goga. For this privilege the B[illegible] were to pay 3½ per cent. export duty on all their shipments.

THE MOGUL RECEIVES AN ENVOY.—Four years later, at the same place, between the same combatants, and with the same result, another battle was fought. The political results were far-reaching. An envoy from James I. was accepted by the Great Mogul, and the two Courts came into contact.

SIR THOMAS ROE.—The English representative was Sir Thomas Roe. It is exceedingly interesting, at the present time, to see what his attitude was, and what his views were. Lessons had already been learned from the Portuguese and their lost opportunities. In the judgment of Sir Thomas, there was only one reason for opening up communications with the East—that reason was TRADE. Trade would open up enormous advantages to both parties. On the other hand, Imperialism was full of danger. Acquiring territory was unwise; ports were not necessary.

To make business successful, economy was needed. Indeed, he went so far as to recommend that his own office be abolished. Two native agents were well-nigh enough to do the work: one residing at Delhi and watching over British interests, for which he would receive £100 per year; the other residing at the British port, and receiving £50 per year. And he thought one factory would suffice.

War he strongly opposed. "Land wars" and "garrisons" consumed all gain. The Portuguese "had been beggared by the keeping of soldiers." "War and traffic are incompatible." "At my first arrival I understood a fort was very necessary, but experience teaches one; we are refused it, to our own advantage. If the Emperor would offer me ten, I would not accept one." But in the days of Sir Thomas Roe, the Mogul Emperor was a greater monarch than an English king.[1]

[1] "When other nations represent us at this day as having crept in upon that new region, in a humble aspect and with low pretensions, we may well ask what else we could do! We were few and humble, and limited in our objects.

JEHANGIR.—The monarch seated on the Mogul throne at this time was Jehangir, the son of Akbar. Akbar, who was one of the greatest of Indian monarchs, at his accession found India divided into a vast number of kingdoms. The divisions came about by differences of Race and Religion; but the time had come for these differences to be temporarily healed. Alike by wise diplomacy and by valour, the Empire was extended, and the frontiers embraced the Mohammedan kingdoms of Northern India. The ambition of Jehangir was to complete the work begun by his father: to extend his dominions until, in the South, they should embrace Southern India, and in the North they should include Afghanistan. His aspirations were not realised. The peoples were not cemented together by sympathy. The states conquered by his father grew restless, and aspired to win back their independence. These difficulties kept him from dealing with the Portuguese as he probably would have done; but they were a nuisance to him, and he was glad when the British entered the lists against them. And so it came about that the British obtained permission to trade anywhere in his dominions.

MANY COMPANIES.—It was natural that the different European countries should enter the Indian market. Portugal, Holland, Denmark, and France, besides ourselves, had entered into the running. But British interests grew complex. A rival British Company, in which the King was interested, had been started. Then Sir Thomas Roe's ideas gradually waned, and fortifications were built. These difficulties, and some dishonourable dealings on the part of the King, nearly brought the concern to the ground. In 1630, the two Companies were united. But interlopers kept leaving England to do business on their own account, and war was constantly waged upon these intruders. These matters brought about serious debates in the House of Commons, and in 1662 new powers were granted to the Company.

and not a little dazzled and amazed at the spectacle of society, organised on a scale wholly new to European imagination."—*H. Martineau.*

Henceforth they were allowed to make war on non-Christian states, and to send home any unlicensed trader. Two years after this they had given them the powers of Admiralty.

A NEW POWER.—These privileges made the Company a political power. They might declare War on native states; and from this time the history of the Company is unclean. The malpractices that have so cursed India commenced. The Company was, first of all, anxious to make money. Distance from home, and difficulty of communication, gave dishonourable servants full opportunity to carry out dishonourable actions. Many traded on their own account; for this Sir Edward Winter was suspended. He was able, however, to defy the Company for two years, and to imprison the gentleman who was sent to supersede him. Bombay now fell into the hands of the Company. It was ceded to England by Portugal, and was handed on to the Company "to be held in common socage, as of the Manor of East Greenwich, on payment of £10 per year, in gold, every 30th September." By 1685, Bengal had become a separate agency. Trade had developed, and wealth had grown.

DANGERS.—But, as often happens, wealth brought difficulty. Sir Josiah Child believed more territory was needed, and in true English fashion, thought to take what he needed. Native resentment was at that time sufficiently strong to make itself felt. The Nawab of Bengal seized the factory at Patna, and the English fled, and took up quarters near Calcutta. With difficulty the factories were re-started in the following year. The entire divorce of morals and business in the case of Sir Josiah Child is seen in his dealings with Mr. Vaux. This gentleman, in 1686, entered the Company's service as manager. He was anxious to carry out the laws of his country. He received a rebuke which was the expression of a pirate. "Sir Josiah told Mr. Vaux roundly that he expected his orders were to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were a heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own private families, much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce." In 1690, the

village of Calcutta, so called from the goddess Kalee, was purchased. But the Mogul, Aurungzebe, had grown angry with the English, who were seen in a somewhat different light from that in which they first appeared. So keen was his resentment, that he had determined to expel them from his dominions. Surat was taken, the English agents imprisoned, Bombay besieged, and Masulipatam and Vizagapatam seized. The English tendered an apology, and paid a fine of £15,000, whereupon the Emperor withdrew from Bombay, and gave orders that Surat should be restored.

DIFFICULTIES AT HOME.—Nor was the Company in good repute at home. A new charter had been obtained by bribery. It was forfeited by neglect in three months. Then merchants and manufacturers petitioned against the Company. An inquiry was set on foot, and it was found that the Company had devoted in one year £100,000 to bribery. But the House of Commons stifled inquiry. The recipients of bribes were amongst the highest classes, and the King himself was seen to have accepted a large sum. In 1702, a new amalgamation was formed. The union of rival Companies came none too soon. Scheming scoundrels of both parties were playing their own cards. The differing interests were selling each other, or the Mogul or anybody else that could be sold. Nor was this all. The members of one Company tried to get the representatives of the other Company imprisoned. Sir N. Waite, of one of the Companies, bribed with £2,700 some of the Mussulmen to lodge his opponents in prison. This kind of thing was being done by both parties.

AURUNGZEBE DIES.—But fate was resting a heavy hand on India. Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, died. A stern Mohammedan, he had put a poll tax on non-Mohammedans; hence the Mahrattas, devoted Hindoos, had, under Seevajee, risen in successful revolt. The Sikhs, hardy inhabitants of the Punjab, had commenced a movement, which later on gained them independence. In the North, the Rajput States had united and waged bitter war. And now Aurungzebe was gathered to his

fathers, leaving a disunited and sadly diminished Empire. To add to the bitterness, the inheritance of his children was stolen by his generals. So political power passed to the hands of the soldiery. Then the Sikhs revolted, only to be suppressed with merciless cruelty—a cruelty that was never forgiven. Stories were handed down from father to son of Mogul atrocity. For 150 years the hatred lasted, and then the opportunity came to pay off old scores. The Sikhs joined hands with the British, and fought the Mogul descendants at the siege of Delhi.

Divisions of the Empire.—More insidious were the foes within the gate. The Viceroy of Oude took the province committed to his care, and established a dynasty. The Vizier of the Deccan did the same. By his instigation, Persians and Mahrattas invaded the Empire. So provinces were captured and tributes exacted. Six times was the unhappy Empire invaded by the Afghans. Cabul was established as an independent province, and the Punjab was ceded away.

Russell's Letter.—But the most to be dreaded of enemies was unwatched. Who could have seen the shadow of the sword in the pen of this remarkable appeal? And yet the writer was Governor of Bengal. "The supplication of John Russell, who is as the minutest grain of sand, and whose forehead is the tip of his footstool, who is absolute monarch and prop of the universe; whose throne may be compared to that of Solomon, and whose renown is equal to that of Cyrus. . . . The Englishmen having traded hitherto in Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, custom free (except in Surat), are your Majesty's most obedient slaves, always intent upon your commands. We have readily observed your most sacred orders, and have found favour. We have, as becomes servants, a diligent regard to your part of the sea. . . . We crave to have your Majesty's permission in the above-mentioned places as before, and to follow our business without molestation.—Calcutta, September 15, 1712."

Large Gains.—In the meantime, and largely by the diplomacy of abasement, the Company throve. Twice did a surgeon's skill win favour from the Princes. Twice did the Company gain

thereby. In one case, a Zemindarship, or revenue farm, of 37 towns, was but a part of the price for a clever doctor's service. And yet there were dangers. The Home Government wanted money. Some at home, anxious to get the concern into their hands for a price, offered a bribe to the Government. The Company staved off the difficulty by offering a larger bribe. They advanced £200,000, and so secured an extension of the charter to the year 1766.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS.—The breaking up of the central power brought the various kinglets into new alliances, and Europeans were not slow to reap advantage. The Companies, becoming political powers, began to organise soldieries. The first to recruit Sepoy regiments were the French. They saw the great possibilities which might ensue from the possession of well-drilled natives, and they also saw that with the divisions in Indian life, such troops would be not only obtainable, but reliable.

CHAPTER II

LABOURDONNAIS.—At this time the fortunes of the French in the East were directed by two remarkable men, Dupleix and Labourdonnais. The latter had been Governor of the Mauritius, then known as the Isle of France, and from thence he had imported well-trained negroes into India. These men had been of singular service, and the quick-witted Frenchmen were not slow to take in the value of the dark-skinned troops. The war which broke out over the Austrian succession between France and England brought about fighting in India. The French were willing to establish neutrality in the East, but the idea was rejected by the British. For a time everything seemed to favour the French. Labourdonnais took Madras, and granted easy terms to his English foes, but Dupleix denied the right of his colleague to make such terms, and broke the Capitulation. A still more important event was the defeat of the Nawab of the Carnatic by Labourdonnais. It was the first victory that had for a hundred years been gained by Europeans. An impulse was now given to French ambition—a lustre was shed on French arms, and native princes sought alliance with such distinguished soldiers.

THE THEFT OF DEVEE COTTA.—The fortunes of France were not long to remain in the ascendant. Sahujee had been deposed from the throne of Tanjore by his illegitimate brother—Pretaup Sing. Sahujee besought the aid of the British, and offered as a price for restoration the fort of Devee Cotta. But the British had already acknowledged the other claimant, and had sought his aid against the French. British good faith was nothing. As it seemed to their advantage, the Company's agents at once turned round upon their own arrangements—allied themselves to Sahujee; and to make quite sure of their pay, sent a force to secure Devee

Cotta. Clive, who wanted to secure the fort, was beaten; but under Lawrence a successful attack was made. By this time the British felt they "had put their money on the wrong horse." Pretaup Sing was found to be the stronger prince, and peace was made with him. To put a final touch of honour upon the proceedings, Devee Cotta was kept, and Sahujee was held as a prisoner. Altogether, it was a blackguardly business, but it was a fair indication of what English action in India would be.

DUPLEIX.—While this was going on, a more important dispute was taking place The Nizam of the Deccan died. One of his prerogatives was to name the Nawab who should rule over the Carnatic. Two sets of claimants now appeared, and inasmuch as the French approved of the one set, the claims of the other two were promptly recognised by the British. In the engagements that followed, the French triumphed, and the princes whose cause the British were championing fled to Trichinopoly. Hereupon the Nizam, who was upheld by France, proclaimed Dupleix as Governor of the Mogul's dominions. In his own honour, Dupleix built himself a city, and in its centre, to commemorate his achievements, he erected a column. It seemed as though British influence must die. Trichinopoly was besieged by the French, and was in dire straits. A column made up of native and of British troops was sent to relieve the place. The Sepoys stood, the British bolted. Anything more hopeless could hardly be imagined.

ADVENT OF CLIVE.—The turn in the tide came with the actions of Clive. Scoundrel he proved himself to be, but he was a soldier. He persuaded his superiors to let him create a diversion by making an attack upon Arcot. With a force made up of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, he advanced. Through some mysterious reason, a terror seized the garrison. Fort and town were precipitately abandoned, and Clive entered in triumph. It was for him now to be besieged, for the enemy, superior in numbers, at once prepared an attack. But Clive understood his Sepoys, and in every way made himself their hero. He studied their feelings, their prejudices, and their religion. And in this moment of danger his consideration paid him well. The question of caste, which divided the natives off

from the British, entered into the cooking of food. By religious belief the Hindoo could not eat of rice cooked by Europeans. The Sepoys suggested that they should cook the rice, and in return for this favour, they would live on the rice water, while the Europeans should have the rice itself. Clive agreed. And now fortune turned. The soldierly qualities of Clive were brought into full prominence. The besiegers were beaten back with loss, and the English, it was seen, could fight after all. Thereupon a Mahratta chief joined the young Englishman. The siege was raised—the besiegers were pursued, and the Sepoys, who had fought with the French in large numbers, changed their service, and joined the English. The Rajahs of Mysore and Tanjore soon sent contingents, and a fighting force of strength was at the command of the British chief. From now the British gained the upper hand. In the end the French army capitulated—the monument built by Dupleix was destroyed, his city was razed, and the English nominee was proclaimed Nawab of the Carnatic. French influence, however, remained supreme at the Nizam's Court.

CLIVE GOES HOME AND RETURNS.—Clive, largely through his energy, failed in health, and returned home. He was by no means a poor man, but in two years he wasted his savings, and had been unseated in the House of Commons for bribery. He had therefore to return to India. This he did with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy-Governor of Port St. George. He soon found payable work. A pirate named Angria was attacked by the Mahrattas and by Clive. Angria's stronghold, Gheriah, as well as large booty, was taken. By arrangements the Mahrattas were to have retained Gheriah. It was kept by the British.

TREACHERY.—Soon after Clive's return, a difficulty arose between the allies, the Rajah of Mysore and Mohammed Ali, the ruler of the Carnatic. Mohammed Ali had promised to cede Trichinopoly to the Rajah for assistance given. Now that Ali was out of his difficulties, he refused to stand to his bargain, and in his refusal received the support of the English. Hereupon the ruler of Mysore and the Mahrattas opened up communications with the French. Fortunately for the Company, France took a

narrow view of Dupleix's difficulties, recalled him at a moment that was, at least, dangerous for the Company, and made a treaty with England. The arrangements were favourable to Britain.

SURAJAH DOWLAH.—We had barely escaped possible dangers from Dupleix when we found ourselves at war with Surajah Dowlah, the Viceroy of Bengal. Like other viceroys, Surajah had become practically independent of the Great Mogul. One of his officers, in disgrace, had fled, and taken refuge with the British. Surajah demanded the restoration of his officer. The demand was refused, thereupon Calcutta was attacked and taken. Calcutta was an English town. Upon its capture, 146 Englishmen were taken as prisoners. It is in connection with them that the Viceroy's cruelty has been so frequently denounced. He promised that not a hair of their heads should be injured. But he lodged them in the garrison prison for the night. The prison was a mere hole, 20 feet square, and in the morning, when the guards came, 123 persons were found dead. Many of the best authorities entirely disbelieve that Surajah knew the nature of the tomb to which his prisoners were consigned. It was the English garrison prison, and, as one of our historians asks: "What had they to do with a Black Hole? Had no Black Hole existed, as none ought to exist anywhere, least of all in the sultry and unwholesome climate of Bengal, those who perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta would have experienced a different fate." The Black Hole is an evidence of our own cruelty, and conjecture may ask why it existed, and how many suffered there? The blackening of Surajah's character served to cover up our own villainy. Only for a short time did Calcutta remain in the hands of the enemy. A few months later, an expedition under Clive set out. A series of brilliant successes followed, and a treaty of alliance, both offensive and defensive, was the result.

CLIVE'S TREACHERY.—And now comes further treachery. The treaty was soon broken. Surajah was thought not to be friendly to the English. These fears led Clive to believe that he might, if opportunity offered, side with the French. It was thereupon decided to depose him. They had no other reason for suspecting

his sympathy with the French than the fact of his having, with even hand, held the scales of justice as between the French and the English, both of whom had factories in his territory. There is one bright spot in this blackguardly business. Admiral Watson "declared it to be an extraordinary thing to depose a man they had so lately made a treaty with." But in the House of Commons, Clive afterwards unblushingly upheld his own doctrine. He declared they could not stop where they were. They had established themselves by force, not by consent. Their own safety demanded that they should do as they had done, or Surajah might have endeavoured to drive them out again.

MEER JAFFIER.—The methods adopted to carry out this scoundrelism were worthy the men and the aims. Nor is it uninteresting to find that Warren Hastings was in the work. They had first to debauch some of the Viceroy's officers. Meer Jaffier—the creature selected—was at once paymaster in Surajah's army and his uncle by marriage. The terms of the contract are found in Orme's "History of India," as well as in other works. Bribes were flung broadcast, and the meanest trickery was perpetrated. By the same courier, Clive wrote letters of a most affectionate character to Surajah Dowlah and to the conspirators, in which he promised assistance to Meer Jaffier. Clive's chief agent was a wealthy merchant, named Omichund. It was his special business to soothe his master, and guide him into difficulty. But Clive's pay was unsatisfactory, and Omichund demanded £300,000 as the price of secrecy. To throw his agent off the scent, Clive drew up a sham treaty, and forged the name of Admiral Watson. He then made an openly offensive movement against Surajah. Arrangements were then made with Meer Jaffier. Should an engagement take place, he was to desert on the day of battle. The forces were altogether disproportionate. Under the banners of Surajah, 68,000 men were ranged. Clive was followed by only about 3,200. But Meer Jaffier had bribed heavily. No resistance was offered, except by a small body of French; while on the field of battle itself, conspiracy did its work. Surajah was urged by one of the conspirators to flee. So ended

the first part in this treacherous work. But Clive was not an ordinary scoundrel. Those who intrigued with him little understood how great a master in crime they served.

OMICHUND.—The day following the battle, Meer Jaffier was graciously received. Then came Surajah's fate. He had been captured. The letters from Clive, so affectionate and so fulsome, notwithstanding, he was put to death. Meer Jaffier now received his reward, care being taken to obtain a firman from the Delhi Court. Omichund, traitor and tool, was present at the installation of the new Viceroy. He was there waiting to receive his rewards. He was abruptly told of the treachery practised upon him: that no treaty existed, and that no rewards were forthcoming. He was a traitor met by treachery. The man was aghast. His mind gave way, and a few months later he died, a drivelling idiot. Nor did others fare so well as they had hoped. Surajah's treasury was found to be insufficient to meet the promised bribes. The amounts already voted were heavy. The Company was to have 10,000,000 rupees as compensation for the capture of Calcutta. The English inhabitants were to be solaced with 5,000,000 rupees; and a sum of 2,000,000 rupees was to satisfy the Indians. Then the sum of 2,500,000 rupees was to be asked for on account of the squadron, and a like amount for the army. There was not enough money to meet the bribes. But Colonel Clive was generous. He was satisfied with between £250,000 and £300,000 for himself, and surely a successful forger, and murderer, and liar deserved little less!

