

## CHAPTER III.

## FORMATION OF THE EMPIRE OF INDIA.

THE position of the British dominion in India about the year 1800 having been explained in the preceding Chapter, the progress of that dominion during the nineteenth century will now be described.

The first and greatest of the long line of Governors-General, Warren Hastings, had long ceased to rule. But in 1800, another Governor-General almost as great, the Earl of Mornington, promoted to be Marquis Wellesley, was in full power. He had a slight and well-knit frame with a head like Apollo. Those who worked with him in the heyday of his career affectionately spoke of him as "the glorious little man." It has been written of him: "The time had come when the English must either become supreme in India or be driven out of it; the Mughal (Mogul) Empire was completely broken up; and the sway had to pass either to the local Muhammadan Governors of that Empire, or to the Hindu confederacy represented by the Mahrattas, or to the British. Lord Wellesley determined that it should pass to the British."\* It was from 1801, then, to 1804, that he essayed this great enterprise, first to settle

\* See Sir William Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, p. 297 (1892).

affairs quickly with the remaining Moslem princes, and then to subdue the Mahratta Confederation. After the destruction of Tippoo Sultan in Mysore, as previously mentioned, he formed an alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad in the Deccan, and soon all the peninsula except the hill States of Mysore and Travancore, near the famous Nilgiri (or Neelgherry) hills, and the eastern coast of India became British, being incorporated in the Madras Presidency, which at that early date was constituted very much as it exists in the present day.

Southern India having been thus arranged, he turned his full thoughts on the Mahrattas, who held all central and northern India and who were threatening him on every side. He attacked them almost simultaneously on their southern front in the Deccan plateaux and on the northern front in the Gangetic Plain. In reference to the extent of the operations and to the number of hostile groups, this plan of his was the most masterly ever adopted for the British in India. He had two great commanders in the field, General, afterwards Lord, Lake in the north, and his brother, Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, in the south. Each commander won two pitched battles, besides capturing important places. In consequence of these four victories and of the various captures, he had compelled the Peshwa to be quiet, had kept the Gaekwar harmless, had compelled the Bhonsla of Nagpore to cede to the British the province of Orissa on the east

coast, had conquered and annexed the Gangetic Plain, the classic Hindostan, with Agra, had transferred the Mogul Emperor at Delhi from Mahratta to British hands, had compelled Sindhia to sue for peace. These successes of his, from the base of the Himalayas down to the extremity of the Peninsula, were in their sum total quite magnificent and turned the scattered British dominion into an Empire, young indeed and needing time to develop strength, but still a veritable giant. But his work was far from complete, for Sindhia, though in some ways defeated, was not subdued; Holkar, though stricken, was still defiant; and the Pindari evil mentioned in the last Chapter had not yet been touched. He was continuing to take measures against Holkar, and had suffered some slight failures, when a turn of fortune supervened in 1805.

The tension, as already explained in the last Chapter, between the men in India and the men in London, had set in with some severity. It has been written: "The financial strain caused by these great operations of Lord Wellesley had meanwhile exhausted the patience of the Court of Directors at home (London). In 1805 Lord Cornwallis was sent out as Governor-General a second time, with instructions to bring about peace at any price, while Holkar was still unsubdued, and with Sindhia threatening a fresh war."\* By another author, again, it is written: "The Court of Directors (of the East India

\* See *The Indian Empire*, by Hunter, p. 300.

Company) had been alarmed at Lord Wellesley's vigorous foreign policy. Castlereagh at the Board of Control had taken fright, and even Pitt was carried away and committed himself to an opinion that the Governor-General had acted imprudently;" and further: "Cornwallis appeared on the scene with orders from home (London) to substitute negotiations and diplomacy for war, and almost to abandon the proud position of Paramount Power which, foreshadowed by Warren Hastings for the Company in spite of doubts and hesitations, had been attained by Wellesley."\* These citations from modern authorities illustrate the springs which move nations to success or to failure. The vapours which may have gathered round the pedestal on which stands the historic image of Wellesley have long disappeared, just as the earth-born mists are dissipated by the ascending sun. He is now praised almost unreservedly, while those who detracted from, or mistrusted, him are disregarded or forgotten.

The Marquess Cornwallis died in 1805, soon after arriving in India, and little was done, fortunately, to spoil Wellesley's work. The imperial influence in India in some degree counteracted the timid counsels in London. Still nothing was done to further the Empire in India till 1814, when another great Governor-General arrived, namely, the Earl of Moira, afterwards the Marquess Hastings.

\* See Rulers of India Series, *Cornwallis*, by W. S. Seton Karr, p. 183 (1890).



He took up the thread of war and politics very much as Wellesley had left them. In his time Holkar was defeated in a pitched battle, the British conquests in Central India near the valley of the Nerbudda were completed; the Peshwa having rebelled was taken into State custody and his Deccan territories were added to the Bombay Presidency; Holkar, Sindhia, the Gaekwar, and the Bhonsla of Nagpore became imperial feudatories of the British; the inchoate Mahratta Empire was thus broken up and the British Empire was raised in its place. He took the Pindari robber-federation seriously in hand, collected an army of 120,000 men to operate against the many positions in Central India occupied by these brigand hordes, and so destroyed for ever this predatory organisation. He undertook a war provoked by Gurkha aggression, against Nepaul, and after some brilliant operations under Sir David Ochterlony, extended the British Empire over the central and eastern sections of the Himalayas. In his time the States of Rajputâna accepted their position as feudatories of the Empire. He retained his high office till 1823, and of him it has been well written: "The map of India, as thus drawn by Lord Hastings, remained substantially unchanged till the time of Lord Dalhousie"—that is, till 1849.

Thus for a considerable interval of twenty-six years, 1822 to 1849, the Empire was for the most part beating time as regards territorial advance. But that time was given to internal management and consolidation.

In the interval, however, two events occurred claiming notice. Across the Bay of Bengal the Burmese Kingdom of Ava on the river Irawaddy, which really was the empire of Alompra, committed aggressions all along the eastern frontier of Ava. War was undertaken against them in 1824 under the directions of the then Governor-General, the Earl of Amherst. In consequence of that, the province of Assam in the upper valley of the Brahmaputra, adjoining the Gangetic delta, and the provinces of Arracan and Tenasserim, both on the Bay of Bengal, became outlying portions of the Indian Empire. In 1843 the province of Sind in the lower valley of the delta of the Indus, after some warlike feats under Sir Charles Napier, was annexed by the then Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough. This annexation rounded off the political map of India as left by Lord Hastings, and has had far reaching consequences much felt in the present day. In the same interval there occurred the first Afghan War, from 1839 to 1842, which, though undertaken for the sake of ultimately securing the North-west Frontier, did not lead to any accession of territory. As its unsuccessful termination really was a grave reverse, which the British Government could not well afford to incur, the policy was much decried at the time and the reasons strenuously disputed. These reasons, however, related to the expected advance of Russia from Central Asia towards India and to the need for guarding against it. That expectation

was not then so certain as it has since become. It has been, however, more than fulfilled, and its fulfilment proves the prescience of the authorities in London before the middle of the century, when they decided to move upon Afghanistan.