CLIVE GAINS WEALTH.—By the terms with Meer Jaffier, the French were to give up their factories, and be excluded for ever from Bengal. The Company also had landholders' rights of 882 square miles of land round Calcutta. This gave the Company the right to collect rents from the cultivators of the land, subject only to the payment of a land tax, received by the Nawab as the representative of the Great Mogul. But two years later Clive so arranged matters that the land tax was made over to him. By this fief, he occupied the strange position of being landlord to his own employers. By this arrangement he netted

£30,000 per annum. This arrangement was for the term of his natural life. It need not be explained that no Indian has since had it. When Clive died, the Company took possession.

TREACHERY TO MEER JAFFIER.—Clive and the Company had not done badly with Meer Jaffier. Dowlah's treasury had been practically passed over to them. Meer Jaffier's treasury was a poor thing to go on with. It was not long before he was months in arrear to the Company. But the men who had dealt with Omichund as they had done were not likely to act kindly to his fellow-conspirator. He was found to be vicious and inefficient. It was not easy to be efficient with Surajah's money gone. Meer Jaffier, therefore, must be deposed, and go. Then Meer Cassim gave the Company the revenues of Birdwan, Midnanpore, and Chittagong for the position, and Meer Jaffier retired into private life. Rulership under the conditions laid down was impossible. He strove hard for three years to meet his obligations. He himself had to put on the screw for collecting revenue. The poor cultivator began to feel the blessing of British rule. Military aid was lent to Cassim in his work of collecting—a somewhat serious fact for him and for his subjects. All these things done, the toll was not forthcoming, and the English Resident at Patna treated him with the utmost insolence, seized his collectors, and took a quantity of saltpetre which had been purchased for his own use.

BRITISH BRIGANDS.—By this time the Company had so managed affairs as, in its business, to enjoy exemption from duty both with imports and exports. Now that English rule was developing, and they were getting their hands firmly round the natives' throats, the Company's servants claimed for themselves the same privileges. And alas! many native rulers were helpless. The English had got the whole of the money. They had the positions of power. They had a mercenary army, and the natives were face to face with ruin. The blessings of being under a Capitalist rule were now clear. Capitalists, large and small, looked on the Indian as fair game. "Private individuals, runaways, and the like, under the colour of the English flag, bought goods at their own price; sold them at their own price; compelled

those to sell who refused to sell; those to buy who would not buy; forbade all dealings by others till their own were concluded, and used personal violence freely to attain their ends." An arrangement had been made whereby private traders should pay the same tax, 9 per cent., as the Indian merchant. All that the English would give was 2½ per cent., and that on salt alone. Meer Cassim, it was true, had been placed in authority by the British; but as he saw the singularly brutal conduct of these British gentlemen, he abolished all duties, and threw trade open to everybody. This was construed into treachery, and Cassim was deposed.

MEER CASSIM OVERTHROWN.—At this time Cassim was not in arrears. How he met his engagements, no one would perhaps know so well as the unfortunate cultivator. Still, he was not in debt. But it was necessary to be a mere puppet as well as a liquidator of debts. Meer Jaffier was, therefore, replaced in his old position. But Cassim had spirit. He negotiated with the Nawab of Oude, met the British in fair fight, and showed unexpected powers of resistance. It was an unhappy adventure, however correct the attitude, on the part of the Nawab. The Mogul Empire had been defeated by Afghan arms, and the appearance of the English on the North west Provinces brought the Nawab to the position of a suppliant.

CLIVE'S REFORMS.[1]—Clive, who had been home again for four years, returned to India in 1763. Two things henceforth mark his policy. First, he maintained in name the power and authority of the Mogul Emperor. When, therefore, what were really annexions came about, they were taken under the fiction of being grants from the Mogul. Secondly, he sought to purify the Company's service. He sought to put down illicit gains. He guaranteed a reasonable salary for honest service. He probably saw that the continual drain would ruin the country. And indeed the Company's service was bad. Men left England poor;

[1] The Company saw that unless reforms were introduced India would be ruined. They therefore turned to Clive, and sent him out with instructions to completely reform the service.

they soon returned rich. Scandals on every hand were heard, and Clive, therefore, required that all servants—civil and military—should sign an agreement, whereby they pledged themselves not to accept presents from native princes. These reforms made Clive unpopular. Indeed, the commands were sometimes disobeyed. A case in point is that of General Carnac. He enriched himself to the tune of £20,000 [1] by obtaining a present from the Emperor. Having secured that, he signed the agreement as required.

HOME AUTHORITIES PROTEST.—The war in Oude was terminated by the Nawab throwing himself on the mercy of the English; but the home authorities disapproved of the conquest of the state. So the province was given back to the Nawab, upon condition of his paying an indemnity towards the expenses of the war. The Company took over the fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa for 20 lacs of rupees per year. A kind of dual administration was formed for Bengal. The English maintained the army and received all the revenues. Criminal jurisdiction was vested in the Nawab, who received so much per year. Under such conditions, the Nawab was a veritable puppet.

THE NAWAB OF THE CARNATIC ROBBED.—But the Company's hands were laid very heavily even on their own friends. Mahomed Ali was their ally against the French. He had been recognised as Nawab of the Carnatic. Now that the French were out of the way, there seemed a possibility of showing the Nawab how the advantages of such an alliance were entirely with him—that, in fact, he was merely our nominee. With splendid effrontery we demanded the financial management of four of his districts. It was a keen, cool way of making the Company's finance flourish. The Nawab saw that he was in hopeless plight, and tried in return to obtain a guarantee of protection. The request was refused; it was not for him to make conditions. Mr. Pigott wrote: "The Company do not take anything from you; they are the givers, you are a receiver." Perhaps the same reasoning might have been equally clear when the same

[1] Ludlow says £200,000.

prince made a treaty with the Company, whereby he should be exempt from English interference, upon payment of 31 lacs of rupees: three of these being on account of Trichinopoly. The treaty was not sufficiently embarrassing. The Company raised their demand to 50 lacs, and called upon him to pay for the siege of Pondicherry. Again he stipulated; this time that he should receive the captured stores. The servants of the Company kept them for their own use, and promised that the value should be allowed him in their employer's account. The Court of Directors disapproved these things, but the stores were not passed over to the Nawab. The same prince had a claim against the Rajah of Tanjore. Here was an opportunity! The Company mediated between the two allies. The claim was fixed at 22 lacs; and as the Nawab was indebted to them, they, as creditors, kept the money.

FIDELITY OF THE SEPOY.—So the princes saw their powers passing. Enthused by Clive, the Sepoys won the battles for the Company, only to pass their own countries into the hands of the foreigner; yet nothing surpassed the fidelity of the Sepoy. When Clive commenced reforms, the officers mutinied; on a given day, two hundred of them resigned their military positions. Clive separated the Sepoys from the mutinous officers. He relied upon his Sepoys. They gave him their cordial fidelity. So with equanimity he stood his ground, while waiting for fresh officers from Fort St. George. And now Clive saw the possibilities of Empire. The time had come, he wrote home, when they should, or should not, take all into their own hands, and rule with an army at their back. The power at Delhi was to be a myth. The nabobs were to be the British; but the army was native. It was the Indian that was to hold what was conquered; it was the Indian that was to conquer the rest of India. And so with a prophetic vision, Clive returned home in 1767. His energy had been no small factor in building up what was even now an empire. He was but forty-two years old; yet he had not gained happiness if he had gained renown. Six years later he shot himself. It was not the least meritorious deed of his life.

CHAPTER III

THE position of affairs at Clive's return was full of interest. Europeans other than the British had been overturned. In the Deccan, Mohammedan princes were still powerful; the same was true in Middle India, and in the upper regions of the Ganges. The Sikhs were all-powerful in the Punjab, and the Mahrattas were a force to be reckoned with. But no unity bound the Indians together, and a close observer must have seen the possibility of these races gradually giving way before the advance of the aggressive European foe.

HYDER ALI.—But now a great Indian soldier arose. Springing from the ranks, an uneducated man, Hyder Ali acquired an influence over the Mussulman soldiery of Mysore. Short-lived though it was, he founded a dynasty, extended the borders of his country, and successfully waged against the Mahrattas. The two conquering powers were destined to meet. A treaty had been entered into, whereby the British had to assist the Nizam of the Deccan in any military undertaking that he might have. Hyder attacked the Nizam, who called upon the British for aid. This was given; but, by a smart stroke of diplomacy, the Nizam was weaned from his British alliance, and the two princes joined in making attack upon us. The alliance was at first successful, but the English recovered their ground; the Nizam renewed his alliance, and granted greater benefits than he bestowed before. Hyder Ali was not defeated. The two powers met face to face. Hyder completely defeated the British; he dictated a peace; all conquests were to be mutually restored, and an alliance for defensive purposes was entered into.

A USELESS TREATY.—The treaty was, as usual, so much waste paper. The Nawab of the Carnatic was heavily indebted to

English money-lenders. He was compelled by the English to protect his country with a large force. The army made him a poor man. Partly from his military expenses, and partly from unscrupulous exactions, he found his income unequal to his expenditure. Sir J. Lindsay, the plenipotentiary from Britain, was at this time at Madras, settling the terms of the Treaty of Paris. The Nawab poured out his troubles to him, and complained bitterly against the Company and against Hyder Ali. Whatever grounds of complaint he may have had against Hyder, that prince was our ally, who had at once beaten us and granted us generous terms. The value of the treaty was now all-important to Hyder. The Mahrattas had invaded his country, and he was calling upon us to carry out our pledge. The Nawab urged us to violate our treaty and join the Mahrattas. Sir J. Lindsay supported him. The Madras Government, on the other hand, protested against such action on our part. In the end Hyder got no assistance, and it was no wonder that he hated us henceforth. While these things were going on, the dual system of government, whereby we maintained the army and received the revenues, and the native ruler carried out the criminal jurisdiction, was working badly. A famine broke out in Bengal. One-third of the inhabitants were swept away. The Court of Directors blamed the dual system, and ordered, wherever possible, that the entire control should pass into the hands of British officials. They did not see that the continuous exactions of a foreign power were responsible.

TREACHERY TO THE RAJAH OF TANJORE.—The next prince to feel the advantage of British friendship was the Rajah of Tanjore. He had been a faithful ally of the British, but was, unfortunately for himself, unable to meet his monetary obligations. The Nawab of the Carnatic, afterwards known as the Nabob of Arcot, was his creditor. The Nawab regarded the Rajah as tributary. Both princes were indebted to the British. To pay the British, the Nawab pressed the Rajah. In his case the money would not come, and he resolved to reduce some petty chieftains, called the Polygars. But the Nawab himself claimed sovereignty over these.

Hereupon he ordered the Rajah to desist. The Rajah refused. Thereupon the British assisted the Nawab in attacking the Rajah. He, of course, was defeated, and agreed to an indemnity that he could not pay. Then the allies had another chance. They seized parts of his territory.

THE POLYGARS.—The Nawab now declared that the Polygars owed him money. The British declared that the claim was unjust. These facts permitted the English to join in attacking a country that was beautifully fertile and well-tilled—the home of a prosperous and happy people. Fearful severities were inflicted upon them. One of the English officers, addressing the Council of the East India Company, spoke of the animosity of the people, and of their attacking the baggage. "I can only determine it by reprisals, which will oblige us to plunder and burn the villages, kill every man in them, and take prisoners the women and children. These are actions which the nature of the war will require."

FRESH TREACHERY TO TANJORE.—The Polygars destroyed, the conquering allies made another onslaught upon the Rajah of Tanjore. There was no reason. To pay the sums demanded, he had pawned his jewels and mortgaged his land. It was simply felt, that as he had been wronged, so, if he had a chance, he might ally himself to Hyder Ali. "The President and Council solemnly recorded their sense of injustice." Yet the war was undertaken, the Rajah taken prisoner, and his country put into the hands of the Nawab. For once public feeling was shocked. Lord Paget moved in the matter, and the Rajah was restored. But troops were quartered upon him. He had to pay tribute, and he was bound in all his foreign policies to be guided by the British.

WARREN HASTINGS AND NUNCOMAR.—The history of the Company at this time grows interesting, if for no other reason but because Warren Hastings takes an important position. He had been schooled under Clive. The meannesses of English action had gone into his soul, and found deep sympathy. On the whole, historians speak well of him: that shows the value of most

history. No worse man ever had the affairs of India in hand. The Company expected money. Hastings could always find it somehow. If, as sometimes happened, the Directors complained of the way in which money was obtained, Hastings simply replied, if they wanted money, they must put up with the methods employed by which to obtain it. His advent as Governor was marked by a shameful intrigue. Clive had placed a Mohammedan, Mohammed Reza Khan, at the head of the Bengal administration. Shitab Roy, a brave soldier and a devoted follower of the British, had been assigned a similar position in Behar. Clive had, at any rate, keen insight when he placed these two men in power. The former post carried with it a large salary, and a man named Nuncomar had sought the post. This man was at once an able and a wealthy man. As a Brahmin, his person was held in veneration, but his character was despicable. Of him Miss Martineau says: "His scoundrelism was so great as to disgust the English, and on that account Clive set him aside in favour of Reza Khan." At this time Bengal was not satisfying the London Court of Directors. There was a constant drain on the finances. Nuncomar had his secret agents in London. By means of these he persuaded the Directors that Reza Khan was to blame. Secret instructions were hereupon sent to Hastings, bidding him arrest Reza Khan and Shitab Roy. The Company's plans were not of the purest. They decided upon taking over the whole of the revenues, and to place them in the hands of their own servants. The distinctly honourable character of the two men arrested would, they felt, interfere with their plans.

HASTINGS CHARGED BY NUNCOMAR.—The two Indians were now tried. Both were acquitted. To Shitab Roy an apology was tendered for the insult, and he was sent back, in great state, to Patna. But the man was wounded at heart, and in a short time he died. Foiled in his attempt to ruin Reza Khan, Nuncomar now attacked Hastings, and charged him with having accepted large bribes. The Court believed Nuncomar. Hastings was ordered to refund the money. Hereupon Hastings acted with a high hand. He denied the authority of the Council, and in his

turn charged Nuncomar with having forged a bond some five years before. He laid the matter before the High Court; but in this matter he was acting quite outside his recognised power. The alleged crime was, if committed, committed in 1770. Jurisdiction had only been given to this Court in 1774. But a schoolfellow of Hastings, Elijah Impey, tried the case, and Nuncomar was hanged. The execution, carried out in the teeth of public opinion, caused consternation.

REFORMS!—"Reforms" were now to be carried out. Clive had, under a guarantee of £300,000 per year, coerced the Emperor to grant the use of Bengal. A part of the Ganges valley, which included the provinces of Allahabad and Kora, had also been retained. These were held under "the pretence of preserving them for him." The Emperor now wanted what was his own. Of course, he was put off. This brought the Mahrattas into the field. They made a treaty, whereby they should be allowed to attack the Rohillas, and in return they would assist the Emperor in pressing forward his claims.

THE NAWAB OF OUDE AND THE ROHILLAS.—The Rohillas were a Mohammedan people, of Afghan extraction, and were settled as landholders in the plains, which extended from the spurs of the Himalayas to within 70 miles of Delhi. Their territory was splendidly governed. The people were well-protected and content. Native industries were encouraged, and flourished, and the country was prosperous to a degree In consequence of the attack upon them by the allies, the Rohillas sought the aid of the Nawab of Oude, agreeing to pay that prince 30 lacs of rupees for the expulsion of the foe. Meantime, the allies quarrelled. The Mahrattas seized Delhi, and took the Emperor as prisoner. This produced an example of the peculiar morality upheld by Hastings. The Emperor's territory was in part being preserved for him, under arrangement with Clive. Hastings, however, declared that as he ceased to be independent, he ceased to be Emperor. He therefore had no empire, and could no longer claim tribute. The £300,000 per year must therefore be dropped. But the difficulty of the Emperor afforded opportunity of dealing

with the Nawab of Oude. Instead of holding Allahabad and Kora for the Emperor, he sold them to the Nawab for £500,000. This blackguardly business was followed by one which was even worse, and which, in after years, formed a leading point in Hastings' impeachment.

THE ROHILLAS TO BE EXTERMINATED.—The Nawab of Oude was now claiming the payment of the sum agreed upon by the Rohillas for expelling their enemies. He, however, had not expelled them. The allies had fallen out amongst themselves, and the Rohillas had escaped. They therefore disputed the claim. The Nawab recognised the generosity of his new-found friend, who had sold him other people's territory, and feeling exceedingly bitter against the Rohillas, offered Hastings the sum of £400,000, and the payment of the troops furnished, if he would assist in exterminating former friends.[1]

There is probably not another instance on record where a civilised power entered into war with the avowed object of destroying a people with whom it had no quarrel. The English forces were put under the command of Colonel Champion. The Rohillas, despite a brave resistance, were practically exterminated. Colonel Champion protested against the butchery, and appealed, without result, to the Nabob to show lenity.

[1] The position taken by Hastings is thus described by Howett. "There does no seem to have existed in the mind of Hastings one human feeling; a proposition which would have covered almost any other man with unspeakable horror was received by him as a matter of ordinary business. 'Let us see,' says Hastings, 'we have a heavy bonded debt, at one time—125 lacs of rupees. By this a saving of near one third of our military expenses would be effected during the period of such services; the 40 lacs would be an ample supply to our treasury, and the Vizir (the Nabob of Oude) would be freed from a troublesome neighbour.' These are the monster's own words; the bargain was struck, but it was agreed to be kept secret from the Council and Court of Directors. In one of Hastings' letters still extant, he tells the Nabob: 'Should the Rohillas be guilty of a breach of their agreement (a demand of 40 lacs, suddenly made upon them—for in this vile affair everything had a ruffian character—they first demanded their money, and then murdered them)—we will thoroughly exterminate them, and settle your Excellency in the country.'"

OPPOSITION TO HASTINGS.—It seemed as if Hastings had now gone too far. An Act was passed for the government of the Company's possessions. Four Councillors were to henceforth assist the Governor-General. Three of these were sent from England. Upon their arrival, Hastings found strong opposition. The Rohilla war and the maintenance of an absolutely private agent by Hastings at Oude were condemned. The Court of Directors in England approved the action of the Council.

HASTINGS DEFIES THE COMPANY.—The Governor-General now met with keen opposition. He could be removed by an address to the Company. The address for his removal was voted in the Court of Directors by 11 votes to 10, but this action was vetoed by the Proprietors. Hereupon Lord North threatened to bring in a Bill depriving the Company of all political power. Hastings foresaw a storm, and placed his resignation in the hands of Colonel Maclean. In the meantime, a member of the Indian Council died. This equalising the votes, placed the casting vote in the hands of Hastings. He immediately repudiated his resignation, defied the authorities, ordered the army to obey him alone, and referred the matter to the Supreme Court, presided over as it was by Impey, his school fellow and mere creature. Impey, of course, decided in his favour. He then quietly displaced such agents as the Council had placed, and restored his private agent at Oude.

LORD PIGOTT.—But to show the utter lawlessness which prevailed, we may turn to another Presidency. Lord Pigott, who had shown much sympathy and wise judgment in Indian affairs, was made Governor of Madras. He had express orders to restore the Rajah of Tanjore, who had been deposed and despoiled at the investigation of the Nawab of Arcot. Then came remarkable developments. A man named Benfield, a junior servant of the Company, "put forward a claim to a large share of the revenues of Tanjore, as having been assigned to him by the Nabob of the Carnatic, in payment of a debt of £250,000. The claim was preposterous; neither could Benfield have lent the money, nor could the Nawab have given security; but eventually, in spite of

Lord Pigott's opposition, it was declared valid by the Council." Lord Pigott was hereupon seized, and died of vexation after eight months' imprisonment. England was agitated over the affair. But India was a long way off. Four of the Councillors were fined £1,000 each! Robbery was made easy!! Pigott's successor was Sir Thomas Rumbold. An incident in his career shows how the natives were bled. A rajah was deposed, and his brother installed in his place. It was proved that this brother had paid very large sums away in Madras, though not to the Company. And it was also shown that Sir T. Rumbold and his secretary had remitted more than six times the amount of their salaries to Europe.

THE MAHRATTA WAR.—It is in connection with the Madras Government that we come to the most formidable opposition offered us on the Asian continent—an opposition that would probably have been successful but for the death of Hyder Ali. This prince had received arms from Europe by way of French settlements in India. On account of a rupture between Great Britain and France, the French possessions were attacked. Hyder had intimated that if aggressive action were taken, he would attack the Carnatic. At this very time the Bombay Government was provoking war with the Mahrattas. For some time the British had been anxious to gain the supremacy at the Poona Court. A difficulty about succession gave Hastings the opportunity. The fifth Peshwa died before the birth of his son, the sixth Peshwa. Another prince hereupon put up a claim. The infant's claims were upheld by France. We upheld the claim made by Ragoba. We were defeated, and the Mahrattas dictated terms. The British, however, got behind their treaty, and thinking to gain an advantage, reopened hostilities. This time they were successful, but any possible success was neutralised by the war with Hyder Ali. Another treaty was therefore arranged which practically left things as they were.

HYDER ALI INVADES MADRAS.—In the meantime, Sir Thomas Rumbold had been adopting the most irritating policy towards Hyder Ali. This developed a league, having for its object the expulsion of the English from India. The allies included Hyder

Ali, the Nizam, and the Mahratta princes. Timely notice was given us by our ally, the Nawab of the Carnatic; but Hyder, at the head of 100,000 men, crossed the frontier, and advancing up to the walls of Madras, had ultimate victory well in sight. Hastings immediately sent a large body of troops and 15 lacs of rupees; and placing Sir Eyre Coote in command of the Madras army, suspended Sir Thomas Rumbold, who was held largely responsible for the disaster, and who in the following year was dismissed. Salvation, however, came in an unexpected way. A sudden order came from Tippoo Sahib to retreat. Hyder Ali, the great soldier, was dead. Two years later, the advantage resting entirely with the Indians, Tippoo consented to peace. By the terms, all conquests on either side were to be restored. Hastings was away at this time, and Lord Macartney, who had succeeded Rumbold, was one of the contracting parties. Upon the return of Hastings, he tried, much to the indignation of Lord Macartney, to introduce, by means of trickery, a clause into the treaty which had not been accepted. Hereupon Hastings opposed and insulted Macartney in every way. But Macartney had done too well to be easily shifted. He had acted as a gentleman, and without resorting to methods of treachery or violence, had brought the whole of the Carnatic under English rule. Henceforth the Nawab was to receive one-sixth of its revenues.

HASTINGS RAISES MONEY.—During all this time Hastings was raising money. A few cases will show how. One of the most faithful of the princes had been the Rajah of Benares, who was under the suzerainty of the Nawab of Oude. When the British made war upon that prince, the Rajah rendered conspicuous service. He had handed his revenues to the Company, and had become their dependent. Of him Howitt says: "At first he was treated with so much delicacy and consideration that a Resident was not allowed, as in the case of other tributaries, to reside in his capital, lest, in the words of the minute of the Governor-General in 1775, such Resident might acquire an improper influence over the Rajah and his country, which would in effect make him master of both; lest it should end, as they

knew such things did end, in reducing him to the state of a mere zemindar. The Council expressed its anxiety that the Rajah's independence should be in no way compromised by the mere fact of the payment of his tribute, which continued to be paid with an exactness rarely exemplified in the history of the tributary princes of Hindostan."

But he was reputed rich, and he had been friendly with members of the Council who were not in sympathy with Hastings. Hastings determined to wreck him. War broke out with France, and Hastings at once demanded from him £50,000, in addition to his tribute. He pleaded inability to pay, and was given five days to meet the demand. Under protest and a stipulation that no like demand should be made again, the money was paid. Next year the demand was repeated and refused. Troops were sent against him, and the Rajah had to pay £2,000 for military expenses, in addition to the other amount. Next year the call was repeated. Then the Rajah tried to bribe Hastings with £20,000. The Governor took the money; then paid it into the Company's treasury, and demanded the full £50,000 as well as a £10,000 fine. "I was resolved," said Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distress. In a word, I determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency." No one knew what his guilt was. The Rajah was now required to maintain a body of cavalry for British service. He hesitated, and was at once treated as a refractory vassal. He was now alarmed, and offered £200,000. Hastings demanded £500,000, and threatened to sell Benares; treated the Rajah with indignity, and arrested him when he attempted to justify himself.

BENARES REBELS.—The people, seeing their prince thus treated, rose. The English officers were killed, and Hastings barely escaped. The tyrant now acted in the most ruthless way. In a letter to the commanding officers, he even seemed to insinuate that the women could be given over to the soldiery. The results to the unfortunate women may be conceived. The

Rajah was deposed, another prince put in authority, and the tribute doubled.

THE BEGUMS.—Another act of perfidy was perpetrated on the Begums, the princesses of Oude. The ruler, who was a weak prince, had fallen behind in his payments, and this through the expense of keeping up British troops. He thereupon appealed to Hastings to withdraw the troops. Hastings replied by a refusal, and a demand for £1,400,000. He proposed to the young prince how the sum should be raised. The Nabob's mother had already appealed to the British on the ground of her son's extortion, and a compact had been made whereby the ladies should be left in peace. It was rumoured that the ladies possessed £3,000,000. Hastings suggested to the son that he should break his compact; justify the violation by a charge of treason, and declare that they sympathised with the Rajah of Benares. The ladies should then be stripped of their wealth, which was to be handed to the British, and the Nabob should be forgiven his indebtedness. The son shrank from the hellish plot. The British Resident shrank from his task. Hastings insisted, and British troops forced the Begums' palace. The chief eunuchs were put to the torture, so that they should confess where the money was. The ladies of the zenana were denied food until they nearly died of want. No ingenuity was too fiendish to be perpetrated so that the hiding-place of the money should be revealed. But their wealth had been greatly exaggerated, and only £550,000 could be found. Of this sum, Hastings retained as his share £100,000.

CONSTERNATION AT HOME.—But these actions were causing talk. Select Committees had reported in severe terms on Indian matters. A Board of Control was created, whereby the Crown should have power "to control all acts, operations, and concerns, which in any way related to the civil or military government; of revenues of the territories and possessions of the Company." Hastings, in 1785, returned home, and in the following year he was impeached. For seven years the trial lagged on, and then the House of Peers justified its existence by giving a verdict of

"Not guilty" on all charges. So was whitewashed a man guilty of the most abominable crimes of which the race is capable, and so by the verdict were Englishmen made partners in his crimes.

MISERY OF NATIVES.—At this time the unhappy natives were suffering from the exactions of three different sets of men. First, European adventurers. Second, Pretended Sepoys. Third, Black merchants, who purchased the names of young writers in the Company's service by loans of money, and under this sanction harassed and oppressed the natives. And it would seem that young men, by means of the third class of oppressor, were able to make as much as £1,500 to £2,000 per year. But the position may be told by Howett, from whom the following extracts are taken.

TESTIMONY OF WARREN HASTINGS:—

"Mr. Hastings, who became Governor-General, wrote in 1762 to President Vansittart: 'I beg to lay before you a grievance which loudly calls for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavours to create a firm and lasting harmony between the Nabobs and the Company. I mean the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through the want of spirit to oppose them. The evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming the habit of our Sepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs. On such occasions the great power of the English intimidates the people from making any resistance; so, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions. I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed, and on the river. I do not believe I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed, I am sure their frequency can boast no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation. A party of Sepoys, who were on the march before us, afforded sufficient proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of these people when they are left to their own discretion. Many complaints against them were made to us on the road, and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up, from the apprehension of the same treatment from us.'"

It is a painful fact, but the English flag was an emblem of tyrannic cruelty, and it surely shows what barbaric ruffians were in India, when our forces should come upon deserted townships,

the inhabitants so fearing our oppressions as to flee from us. Mr. Vansittart, who was Governor of Bengal, tried to improve matters; but fortunes were being made by these practices for the members of the Council, and they denied their existence.

EXTRACT FROM HOWETT:—

"Under such sanction, every inferior plunderer set at defiance the orders of the President, and the authority of the officers appointed to prevent the commission of such oppressions on the natives. The native collectors of the revenue, when they attempted to levy, under the express sanction of the Governor, the usual duties on the English, were not only repelled by them, but seized and punished as enemies of the Company and violators of its privileges. The native judges and magistrates were resisted in the discharge of their duties, and even their functions usurped. Everything was in confusion, and many of the zemindars and other collectors refused to be answerable for the revenues. Even the Nabob's own officers were refused the liberty to make purchases on his own account. One of them, of high connexions and influence, was seized for having purchased from the Nabob some saltpetre: the trade in which they claimed as belonging exclusively to them. He was put in irons and sent to Calcutta, where some of the Council voted for having him publicly whipped; others desired that his ears might be cut off; and it was all that the President could effect to get him sent back to his own master to be punished. In Mr. Vansittart's own narrative is given a letter from one officer to the Nabob, complaining that, though he was furnished with instructions to send away Europeans who were found committing disorders to Calcutta, notwithstanding any pretence they shall make for so doing, he had used persuasions and conciliations and found them of no avail. That he had then striven by gentle means to stop their violences, upon which he was threatened that if he interfered with them or their servants, they would treat him in such a manner as should cause him to repent. That all their servants had boasted publicly that this was what would be done to him did he presume to meddle. He adds: 'Now, sir, I am to inform you what I have obstructed them in. This place (Backergunge) was of great trade formerly, but was brought to nothing by the following practice. A gentleman sends a gomastah here to buy or sell. He immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant either to buy his goods or to force them to sell him theirs; and on refusal or non-capacity, a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing; but a second force is made use of, which is, to engross the different branches of trade to themselves, and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in. They compel the people to buy or sell at just what rates they please, and my interfering occasions an immediate complaint. These, and many other oppressions which are daily

practised, are the reason that this place is growing destitute of inhabitants. . . . Before, justice was given in the public cutcheree, but now every gomastah is become a judge: they even pass sentence on the zemindars themselves, and draw money from them for pretended injuries."

EXTRACT FROM HOWETT:—

"In a letter to the Council, dated Lucknow, April, 1784, Mr. Hastings writes: 'From the confines of Buxar to Benares, I was followed and fatigued by the clamours of the discontented inhabitants. The distresses which were produced by the long-continued drought unavoidably tended to heighten the general discontent: yet I have reason to fear that the cause principally rested in a defective, if not a corrupt and oppressive, administration. From Buxar to the opposite boundary I have seen nothing but traces of complete devastation in every village.'"

But of what use for Hastings thus to write. He himself was farming out the revenues of the province to the most hateful type of man. This came out on his trial. Howett says:

"Nothing can give you a more lively idea of the horrid treatment which awaited the poor natives under such monsters as these collectors than the statement then made of the practices of Devi Sing. He was a man of the most infamous character: yet that did not prevent Mr. Hastings placing him in such a responsible office, though he himself declared on his trial that he so well knew the character and abilities of Rajah Devi Sing that he could easily conceive it was in his power, both to commit great enormities and to conceal the real grounds of them, from the British collectors in the district. For £40,000 this man rented the district of Dinagepore. The account of his cruelties are quoted by Mill. The poor ryots, or husbandmen, were treated in a manner that would never gain belief if it was not attested by the records of the Company, and Mr. Burke thought it necessary to apologise to their lordships for the horrid relation with which he would be obliged to harrow their feelings. The cattle and corn of the husbandmen were sold for a third of their value, and their huts reduced to ashes! The unfortunate owners were obliged to borrow from usurers, that they might discharge their bonds, which had unjustly and illegally been extorted from them while they were in confinement. And such was the determination of the infernal fiend, Devi Sing, to have these bonds discharged, that the wretched husbandmen were obliged to borrow money, not at 20 or 30, or 40 or 50, but at 600 per cent., to satisfy him. Those who could not raise the money were most cruelly tortured. Cords were drawn tight round their fingers, till the flesh of the four on each hand was actually incorporated,

and became one solid mass. The fingers were then separated again by wedges of iron, and wood driven in between them. Others were tied two and two by the feet and thrown across a wooden bar, upon which they hung with their feet uppermost. They were then beat on the soles of the feet till the toe nails dropped off. They were afterwards beat about the head till the blood gushed out at the mouth, nose, and ears. They were also flogged upon the naked body with bamboo canes and prickly bushes, and above all, with some poisonous weeds, which were of a caustic nature, and burnt at every touch. The cruelty of the monster who had ordered all this had contrived how to tear the mind as well as the body. He frequently had a father and son tied naked to one another by the feet and arms, and then flogged till the skin was torn from the flesh: and he had the devilish satisfaction to know that every blow must hurt; for if one escaped the son, his sensibility was wounded by the knowledge he had that the blows had fallen upon his father. The same torture was felt by the father, when he knew that every blow that missed him had fallen upon the son.

"The treatment of the females could not be described. Dragged from the inmost recesses of their houses, which the religion of the country had made so many sanctuaries, they were exposed naked to public view. The virgins were carried to the Courts of Justice, where they might naturally have looked for protection, but they now looked for it in vain; for in the face of the ministers of justice, in the face of the spectators, in the face of the sun those tender and modest virgins were brutally violated. The only difference between their treatment and that of their mothers was, that the former were dishonoured in the face of day, the latter in the gloomy recesses of their dungeons. Other females had the nipples of their breasts put in a cleft bamboo and torn off."

This was done, as Howett points out, because Warren Hastings wanted money. Burke pledged himself to prove every word of the fearful story; permission to prove was, however, withheld.

CHAPTER IV

NEW RESOLVES.—With the departure of Warren Hastings, it was determined to do better. The conscience of the country was touched. But, as Mr. Ludlow points out in "British India," we were not ready to give back to the Mogul Emperor the provinces we had agreed to keep for him, but which we had sold; we were not ready to give the Rohillas their independence, nor to return to the Subahdar the provinces which we had fleeced from him; nor to restore to the Begums their treasure, nor to give back Benares to its Rajah. How shamefully late British action came, can be understood from a letter written by the Court of Directors to Clive:

"We have the strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs were on the point of being reached, from the corruption and rapacity of our servants, and the universal depravity of manners throughout the settlement. The general relaxation of all discipline and obedience, both military and civil, was hastily tending to a dissolution of all government. Our letter to the Select Committee expresses our sentiments of what has been obtained by way of donations; and to that we must add, that we think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country."

EXTENT OF THE COMPANY'S POSSESSIONS.—For a moment we must look at the extent of territory that had come under the Company's rule, and at the general position of the Indian princes. The Mogul Empire was practically gone. The warlike tribes of Rajputana, the Sikhs, and the Jats, all these of the North-west were independent. On the North-east, Rohilcund had been subdued, and was dependent upon the Nawab of Oude. The three great Vice-royalties of Bengal, Oude, and the Deccan had been almost

swallowed up by the Company. Bengal had quite disappeared. Oude and the Deccan were dependent on the Company. Two native powers only stood as independent, the Mahrattas and Mysore. The Mahrattas were divided into a number of chieftaincies. The princes were—(1) The Peshwa, whose power was waning; (2) Scindia, whose star was in the ascendant, who was ruling in the North, and who had possessed himself of Delhi, and also of the person of the Mogul Emperor; (3) Holkar, who was to be heard of in the future; (4) the Guikwar; and (5) the Boslas of Berar. Unfortunately for themselves, these chieftaincies were not united and working together. In the South, Mysore was a strong power, and dangerous, not to the British only, but to the other native states.

The British flag was, therefore, dominant over (1) the great provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares; (2) over a huge territory in the North-east; (3) over an immense country at the southern end of the peninsula; (4) Madras and the Northern Circars on the East Coast; and (5) the Carnatic was under the Company's administration. In addition, numerous states were under British protection, and the Mussulmen sovereigns of Oude and Hyderabad were dependent allies.