Just in the middle of the century there was another great Governor-General in power, the Earl, afterwards Marquess, of Dalhousie, an inheritor of the traditions of the greatest among his predecessors, Warren Hastings, Wellesley and the Marquess Hastings. It was his lot during a rule of eight years, from 1848 to 1856, to make great acquisitions of territory. The Sikh army, advancing from the Panjab, had attacked British territory and had been defeated in three pitched battles. The Sikh Government was indeed respected and maintained by the victors, but was obliged to accept British control. Soon afterwards the Sikh chiefs and army rose in arms against this control, and brought on a second war, in which they were finally defeated after two pitched battles. Thereon the Panjab was annexed in 1849, the land of the Five Rivers from the Satlej to the Indus, and on to the Khyber. At the same time Cashmere became a Native State under British protection, and so the western section of the Himalayas came within the Empire as the central and eastern sections had already come. This annexation of the Panjab has proved to be an event of the highest interest and importance. Next, the King of Ava offered great provocations to British traders at

his seaport, Rangoon, and insulted a British frigate which was sent to remonstrate. This led to a war, which ended in the acquisition in 1852 of the Pegu province, including the delta of the Irawaddy, a position of high importance.

Besides these warlike acquisitions there were others of a peaceful kind. In three feudatory States, the princes died without male issue, namely, Satara in the Mahratta Deccan, Jhansi in Central India, and Nagpore, already mentioned in this narrative. The adoption of heirs was not in these cases accepted by the Governor-General, and the territories escheated to the British Government. These annexations caused much discussion at the time and afterwards. The discussion led to a revision of the British regulations in respect to the right of adoption in Native States, in favour of the Princes.

The last of Lord Dalhousie's annexations related to Oudh, which he carried out in 1856, just before quitting office. This grave measure had been resolved upon after political consideration by the Government, both in India and in England. The misrule on the part of the Moslem King of Oudh had long been incorrigible and intolerable. The British Government, when originally recognising the constitution of Oudh, had guaranteed the people against such misrule, and was now held to be obliged to put an end to that once for all by annexation, as prevention and cure had been proved after many patient trials to be impossible.

Soon afterwards the Sepoy Mutinies, and the war consequent thereon, occurred in 1857 and 1858. These will be described in a subsequent Chapter. Then an interval again ensued, during which no territory of any size worth noticing was annexed, till 1885, excepting a tract along the southern border of Afghanistan in 1879, which tract, though small, is of great importance politically. But in 1885 a considerable conquest took place in the old Kingdom of Ava. This Kingdom was the last remnant of the Burmese Empire, and included the upper valley of the Irawaddy, together with a cluster of Shan States adjoining the Chinese province of Yunnan. The King was an ally of the British and was virtually under their protection. Nevertheless he with his advisers, and probably his chiefs also, chose in the most underhand manner to intrigue with the French with the manifest intention of injuring British interests in that quarter. The discovery of these doings led to military operations against the King, which were followed by the annexation of Ava and its dependencies. These were joined on to the Burmese provinces already taken in 1823 and 1852. Thus all Burma, all its dependencies, all the Burmese population, came under British sway. Thus, too, was formed a frontier adjoining China, giving India an interest in Chinese politics, and continuous for some hundreds of miles with Siam, causing British attention to be much excited in reference to any proceedings of France which might threaten Siamese independence.

These many territorial acquisitions, successfully made within the nineteenth century, involving hundreds of thousands of square miles, with scores and scores of millions of population, do indeed make up a sum total of conquest and annexation rarely paralleled in ancient or modern times. As regards territory, the Indian Empire is at rest and in contentment. It has received everything, and nothing more remains to be desired. Once on a time Ranjit Sing, the ruler of the Panjab, seeing a map of India with large patches on it marked red, as indicating British dominion, remarked that ere long it would all become red; and so it has. From Cape Comorin in equatorial regions right up to the borders of Tibet, from the bounds of Afghanistan to those of China, from the Indus to the Irawaddy, even to the Salween beyond that—all, all is British. The territories are either British absolutely, inhabited by peaceful and acquiescent subjects, or else Native States secure in their tenure and basking in the sunshine of British protection. In this area there are two small spots allowed by international right and courtesy, one to France at Pondicherry, the other to Portugal at Goa. None can know better than British politicians that storms may rapidly arise in such an area as this. But at present the area is quite undisturbed. None can estimate more exactly than the responsible defenders how vast are the requirements for adequate defence. But at present there are the defensive resources fully available.

Though the acquisitions have sometimes been peacefully accomplished, they have been mostly won by the sword. The quantity of the fighting within the century has been great indeed, but its quality has often been critically severe. Victories have been gained in fourteen pitched battles. Two big battles have been fought with indecisive result. Regular sieges have been successfully conducted in eight places. In four instances the defence of beleaguered positions has been heroically sustained by British people. Seven campaigns have been conducted in mountainous regions. Thirty-one lesser expeditions have been conducted against the Tribes on the North-west frontier; besides the great expedition in 1897 and 1898 within the most recent memory. In five instances mishaps or misfortunes have been suffered in the field. Besides all this, three wars have been waged outside India, though for Indian interests, two in Afghanistan and one in Persia. In India itself there have been minor military operations without number, which cannot well be classified in the above categories. India has indeed been long a school for British soldiers both European and Native.

After all this martial renown and territorial success, there will finally arise the question whether these vast proceedings have always, or even generally, been accompanied with fairness and fitness, with justice and mercy. No politician will give an over-confident reply to this question who reflects on the

infirmity of human motives, on the errors in the noblest purposes, on the faults in the best intentions. Some British critics may have been too ready to answer it as against their own country. The vindication of the conquests before this century is not to be a part of this narrative. But something may be said for the acquisitions within the century. The fundamental consideration is whether a Corporation of Europeans may lawfully and righteously undertake trading in an Oriental country. If they may, then very much will follow from that proposition. They must set up a Factory, or magazine for their stores and goods. It must be made defensible against outrage and pillage. There must be some armed defenders, who may grow into the nucleus of a force. Then the traders will be approached by factions and parties outside with requests for local assistance, which sometimes they are for safety's sake obliged, or induced by trading advantages, to afford. So long as they are politically insignificant they thus become popular with the Natives. But they will imperceptibly or almost unconsciously be drawn into courses which render them of some consequence politically. Then they become the objects of untold dislike, dread, and suspicion to many, though not to all of the Native Chiefs. As against their enemies they will have their friends; and so they begin to enter upon politics. They will be made sometimes to stand on their defence; they will defend themselves successfully. As victors they will naturally



exact some compensation from their beaten assailants, and here will be the beginning of conquest. Even yet they will as conquerors have but a comparatively limited dominion. If their neighbours, the powerful Native States, often arrogant, self-confident and ignorant of the capacity possessed by Europeans, would only leave the intruders alone and unprovoked, then Native Rule in the country at large might yet be preserved, and the interlopers might remain within their limits. But this abstinence is wholly alien to the ideas of such Native States. Not unnaturally their jealousy prompts them to aggression, indirect at first and more direct as opportunity may offer. This will lead to further warfare always to the advantage of the British and always ending in further acquisitions of territory by them. These warnings might have induced the Native States to refrain for the future, and to respect the British position. But no; their jealousy became more intense as the British position grew; their self-reliance never abated, notwithstanding their invariable defeats in all encounters. They would yet hope to end the British who could not otherwise be mended, and therefore would begin to form formidable combinations. Then at length the British, who had never been impatient, were brought face to face with two alternatives. Either they must suffer destruction and expulsion, or they must fight for the mastery all round. They could not reasonably be expected to accept the first

alternative of annihilation. So they adopted the alternative of fighting and they fought with decisively victorious effect. The consequence was the formation of a wondrous Empire. This is a bird's-eye view of the many steps by which the British advanced from private trade to Imperial power. They began without any fixed intent; they were led on by circumstances not of their own making; they were often forced on by events beyond their control. With few exceptions, in a long career of contest they are not chargeable with wilful aggression or unjustifiable attack on any neighbours. To say that there are no exceptions would be claiming too much for them, for they are very human indeed. But the exceptions are creditably few, in reference to the trials and temptations with which they were ever beset. With a consciousness of political rectitude and a confidence in the justice of their cause, they were resolved to retain all that had been hardly won, and to do their duty towards all the nations and all the interests that had thus fallen under their charge.