A New Viceroy.—Lord Macartney, a distinctly honourable man upon the retirement of Hastings, came to England in 1786 to urge forward certain reforms. He wanted the Governor-General to be able to act in opposition to the Council in Bombay. This seems an autocratic idea, but the Council had been looking after its own interests, and Macartney felt that if reforms were to be carried, they would have to be engineered by a perfectly independent man. Later on, this demand was embodied in an India Bill. At this juncture, the Company were not prepared to yield to Macartney's views. As a result, Lord Cornwallis became Governor-General.

War with Tippoo Saib.—At this juncture, a difficulty with Tippoo Saib brought about war. He had made an attack upon an ally of the English, and he seems, in this instance, to have been the aggressor. We, on our part, entered into alliance with

the Peshwa and the Nizam of the Deccan, agreeing that in the event of Tippoo being defeated, all conquests hitherto gained by Tippoo from the contracting parties should be restored, and all conquests from Tippoo should be divided. With varying fortunes, the war lasted for two years, and then, in the end, Tippoo was beaten. The terms were hard. He had to cede half his territory to the allies, and pay an indemnity of £3,000,000. He honourably fulfilled the conditions, but they produced a bitterness in his mind. The Company's agents were astonished to find so much happiness in the ceded territory. "They were surprised, on taking possession of the ceded country, to find it well cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, cities newly founding, commerce extending, towns increasing, and everything flourishing, so as to indicate happiness; to receive no complaints or murmurings against the late ruler. It is observed, indeed, of the ceded districts that no sooner did an opportunity offer than they" [the inhabitants] "scouted their new masters, and returned to their loyalty again."

THE BOARD OF CONTROL.—The great work for Cornwallis was the introduction of reforms. In this matter the British Government was, to a certain extent, behind him. So early as 1783 Charles J. Fox had tried to press reforms through the House of Commons. The King disapproved of the measures. Then Pitt, in the following year, carried his opposition measures. Hitherto there had been in London two bodies who directed Indian matters—the Court of Directors and the body of Proprietors. Now, by Pitt's scheme, there was added a Board of Control, nominated by the King, and consisting of Privy Councillors, an altogether respectable body, who would do nothing against the supposed interests of English Capital.

REFORM COMMENCED.—Under the new regulations, Cornwallis started on his work of reform. In accordance with instructions, he reorganised the various departments of justice, of police, and of revenue. It was revenue that gave him the most serious labours. From the earliest days, the land had been the main source of Indian revenue. India had always been an agricultural

state, and down to quite modern times, the village community had been the means of keeping up a good standard of agriculture, and of gathering in the land tax according to custom.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY.—According to Sir G. Campbell, the village, which is the unit of all landed revenue in India, embraces the area of land occupied by the community. The villagers themselves formed a kind of corporation. Under this body the land was held. A head-man presided over the community, and it was his duty to see set on one side, at harvest time, that proportion of the crops which was the prince's share. Taxation was by proportion and in kind. Under these primitive regulations want was rarely known. In the case of famines extending over a large area, there would be distress, but that arose because communication was imperfect, and retarded distribution, rather than from a total absence of grain in the country. But such famines arose from natural causes, such as drought, and not because the people were so ground down that they could not obtain seed. Sir W. Hunter tells us that this village community system prevailed almost universally down to the Mohammedan Conquest. Subject to the rights of the village community, land was maintained in the same family "from father to son, through every generation, so long as the waters should flow, or the plants should grow, until the end of time."

THE MOHAMMEDAN LANDLORD.—With the Mohammedan Conquest a new state of things came into vogue. According to Mr. Ludlow, the property of infidels is forfeit by Mohammedan law. At the Conquest it was decided that the land belonged to the Mohammedan monarch, and that the cultivator should give up a portion of the harvest as rent. This in different estates probably varied, but in many cases it amounted to 50 per cent., of the crops. The realisation of such a rent was difficult. The village system gave way to a farming-out system. Persons known as zemindars rented the lands from the sovereign, took the position of middle-man, and made the best arrangement they could with the cultivator. The zemindar was at first an ordinary tax collector. He developed into a contractor. The contracts

became hereditary rights, and then he became a very similar person to a landlord. But the Mohammedan rule brought no starvation to the community. The Mohammedans lived in the lands they had conquered. The Mussulmen were the superior people, it is true, but they were parts of the community; they gave energy to the upholding and the maintenance of the community, and though the prince had his revenue, yet the wealth of the country was a benefit to all, for the crops were not grown as they afterwards were, only to be sold (as exports), to raise a rent which must pass to a country thousands of miles away. Sir Geo. Campbell says that all the Mohammedan regulations aim at protecting the cultivator, and that during the prosperous period of the Mohammedan empire they were so protected. *No one was evicted.* And as evictions were unknown, so questions for compensation for improvements never arose. Indian law regarded that which was put into the land as the property of the cultivator. Such ideas do not lend themselves to ejectments. The zemindar simply took his rent in kind, large or small as the harvest happened to be.

UNDER THE ENGLISH RAJ.—In the passing over of the administration to British hands, changes came for the worse. The idea of a percentage of the produce as rent was accepted. The Mohammedan idea of all the land belonging to the prince was admitted. In this case the Company took the position of Rajah. The whole of the land therefore belonged to the Company. Rent was to be a chief item of revenue. But Mohammedan sway was by no means universal over that part of India which had come into the hands of the Company. It was distinctly hard, therefore, for many who had yet ancestral rights under the old order of things, to find those rights suddenly swept away, and an unheard-of claim of one-half the produce made. But even where Mohammedan rule prevailed there was much leniency. It was different under Capitalist rule. The tax must be paid to the uttermost. This was necessary from a Capitalist point of view. Expenses had to be met. There was a mercenary army, and the men had to be so paid that their loyalty was above

suspicion. There was the corruption which had become a part of the life of the Indian service. The very underlings looked forward to a speedy return home as rich men. These aspirations meant that money had to come from somebody. There were the expenses of the officials—expenses that were regarded as legitimate, but, nevertheless, very heavy. And then, to the proprietors, the all-important thing—the money for the dividends. The days for leniency were past, and the rent must be paid.

MONEY, NOT KIND.—But there was another hardship. The English demanded rent in money, not in kind The determination to have money placed the cultivator in an obviously worse position. Money became an essential. To get money, crops must be sold. This compulsion, where barter had played so prominent a part, and in a country that was poor, meant more than it would have done in a rich country where money was plentiful. Compulsory sales must perforce mean loss. These changed conditions meant also the appearance of the money-lender. And his appearance meant misery. The cultivator had, therefore, in a country where money was dear, to buy money in the dearest market in order to pay rent. Had the Indian princes collected their rent in money, it would have been bad enough, but not so bad. The money collected would have been spent in the community, and given birth to manufacture and trade. But the money, borrowed at a high rate of interest, was for the landlord abroad. If the money went out of the country, it only tended to make money dear, and, as is quite obvious, dear money and money-dealing transactions meant a very practical diminution of the share of the produce, which the cultivator was supposed to have for himself; so he found himself gradually forced into the hands of the money-lender. Then there came an inability to store seed; he was growing crops for other people, and he came face to face with sure, certain misery, if there should come a bad harvest.

THE VIEW OF THE CAPITALIST.—Various endeavours, it is true, were made to benefit the Indian people; but something has always stood in the way. A minute prepared by Mr. Barlow, the Secretary of the Indian Government about this time,

amply explains what that something is. "The two principal objects which the Government ought to have in view, in all its arrangements are to secure its political safety and to render the possession of the country advantageous to the East India Company and the British nation." At that time, Sir William Jones, a noble man and a great scholar, was a judge of the Supreme Court. He struck his pen through the first three words, and in their place wrote: "Two of the primary." It then read: "Two of the primary objects which the Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements are to secure political safety and to render the possession of the country advantageous to the East India Company and the British nation." And then to the amended sentence, he wrote: "Surely the principal object of every Government is the happiness of the governed!" Mr. Barlow's opinion is that of the capitalist of every country and of every age.

CAPITALISTIC ENDEAVOURS TO BENEFIT THE CULTIVATOR.—The country having been well-nigh ruined, the Capitalist Company thought to improve the lot of the cultivator. Mr. Warren Hastings tried. His endeavour is a monument. It shows how a scoundrel acts when he stands in the light of a just man made perfect. He simply proposed to let the land to the highest bidder for five years. When five years had passed, the Court of Directors wrote their verdict on this remarkable endeavour:

"The country is drained by farmers, or by the various finance officers of Government, none of whom have any permanent interest in its prosperity. The zemindars are discontented, many of them deprived of their lands, overwhelmed by debts, or reduced to beggary . . . and in the end, the justice of Government is driven to the necessity of granting remissions to repair the wrongs its own rapacity had created."

As the Directors saw something must be done, they, like earnest reformers, put their shoulders to the wheel, and in 1781 they showed their great sagacity by a very brilliant reform. They took the years from 1771 to 1780, and "tried" to let the lands by

annual settlements, preferentially to the old zemindars, at the highest amount of the actual collection." Somehow, this scheme didn't go. But the India Act of 1784 called upon the Directors to move.

"They were to inquire into complaints of various landholders who alleged themselves to have been unjustly deprived of, or compelled to abandon, their respective lands, jurisdictions, rights, and privileges, and to settle and establish, upon principles of moderation and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India, the permanent rules by which their respective tributes, rents, and services should be in future rendered and paid to the said Company by the said rajahs, zemindars, polygars, talookdars, and other native landholders."

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.—And so, after various failures, Cornwallis brought about the "Permanent Settlement." He fancied that if the Indians had good laws they could work out their own salvation. He did not see that to legislate for a people, that people's history, and customs, and laws must be considered. He thought to save India by Anglicising it, by developing in quite English fashion a landed gentry, upon whom should depend, on true British lines, a working peasantry. Nor did he remember that to even Anglicise the country the gentry must be resident and well-to-do. But landlords were necessary! The nearest approach was the zemindar, for he, at least, had the "right" of collecting. "The lands in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were divided into estates, and parcelled out in absolute right" to zemindars. The terms granted to the zemindar were not extravagant. The cultivator still nominally took one-half of the produce; of the remaining half, the Government took 11ths, and the zemindar 1th.[1] A proprietorship was thus created by law, and the claim of the Government against the zemindar fixed for ever. Surely his position was more that of an agent than of a landlord! But no detailed record seems to have been made of the rights of the cultivators. The zemindars were able, therefore, to claim their rights against the cultivators by law, but the cultivators were unable to protect themselves adequately.

[1] Before the division, the expenses of gathering in the crops were deducted.

This, in the case of rack renting, through growth of population and competition, was a serious difficulty. At any rate, tenants' rights, which up to the Permanent Settlement had rested on custom, and had in village communities been very real, now, so far as this settlement was concerned, gradually passed away.

MISERY OF ZEMINDARS.—Unwittingly, wrongs were perpetrated on the zemindars, as well as others. Many actual proprietors who were hereditary, but who were not zemindars, objected to a settlement being made with any but themselves. As they were not zemindars, they failed in their protestations; but the first to feel the burden of the settlement were the zemindars themselves. The zemindar often failed to obtain the rent from the ryot with sufficient despatch; and the Government acted in a very summary way with him. Non-payment on his part involved a sale of his property, and in 1794 it had become so strict that an estate could be sold for the failure in payment, of one monthly instalment. As the ryot was on the borderland of starvation, the zemindars were in bad hap, even after Cornwallis had made them landed gentry. In the course of twelve or fifteen years, very few of those people remained; the majority had been reduced to beggary. And so an unhappy piece of revolutionary work had been accomplished. Landed tenures in India had been practically not transferable by sale. The seizure of land and its sale for debt had hitherto been quite unknown.

SIR JOHN SHORE.—The peaceful policy of Cornwallis was carried out by his successor, Sir John Shore. On the ground of illegitimacy, he deposed the ruler from the throne of Oude, and the new Nawab became dependent upon the Company. But an Act was passed which forbad the declaring of war, or the beginning of hostilities against native princes, unless preparations were being made by the prince for hostilities against the British. But Sir John Shore's policy was changed by the next Governor-General, Lord Wellesley. Honour gave way to glory! Peace to prowess!

CITIZEN TIPU.—Lord Wellesley, in 1798, became Viceroy, and commenced his rule at an interesting moment. Napoleon's

name was in everybody's mouth, and his fame had spread to India. He, in the year of Wellesley's advent in India, had sailed for Egypt. He had in proclamation made appeal to Mohammedan peoples. His ambition was to grasp India, and unite no small part of Asia under his banner. And his influence in the East was not small. Scindia, the head of the Mahratta confederacy, had his army officered and led by Frenchmen. The Nizam was protected by French regiments. The Sultan of Mysore, Tippoo Saib, had enrolled himself as a member of a Republican Club as Citizen Tipu, and was in correspondence with the French Directory. He had a tree of Liberty planted in his dominions, and was in sympathy with the French. There is no doubt but what much that is noble was found in his character. But it was as wormwood and gall to the honest British mind that the ideas of the French Revolution should move out to the Ganges. Trees of Liberty were not to be planted in English soil; certainly not in India. Citizen Tipu must be crushed!

THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM.—The subsidiary system, the pet idea of Wellesley, was at once an attack upon Native Independence and upon foreign influence. It was clever, and it rose into prominence largely by reason of fear as to the action of France. Native states were to be isolated from each other, so that joint action on their part would be impossible. Further, such states were to be surrounded by British territory, while they were to be denied the advantages of sea-board. But beyond this geographical arrangement, political influence was to be actively utilised. A system of permanent treaties was to be established. These treaties were to place in the hands of Britain the control of all State affairs, except such as related to royalty. Military matters were to be under British control. Differences were to be settled by British arbitration, and at each native court there should be a British Resident. The scheme simply meant the destruction of Native Independence. For all practical purposes, the States were to become parts of the Empire. The native prince would be a dummy. The powers of the Resident were extreme. He

was to be not an ambassador, but the representative of a dominant power. Nothing worse could happen to a prince than the appearance of a domineering Resident. In the event of the prince being deprived of his position, the Resident would probably be made Commissioner. This fact, at least, placed a temptation in the way of the Resident, and urged him to find faults with the prince, if possible. So that at the best, the prince but shared in the government of his own country, with a man whose interests were perhaps centred in his overthrow, and who certainly had the power to foment disturbances at any time.

THE FORWARD POLICY.—The first attack upon the native princes was upon Citizen Tipu. Lord Wellesley, or Lord Mornington, as he then was, had been in power a short three weeks when a fortunate discovery was made. Citizen Tipu, thoroughly French in sympathy, was found to be friendly with the French Governor of the Mauritius. There was nothing easier than to believe in the existence of an alliance between France and Tipu. What had the Act of 1793 to do with Wellesley? He at once proclaimed war. Tipu begged for peace. He asserted his innocence. He would make terms. It was all of no use. He had planted a tree of Liberty that had to be destroyed. At this time the French soldiers in the pay of the Nizam were mutinying for their pay. That was a happy accident. Lord Mornington agreed with the Nizam that the French troops should be disarmed, and he would supply fresh men. Tippoo Saib was then attacked. Bravely he and his soldiers defended their homes. They were defeated. Little mercy was shown to the defeated. Tippoo was slain and Seringapatam was looted.

LOOTING OF SERINGAPATAM.—Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, was a centre of wealth and civilisation. The library of Tippoo Saib, rich as it was in Oriental literature, was invaluable. As an example of the wealth in the city, a drummer-boy found a pair of bangles. He sold them to an officer for £100. They were found to be worth £40,000. For days after the sacking of the city, soldiers could be seen in the streets betting gold coins

on cock fights. It was a perfect triumph of civilisation over barbarity.

The Character of Tippoo.—English writers have enjoyed themselves a good deal in the work of blackening Tippoo's character. A fair estimate of the man places him in a kindlier position. In a draft of conditions, on which he wished to form a treaty with the French, he used these words: "I demand that male and female prisoners, as well English as Portuguese, who shall be taken by the Republican troops, or by mine, shall be treated with humanity and with regard to their persons, that they shall, their property becoming the right of the allies, be transported at our joint expense out of India, to places far distant from the territories of the allies." As to his rule, it is said: "His country was . . . the best cultivated, and his population the most flourishing in India, while, under the English, the population of the Carnatic and Oude . . . was the most wretched upon the face of the earth; and even Bengal itself was suffering almost all the evils which the worst of governments could inflict."

The Development of Subsidiary Schemes.—The Nizam had fought against Tippoo. He had a large cession of territory from the conquered state. As an ally, he had to become a subsidiary. In discharge of his tribute, he gave up to the Company all the land that had been ceded him from Tippoo's defeat. "The troops for which subsidy was to have been paid cost under £400,000; the territory ceded in lieu of it was computed to yield £630,000." The Nizam was blessed with generous allies!

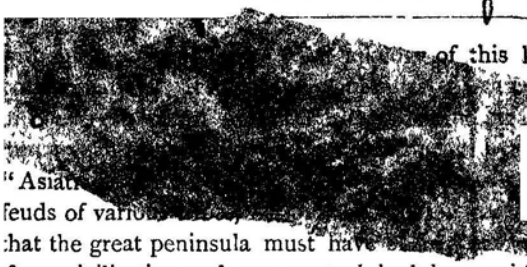
Attention was now turned to Oude. The exactions from this state had been so immense, and the conditions of the state so wretched, that the Nabob decided to retire in favour of his son. A quarrel was easily made. The frontier provinces were annexed, the state isolated, and the Subsidiary Scheme perfectly applied. By 1797, the subsidy for the use of British troops had amounted to £760,000 per annum. On account of his arrears, the Nabob was dispossessed of the huge and fertile tract of land between the Ganges and the Jumna, and also of Rohilcund. It was the loss

of half his state, and he fought hard against the terms. The reply was characteristic: "If those terms were not satisfactory, he would lose the whole of his state." The demand was the more unfair, because the expenses came very largely from the compulsory disbanding of his own army, and the replacement of that army by British troops.

The next to fall was the Nabob of the Carnatic. He had been the too faithful ally of the British. It was he who had incited the British attack on the Rajah of Tanjore. But his allies had become his creditors. The more he struggled, the tighter became the cords that bound him. A pretext to overthrow him was made. It was suggested that some of his officers had corresponded with Tippoo. And while this unclean work was being carried on, the Nabob lay a-dying. His house was surrounded with troops. Upon his death the will was demanded. The Nabob had left his throne to his son. The Commissioners at once declared the throne lost to the family on account of the Nabob's treason. The son took a stand, only to be displaced on the grounds of illegitimacy. It was so easy, with our Western notions, to trot out the charge of illegitimacy, and so at once to violate Indian law and outrage Indian opinion.