## CHAPTER IV.

## DETERMINATION OF THE FRONTIERS.

SUCH, as set forth in the foregoing Chapter, has been the progress of British dominion during the nineteenth century, till it embraced the whole of the Indian Continent and Peninsula, together with the adjoining Kingdom of Burma, and was declared to be an Empire. But as this Empire is situated in southern Asia across the ocean, several thousand miles from the mother-country of its foreign rulers, from the actual centre of British power in the world, from European resources of every sort, and thus stands in comparative isolation, then the gravest consideration is needed in respect to its Frontiers.

The great Peninsula of India, an inverted triangle with Cape Comorin as its apex, is washed on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the west by the Arabian Sea. Its borders are therefore unassailable so long as Britain is mistress of the ocean. Above this triangle lies the Continent of India stretching out on both sides. The approach to it on the eastern side is by Calcutta, which would be closed to any hostile access in the face of a superior maritime power. On the western side the approach would be by the Indus

mouth, which is guarded by the harbour of Kurrachi. So far the frontier aspect is most favourable; but then from Kurrachi onwards there begins a land border of enormous length. It extends from south to north along the base of the mountain range which separates Afghanistan from the Indus valley right up to Peshawar, a distance of eight hundred miles. Then it turns in a south-easterly direction, following the base of the entire Himalayan range from end to end, as far as the upper Brahmaputra valley and the eastern corner of Assam. Then it traverses trackless mountains past the sources of the Irawaddy to the western corner of Yunnan in China, then turning southwards conterminously with Yunnan it touches first the Salween, then the Mekong rivers, and lastly passes along western Siam to the end of the Tenasserim province on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. This land frontier may be about four thousand miles long, and is one of the most diversified frontiers to be found in any Empire. It is well protected by nature and by circumstances in all its parts save one, namely the western, as will be presently seen.

Along the entire northern line Nature herself is the protectress of India, with the snow-clad walls and the citadel rocks of the Himalayas. In the north-eastern section the hills are covered with forests as yet impenetrable. There remains the western section always fraught with possible danger, and the south-eastern section now attracting much in-

terest and offering a long vista of opportunities. I shall briefly advert to each of these sections.

The western section consists of the line already mentioned as running from Kurrachi to Peshawar. It has been marked out along the base of the hills the chief of which are known as the Sulêmani range. The southern portion of these hills abuts on Beluchistan, the northern portion on Afghanistan. In this southern portion the British Government has seldom had any trouble. But on the northern portion it has had much trouble; for there the hills are inhabited by Moslem tribes warlike, ungovernable and intractable. They form an independent zone between the Indian Empire and Afghanistan. They have often been bad neighbours to the British, committing border raids and such like offences. Against them were most of the expeditions undertaken, which have been mentioned in the preceding Chapter. In 1897 and 1898 they combined for hostile action against the British, with the Afidis at their head, and in the mountain campaign which followed much honour was reflected on the British arms, in the eyes of the world. But so far as these Tribes are concerned the Frontier has been well guarded ever since 1850, when by the annexation of the Panjab the British dominion was extended up to this line. Since the recent campaign it is even better guarded than ever.

But beyond this Frontier lies the mountainous Kingdom of Afghanistan, ruled by the Amir of

Caulbul. Now, so far as Afghanistan is concerned, Britain would have gladly left that kingdom to itself without any interference, keeping it, so to speak, as a quickset hedge between India and Central Asia. From Afghanistan itself there never has been the least apprehension of any attack on, or menace to, India. Nevertheless in 1838 the British undertook military and political operations in Afghanistan, unseating one ruler and seating another. This is known as the first Afghan war, and it ended unfortunately. No further consequence ensued and Afghanistan was left to itself. Negotiations were opened in 1856 and some relations continued on and off without marked result till 1869, when the Amir met the British Viceroy in the Panjab, accepted British aid in money and arms, and virtually undertook to be guided by British advice in his foreign relations. Less than ten years later he received at his Court a Russian agent, and was discovered to have been engaged in a correspondence distinctly disloyal to British interests. These circumstances may be in part described as the collateral results of the Russo-Turkish war then pending. They led to what is known as the second Afghan war. The ultimate consequences of that war were not remarkable in regard to the northern section of the Frontier, but they were very much so in regard to the southern section already described as abutting on Beluchistan. In that quarter the mountains, which from the north had been running parallel to the In-

dus, recede from the river, for a long space mostly desert, and form a flank for the lofty plateau of Quetta, to which the approach is by the famous Bolan Pass in Beluch territory. In this neighbourhood, as one of the conditions of peace after the war, some outlying districts of southern Afghanistan were ceded to the British by the Amir. Then a railway, with branches, was constructed from Sukkur on the Indus through these districts to the new Afghan border in the province of Candahar, which is the capital of southern Afghanistan. Just here runs a dividing range between this province and the new British territory. The railway pierces this line by a tunnel and emerges at Chaman, the present terminus, about ninety miles from Candahar. The pressing on of this railway at great cost and despite much engineering difficulty, was the most forward step of a permanent character undertaken by the British Government. Evidently this was a military and not a commercial line of railway, and these formidable preparations had reference not to Afghanistan at all, but to some power beyond it.

It was indeed in regard to Russia that all the British proceedings in Afghanistan were really directed. The first Afghan war was undertaken because the interference of Russia was apprehended, the second because it had actually begun. The railway was advanced to the Candahar border to meet any possible advance by Russia. Such an advance, should it ever occur, would probably be by way of Herat.

Towards Herat, then, is the gaze of the British Government directed, that being the capital of western Afghanistan. This is the quarter which has been menaced by Russian proceedings for many years past. Here, too, is the best line for any advance upon India being attempted by Russia, and in the opinion of many the only practicable line. It is consistent with the utmost moderation to say that the menacing has been direct and indirect. After the second war first mentioned the Amir came under British protection. It became necessary to determine the border between his north-western districts and the Turkoman country then under the influence of Russia. He undertook this delimitation under British guidance. Russian troops in advanced outposts were so actively aggressive towards Afghan troops, and it was so much feared that the aggressiveness would receive sanction from the Russian Government, that war was on the point of breaking out between Britain and Russia, and British preparations financial and naval were begun. The storm passed away, leaving however a troubled sky behind it. The boundary was marked out at last; but the arrangement brought the Russian sphere of influence inconveniently near to Herat.

Having previously rendered the Caspian a Russian lake, having subdued Merve, the headquarters of the Turkomans, having turned Turkomania into a Russian province conterminous with the Afghan province of Herat, Russia began a line of railway



from the east Caspian shore towards Samarkand in Central Asia to be afterwards joined with the Siberian system. This railway passes near the border of Herat and a branch is being made right up to that border. The meaning of all this is such that the Briton who runs may read it.

Again to the north of Afghanistan the Russian sphere or dominion has been advanced up to the river Oxus. From the point of contact there is a line of march straight upon Caubul. But that is looked upon with less anxiety because it crosses the old Indian Caucasus, which is extremely hard for a modern European force to traverse.

Again the Pamir plateau, the loftiest upland in the world, towers above the western Himalayas in the British dominion. Britain indeed had no desire to interfere in that plateau. But Russia began to interfere and in consequence Britain had to put in a claim. A partition, with a marking out of the borders, ensued; and though Britain got her share, still one of the results was to bring the Russian sphere inconveniently near to the Himalayan Native State of Cashmir which is fully under British protection. It was in reference to this that the armed advance on Chitral, well known in recent history, was undertaken by the British, followed by the permanent occupation of that post.

It were needless to discuss whether Russia ambitiously hopes ever to advance upon India or means only to set up a standing menace on the Herat border

with a view to ulterior policy in other quarters of the East or Far East. If the object be not the former, it must be the latter. Or it may be for both in combination. The British Government has made formidable preparations to meet either contingency, and is ready to augment them to any extent which circumstances may seem to demand. Meanwhile it is to be observed that between the railway terminus of Russia and that of Britain there is a distance of 450 miles over ground quite practicable indeed, but presenting mighty difficulties in respect of transport and supply for the advance of a modern army in the face of opposition. Whether the Russians could surmount such difficulties may well be doubted. Even if the British forces were to advance to Candahar to bar the enemy's further progress, there would still be 350 miles to be marched over with all these difficulties. In no case will the British army advance beyond Candahar. It would not undertake to defend Herat as being too far from its base. The British Government would however support the Afghans in such a defence.

Previously Britain had been obliged to take up arms on behalf of Herat when Persia attacked it in 1856. One British force was landed at Bushir, near the head of the Persian Gulf, another at Muhammerah, some way up the joint stream of the Euphrates and Tigris. This double inroad compelled Persia to evacuate Herat and to make peace. The Persian Gulf has subsequently been treated as within the British naval sphere. The southern part of

Persia thus falls within British influence, in event of need, just as the northern part has already fallen owing to the Russian proceedings in Turkomania as just described right along the northern boundary of Persia. The importance of the Persian dominions to British interests would be but slight were it not that Persia might become a highway between Russia and India.

On the eastern side of the Indian Empire it has been seen that the frontier marches alongside of Yunnan, and this causes the British Empire to be in territorial contact with the Chinese. The desire is to open up communications through Yunnan with the upper valley of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, there called "the river of the golden sand." With this view a branch line is being undertaken to the British boundary on the river Salween, from the main line at Mandalay in upper Burma, to which the railway is already running from Rangoon on the coast. If, when the branch actually reaches the Salween, the Chinese Government shall consent to carry the line into the interior of Yunnan, then the possibilities of the future would seem to be immense.

Farther south in this quarter the British frontier is conterminous with Siam for a long distance. This contact was one of the reasons why the British Government regarded with just jealousy the aggression of France upon Siam in 1895, and interposed to effect a joint guarantee with the French Government for Siamese independence when that was threatened by France.

## CHAPTER V.

## MACHINERY OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

THE formation and conquest of the Indian Empire having been described in the previous Chapter, it becomes necessary to explain what system of Government and administration was set up therein by the British, and how that system has been modified during the nineteenth century; what system of control over the Government in India was established by the Government in Britain, and how that system also has been changed within the century.

The year 1800 saw the British dominions divided into three Presidencies, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. This division had existed from the first historic days—that is, from the seventeenth century—and was still suitable, as these three dominant places have been shown in a previous Chapter to be the real bases of the British Power. Over each Presidency was a Governor with his Council, and each was independent. But when it was decided that one supreme authority must be created, this was done by making the Governor and Council of Bengal, which was much the largest Presidency, supreme over the other two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Governor of Bengal was thus styled the

Governor-General in 1774. In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies the civil and general Government is the same to this day, the Governors and their Councils rule just now as they did then. This fact proves the tendency of British rule to preserve what works well, while making changes whenever they may be necessary. The only change has been this, that when Sind was annexed in 1843 it was at first placed under Sir Charles Napier as Governor, but was shortly afterwards attached to the Bombay Presidency.

But the position of the Governor of the Bengal Presidency, who was also Governor-General of India, has been entirely altered during the nineteenth century. For the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Governors of Bengal, especially Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis, did govern these great provinces and yet guide or control the course of the infant Empire in India. But their successors found the two functions to be more than they could sustain, as the Empire grew into a young giant from the events which happened after the opening of the nineteenth century. The difficulty was aggravated when the Gangetic Plain was attached to the Bengal Presidency under the name of the North-Western Provinces. The overworked Governor-General acted less and less as Governor of Bengal and its dependencies, and devolved the governance of those territories on his Council. But as cares accumulated, this task proved to be too much for the

Council also. So in 1836 the North-Western Provinces were separated from Bengal, and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor who would be chosen from among the East India Company's servants in India. He would be appointed by the Governor-General however. After this relief the successive Governor-General still held, more or less nominally, the Government of Bengal. At length even such a master-workman as Lord Dalhousie was obliged to give this up, and in 1854, Bengal, with its sister provinces of Behar and Orissa and its outlying dependency of Assam, was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. Meanwhile the Panjab having been annexed had been placed first under a Board of Administration, which the Lawrence brothers rendered famous in Indian annals, and then under a Chief Commissioner, John Lawrence, of immortal memory. He was in almost all respects a Lieutenant-Governor though not in name; and in some respects there was supervision by the Governor-General. After a time this particular supervision had to be given up, and in 1859 the Panjab was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. Thus by slow degrees, ending in a convenient and symmetrical arrangement, the Presidency of Bengal, stretching with a mighty sweep from the South-East to the North-West, was divided into three component parts, each part under its own Lieutenant-Governor. Later on as the Burma dominion grew by the addition of province after province, it was attached to the Bengal Presi-

dency and was under a Chief Commissioner who, though practically a Lieutenant-Governor, was still under some particular supervision by the Governor-General. But in 1897 Burma also was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. Thus the Bengal Presidency is for the most part under four Lieutenant-Governors, though not entirely so, as will be seen directly. The several Lieutenant-Governors fully conduct the civil governance in all respects, still they are subordinate to the Governor-General in Council and obey any orders he may issue.

Thus during the century the Governor-General in Council has been relieved of nearly all the direct civil governance of provinces, and enabled to devote himself to the fast growing concerns of the Empire at large. But he still has the supervision of some provinces. When Oudh was annexed it was at first placed under a Chief Commissioner, and afterwards added to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces. Nagpore was, ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> time after its annexation, erected into a chief commissionership with the addition of some territories in the Nerbudda country, under the style of the Central Provinces, in 1862. Assam, in the upper Brahmaputra Valley, was for some time attached to Bengal, but owing to the development of affairs it had to be separated off and placed under a Chief Commissioner.