Then came the turn of the Mahrattas. Conscious of their danger, they made up their own difficulties and united themselves. The war is regarded as one of the most glorious in British annals. General Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, gave evidence of that great military skill which stood him in such good stead in after years; and other generals, too, won great renown. By the end of the year, Scindia's power in Northern India was destroyed. His lands north of the Jumna passed into the Company's hands, and the Mogul Emperor, who was blind, was left in British care. The Bosla of Berar gave up a great part of his land, and became a subsidiary. Of the Mahratta princes, Holkar alone remained unsubdued.

Apologists for Wellesley.—One of the great authorities on Indian matters, Sir W. Hunter, says: "The intrigues of the native princes gave him an opportunity for carrying out his plan



of this kind is surely a
out a policy
of
"Asiat
feuds of vari
that the great peninsula must hav
f our civilisation and our control had been withdrawn. There we were, and there we must remain. The great question was, on what footing? Could we stand still, occupying our own settlements, carrying on the Company's commerce, and simply maintaining the frontier? It could not be done. The French had all but established their supremacy over the great prince of the Deccan—the Nizam. . . . Every prince in India would have been suborned by the French if we had not intercepted the operation." These are the ideas generally given to the British. But the native states were not such hells; they generally had greater happiness than those which were under our influence. The whole thing that explains the position was the fear of France The natives, who were tired of our bleeding operations, were perhaps not unwise in turning to the French, who, in the early days of the Revolution, at least, were endeavouring to tear themselves away from tyranny. Whether India would have been happier under French rule than under British must be matter of opinion. But the fact remains that the Subsidiary Scheme was unfolded, not because we cared one straw about Indian hells, or Indian happiness or civilisation, but because we intended holding on to India, and, as Capitalists, we meant to make India pay.

THE COMPANY DISSATISFIED.—Wellesley gorged on Glory; the Company hungered after Guineas. The policy carried out by the soldier had a curious result at home. The "patriot" was in a seventh heaven of delight. But it all cost money, and the Directors yearned for peace. Hence difficulties between Wellesley and the Directors. The one could not understand the commercial line of argument; the others shrank from small dividends. So in 1805 he returned home denouncing what he called "the ignominious

tyranny of Leadenhall Street." And so the Cabinet of business men inaugurated a new policy. Peace at any price! Anything so that the finances be put in order.

MUTINY AT VELLORE.—But even putting the Exchequer in order did not do everything. Serious changes were taking place in the officering of regiments. Europeans who knew little of the Sepoys were being brought over, and their inexperience caused disaster. Prior to 1760, the Sepoys were commanded by Subadars, each one having the command of 100 men. Later, battalions of 1,000 strong were formed. Still later the battalions were linked, and in 1824 they were reduced to a strength of 500. In all these changes it was found that the Sepoy was most valuable, where most independent, and where he had the fewest European officers. Possessing a certain amount of initiative, and brought into close contact with distinctly friendly officers, they became attached to their leaders in a remarkable degree. Clive's soldiers were devoted to him. Indians have been known to bring their children for two or three generations to salaam before their favourite officers. But these favoured leaders considered Sepoy peculiarities, and never infringed upon Sepoy sentiment. Hence there grew up in native regiments men who, for their officers, would perform prodigies of valour, and who rendered a fidelity that can never be surpassed. In course of time, a different kind of official came, one who regarded the dark-skinned private with contempt. The feelings of the soldiery were ruthlessly flung aside in obedience to the requirements of a martinet. Men like Sir John Malcolm protested; that mattered not. The turban should give place to the helmet. Ear-rings were to disappear. Marks of caste were not to appear upon the forehead. And a shaving quite impossible to the religious feelings of many Indians was to be adopted. So mutterings were heard; and then came a Mutiny.

A month before the outbreak, a Sepoy revealed the plot to Colonel Forbes. The informant was handed over to the native officers, and put in gaol for his pains. The plot was not widespread, and it was mercilessly dealt with.

LORD MINTO, 1809-1813.—Although the Company were now carrying out a peaceful policy, their influence under Minto was extending. Missions were sent to Persia, Afghanistan, and Scinde. A treaty of some moment was also made with the Sikhs, and their states lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna were placed under British protection.

LORD MOIRA.—Under Lord Moira's rule we had our first difficulty with Nepaul. Frontier disputes brought about an exceedingly difficult war. The Nepaulese, or Ghoorkas, overwhelmed our men in many a battle, but after two years' fighting the brave foe was defeated. Territory was gained, a British Resident established at the Ghoorka capital, and a number of valuable soldiers entered the Company's service.

In the meantime serious disturbances were breaking out. Poverty and misery were doing their work. In Rohilcund, where of old the Rohillas were prosperous and happy, a house tax was causing excitement. In the Doab there was general discontent. Robbers were often sheltered, and their spoil shared. Along the Western frontiers the fiscal and judicial systems of the Company had produced frightful misery. Children were being sold for food. The people of Orissa were in extremity. Bengalese moneylenders had extorted to the last fraction. Helpless and powerless as they were, the people rose in rebellion, only to be put down with the greatest ease. A special commissioner was sent to the district. He dealt wisely and kindly, and large remissions were made. So through many parts of India, British rule notwithstanding, there seemed to be a thrill of misery.

THE PINDARIS.—The most serious difficulty, however, was with the Pindaris. Stable and good governments had been overturned. In places anarchy had followed. Out of what had been well-conducted tribes had sprung banditti and robbers. So these Pindaris, descendant from Afghans, Mahrattas, and Jats, simply represented what was an unhappy result; a state of anarchy which naturally followed the break-up of the empire. Neither race nor religion gave a common bond. They were simply marauders who were well-led and well-armed. The Company at home would

have let them alone. The Board of Control, on the other hand, advised their break-up. An army of 120,000 men was collected. The Pindaris were broken up; many of them joined the British ranks, and their territories formed the nucleus of the Central Provinces.

THE LAST MAHRATTA WAR.—Many of the Pindaris had been in Scindia's pay. The campaign against them brought about a very favourable treaty with Scindia. The Mahratta chiefs, however, feeling aggrieved at their treatment, confederated. The general results of the campaign may be thus summed up. The Rajputana States became feudatories. The dominions of the Peshwa were added to the Presidency, and the Peshwa granted a pension. Puppet princes were discovered: one for the throne of Sattara, one to fill the Peshwa's place, one to take Holkar's position, and one to be Rajah of Nagpore. Lord Moira, or, as he is better known, Lord Hastings, dealt in a considerate and statesmanlike way with the native princes. He treated them as reigning princes. The meddlings of self-seeking Residents were checked, and those who made themselves obnoxious he had removed; under him, too, the Civil and the Criminal Courts were reformed, and to native magistrates enlarged powers were given.

SIR THOMAS MUNRO ON OUR RESPONSIBILITY.—The most notable event at this time was Munro's Land Reform. The Zemindar system was working badly. So Captain Reid and Lieutenant Sir T. Munro (afterwards General) developed the celebrated Ryotwar system. Nothing in our Indian dealings is nobler than the "intention" of these men. Munro was filled with gloom at the results of our rule. His words are clear: "There is one great question to which we should look in all our arrangements. What is to be the final result on the character of the people? Is it to be raised, or is it to be lowered? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power, and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in character, lower than at present? Or are we to endeavour to raise their character? It ought undoubtedly to be our aim to raise the minds of the natives, and to take care that whenever our connection with India should cease,

it did not appear that the only fruit of our dominion had been to leave the people more abject and less able to govern themselves than when we found them. It would certainly be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of government should show an abasement of a whole people."

THE RYOTWAR SCHEME.—Sir Thomas's enthusiasm carried his scheme into operation in Madras. The ryot was henceforth to deal directly with the Government. His land was to be surveyed and assessed. The intermediate zemindar was abolished, and a holding was secure so long as the ryot paid his assessment. In a way the ryot was his own landlord. Then of unoccupied land he might take any field, or of what he held he could relinquish what he pleased. In the early days the survey was rough and the assessment high. By official instructions, assessors were not to tax at too low a figure uncultivated land, lest, to the injury of the Revenue, the ryot should give up the land under cultivation. Under Munro's personal supervision the system worked well. But the settlement was annual, and depended much upon the despatch and the way in which Revenue officers carried out their duties. This is seen by a complaint, made years ago, that Indian cotton contained dirt, and was discoloured by heating. Those imperfections arose because the cotton had to be stored in pits, until the Revenue officer could attend to his duties. In this way the value of the cotton fell. This, at least, shows the system to be fallible, for fearful loss befel the ryot when his crop was spoiled. The scheme worked as well at Coimbatore as anywhere. There, in 1828, the ryot paid 33s. per annum out of a gross produce of £5. Sir Thomas Munro felt that his scheme had largely failed, and he himself said that new land could not be brought under cultivation, except by lowering the assessment.

THE BURMESE WAR.—At this time events were happening in Burma that brought about the first Burmese war. Aracan, at this time a large state, had been conquered by the Burmese. The Mugs, a cross between the Burmese and the Hindoos, were inhabitants. These people had been cruelly treated, and although the in-

habitants opposed, large numbers had entered British territory. Some waste land in Chittagong had been set apart for them. Difficulties between the Mugs and the Burmese brought war. Twenty thousand lives were lost. Fourteen millions of money were spent. But the flag henceforth floated over new provinces. Assam, Aracan, and Tenasserim were annexed. So that British earth-hunger was appeased for a little while.

THE MUTINY AT BARRACKPORE.—The campaign against Burma was remarkable as being the first foreign war undertaken by the Company. The operations involved a crossing of the water. Many of the Sepoys were high caste men, and these, by religious belief, had scruples against crossing the Indus or the sea. The men appealed to the officers to consider their objections, and make arrangements whereby their scruples would be satisfied. The officers demanded unqualified obedience. On the 11th November, 1824, the 47th Regiment was ordered to parade in marching order. Not more than one-third obeyed. Next day small parties joined from other regiments. The men used no violence; they only asked to be dismissed. They were ordered to obey. And then, without warning, the artillery played upon them. The men broke and fled. The infantry now fired, and the cavalry took up the pursuit. It has been called a Mutiny. It was a butchery brought about by that total want of consideration which so betrays the martinet into tyranny.

CHAPTER V

FEARS OF RUSSIA.—Before the forties were in, the fears of Russia were in fashion. Those fears brought the Afghan War. Quite early in the century, an invasion of India had been planned by Napoleon and Alexander. Events had gone wrong, and the accomplishment of the plan seemed impossible. In 1835, it was discovered that Persia was friendly with Russia, rather than with us. Alarming rumours were set abroad. And yet there was no ground for fear. The religious divisions which had so divided the Indians, and so helped us in our policy, would have assisted us in the North of India. Of the peoples concerned, the Afghans were Sunnites, and the Persians Shiites. Both Mohammedans, it is true, but both regarding the other as heretical and dangerous to the true faith.

AFFAIRS IN AFGHANISTAN.—Apart from European politics, Afghan affairs were interesting. Two powerful families were mixed up with them. The Dooranee dynasty that had ruled Afghanistan had lost their position, and their opponents, the Barukzyes, had come to the front. The Dooranee representative, Shah Sooja, was a pensioner in British pay, and Prince Kamran, the ruler of Herat, was the only member of the family in power. The remaining portions of the Afghan Empire were governed by Barukzye princes, of whom the head, was Dost Mahomed, who ruled at Cabul, and had a kind of central authority. But the Empire had shrunk in proportions. Runjeet Singh, the Sikh, had seized Cashmere, Attock, Peshawar, and Mooltan. The Sultan of Bokhara had seized Balkh, and the rulers of Scinde had declared themselves independent. The differences between the Barukzyes and the Dooranees led the former into a friendship with Persia, for Persia was warring against Kamran, the Dooranee ruler of Herat.

PERSIA AND HERAT.—The action on the part of Persia was well warranted. Kamran had made engagements with Persia, and had violated them. He had invaded Persian territory, and had carried away 12,000 persons as slaves. No just ground existed for interfering with Persia. But Persia was friendly with Russia. Russian officers and soldiers were with the Persian army. That at once gave the affair an importance to English eyes, that but for that fact would not have been seen. As the affair was hundreds of miles from our frontier, there was really no cause for alarm; but Russian presence made the Persian action a menace to us, and the Shah was warned that if he took Herat, the occupation would be regarded as a hostile demonstration against England. The attack upon Herat failed; he therefore complied with all British demands, and abandoned the enterprise.

OUR PLOT.—To make ourselves perfectly safe, and checkmate both Persia and Russia, we determined to make Cabul our ally. And we proceeded to do so in a wonderful way. We resolved that a Dooranee should be put upon the throne. Shah Sooja was our pensioner, and it should be for him to make a friendly kingdom of Afghanistan. It would be in effect as any other subsidiary state. A difficulty had to be made with Dost Mahomed, but this seemed not an easy task. An envoy, Captain A. Burnes, was sent to him, ostensibly to make terms. But the monarch was so anxious to be friendly that quarrelling was not easy. In the meantime, we made a treaty with Runjeet Singh and Shah Sooja, whereby Shah Sooja should take the Afghan throne. It is hardly necessary to point out that the feelings of the Afghans themselves were not to be considered.

OPPOSITION COUNSELS.—These things were not done without warning. The Duke of Wellington said "our difficulties would commence where our military successes ended." The Marquis of Wellesley spoke of "the folly of occupying a land of rocks, deserts, and snow." Sir Charles Metcalf and Mr. Elphinstone, Indian authorities, both protested, and the Court of Directors wished to let Afghan affairs alone.

THE COUNTRY FOOLED.—As there was strong opposition in the

country to the war, it was necessary to let the country have only a slightly exact knowledge of what was happening. What was done comes out in the debates of the House of Commons, which occurred considerably later. It was proved that the real opinions of our envoy were largely concealed from Parliament by what Lord J. Russell apologetically called "careful selection." Despatches were mutilated and sentences were omitted. Mr. Roebuck attacked the ministers so vigorously that Sir J. Hobhouse complained he had "almost sprinkled himself and Lord Auckland with the blood." In later years Sir J. Hobhouse lamented his part, and acknowledged the war to have been "a folly, if not a crime."

WAR DECLARED.—In the Afghan Empire of old, Peshawar had been a valuable possession. Although it was in Sikh hands, Dost Mahomed undeniably looked at it with loving eyes. This was not wonderful. Our envoy offered mediation, but under any circumstances the Sikhs, as our allies, were to retain Peshawar. Dost Mahomed did not enthuse over these views. He was thereupon charged with being ambitious and designing. So war was declared. And now came a little episode which showed us in our true light. Shah Sooja was to enter the country by one road; we by another. The road which would have suited us lay through the country of our ally, Runjeet Singh. But that prince had no intention of permitting the passage. He, too, was a powerful soldier; in strength, his army was almost equal to our own. We therefore determined to march through Scinde and Beloochistan, and that upon the ground that Scinde had formerly been part of Afghanistan, and was therefore tributary to Shah Sooja. This reasoning might as well have been applied to Peshawar, but Runjeet Singh was too powerful to be thus trifled with.

SCINDE AND BELOOCHISTAN.—The two states through which our army was to march were perfectly independent native states. Nor did they agree willingly. They were coerced. Our army therefore marched on Hyderabad, the capital of Scinde, seized Kurrachee, and that we had treated them as independent princes notwithstanding, we treated them now as rebellious vassals of Shah Sooja.

A STATE PAPER.—The British now looked round to see if any one could be robbed. Someone must help, if possible, to pay for this expedition. In a State paper these words occur: "His Lordship will only add, as a suggestion to aid your opinion on the subject, that the Ameers may fairly be supposed to be wealthy." This extract is taken from a book, "A Great Country's Little Wars," by Mr. Lushington. Upon this advice he remarks: "Indignation would be out of place here. It occurs in a State paper, and is therefore dignified diplomacy. In a Court of Justice, read from a private letter, in evidence against parties on trial for conspiracy to extort money, it would produce a lively effect."

A NEW TREATY, AND WHAT THE BELOOCHEES THOUGHT.—A new treaty was impressed upon the Ameers. They were to acknowledge our sovereignty, pay down a lump sum of £300,000, and henceforth to pay one-half of their revenue as tribute, and to maintain an auxiliary force of 4,000 men. This is an account of the scene at the imposing of the treaty:

"When the reading was over, the Beloochees showed great excitement. At this time a signal from their highnesses would have been sufficient to terminate the lives of all our party, under the swords of the barbarian and remorseless Beloochees, many of whom stood at our head with naked scimitars in the same way as executioners do at the moment of the performance of their horrid duty. Meer Nour Mohammed first observed, in Beloochee, to his two colleagues, 'Cursed be he who puts reliance upon the promises of the Feringees'; and then, addressing himself seriously to the British representative, he spoke thus in Persian: 'Your treaties, I believe, are changeable at your pleasure and convenience. Is this the way to treat your friends and benefactors? You asked our position to allow your armies a free passage through our territories. We granted it without hesitation, depending upon your friendship, under your honourable promises. Had we known that, after the entrance of your army into our lands, you would threaten our safety and enforce another treaty upon us, demanding an annual tribute of 300,000 rupees, and a ready payment of 2,100,000 rupees, for the immediate expenses of the army, we would, in such case, have adopted measures for the security of our country and persons.' . . . Captain Eastwick heard all this with calmness, and gave brief replies in Persian and Arabic proverbs, such as: 'Friends must aid friends in emergencies.' . . . Meer Nour Mohammed smiled . . . and then,

with a sigh, he said to Captain Eastwick, 'I wish I could comprehend the meaning of the word "friend" which you use.'"

WE BORROW BUKKUR.—The most important fortress in Scinde was Bukkur. As the British were in the country, they suggested that the fortress be loaned them during the war. Sir A. Burnes said: "I am negotiating the fortress of Bukkur, and think I have nailed it; if not, we must just take it. The poor chiefs are civil, and well inclined towards us." The poor chief was over eighty years of age, and he said, in giving up Bukkur, he encountered great disgrace, but he did it to save his children and his tribe from ruin. So Bukkur was borrowed; but it was never returned.

GREEDY EYES.—Borrowing fortresses is little to the likings of honest Britons. They generally prefer annexing lands. Even now, patriotic visions beheld the flag floating over Scinde. Ominous words occur in a long letter, dated Scinde Residency, February 13, 1839:—"I beg to distinctly record that I anticipate no such event; but if we are ever again obliged to exert our military strength in Scinde, it must be carried to subjugating the country."

NO INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR INDIA.—What excuse had politicians to offer for their passage through a friendly country? Later on, Sir Robert Peel had to explain British action. In his defence in the House of Commons, he said the rules of international morality which obtained in Europe were not always capable of application in India. "It was difficult, when Russia was intriguing against England in India, to say calmly, 'I look at my Vattel and my Puffendorf, and I refrain from marching my troops across a neutral territory.'"

THE AFGHAN CAMPAIGN.—The ensuing campaign was apparently a triumph for British arms. Candahar surrendered. Ghuznee was stormed. Shah Sooja entered into Cabul. Shortly after, Dost Mahomed, with one attendant, rode into the English lines, and surrendered. He was sent as a State prisoner to Calcutta.

THE STORY OF SATTARA.—At the close of the Mahratta War, the British had, for purposes of their own, placed a prince, their own nominee, upon the throne of Sattara. The Company guaranteed perpetual sovereignty. It is well to see why the prince was chosen for the throne. At the commencement of the Mahratta War he was a State prisoner of the Peshwa, but was allowed £5,000 per year. The Peshwa was a Brahmin, and the avowed motive of the Governor-General, in making his selection, was to establish a counterpoise to the influence of the former Brahmin Government. Under the guidance of the Brahmins, the Sattara princes had had little education. Their accomplishments were largely confined to horsemanship and the use of the bow. The mother of the present Rajah had little sympathy with the Brahmins. She was a well-educated and clever woman, and she had not only managed to have her son well educated, but she instilled into his mind a serious and deep mistrust of the Brahmins and their belongings. On his part, he, as Rajah, was determined that the Mahrattas should have the benefits of education. To show his own sympathy and resolution, he set apart, for college purposes, a suite of rooms in his palace. The town of Sattara contained about 10,000 souls; in the Rajah's time it possessed no fewer than 40 schools. Besides this, it became a handsome town—improved and civilised in every way. From year to year the Bombay Government complimented him, and, after a reign of sixteen years, the Court of Directors resolved to send him a sword of honour and a suitable letter as a mark of respect. Before the sword and letter were sent the Rajah was in disgrace.

By the treaty which placed the Rajah on the throne, certain estates, on the death of their then occupants, were to lapse to him. Over the estates a dispute arose. The treaty which dealt with these matters had been drawn up by Mr. Elphinstone, and the prince offered to leave the matter quite in his hands. Subsequently, the Directors decided the matter in his favour. Here came some strange actions. For some reason, the Indian authorities kept the decision from the Rajah. He thereupon appealed,

and the Bombay Government promised that the matter should be referred to the Home Government. At the end of a year, he learned that no reference had been made to his case. The reason for such blackguardly dealings must be conjectural. It looks as if peculation, at the expense of the prince, was being carried on. He, at any rate, utterly disgusted at his treatment, determined to send his own agent to London. This common-sense action on his part was bitterly resented by the Indian officials. The Bombay Government decided that such action was an infraction of the treaty, and an insult to themselves. They therefore withheld the Directors' sword and letter.

This strange insistence that the Rajah could not appeal to the Home Government was afterwards admitted by Lord Clare, the Governor of Bombay at the time of the dispute, to be wrong; but now the Bombay Government broke off all dealings with the Rajah. Here came a chance for the Brahmins, who were the prince's enemies, and who wished him displaced. He was charged with trying to corrupt two native officers, who were in the service of the Government. A Commission tried the case. The President of the Commission said the charge was inspired by hatred. A second charge suggested that he had, with a Portuguese viceroy, conspired to drive the English out of India. The nobleman whose name was mentioned gave his word of honour that there was no truth in the charge. A third charge said he had conspired with the ex-Rajah of Nagpore. This prince was a State prisoner. The most incriminating thing shown in their dealings was the sending a pair of slippers to the ex-Rajah.

The poor prince now called for a trial. It was refused; but a secret inquiry was instituted. To his dying day, he never saw the evidence. Then came the mean action of the Governor of Bombay, who offered him a continuation of his sovereignty if he would confess his guilt. He refused. "He would consent to everything, except to abandon his religion or acknowledge that he had ever been our enemy."

In the meantime, for reasons of his own, Col. Ovens, the

Resident of Sattara, entered into the opposition to the Prince. He was afterwards impeached at the India House for his actions. The Rajah had, however, friends in England. The case was brought up before the House of Commons. Nothing could be said against him to support the charges. Sir J. Hobhouse said: "As President of the Board of Control, I knew that these charges were made against the Rajah of Sattara; but to say that I believed them, is what the honourable gentleman has not the slightest foundation for saying." In a letter from Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government of India, to Mr. Wathen, Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government, he says: "That the Rajah . . . nettled by an alleged grievance . . . is disaffected . . . may be conceded . . . but the result of the late proceedings . . . tended rather to weaken than to strengthen the case against him." The Bombay Government, in spite of all these things, had their way. It was easier to put another dummy upon the throne than to frankly and fairly recall the Bombay officials. And yet such things had an influence upon the Indian mind.

COLABA STOLEN.—Then came another piece of dirty work. The Prince of Colaba had, upon the overthrow of the Peshwa, been guaranteed, upon the usual conditions "to him and his successors," the integrity of his dominions. He died. His successor was an adopted child. The child died. In spite of the fact that there were numerous members of the family who could lawfully claim the throne, the Governor decided that the country should be treated as having escheated, for want of heirs male. Memorials were presented to the authorities, but without avail. The territory was annexed, and the property of the late Rajah sold by auction.

THE AFGHANS' REVOLT.—All this time, Shah Sooja, guarded by British bayonets, seemed to be doing well. Then in the end of 1841 came a bolt from the blue. Sir A. Burnes, our Envoy, was assassinated. An insurrection followed. Our troops were defeated. The forbearance of the enemy, in the judgment of Lieut. Eyres, alone saved our army from annihilation.

TREACHERY MEETS TREACHERY.—And now came a pitiful deed. Neither side trusted the other. By a treaty, certain chiefs were outside our hostility. Mohammed Akbar, the son of Dost Mahomed, determined to test Sir W. Macnaghten's honour. Thus writes Lushington: "During the actual existence of a treaty, Mohammed Akbar proposed to Sir W. Macnaghten a scheme, at once a test of his sincerity and a trap to catch him; comprising, among other points, the seizure of certain other chiefs, parties to the actually existing treaty. The Envoy fell into the snare, and went forth to a conference prepared to seize men who were at peace, in reliance on his word. Treachery was met by treachery. The counter-mine exploded under the feet of the miner. He was himself seized, and resisting strongly, was shot by Mohammed Akbar, not, as it would seem, of previous purpose, but in the fierce passion excited by a violent personal struggle."

ANNIHILATION.—Then came the retreat. Guns and treasure were abandoned. The proud army became a disorganised mob, and was practically annihilated. But for a few prisoners in Afghan hands, the army of occupation had ceased to be.

BRITISH BAD FAITH?—Following these things, in the early part of the summer of 1842, negotiations for the exchange of prisoners were entered into. Akbar Khan agreed to send all the English back, on condition that the Afghan prisoners were returned, and that the English withdrew altogether from the country. This, according to the *Bombay Times*, April 1843, says Mr. Lushington, was actually agreed to. If that was so, British bad faith permitted these arrangements to be violated. The British recommenced hostilities, whereupon Akbar exclaimed in fierce wrath: "Every Afghan chief had been taught to lie and break faith by the Feringees."

BRITISH ATROCITIES.—Two British armies met at Cabul. The prisoners were released; but inhumanity marked the progress of the army. Gen. M'Caskill felt himself called upon to protest against the outrages. Lieut. Greenwood, in his narrative of the campaign, related: "I would bayonet, said one of the

Sepoys to Lieut. Greenwood," in the Khyber Pass, a Khyberee of a month old at his mother's breast." The same writer relates how "a little wild Khyberee boy, about six years old, was seen by a soldier trying, as he had doubtless been taught to do, to hack off the head of a dead enemy—a savage habit, which the Sepoys throughout the campaign seem perpetually to have practised. The soldier—not a Sepoy, but an English soldier—coolly took him up on his bayonet, and threw him over the cliff." "Coolly as this hellish deed was done, so coolly is it told, without one word of remark or censure."

Charekar was burned. Part of Cabul was plundered and burned. Istaliff was burned. "The name of Istaliff was for a time the symbol of atrocity." The House of Commons soon recovered from its shock. The perpetrators were British soldiers. Of the religious world, Mr. Lushington wrote: "The self styled religious world received the news of the slaughter of Istaliff with the calmness of a man who puts his foot into water that is a trifle hot; it flinched a little, and that was all." Having slain, and hacked, and hewed, the British troops marched back to India. Shah Sooja had been killed, and Dost Mahomed re-took the throne.

TREATIES WITH SCINDE.—The affairs of Scinde now reappear. It will make the position clearer to give a few extracts from treaties.

In 1809, our treaty said, "There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Scinde."

In 1832, "the two contracting powers bound themselves never to look with covetousness on the possessions of each other."

There was a navigable and useful river running through the country, and a prophetic native had said, "Alas! Scinde is now gone, since the British have seen the river."

But the treaty said, "No person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river or roads." "No armed vessels or boats shall come by the said river." "No English merchant shall be allowed to settle in Scinde, but shall come as occasion

requires; and having stopped to transact their business, shall return to India."

In 1836, the Ameers were threatened by Runjeet Singh, our Sikh ally. We mediated, and much against their will, thrust a British Resident upon them.

MAJOR OUTRAM, RESIDENT.—And now the position of Resident was filled by Major Outram, afterwards Sir J. Outram, and the hero of the Indian Mutiny. A man of sincerity, he set himself out to understand the people. The result was mutual sympathy between him and the Ameers. "You are to me," said the Ameer to him, "as my brother, Nusseer Khan. From the days of Adam, no one has known so great truth and friendship as I have found in you." When the days of Afghan disaster came, that friendship was of use. The Major was able to write Lieutenant Postans: "We are fortunately becoming stronger at Sukkur and Shikarpore daily; otherwise, there is no knowing how far the Ameers might be excited by the disastrous accounts from Cabul, when the truth can no longer be disguised."

REVISAL OF TREATIES DEMANDED.—At this time the Ameer was in arrears with his tribute. Negotiations were being pressed upon him, whereby Shikarpore, the chief mart of Upper Scinde, should be transferred to us, we giving the Ameer a rent, one-fifth more than the place had ever yielded. The Ameer was unwilling. It was overturning the treaty that had been established. But the authorities were insistent, to the indignation of Outram, who saw in the whole business nothing but the action of a strong power bullying the weak. Intimation, in the meantime, reached the Governor-General as to hostile intrigue on the part of the Ameers. Hereupon he sent Outram an address, which at his discretion should be delivered to the Ameers or withheld. Outram did not deliver it. In that address the Ameers were admonished, "On the day on which you shall be faithless to the British power, sovereignty will have passed from you."

SIR CHARLES NAPIER.—Sir Charles Napier hereupon took command of the army. The functions of the Resident were suspended, and the General entered upon his work of "revising"

the treaties. While these things were being done, protests were being made against the whole business, both in the India House and in the House of Commons. Sir C. Napier had no scruples. "It is not for me to consider how we came to occupy Scinde. . . . I would abolish the tolls upon the rivers, make Kurrachee a free port, protect Shikarpore from robbers, make Sukkur a mart for trade on the Indus. I would make a trackway along its banks; I would get steam-boats. Yet all this is what the Ameers dread."

OUTRAM'S PROTEST.—This buccaneering met with stern opposition from Outram. Of the early proceedings he thus writes:

"I was constrained to take an active and somewhat prominent part in an invasion which I had strongly deprecated, even when it was merely hinted at as a probable contingency. This invasion led to the infliction of still further injustice on the unhappy princes of Scinde; and emphatically as I denounced that injustice to Sir C. Napier, I was bound to vindicate his conduct in my communications with his victims. On the Ameers I had to urge the necessity of a speedy settlement of affairs, and at the same time to demonstrate to the General that, consequently with the course which he pursued, no satisfactory adjustment of them could ever be arrived at. I was called upon to obtain their assent to demands against which I had solemnly protested as a positive robbery, and I had to warn them against resistance to our requisitions as a measure that would bring down upon them utter and merited destruction, while I firmly believed that every life lost in consequence of our aggressions would be chargeable on us as a murder."

THE AMEERS COLLECT SOLDIERY.—To show how malevolent their designs were, Sir C. Napier declared that the Ameers had collected soldiery. And the chief had, so he said, avoided meeting him. Two short extracts will explain the views of Outram:

"Whatever rabble soldiery they had assembled was solely with a view to self-defence, . . . and much more that may be urged in excuse for such suspicious people, who have had little reason heretofore to estimate our good faith very highly."

Meer Roostum avoided meeting Sir C. Napier. Thus Outram accounts for it:

"That he did not go to your camp under the influence of the lies which had been told him, perhaps says less for his imbecility than for our credit, which our proceedings in this and neighbouring countries, since 1838, have brought to a very low ebb, I am ashamed to confess."

But the strongest words of condemnation are found in Outram's Commentary on the Conquest of Scinde:

"I came to Khyrpoor," wrote General Napier, "to see how matters stand, and I mean to go to Hyderabad to do the same. . . . I hear of troops collecting in the South. Armed hands shall not cross the Indus, therefore I take troops."

Of this Outram thus remarks:

"The system is a strange one. The representative of a nation, which is by solemn treaty bound not to introduce its jurisdiction into the territory of an ally, invades that territory under the most ridiculous pretence, and impresses its sovereigns with the conviction that he meditates the seizure of their country. He hears that troops are collecting in consequence of the uncontrollable alarm created by his own violent proceedings; he strictly prohibits (contrary to solemn treaty) this collection, and assigns as a reason for prolonging his invasive course that it appears to have alarmed the invaded! Civilised nations are perfectly entitled to invade; for barbarians to take precautions is alike impertinent and treasonable."

ANNEXATION OF SCINDE.—But great and glorious victories followed. Scinde was annexed. Napier was its first governor. But no glorious victories will make a theft more honest. Of the disgraceful episode, and its conclusion, Outram shall again speak:

"Solemn treaties, though forced upon them, were treated as waste paper; past acts of friendship and kindness towards us in the hour of extremity were disregarded; false charges were heaped upon them; they were goaded into resistance; and the ruthless and unrelenting sword of a faithless and merciless ally completed their destruction. . . . High though England's mission be—to conquer and to civilise, and to conquer that she may civilise—her conquests are only justifiable when unavoidable. . . . To anticipate that time is sinful; to plead in extenuation of that sin that it is overruled for good is blasphemy."

GWALIOR.—About this time a precisely similar thing happened in Gwalior to what had transpired in Colaba. Gwalior was the

remnant of the Mahratta power. The Maharajah being dead, the Maharanee adopted a child, which was recognised by us. So it came about that we recognised, or refused to recognise adopted children just as it suited our purpose. In this case there was another aspirant to the throne, who had a very large following. As there were two aspirants to the crown, we marched our armies into the state, and after desperate battles overthrew the Mahratta army. The Mahrattas paid the expenses for daring to have their own choice—their army was disbanded, and an English army replaced it.

CHAPTER VI

SIKH DIFFICULTIES.—In 1844 there were difficulties in the Punjab. Our ally, Runjeet Singh, was dead. His death meant confusion. The army was supreme. Now came fierce jealousies that threatened anarchy. And the Lahore Government grew so afraid of its own army that it saw no hope unless the army could be dispersed. Some of the Lahore people evidently regarded a British war as a good means of dispersing the army. The result of the difficulties was the crossing the Sutlej by the Sikhs. Lall Sing, the Sikh Vizier, wrote the English agent: "I have crossed with the Sikh army. You know my friendship for the British. Tell me what to do." And Lall Sing did as he was advised. His treachery notwithstanding, the British Empire in India was nearly wrecked. The Sepoys and the English troops met their match in the Sikh, and only by brilliant generalship, by heroic fighting, and not a little luck, were the Sikh forces overturned. A protectorate was appointed. £1,500,000 as an indemnity had to be paid. The Sikh army was cut down. The country between the Sutlej and the Beas was annexed. A British force was sent to garrison the Punjab, and Dhuleep Singh, a mere boy, was recognised as Maharajah. As the indemnity money was not forthcoming, in return for £1,000,000 the sovereignty of Cashmere was transferred to Goolab Sing. Cashmere, of course, to be a tributary state.

DALHOUSIE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—Lord Dalhousie began his reign in 1848. No Viceroy passed through a more eventful term of office. There are various opinions of the man. Those praise him who believe that there should be in the wide world but one flag. The thing by which Dalhousie must always be known is the "doctrine of lapse." Under what, in his case, was the

hypocritical pretence that rulers exist only for the good of the governed, he attacked native rule wherever possible; and pretending that British rule was better than native government, he continually sought to displace the one and build up the other. Out of this hypocrisy, he developed his doctrine of lapse—a doctrine which was in entire opposition to Indian feeling; an ignoring of Indian law, which gave the right to the Indian monarch, according to Indian custom and Indian tradition, to adopt his successor to the throne.

DALHOUSIE EXPLAINS.—The doctrine of theft was put into polite language by Dalhousie:

"I cannot conceive it possible for anyone to dispute the policy of taking advantage of any just opportunity for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them; for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength for adding to the resources of the public treasury, and for extending the uniform application of our system of government to those whose best interests we sincerely believe will be promoted thereby."—"I take this opportunity of recording," he wrote again, "my strong and deliberate opinion that, in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves."

His organ, the *Friend of India*, declared his policy to be, to change India from a congeries of states into an empire, one and indivisible.

PRINCES DIE CONVENIENTLY.—The doctrine of lapse was not quite new. John Bull has never been averse to taking possession of a nice estate which cost him nothing. From 1836 to 1840, Loodiana, Ferozepore, Jaloun, and a few others had lapsed. But with Dalhousie in power, the number grew. And Providence seemed strangely kind to the advocates of lapse. The number of deaths amongst the princes, which deaths brought annexations, was remarkable. The assassin's dagger or the poison cup, at a certain time and amongst a certain type of prince, could hardly have been more fatal than was "death from natural causes." "Minor absorptions can hardly be reckoned."