In civil authority a Governor and a Lieutenant-Governor are much the same, though they differ

somewhat in the constitution of their offices. A Governor is chosen generally, though not always, from the outside by the Government in England and rules with the advice and assistance of Councilors who are chosen from the Civil Service in India. A Lieutenant-Governor is chosen by the Governor-General from the Civil Service in India and rules without the assistance of a Council.

Thus the British territories under direct British administration with their immense extent, are divided among two Governorships, four Lieutenant-Governorships and two Chief Commissionerships.

But the head of the civil government in a province or group of provinces, be he Governor or Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, does hardly more than conduct what may be called the government proper. The administration is carried on by administrators under him. To this end the territories are everywhere divided into Districts something like, though generally much larger than, the counties in the British Isles or the departments in France. That they are large in size may be at once seen from the fact that there are only 250 of them in the whole of British India. The heads of these districts have varying titles, but they bear the honourable and generic name of District Officers. In all parts except Madras, the Districts are formed into groups, and over each group is placed a Commissioner, something like a Prefect. In every Government except that of Bombay there is a superior fis-



cal authority present at the headquarters. The position of the District Officer, which has existed uninterruptedly from the beginning of British rule and is almost always held by a European, must ever be borne in mind. For it is on him that the comfort and contentment of the Native population mainly depend. To him the Natives look as the embodiment of British Rule. If he be inefficient they will inevitably suffer, and no merit on the part of the Provincial Governor will make amends to them. It is therefore the business of the Provincial Governor to keep his District Officers good, to make them so if they be found to fall short of goodness, to insure that they attain that standard. They themselves, being thus efficient, will answer for order among all their subordinates, mostly Natives, and will secure for their people a just administration, so far as that may be attainable amid all the lets and drawbacks incidental to Native society.

But while the District may be termed the major unit of administrations, there is always within it the minor unit, namely, the Village, as it is termed in the East, corresponding exactly with the Parish as it is termed in the English-speaking countries. In no country can the civil administration be more thoroughly and entirely parochial than in British India, and the same rule prevails in the Native States also. Indeed from the hoary antiquity of the Hindu race, and the oldest of the Indian law-books, the village has been recognised as consisting

of the group of habitations with its circumjacent lands and with its boundaries defined in contact with its neighbours. The habitations and the lands have ever gone together and formed the parish. Two thousand, even three thousand, years would not be uncommon ages for many of these villages or parishes. In many parts of the country the residents, all descended from a common ancestor, and with lineage traceable in all its ramifications, formed a cousinhood. Such were the historic Village-Communities who strongly defended their rights in the land, right through crises of the utmost turbulence. To each parish there belonged from time immemorial a set of Village Officers also recognised by the oldest law-books, and for the most part hereditary, the office being held from father to son, or from uncle to nephew. Chief among these were the Headman (sometimes but not always named Patel) with a certain initiatory police jurisdiction, the Village Accountant who kept the accounts, between each peasant proprietor and the State, of the payment or arrears of land-revenue, and who preserved the minutest registration of all the landed tenures in the parish. Next after them was the Village Watchman, who has always been and still is the basis of the Police system of the country.

Now these parochial arrangements, which had been fully maintained in all the palmy days of Native Rule, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, were sadly broken through by the troubles of the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries. But they were all restored by the British Rule from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and during the latter half of the century have been scrupulously, almost religiously, guarded by surveys and many other regulations, as will be seen in the coming Chapter on "The landed interests." It may suffice here to remark that the British have always held the parochial system as a means of keeping the people steady, of inducing them to value the time-honoured institutions under which they and their fathers have lived, of causing them to appreciate the benefits of a powerful and settled government of which the permanence is ever to be desired. The number of these Parishes or Villages in all British India is vast, amounting above 537,000; divided among the 250 large Districts above mentioned, and giving an average of over 2,100 Village-Parishes to a District.

It has been already seen that a goodly portion of the Empire remains under the Native rulers and consists of Native States. The area of these is somewhat large as compared with its population, as it often includes hilly country. It comprises more than a quarter of the whole Empire and has a population of more than sixty millions. These States, great and small together, are very numerous; the enumeration of them would show a number so high as four hundred and fifty. All of these have sovereign power of some sort, in very varying degrees, but the greater of them have

full sovereign power within their own limits, subject always to the general control of the British Government; while their external policy and relations are entirely British. Even in the largest of them there is a British Resident as representative of the Paramount Power, and as chief adviser to the Native Sovereign; to this rule there is no exception. The lesser States, which are really vassal, are generally under one or other of the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors. But the great groups of States, such as those of Rajputana and of Central India, the Moslem State of the Nizam of the Deccan, the Hindu State of Mysore, the three Mahratta States of Sindhia, of Holkar and of the Gaekwar, the Gurkha State of Nepal and the Cashmere State are under the Governor-General direct. They and some others are regarded as Imperial Feudatories. All these Native States have been already mentioned in Chapter III., relating to the formation of the Indian Empire. They are autonomous up to a certain point and in a certain sense, and they afford for Native ability, genius and originality a scope which is hardly afforded in the British territories. But the Princes of the old school have now died out and those of the new school have been educated under Western influence and their administration is being assimilated more and more to that of the British territories.

Such, in outline, being the machinery of the general Government set up on the spot in India, there

remains to be considered the machinery whereby control, guidance, support is afforded from home, that is from Britain.

In the year 1800 the Honourable East India Company was the immediate source of authority as emanating from Britain towards India. Excepting certain foreign relations, all orders to India came from the Company, and excepting the King's troops, all Indian officials and all the Indian armies were the Company's servants. Though the Company still possessed its mercantile character and functions, its servants had for a considerable time been wholly dissociated from trade, were not allowed to engage in any private transactions, and were public servants in the highest and purest sense of the term. The Company had been from the first, that is from the dawn of the seventeenth century, incorporated by Royal Charter and its position had given it the monopoly of the Indian trade with Britain. There had been modifications and renewals of the Charter. The last of these renewals had taken place in 1793. For some generations the control by the Government in Britain over the Company had been general only. But in 1784 a specific control had been instituted and was constantly exercised in all particulars, though under a separate roof, by a Board of Control in daily communication with the Company's India Office in the historic Leadenhall Street. The President of that Board was usually a member of the British Cabinet. The patronage, however,

still remained with the Company for the most part. The Governors and the Members of Council were appointed by the Company. The Governor-General was always chosen by the Crown; but in reference to the Governor-General a peculiar provision was afterwards introduced, namely this, that in the Company was vested a power of recalling him even without the sanction of the Government in Britain. The effect was to compel the Governor-General to accord a deferential consideration to the Company's views and wishes. Such a power would be made use of but rarely. But it was once exercised in a signal manner as will be seen hereafter. The most important branch of the Company's patronage related to the Civil Service, then bearing the name of Covenanted, as its Members were all under Covenant with the Company. This renowned and historic Service, placed by emolument and social position beyond the reach of temptation, and bearing a lofty character, filled all the higher offices and all the administrative posts of any consequence in India. The Members of it were all in the first instance nominated in Britain by the Directors of the Company. But the young men thus nominated had to be trained in an East India Company's College at Haileybury in Hertfordshire, and had to undergo examinations in all the ordinary European subjects and in many Oriental subjects besides. This valuable and important patronage was in part a reward to the Directors for their labours in the Directorate,

and the check on its exercise consisted in the severe training which the nominees had to undergo. In its day this Service was famous as the most highly organised and remunerated service in the world.

Probably no other homogeneous body of public servants, several thousands in number, could at any time or in any country show such a muster roll of illustrious administrators as this.

Such in general terms was the control over India exercised in Britain in the early part of the nineteenth century; but changes soon began to occur. First in 1813 by a new arrangement the Company was deprived of the monopoly of the Indian trade. Then in 1833 the trading functions of the Company were terminated, and its Corporation was retained solely as a territorial and governing authority. In 1844 the Court of Directors exercised their power of recalling the Governor-General, in the case of Lord Ellenborough. They alleged no charge whatever of misfeasance against His Lordship; ~~but~~ dissensions had arisen between him and them. In 1853 the Company's charter was revised; in the revision the notable feature was this that the power of nominating members to the Covenanted Civil Service passed away from the Court of Directors, and the entrance to that Service was thrown open to public competition under conditions determined in England. This proved to be the last of the revisions of the Company's Charters which had now extended over two centuries and a half.

In 1857 the Mutinies in the Native 'Army of India broke out, followed by the War of the Mutinies, to be described hereafter. In 1858 the East India Company was abolished altogether, the Court of Directors ceased to exist and the Government of India, as exercised from Britain, was assumed by the Crown. All orders from England, which heretofore had run in the name of the Company, thereafter ran in the name of the Crown, all the servants of the Company became the servants of the Crown. But in India itself no change was immediately made except that the Governor-General became the Viceroy and Governor-General; and Lord Canning, who was at that time the Governor-General, became the first Viceroy. A most dignified and gracious proclamation was issued by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs and people of India, assuring them that all existing arrangements would be confirmed, that all rights would be respected as heretofore, that all engagements previously made would be fulfilled. The end of the great Company had come amidst blood and iron, thunder and lightning, tumult and tempest, still its noonday had been resplendent and its career of conquest, governance, and administrative improvement had been unparalleled in the annals of private enterprise in any age or country.

In 1875 the Prince of Wales visited India with excellent effect in all quarters. In 1877 the Queen, by and with the advice of Parliament, assumed the title of Empress; she was thenceforward styled



Queen-Empress of India, and had the subscription of R.I. or Regina et Imperatrix. The proclamation of the imperial style was made at Delhi, the old capital of the Mogul Empire, under the direction of Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, with a magnificence and solemnity probably surpassing any occasion that had ever been witnessed, even in India, proverbially the land of pomp and pageantry. The idea thereby promulgated had long been familiar; the word empire had been used in speech and in writing, officially and unofficially all through the century, and the adjective imperial had usually been applied to everything that related to India at large. This was now settled in the face of all nations, and India stood forth in her full rank as an Empire.

The assumption of the Government of India by the Crown did not immediately cause any particular change in the various Civil Services, whether Covenanted or Uncovenanted. But subsequently as the servants who had once been under covenant with the Company passed away, the name Covenanted was given up and the term Imperial (Indian) Civil Service was adopted. The other branches heretofore styled Uncovenanted were then designated the Civil Service.

But the changes which became necessary in the Military Services caused much trouble. The Queen's troops serving in India kept their status unchanged. But the Company had possessed a considerable body of European troops, several battalions of Infantry, almost all the European Artillery serving in the

country, and recently some regiments of Cavalry. It was believed that these fine troops would willingly transfer their services from the Company to the Crown; but, on measures being taken for the transfer, under this belief, they manifested objections which in some cases took the form of mutiny. The affair became for the moment very grave, but the Government acted with wisdom and forbearance, and all men who were unwilling to transfer their services were allowed to take their discharge.

The Native Indian forces, consisting of three Armies, belonged respectively to Bengal, Madras and Bombay. These were transferred to the Crown without any difficulty as regards transfer; though the conditions of service and pension pertaining to the European officers needed much rearrangement. In 1893 it was determined to abolish the separate Armies of Madras and Bombay and to combine all the forces of India under one Commander-in-Chief. So the forces were combined in one Army, divided into several Army Corps, namely one for the Madras Presidency, one for the Bombay Presidency and three for the Bengal Presidency.

In the Naval arrangements a complete change was made. Under the Company an Indian Navy had long existed of some renown in the seas around India, and in the Persian Gulf. This was given up, and the protection of India by sea was undertaken by the Royal Navy; a squadron of considerable strength in numbers was maintained on the Indian

station, to the cost of which the Indian Treasury contributed.

Besides the military changes thus sketched there were grave circumstances in the history of the Native Armies, and in their relations towards the European forces, which demand separate treatment and will be noticed in the succeeding Chapter.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE INDIAN MUTINIES.

IN the preceding Chapter the constitution of the Army of India has been sketched, as it grew during the course of the century, and was determined with some finality in the closing decade. But mention was also made that there were grave circumstances in the history of the Native Armies, before their combination into one Army, which would be separately described. These circumstances comprise what are known to history as the Indian Mutinies of 1857, and the War of the Mutinies which immediately ensued.

It has been stated already that the Native Indian forces of the Company, called Sepoys, consisted of three Armies belonging to the three Presidencies, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. The Governors in each Presidency had, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, raised these Native forces for the Company, which were brought by Acts of Parliament under the Mutiny laws. As they grew in numbers, they were styled Armies, and each Army had its own Commander-in-Chief, whose office was recognised, so far back as 1784, by Parliament.

In the year 1798 the strength of the Sepoy forces in the three Presidencies together stood at 122 battalions, and the strength of a battalion might be reckoned at something under a thousand. By that time the great Marquess Wellesley was at the head of affairs. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, that is in 1808, the total Native troops had risen to 154,000. In that year the strength of European troops amounted to 21,500, which represented a proportion of one European soldier to six Native. The East India Company had begun under the authority of Parliament to enlist men in the British Isles for its service in the branches of artillery and infantry. To the Company also were lent King's troops, both cavalry and infantry, for which it defrayed all charges during their service in India. But as military operations became more and more extensive, and as larger and larger garrisons were needed for conquered provinces, so the strength of the three Armies rose till, at the beginning of the late Queen's reign in 1837, the total number of the regular Native forces or Sepoys, Officers and men, stood at 218,000, besides some Native levies, that of European troops at 36,000. The number of the Sepoys rose still higher up to 1857, when their strength may be stated thus in Battalions, for Bengal 74, for Madras 52, for Bombay 29, or 155 Battalions in all, with an established strength of about 1,000 per Battalion, officers and men. In the three Presidencies also there were 39