EXTRACTS FROM DALHOUSIE'S LETTERS.—The inwardness of the man comes out in his letters. There he appears perpetrating vulgar Capitalistic theft.

He decided to annex the Punjab, while we were professing to act on behalf of the ruler, who was our ward. "We should have all the labour, all the anxiety, all the responsibility, which would attach to the territories if they were actually our own: while we should not reap the corresponding benefits of increase of revenue and acknowledged possession."

He wished to annex Rajputana, and to begin with the Rajput State of Kerowlee. The Directors foresaw trouble with the native states, and refused permission. Here were his reasons: "For many years to come, we should have to bear the labour of governing this State, employing always at inconvenience a British officer for the purpose; and at the end of the young prince's minority have to hand over the country, with its four lacs of rupees."

These extracts explain the man, and the annexations which must be soon touched upon.

THE BRITISH UPSTART.—While we were busying ourselves by annexing the natives' country, the "young gentlemen" from England were disgracing their country and themselves by their attitude to the natives.

Here are evidences on the point.

Captain Hervey wrote: "To maltreat a native is considered a meritorious act."

An Englishman wrote thus, just before the Mutiny: "I have been saying for years past that if a man who left India thirty years ago were now to revisit it, he would scarcely credit the change he would universally witness in the treatment of natives, high and low. The English were not their masters. Now they are. Restraint is cast away, and as one generation of functionaries succeeds another every twenty-five years, those in authority set to those coming after them the example of superciliousness and arrogance."

Sir Charles Napier: "Young officers who aspire to be gentlemanly think they must be insolent to black servants."

Sir Charles Napier blamed Sir Colin Campbell: "His effort to prevent unprovoked attacks and cruelties on the tribes around Peshawar, almost past belief, proved unsuccessful, whole districts being devastated, and the most beautiful villages burned without any apparent reason but the desire of politicals to appear vigorous in the eyes of Lord Dalhousie."

Faults rarely go singly. Men who are cruel are generally knaves. When Sir C. Napier retired, he expressed himself freely. In an address to the army, he said: "A vulgar man who enjoys a champagne tiffin and swindles his servants may be a pleasant companion to those who do not hold him in contempt as a vulgar knave, but he is not a gentleman: his commission makes him an officer, but he is not a gentleman."

OUTRAM DISMISSED.—It was well for Dalhousie to boast about the benefits of British rule. And during this time torture was practised by the Police. Bribery was prevalent. Colonel Outram, in his official capacity, had to bring serious charges of bribing against officials connected with the Guikwar's Court at Baroda. He found deep distrust of the British authorities. This distrust came through decisions given in cases of disputed succession. He found that bribery had played its part, and that presents evidently intended for the Governor of Bombay had been sent to a banking-house. The Governor dismissed him. Lord Dalhousie, however, reinstated him, and reprimanded the Governor.

THE BRITISH WARD.—At the close of the Sikh War, the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh had been placed on the throne. He was a boy, and during his minority the administration of the country was entirely in British hands. "The British Resident was placed at the head of the administration, with full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State." He was at liberty to use the British troops as he felt fit, and for the protection of the prince and the preservation of the State to occupy any posts he felt inclined. The engagement terminated upon the prince

attaining his sixteenth year, which would have been in 1854. A fulsome proclamation was issued by the Governor-General in 1847, when the duties of the Government began, in which he assured everybody that he "felt the interests of a father," etc., etc.

SIKH SOLDIERY RESTLESS.—For some time there had been much ill-feeling amongst the Sikh soldiery. Religious fanaticisms had made matters worse. It was perfectly well known when the Maharajah became our ward. Two Residents had noted it. Sir F. Currie had pointed out that the Sikh soldiery of Runjeet Singh's regime could not be trusted. Sikh leaders had pointed out that it would be better to disband the army, and replace it by a new one, than to trust any of the men enrolled. And Sir Henry Lawrence pointed out the same thing. He saw men who had been generals and colonels in the Sikh army who were put to it to live, and when he knew that many of them had had scant consideration shown them as the changes were made, he said the good conduct of the Sikh army during the last twelvemonth had been a wonder to him. But to be ready if any insurrectionary movement took place, three strong movable brigades had been formed, and were held in readiness at central places.

THE DEWAN MOOLRAJ.—The Sikh Governor of the province of Mooltan was the Dewan Moolraj. He seemed to be out of favour with the Sikhs, and he asserted that he could obtain no payment of the taxes. He went, therefore, to Lahore to tender his resignation. Two Englishmen, accompanied by Sikhs, were sent to receive the keys of the Dewan's fort. An unpremeditated squabble ensued. The Englishmen were killed, and the Dewan Moolraj fled. His followers upbraided him, whereupon he turned round, acted as leader to the disaffected, and an insurrection had begun. A young lieutenant named Edwards immediately raised a body of Mohammedans; these were joined by 4,000 Sikhs, under Van Courtlandt, and the Dewan was defeated.

THE BRITISH WATCH AND WAIT.—While such things were going on, the British were taking up an astounding position.

Three movable brigades were in existence for the purpose of checking possible and expected rebellion. By treaty, subsidised British troops were in the Sikh country for the ostensible purpose of maintaining the Sikh Government and preserving peace. And yet in the face of our sacred duties to our ward, and the fact that a subsidised army was at hand, for very obvious reasons Sir F. Currie made the matter one for which the Sikh Government was responsible, and which, under certain circumstances, might involve the overthrow of the Maharajah. He wrote: "Dewan Moolraj is an officer of the Sikh Government: he is in rebellion to the Sikh Durbar and the orders of that Government. The coercion must come from the Sikh Government, unaided by British troops, if possible. If it should be necessary to move a British soldier, the affair will be a serious one for the Durbar." If the rebellion had been vigorously opposed, it could have been easily crushed, but it would not have been so favourable to the policy of annexation.

CHUTTUR SINGH.—Strange things were happening at Lahore. Difficulties were continuous between Capt. Abbott, the assistant Resident, and Chuttur Singh, the Nizam, or Governor, of the Hazara Province. The Hazara people were violently Mohammedan and anti-Sikh But Chuttur Singh was a man of much influence. His daughter was betrothed to the young Maharajah, and one of his sons was occupying an important position in the field against the rebels. From every point of view, his interests were counter to the rebellion. Capt. Abbott was a difficult man. He was playing his own hand, and was evidently prepared to rise by the downfall of Chattur Singh. A mere political detective, he simply possessed the soul of a spy. His interests led him to suggest conspiracies on the part of the Nizam. In turn the Nizam grew suspicious of Abbott, and he began to think the Government were seeking to violate the treaty. He therefore decided to ask the Resident to fix a day for his daughter's marriage. If cordial consent were given, he felt that a friendly disposition would be evident, and that he need not fear. If, contrariwise, evasion were employed, he felt that a significance

would be shown which would put him on his guard. The Resident put him off, and the Nizam felt his fears confirmed.

THE MAHARANEE.—Nor did the action of the Government to the Maharanee tend to make things clearer. A woman of fiery temper and of proud spirit, she had been to Runjeet Singh a suitable wife. Now that he was gone, her son was a dummy upon the throne, and she was even less. Her opinions were of no value, and when she wished to assert herself, she had to be put in her place. By treaty she was to have £15,000 per year. But the Government affected to believe that she was a centre of, and a fomenter of, disaffection. She was seized with a good deal of indignity, and sent as a prisoner to Benares. Then her allowance dropped to £1,200 per year. Then her jewels were taken. Then her clothing was carefully watched lest something should be secreted, and at last it was regarded as rather like a privilege for her to have any clothes at all. When carried away, the Resident reported her as giving no trouble, "very probably somewhat induced by the executions which took place a few days ago."

THE INSURRECTION IN HAZARA.—The relations of Capt. Abbott with the Nizam led to a strange action on Abbott's part. Affecting to believe in the probability of the Nizam taking up arms, he called upon the Mohammedan population to take up arms against the Nizam. The passes were seized, and the town of Hurripore, where the Governor dwelt, was surrounded. "The insurrection in Hazara was, in fact, originally an insurrection of the Mohammedan peasantry, with the object of exterminating the Sikh troops and Governor—instigated and promoted by a British officer." So we seem of fell and set purpose to have brought about an insurrection.

STRANGE TACTICS.—Even now our peculiar tactics did not cease. Although an insurrection was in full swing, the Commander-in-Chief declared the weather was too hot to make a move. Military operations were therefore suspended "to a more convenient season." So strangely dilatory were the authorities, that it has often been suggested that the delay arose, from a hope of

the rebellion so spreading, as to make it appear that annexation was, under such conditions, unavoidable. And military men have put forward this view. Be that as it may, we had our desire. A war, quite worthy of the name, ensued. We were often badly beaten, but in the end we annexed the Punjab. After annexation came disarmament. Then came a settlement of the land tax. Village by village was carefully assessed. The proprietors were made responsible for the revenue, which was a proportion of the net produce. The term of settlement covered thirty years. A code of civil and criminal procedure was also introduced, and for the defence of the country, twelve irregular corps were formed. A military despotism had been overthrown, and probably the Sikh population would have lamented the change more had the Government been of a different kind. But we had solemnly pledged ourselves to act in an honourable manner to our ward. It was for us, on his behalf, to have established a stable government. As it was, we carried out Dalhousie's policy. We showed how little we esteemed honour. Our bad faith with the young Sikh ruler was a disgrace and a shame.

SATTARA ANNEXED.—The Rajah of Sattara, set up by us in 1839, and assured by treaty that the Government had no view of advantage or aggrandisement, died. Both Rajahs, the deposed Rajah and the one set up by us, had, in accordance with Hindoo law, left adopted sons. And there seem, in addition, to have been numerous relatives who could have rightly claimed, had there been no adopted heir. In spite of these facts, Dalhousie, upon the Rajah's death in 1848, annexed the country. Sir John Low, the patriarch of the political service, and men such as he, protested without avail. Shortly after this a deeply-laid plot was discovered in Sattara. It was arrested by the despatch of white troops, and seventeen persons were executed. Such were the results of annexation.

NAGPORE ANNEXED.—Referring to Nagpore, Lord Dalhousie wrote, in a minute on the 25th of February, 1856: "No son had been born to His Highness. . . . None was adopted by him: none.

as they themselves have admitted, was adopted at the Rajah's death by the Ranees, his widows." Captain Bell went through the whole thing most carefully, and his testimony is, that the minute is inexplicably untrue. The Ranees continually protested. The late Rajah's grand-nephew, Janojee Bhonsla, was adopted, according to Hindoo custom and law. He was chosen as a son, and as an adopted son officiated at the funeral pile. Our meanness was still further exhibited. On the plea that the Rajah's jewels and heirlooms were Crown property, they were publicly sold, and the money thus obtained was used to help pension off the four wives of the prince.

MR. DICKENSON'S REBUKE.—Of these actions, Mr. John Dickenson said: "It was as much an act of robbery for us to appropriate the principalities of Sattara, Colaba, and Mandavie, in defiance of all the heirs, as it would be for the Lord Chancellor to pocket a legacy, because it was litigated in his court. We are improving upon a precedent set by Caligula in our violation of the right of adoption. When Caligula was invited to a nuptial feast, he carried away his friend's wife. When the British Resident is invited to the death-bed of a native prince, he turns his friend's widow and orphans out of doors, and confiscates their inheritance.

JHANSI ANNEXED.—In the same year, Jhansi suffered the same fate as Nagpore. It was a very similar case. Here tragic results followed. The Ranee, in her opinion, was badly treated by the British Raj. She had to pay her deceased husband's debts out of her palace allowances. In the near days of the Indian Mutiny, she flung herself into the campaign, and the Indian Boadicea, as she has been called, fell fighting at the head of her troops, after giving Sir Hugh Rose more trouble than most of the Indian leaders.

OUDE.—In the days of the Wellesley Administration, the Nawab of Oude agreed to develop a system of government which should ensure security to life and property. He was also to be guided in his government by the resident officials of the Company. No one suggested that the Nawab was unfaithful to the British, but

continual complaints were made about his misgovernment. Many English people talked about the miseries of Oude, and yet disinterested people found a well-cultivated country, and a contented people. It was here that a very large number of our Sepoys were recruited. The Sepoy, generally an owner of land or connected with landowners, took up the soldier's life, and having returned to his own country, often to his own property, enjoyed his pension. During the Dalhousie reign, two successive Residents at Lucknow had urged reform, but had expressed perfect confidence in the willingness of the Indian authorities at Lucknow. In 1849, Sir W. Sleeman forwarded a plan for a Board of Regency. He pledged his reputation for the success of the experiment, if he had an additional assistant and three clerks. Dalhousie wanted no reform. He believed in annexation. With an appeal to God, therefore, he, in the last year of his office, ordered General Outram to take the Administration, on the ground "that the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining, by its countenance, an Administration fraught with sufferings to millions." The natives took these pious expressions at their true value. Our own hands were unclean. Our Government had not been a success; and so our proclaimed anxiety on behalf of the ryots was "received all over India with contempt and derision." The annual revenue was £1,000,000. We thought to develop it to £1,500,000; so the king was deposed, and granted a pension.

A Second Burmese War.—Apart from annexations within, we had annexations without. A second Burmese War made the Empire bigger. It began over a small matter. Two masters of English ships were prosecuted in a Burmese Court by English subjects. The masters were fined. They complained to the English authorities, and claimed demurrage. A squadron was sent to enforce it. Then ensued a long and desultory war. But more land was taken over; Pegu became our own.

More Scinde Territory Taken.—Then came a further little war in Scinde. Meer Ali Morad was the only one of the Ameers who remained faithful to us. Our own exchequer was low at

this time. Meer Ali Morad had a good revenue, and his estates were of such a character that the Scinde finances would be improved if Ali would but misbehave himself. And at the psychological moment it was made to appear that he had so done. Some men of bad character charged him with forgery, and "substituting in a treaty between his father and the Company the names of districts for villages." Nothing could have been happier. That the prince was our ally mattered nothing. He was attacked by a British force, then tried and found guilty; and then his country was in large measure annexed. Soon after, the principal accuser admitted that he had conjured up a false charge, inspired as he was by hatred. But British honour does not demand the restitution of stolen property, and the territory yet remains a part of the British domain.

The Cession of Berar.—The Nizam of Hyderabad also had a deal with our land-extending Viceroy. The Nizam was in debt to us. He was coerced, and Berar was ceded to us by a very unwilling monarch. The change of authority brought about many disturbances. Nor, perhaps, was it wonderful. The hoity-toity manner adopted by Dalhousie was calculated to embitter. He reminded the Nizam that "ours is a great Government, by whose friendship alone" he has "so long been sustained, whose resentment it is dangerous to provoke," and "whose power can crush" him "at its will." This language on a question of finance!

1856.—And so the days of the Mutiny came upon us. Dalhousie, with the hand of Death upon him, returned home, and handed the Vice-royalty to Canning. Under our new Viceroy the Mutiny was assured. Discontent was keen.

Reasons for Discontent.—But causes producing discontent were many. The "damned niggah" theory was in full swing. Mere boys left England to take charge of Indian soldiers. They possessed no sympathy, and were full of contempt for the "damned niggah." The Indian trooper resented the impertinence. The "greased cartridges" added to the bitter feeling. Hindoo and Mussulman alike felt aggrieved. The lard used in the cartridges was made alike from the fat of the pig and the fat of the cow.

The Mohammedan had religious scruples about pig fat. To him the pig was unclean, a representation of all that was vile. To the Hindoo the cow was sacred. To let cow flesh touch his lips meant loss of caste and an interference with future happiness. Native representations on such matters had no influence with imbecile officialdom. The "damned niggah" had to obey. His religious ideas didn't count.

And the annexations had played their part. Treaties had been violated, Native princes had been dethroned, denied their rights, treated with contumely, and robbed of their possessions. And now, to make bad still worse, an order had been issued to the army. Recruits for the Bengal army were henceforth to serve in foreign parts, and when necessary would embark in ships! No Brahmin, no Rajput, can preserve the strict rules of his caste on board ship! It was but another violation of the religious scruples of the men. And then came the jibes of the friends of the Sepoys. Who but the Sepoy, by his faithful service, had won India for the Company? And for what? The best of them could only hope for subordinate positions in the army. Then they compared their positions under the Company, and the positions they might hold under native rule. The comparisons favoured the native prince. They saw English officers come over, remain for a few years, go home with their pile. They saw the country being bled, growing poorer and more weary. They saw fresh officers coming over to repeat the same exactions and offer the same insolence. They saw, they felt these things, and they rose in mutiny.

VICTORY AND REVENGE.—The conspiracy was probably organised but badly. Throughout India generally there was sympathy. For two years the struggle went on. The luck was on the side of the British, but India was well-nigh lost for ever to the British power. And then came wild revenge. The Indian has been charged with massacres We, at least, equalled him. After the taking of Delhi, a British officer wrote: "Many will be glad to learn that women and children are allowed to go unmolested. This is a stretch of mercy I should not have been prepared to make had I a voice in the matter." Here is another: "All the

city people found within the walls when our troops entered were bayoneted on the spot, and the number was considerable, as you may suppose, when I tell you that in some houses forty or fifty persons were hiding. These were not mutineers, but residents of the city, who trusted to our well-known mild rule for pardon. I am glad to say they were disappointed." And again: "Any native is fair game to a British soldier now; he takes him, as the representative of the Bengal Sepoy, as a race." Nor will future ages sing the prowess of Hodson. The leader of a corps of irregular horse, he captured the Mogul Emperor and his sons. An Englishman and a soldier, he has the credit of shooting with his own hands his helpless captives, the sons of the Emperor.

CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT.—The cost of the Mutiny was £40,000,000, and an annual increase in expenditure of £10,000,000. A cold shiver passed through Britain on account of the Mutiny. It was now decided to place India under the Crown. The East India Company ceased to be. On the 1st November, 1858, Canning made proclamation to that effect, and henceforth the natives were to be on equal footing with Englishmen. "And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." It would be too much to say that this has ever been faithfully carried out. Nine months later, peace was proclaimed throughout India. In the following year, Canning journeyed throughout Northern India, and guaranteed the native princes the right of adoption. In a letter to Holkar, 5th January, 1860, Canning wrote: "If, unhappily, it should be denied to you to bequeath these to an heir of your body, the adoption of your Highness of a successor, according to former usage, will be recognised and respected." In a State paper, Lord Canning throws on one side the doctrine of Lapse, and, indeed, affects not to know of the Paramount Power having withheld its assent to an adoption. "I believe that there is no example of any Hindoo state, whether in Rajputana or elsewhere, lapsing to the

Paramount Power, by reason of that Power withholding its assent to an adoption." It was strange that Lord Canning had not heard of Nagpore. Perhaps it was whitewashing his predecessor! But the doctrine of Lapse had done its work. The denial should have come before the days of the Mutiny.