Regiments of Native Cavalry.\* These forces were officered by Europeans; were recruited separately in each Presidency, both Hindus and Moslems. They had their home associations widely separated, though they were in some degree united by a community of faith. They spoke different languages, though they all understood one language, the Urdu or Hindustani, enough for practical purposes. This division into distantly scattered parts was held to be an element of Imperial safety as preventing, or at least rendering difficult, any combination of a dangerous character, and such proved largely to be the case in the grave events which are presently to be recounted. Besides these Sepoys, who were counted as regular troops, there had grown up by 1857, several local bodies, the Panjab Trans-Indus force, the Nagpore force, the Gwalior contingent, under Sindhia, the Nizam's Contingent in the Deccan. These were organised almost as highly as the Sepoy troops, and constituted a considerable addition to the Native Indian forces. Meanwhile the European forces, belonging to the Crown and to the Company, had not been proportionately augmented. Their total stood at thirty-eight thousand. But the Native forces, the Sepoys and the Levies, above mentioned, taken together, were reckoned at a total of three hundred and forty-eight thousand. Accordingly the European soldiers were as one to nine, or

\* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Army."

one to eight at the best.\* Thus there was an undue disproportion between the European and Native forces in the Empire. This grave fact was no doubt noticed by thoughtful observers at the time; still there was not any public apprehension. Recent wars, in which the Sepoys had borne an honourable part, had been so successful, their interests were apparently so bound up with the British Government, their European Officers, who ought to know best, had so much confidence in them, that the public felt no alarm. There had indeed been mutinies of a partial character among the Sepoys at divers times during the century, but these had related to grievances about pay or conditions of service. It was not by any one anticipated that the men would go so far as to rise against the Government itself, upon whom they depended for their lifelong livelihood.

During the winter of 1856-7, extreme fear suddenly arose among the Sepoys of the Bengal Army regarding certain cartridges which the men were to bite, and which were said to be greased with animal fat. Mutiny occurred at several military stations and was suppressed, but threatening symptoms continued to break out.

On the 11th May, 1857, startling facts were flashed all over India by the electric telegraph. At Meerut, a large Station in the upper valley of the Ganges, there was a force of European and Sepoy

\* See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Army."

troops. On the evening of Sunday, the 10th, the Sepoys mutinied and fled. Through a mistake by the commander the available European strength at the Station was not properly employed to suppress Native mutiny. During the night the mutineers marched on Delhi, 35 miles distant, were joined by the Native garrison there, proceeded to the palace of the Great Mogul, and proclaimed as Emperor the living representative of the old Mogul dynasty.

The significance of this was unmistakeable. There must have been a conspiracy among the Bengal Sepoys, some 100,000 strong, and this combination must have been directed against British Rule in India. The British authorities were, as usual, instant in grasping the situation of peril. At some Stations, notably Lahore, the capital of the Panjab, the Sepoy regiments were deprived of their arms, under the eye of Sir Robert Montgomery. At some places, particularly near Benares, a small European force beat four times its own number of mutineers. For the moment no particular rebellion among the Native population ensued. But that also, as weeks passed on, began to appear in various quarters. In the Native States, south of Delhi, several Sepoy garrisons were stationed, and these having mutinied marched on Delhi, whither mutineers from many British Stations were flocking—after having in many, though not in all, cases murdered their European officers.



Soon the Civil Government of the North-Western Provinces, with its headquarters at Agra, was immured within the walls of the old Mogul fortress there. A similar fate befel the Civil Government and European garrison of Oudh in its headquarters at Lucknow. The death of Sir Henry Lawrence there, and the subsequent defence, form one of the noblest among the many noble episodes of the crisis. On the other hand the operations of the rebel forces against the positions successively occupied by the British at Lucknow were the most skilfully designed and obstinately conducted proceedings during the war on their side. Thus the tide of rebellion rose and spread till the whole of the middle and upper valleys of the Ganges, the historic Hindostan, from Benares to the Panjab, was submerged, while the fortified positions of Agra and Lucknow were as islands in a surging ocean. An area of, say, one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of the very finest territory, the best in all India, with forty millions of inhabitants was temporarily lost to the British Government.

The disturbance spread in a lesser degree to many parts of the Bombay Presidency, then governed excellently well by Lord Elphinstone, and to Sind, in the lower Indus valley, then ruled energetically by Sir Bartle Frere.

In the Panjab the British Government held its own indeed, under Sir John Lawrence, but the large body of Sepoy troops cantoned there either mutinied

or were disarmed. In all India, the only parts free from disturbance were Bengal proper, Orissa, and the Madras Presidency. With a few most honourable exceptions, the whole Sepoy Army of Bengal mutinied. The mutiny extended indeed to the Bombay Army, but did not make any head there; it touched the Madras Army but slightly. The centre of mutiny and rebellion was the newly proclaimed Emperor at Delhi. He had with him a large force of Sepoy mutineers who brought to the rebel treasury the plunder of the many British treasuries under their guardianship when they mutinied. The season of the year, that of the periodical rains, was the very worst for British operations. Every week added to the peril of the Panjab, and if that famous Province, next door to Afghanistan, should fall, the moral effect upon India would be incalculable.

This outline can give no idea of the tragical occurrences in many places, the murders at Delhi, the horrors of the massacre at Cawnpore, nor depict the efforts against overwhelming odds, the lightning energy, the heroic endurance, all exhibited on the British side. Errors, shortcomings, failures, there were on the part of individuals. But these paled before the courage, skill, promptitude, and resourcefulness evinced by the British Government in India and its officers as a whole, who were indeed as lions at bay.

The terrific crisis was surmounted in this wise.

In the first place, a force of Europeans, cantoned in the Himalayas near Simla, marched upon Delhi, and routed a large body of mutineers that had advanced from the city. This force was not, however, able to take the city by a *coup de main*, and had to sit down before the west side of it, thus commencing a siege, while the other three sides remained open to the enemy. This had, however, a moral effect, because the Indian world saw that the British Government really meant re-conquest. So the rebel efforts were concentrated in one city where, at all events, British power, if not as yet triumphant, was still militant in what became famous as the "Camp before Delhi."

Then from the Panjab under Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence were sent not only reinforcements, but also levies newly raised in that Province. The material aid of the Panjab men was important; the moral effect, again, was equally valuable as showing to the Indian world that the Government had still the means of replacing the Sepoys. The Government of India at Calcutta, of which Lord Canning was the head, spared no effort to send European reinforcements to the distressed districts. European troops were brought up from the Madras Presidency, from British Burma, from Ceylon. A force of several regiments, on its way from England to China under the direction of Lord Elgin, was diverted to India. The warship Shannon, under Captain (afterwards Sir William) Peel, appeared

before Calcutta, and afforded a naval brigade for land service. Most timely advances were made by Generals Havelock and Neill up the Ganges from Benares to Allahabad and on to Cawnpore. In August Sir Colin Campbell arrived from England to assume the chief command in succession to General Anson, who had died near Delhi early in May. Most fortunately the rich and populous territories round the Governor-General's headquarters at Calcutta were quiet. Large revenues still flowed in, the financial credit of the State was maintained. While the extremities of the body politic were trembling, the heart beat tranquilly.

Still, despite the constant impulse given to military movements, the clouds gathered thicker and darker over the British position, and by the beginning of September the fate of British rule in Northern India hung tremulously in the balance. But in the middle of September a decisive change supervened. Sir John Lawrence, at all risks to his own Province in order to take Delhi, had despatched the final reinforcements to the Camp before that city, and had in his own words "gleaned his last man." On the 14th, General Archdale Wilson commanding in that Camp, with John Nicholson, Neville Chamberlain, and Alexander Taylor, stormed with the most determined assault. The place was captured, though with difficulty, the mock Mogul Emperor was made a prisoner, the beaten mutineers fled, and the British authority in all the surrounding territories was restored.

Later in the autumn the first relief of Lucknow was accomplished by Generals Havelock, Neill and Outram. A further relief was necessary towards the end of November. Sir Colin Campbell, advancing from Cawnpore to Lucknow, released the beleaguered garrison and the European families imprisoned there. He was not, however, able to occupy the City or reconquer the Province just then. Meanwhile he left Outram with a small force in the suburbs of Alambagh. This position was for many weeks assailed by the rebels, and its defence forms another of the episodes of the war.

All this while, that is since the arrival in June of the news from Delhi, the British Government in London, under Lord Palmerston, had been putting forth efforts of a unique character. In a few weeks fully forty thousand men were despatched in sailing ships round the Cape of Good Hope to India, a distance of twelve thousand miles, the overland route not being then available for military transport. These began to arrive early in the winter, and before Christmas there was a European army in India fully sufficient to render the foundation of the British Rule secure. By New Year's Day of 1858, the British Indian Government and its officers were able to breathe again after the terrific storm of the last eight months of 1857.

The course of 1858 was marked with victory after victory to the British cause. Although the principal native Princes and Sovereigns were themselves

loyal to the British Sovereign Power, yet their troops in some cases, notably in the case of Sindha, were mutinous and their subjects rebellious. Early in the year Sir Colin Campbell with a powerful force again advanced upon Lucknow and finally recaptured it, whereon the rebellion in Oudh soon collapsed. But the settlement of affairs with the Talukdars or territorial aristocracy of Oudh caused much trouble. During the same season Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn) had to make his famous march from the Bombay Presidency, cutting his way right through the disturbed districts of Central India to Hindustan. As the summer approached the rebellion shrank and waned. By the eleventh of May, that is, the first anniversary of the tragedy at Delhi, it was virtually broken. It yet lived on through the summer. But by the winter of 1858—just eighteen months from the fatal 11th May, 1858—external order had been almost universally restored.

The causes of this mighty outbreak, which has been duly described by the historian as “the most marvellous episode of modern times,” have often been discussed with but partial information. They may be classified, first as original, second as proximate. The original fundamental and abiding cause was simply this, that the guardianship of the British Rule, which with all its merits was necessarily alien, had been entrusted to an over-mastering Native Army vastly outnumbering the European troops. The Sepoys had a sense of power, a belief that the

physical force lay with them. They had been in the main faithful to their foreign paymasters. Nevertheless they loved their old dynasties, their indigenous rulers, their Asiatic faiths and customs. Here then is the one great cause, which swallowed up all the other causes. Here was the cardinal error which gave fatal potency to all lesser errors, to all minor circumstances.

There were certain parties on the watch to foment any casual dissatisfaction which might arise. Foremost among these were the Muhammadan Court of the late dynasty at Lucknow and certain of the Hindu Talukdars of Oudh. In all probability the conspiracy, if not hatched, was inspired and organised from Lucknow, or from Oudh, under a remarkable man known as "the Moulvee." It was unfortunate that the agitation among the Sepoys on a caste question should have arisen in 1857, so soon after the annexation of Oudh, which took place in 1855. Further it so happened that several individuals powerless in the time of peace, but potent to strike in time of sedition, had recently been dealt with in a manner which they regarded rightly or wrongly as injurious and unreasonable. Had these not sided energetically with the rebels the course of affairs in their respective districts would have been very different from what it was. The policy of the Government in respect to the adoption of successors on failure of issue in Native States had no doubt disquieted public opinion. Too

much stress must not be laid on this, because, after all, the principal Native sovereigns remained loyal; and the trouble in their States arose not from them, but from their mutinous soldiers or their turbulent vassals. Indeed the loyalty of the Native Princes was a steady factor throughout the crisis.

It remains in conclusion to point the moral of this wondrous tale. Imprimis, the crucial error of having too small a proportion of European to Native troops has been rectified, and will never, in all probability, be repeated. The European strength has been augmented and the Native strength diminished. The European soldier is now as one to two Native soldiers instead of being as one to five or six or even eight. If, however, there should be any repetition of this error, then the old danger of 1857 may revive.

In those dark days many Britons asked themselves the question as to what would become of India, if the British Government should be the loser instead of the winner in the contest, if the British should be driven back on their three Presidency Capitals and their ships. These were indeed extreme suppositions, but, nevertheless, quite intelligible. Yet there would have been little doubt in the answer to be given by the best informed of Anglo-Indian statesmen. As a retrospect of some interest respecting the forces capable at that time, 1857-8, of moving Indian politics, it may be well to state what the then answer would have been. There



were then existing at least five volcanic forces either slumbering though easily perceptible, or else showing signs of possible activity, namely, the Gurkha Nationality in the eastern Himalayas, the component parts of the Sikh States in the Panjab vanquished only nine years before, the Rajput States who had always held their own under any circumstance and even under the British suzerainty, the Mahratta element in the Western Ghaut mountain-range behind Bombay, and lastly the Arab chiefs of Arabian troops whom the Nizam of Hyderabad in the Deccan had for many years been summoning from Arabia to help him in showing a brave front before his masterful British allies, and who had become more his masters than his servants. Each one of these volcanic forces would have burst forth immediately after the disappearance of the British from the interior of the Indian continent and peninsula. The Gurkhas would have descended from the Himalayas near Nepaul to lord it over Behar (the first home of Booddhism), over Oudh and northern, eastern and middle Bengal, leaving southern Bengal only, and perhaps Orissa, to the powers in Calcutta. The reconstituted Sikh State in the Panjab would have occupied all the Delhi territory. A goodly part of the classic Hindustan would have formed a bone of contention between it and the Gurkhas. The Rajput States would have held their own. But they would have occupied the dominions of Sindhia and Holkar which were Mahratta exotics on Rajput

soil. The Mahrattas would have strongly established themselves in their native mountains, the Western Ghauts, and would have occupied the Western Deccan. The coast territory known as Guzerat, together with the Gaekwar's territory at Baroda, would have remained under the Powers at Bombay. The Arab chiefs at Hyderabad would have dealt somehow with their nominal lord the Nizam, and would have set up their own kingdom there, controlling the remainder of the Deccan and the whole southern Peninsula except such parts as might be within reach of the powers at Madras. Such in general terms would have been the new partition of India, though some few Native States, isolated and inaccessible to these five Powers, might through their forbearance have preserved a sort of independence. From all these perils India was saved by that Providence which vouchsafed to the British a fresh tenure, more potent than ever, to be used for righteous ends.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRINCIPLES OF IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE character, the progress and the constitution of the Indian Empire having been set forth in the foregoing Chapters, some account will in this Chapter be given of the principles by which the Imperial administration has been conducted during the nineteenth century.

Throughout the Empire there has always been the Reign of Law. All the changes heretofore described in the control exercised from England were sanctioned by Statute, that is by successive Acts of Parliament. The several Presidencies and Provincial Governments were from time to time sanctioned by the same authority. The administrative changes which have been mentioned were either sanctioned by law at the time, or afterwards received confirmation by law directly or indirectly. Within the Empire itself everything down to the minutest particular is done according to law. Everywhere have Courts of Justice been established, and their writs run to the remotest corners of the country. Nothing is done save what would have to be recognised by them; or, if anything be done otherwise, it is liable