CHAPTER VII

AFTER THE MUTINY. — The political history of India now largely changes in character. Almost the whole of India had been grasped. A war in 1864 gave us the Bhutan Dhars. In 1885, King Theebaw's difficulties gave us an opportunity of annexing the whole of Burma. Residents in British Burma sent home highly-coloured and widely exaggerated views of Theebaw's savagery. The tales had weight. Burma was attacked and annexed. In 1891, Manipur was annexed.

FRONTIER POLICY.—But the chief excitement in India since 1878 has always been through "frontier policy." And this largely deals with Afghanistan Just previous to the Indian Mutiny, we were at war with Persia. Dost Mahomed, the Afghan Ameer, made a treaty with us, whereby he should receive £10,000 per month for military purposes as long as the war lasted. Then came the Mutiny, and the Ameer was urged to attack us. He remained perfectly honourable to every pledge. Family feuds followed Dost's death, but in 1868, Shere Ali, his son, succeeded him. Now came continual insinuations. Lord Lawrence urged Sir Stafford Northcote to note the aggressiveness of Russia. Sir Stafford, an eminently sensible Conservative, saw no reason for any suspicion or alarm. Still, people would only be happy if they were alarmed. So Lord Mayo gave Shere Ali pecuniary assistance, and a large quantity of arms. Then came a friendly recognition of frontier bounds, the three countries—Britain, Russia, and Afghanistan—agreeing.

THE QUESTION OF THE RESIDENT.—During all this time we had quite recognised that the Afghans would, under no circumstances, have a Resident at their Court, dictating their policy. But in 1873 our Government made a new demand. The Afghans

must have one at Candahar and another at Herat. Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy of India, tried to dissuade the Government. He was again instructed that the policy was necessary. Lord Northbrook replied that the objections of the Afghans to receiving a Resident did not arise from disloyalty. The next Viceroy was Lord Lytton. He at once moved with the Government, and insisted upon the Afghans falling in with our views. The Afghan Prime Minister pleaded, and pointed out the result. His earnestness was of no avail. We immediately ceased having communications with Shere Ali, and occupied the Bolam Pass. We simply drove Shere Ali into the arms of Russia. In 1878, a Russian envoy went to Cabul. It was not a Russian Resident, but an envoy. The presence of a Russian envoy was too much, so we went to war.

MR. GLADSTONE PROTESTS.—Speaking at Greenwich on 30th November, 1878, Mr. Gladstone thus protested against the war: "It is written in the eternal laws of the Universe of God that sin shall be followed by suffering. An unjust war is a tremendous sin. The question you have to consider is whether this war is just or unjust. So far as I am able to collect the evidence, it is unjust. It fills me with the greatest alarm lest it should be proved to be grossly and totally unjust. If so, we should come under the stroke of the everlasting law that suffering shall follow sin; and the day will arrive—come it soon or come it late—when the people of England will discover that national injustice is the surest road to national downfall."

BEACONSFIELD'S TRICK.—The enemy wisely avoided general actions. Cholera and typhoid played havoc with our army, and our transport difficulties increased daily. Within five weeks of our entering Candahar, we had made overtures for peace. But the papers presented to Parliament made it seem as if overtures came from Yakoob Khan. Then Lord Beaconsfield, on the 13th February, 1879, said in Parliament: "H.M.'s Government has the satisfaction of feeling that the object of their interference in that country has been completely accomplished. We are now in possession of the three great highways which connect Afghanis-

tan with India, . . . and I hope that this country *will remain in possession of those three great highways. We have secured the object for which the expedition was undertaken. We have secured that frontier which will, I hope, render our Empire invulnerable.*"

And yet at that moment we were negotiating a treaty whereby we were to evacuate nearly the whole of Afghanistan, keeping only the districts of Kuram, Pishin, and Sibi. And we were to pay the Ameer six lacs of rupees per year. We were therefore giving up at once, two of the three boasted highways, and deliberately leaving in our rear the scientific frontier, which made us invulnerable. One thing we attained—the Ameer agreed to the Resident.

THE ENVOY CLAUSE.—It was perfectly clear that any Resident would be exposed to danger. Shere Ali made it clear that he could not guarantee the safety of British officers in Cabul. Our army, in 1842, committed such outrages that deep hatred had gone into the very soul of the Afghans. Thus spoke Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne: "The Government dared not face the country, with nothing to show as the fruits of a wicked and unrighteous war except a miserable and transparent imposition, such as the 'Scientific frontier.'"

Shere Ali had in the meantime died. Yakoob Khan had succeeded. Sir Louis Cavagnari took up his position in Cabul as Resident. In six weeks' time he was assassinated. Thereupon another expedition followed. Sir Frederick Roberts had the felicity of conducting the war in a way which to many seemed strangely out of harmony with his devotion to evangelical Christianity. A gentleman named Chamberlain protested at the time. But the campaign was a failure. Yakoob Khan, it is true, was captured and sent to India. An English army abandoned its guns, and sought safety at Sherpur. While this was going on, telegrams sent home announced our complete triumph. Soon after we exposed ourselves to a terrific snub. A message was sent to Abdurrhaman, grandson of Dost Mahomed. We proposed that he should be Ameer, have the friendship of the British Government, and surrender Candahar and Herat. Abdurrhaman took no notice.

Thereupon we sent an ultimatum, only to have for reply that he declined negotiating on the subject, and that he intended ruling over the whole of Afghanistan.

NEW TERMS.—Then news came that our Southern army was completely defeated at Maiwand. We had, therefore, to come to terms. We acknowledged Abdurrhaman as Ameer over the whole of Afghanistan. We agreed to pay him a handsome allowance; to leave behind us thirty of our guns; to leave intact the military works we had put up at Cabul; to refund the value of the treasure we had seized in the city; to give up the idea of inflicting a fine on the Afghans for the murder of our Representative; and to give up the idea of any officers taking up such positions as Residents in his kingdom.

SIR FREDERICK ROBERTS WRITES.—Sir Frederick Roberts, having hanged and hanged, and not having got all that was hoped for by his hanging, wrote from Cabul this remarkable statement: "We have nothing to fear from Afghanistan, and the best thing to do is to leave it as much as possible to itself. It may not be flattering to our *amour propre*, but I feel sure that I am right when I say that the less the Afghans see of us, the less will they dislike us. Should Russia in future years attempt to conquer Afghanistan or invade India through it, we should have a better chance of attaching the Afghans to our interests if we avoid all interference with them in the meantime." But Sir Frederick Roberts was made Lord Roberts of Candahar. It was necessary that the country should believe we had been quite victorious. So it accepted the statements, little dreaming that a very serious blow had been inflicted upon our prestige and upon our Imperial position. So our defeated army returned, and India had to face an expense of £20,000,000.

CHITRAL.—Still the frontier policy was not settled. We soon declared the frontier tribes "to be within our influence." Fortified positions along the frontiers were occupied by British troops, and the tribes, the predecessors of the territory, were considered only in the smallest degree. Our past with these people has been dishonourable. In 1876, the Chief of Chitral was friendly with the

Maharajah of Cashmere, and wished to be under his suzerainty. As the Maharajah recognised our headship, the idea of the Chief was encouraged. Later on, in 1889, we encouraged his acquaintance, and gave him a subsidy. Chitral suspicions, however, were raised by our continual anxiety to make roads in the country. These operations were therefore postponed. In 1892 this ruler died, and family feuds followed. Our nominee seemed to be the object of much suspicion on account of the feeling the people had towards us. Our representative, Sir G. Robertson, was sent to Chitral. In his account of the expedition, he clearly shows that the people feared and suspected annexation on our part. In 1895 the ruler was assassinated, and Robertson was besieged.

GOVERNMENTAL DUPLICITY.—The relieving force had to pass through a country, mountainous and difficult. To relieve the fears of the inhabitants, the Government issued a proclamation declaring that they had no intention of permanently occupying the territory through which they had to pass, or of interfering with the independence of the tribes. The campaign was short, sharp, and successful. Thereupon the Indian Government urged the making of roads from the frontier to Chitral. The Home Government refused sanction to such a breach of faith, and forbade the policy. In a few days a change of Government brought another party into power. Hereupon the new Government telegraphed instructions to the Indian Government to carry out the new policy, and so to perpetrate a theft. Lord Lytton protested against the move, but to no effect. Thereupon the Afridis, who from 1881 had faithfully kept the Khyber Pass for us, joined the other tribes. War ensued. Our guns beat the hillmen, but their bravery was worthy of their cause.

CHAPTER VIII

AND for what good results have these many pieces of treachery, found in Indian history, been perpetrated? Simply that India should be enslaved. It is difficult for an ordinary person to understand the Indian position. A few hints may help in showing something of the great Dependency.

THE GOVERNMENTS.—(1) There are five provincial Governments. These Governments work under the Viceroy and his Council. The Viceroy, in turn, is subservient to the Secretary of State for India. These Governments mean the maintenance of a large body of well-paid English officials. And as India is too hot for aristocrats to live in for many years, a considerateness on the part of English custom permits the Viceroy to remain in office for five years. He then receives a princely pension, and returns home. The same thing applies to the Governor of the provinces.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.—(2) There is the Civil Service, made up of covenanted and uncovenanted servants. The former class are those of influence—the sons of English gentlemen who get positions of ease at the expense of the natives. There are nearly 1,000 of these gentlemen. In the junior branches, pay ranges from £400 to £1,200 per annum. In the senior branches, the rates vary from £2,400 to £3,000 per year. Special appointments receive from £3,800 to £10,000 per year; and of the appointments, 10 per cent. are special. After twenty-one years of such pay, the covenanted servant returns home on a capital pension. If he has not served his full term, he has a smaller allowance.

The uncovenanted servant is not so well paid; but his pay is not inadequate, and the pensions come to a very considerable sum.

WHITE SUPERIORITY?—(3) The Britisher, as he has secured the country, has usurped social superiority. This is seen in the Law Courts. For serious matters, European British subjects must be tried in the High Court.

The law of vagrancy makes a difference between the European and the Indian. Any European wandering about in destitution is regarded as a disgrace. The Indian regards it as a religous duty to look after his poor. He is therefore not considered by the State. Such consideration is only given in the case of such things as famines. But with a destitute white man, the State finds food and shelter; tries to find him employment, and failing in this, deports him, to such place as he proposes, out of the country. So the fiction of white superiority is maintained. And in all this, the Native pays.

Then in India there are educated natives who could do Government work. Of course, they must not displace the white gentlemen who have places! Mr. Mackenzie says: "It is feared the presence of a large body of intelligent, well-educated, unemployed and needy men, widely scattered through the country, must carry with it some elements of possible mischief. In connection with this, the necessity for stringent measures to repress the growing audacity and license of writers in the vernacular newspapers, as shown by the introduction by the Government of the 'Vernacular Press Act,' is of considerable significance." Growing audacity, indeed! This of educated men, writing concerning the wants and government of their own country! But the Indian is a Helot.

The same fact comes out in the form of government. It is not constitutional. Thus the Indian has no vote. We sometimes go to war for votes, but not for voters in India. Nor has the Indian free speech. Not the semblance of it! Political meetings cannot be held as the Indian may choose. These things come about by reason of the supposed superiority of the European to the Indian.

THE ARMY.—(4) The Indian army of 180,000 men is an item of ridiculous expense, and part of the system. This army has peculiarities. There are 60,000 whites who belong to the army

of Great Britain. They can be sent anywhere. But the whole of the expense attached—pay, transport to India, and transport home—has to be met by the Indian Exchequer. The taxpayer of India, therefore, relieves the British taxpayer of one-third the cost of the British army. And the cost of these men is much larger than would be the case if the same number of men enlisted for a long number of years, and for local service only. This was the method under the East India Company. But when Imperial troops were used, or they were shifted by reason of war, or by reason of shorter service, the expenses, of necessity, increased. And to-day India bears this burden. The very reform which gave us shorter service and an army reserve was, by reason of shorter service in India, a means of additional transport work. Besides, the Scientific Frontier Scheme, revived in 1885, has continually thrust the military expenses in an upward direction. In 1884-85, the expenses were about 25 per cent. less than in 1891-92. The Finance Minister further said that expenses would likely increase, and that it would not be possible to fix any limit to such increase.

The unfairness of the whole thing is seen, too, in charging India with her share in foreign wars. Where her troops are employed, it is to gratify English ambition. Natives have been used in China, in Egypt, and upon various expeditions. The burden is put upon the Indian taxpayer for all this. The Mutiny was the result of our stupendous folly, but the expenses were charged to India. The Afghan War was a crime. The expenses were borne by India. Every war that can in any way touch the Indian question is made a means of increasing Indian taxation. In short, what expense can be put upon India is so put. The Indian has no voice in the matter. If the Vernacular Press were to criticise, the native journalists would be sent to jail. But over here no one speaks, and no one cares.

The expense of the Indian army is £19,000,000 per year. In the maintenance of this force, the English market is largely considered. Large sums are annually paid to British manufacturers. Heavy ordnance, shot, shell, and small arms are sent from Eng-

land. If a present of small arms were made to an Asiatic potentate, English manufacturers would supply the goods, and India would pay the bill. The system is a huge drain to the country; indeed, of all the countries in the world, India is probably the only one that maintains an army in order largely to keep foreign manufacturers going, and to so help the process of bleeding itself to death.

REVENUE.—(5) The revenue is largely raised from the land. The Government of India, so largely developed by Capitalists, presents a strange example of how the land has been utilised. Here Land Nationalisation is regarded by many as a crime. And yet the same class that fights against it here carries it out to such a relentless degree in a dependent country that the revenue, in being squeezed therefrom, brings untold misery upon the cultivator. So heavy is the revenue paid, that the cultivator is unable to get modern implements of husbandry, nay, even unable to put by a store of grain for a rainy day. His grasping landlord—in this case a foreign state—takes all he has. Hence increasing poverty, which means increasing famines. Famines occur now with greater frequency than of old, and this in spite of greater means of transit. But Nature is as kind as she ever was. The sun still shines. The clouds yet distil into rain. Alas, the misery arises from the bleeding! India grows more and more anæmic. The ryot is more and more unable to purchase seed; he gets more and more into difficulty with the money-lender. As if to show the weakness of the system, the rates of percentage for revenue differ in the various Presidencies. This seems, in the effects seen, to show that there is a limit beyond which the demanding of revenue sinks the ryot into the very ground. Where the percentages are lowest, the ryot is easiest in his circumstances. Where the highest percentages obtain, the case of the ryot is at the worst. In Bengal, the most heavily-taxed province, the position of the ryot is desperate.

LORD MAYO'S VIEW.—These are things that constitute the political dangers. Lord Mayo pointed them out in 1870. He pointed out how a deficit of six millions had occurred in the

previous three years, and the permanent debt in the same period had grown by six and a half millions; how the burdens of the people had been increased, and the public works had been suspended, and how the feeling of discontent existed amongst all classes by reason of the increase of taxation, and how that feeling constituted a political danger of the first magnitude.

NATIONAL DEBT.—(6) *Poor as India is, we have built up for* her a big National Debt. In 1882 it amounted to £156,000,000. It is true that against this sum the assets are considerable. There are the State Railways. But of these, two things may be considered. They are Capitalist enterprises, and hence they are "guaranteed." If they earn nothing, the English Capitalist is safe. Then the shareholders are foreign, and that means that the advantages which the Railways bring, in great measure, disappear. Their earnings go to another country. In 1882, of 64,321 holders of Indian Railway shares, only 317 were natives. The figures are fearfully suggestive, and inasmuch as the State-aided Railways are not all paying, they do not mean the advantage to the country or the prosperity of India that many authorities seek to prove.

BLEEDING.—It has been said that India is drained of £30,000,000 per year. Figures such as these baffle the understanding. But how India suffers may be better understood by considering smaller figures. In India the native lives on 1½d. per day. Here we may put down an ordinary man as living on 5s. per day. We complain about our pensions, and the burdens they bring; but at least the pensions are spent in our midst. Here a man having a pension of £1,000 per year takes the wages of thirteen working men; but the money goes back in very great measure to the working men. The pensioner, by his wants, helps to make trade and to provide employment. But when a pensioner takes £1,000 per year from India, he takes the wages of 520 families. And the money never goes back in any way to those families. It is a pure loss to the community. When millions and millions per year are so lost, what must the loss be a

poor country like India be? But Lord Salisbury has said India must be bled! For how long?

BRITISH APATHY.—But as things are, we pass from bad to worse. Poverty becomes more keen. The apathy of our own people, the seeming satisfaction of British politicians notwithstanding, we near a catastrophe. We near the catastrophe, and yet remain apathetic and indifferent. Of the various forms of immorality, the most contemptible is indifference. The sin of omission is frequently more dangerous than that of commission. And, alas! in this we have not merely Indian sorrow, but British danger. No empire can remain secure unless its foundations are firmly set, fixed in the moral law. Bayonets and bluster bunkum and brag, overturn nationalities in the long run. Scientific frontiers are of less value to an empire than happy homes. Mercenary armies are less protection than national gratitude. And yet who would dare suggest that *England can claim gratitude from India? What Indian does not* know that an Englishman rules, at once a domineering foreigner and a money-making adventurer?

WHAT IS IT TO BE?—Of two things, one must surely happen. If we leave things, with an indifference that is hateful and immoral, the Indian will one day learn the need of Indian unity. Then the foreigner will be expelled. If this is not to be, and India is to remain a part of, and a strength to, the Empire, we must treat India fairly. Indian questions must be honourably considered by British statesmen and by British people. The process of bleeding must be stayed. Indian expenses must be reduced. Educated Indians must have the posts now held by Europeans. Money must not be taken out of the country as it now is; it must be held in Indian hands, and spent at home. Home manufactures must be developed. The government of the country must be confided to Indian hands. Then Indian happiness and Indian prosperity will evoke Indian gratitude and India will be a strength and a joy to the Empire.