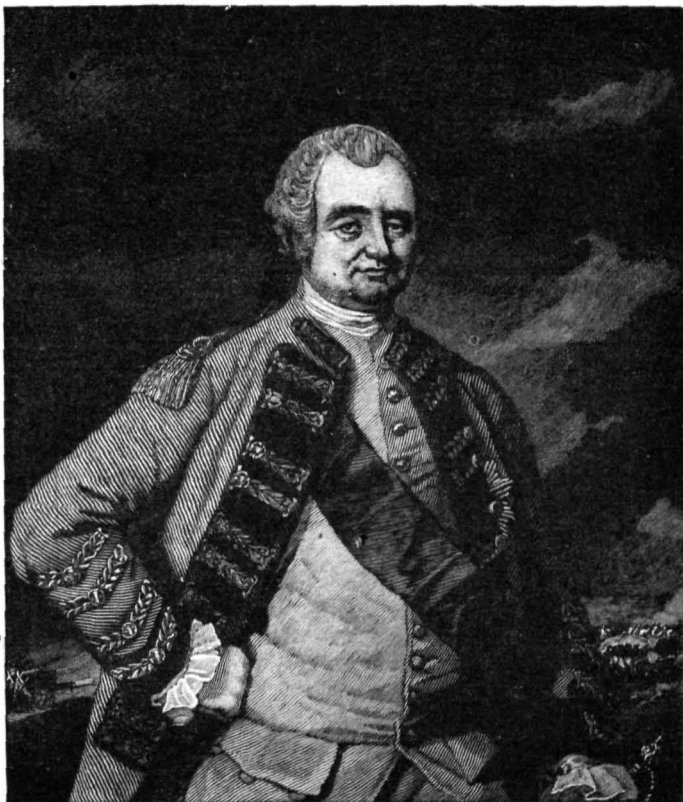


presidencies and local governments are given a sum of money out of the public purse over which they exercise large powers, and there are in all of them councils for making laws and regulations. The seven remaining provinces are called local administrations. Three small provinces—Berar, Ajmer, and Coorg—are administered under the more direct control of the Imperial government by officers who also hold political offices. Two—the Central Provinces and Assam—are under chief commissioners, and differ but little from the local governments under lieutenant governors, from which some of these districts were originally detached. The two remaining provinces of India are British Baluchistan and the penal settlement of the Andaman Islands. It will be observed that no attempt is made to divide India into equal provinces. There is no apparent method followed in fixing their limits, and the reason for this is to be found in the circumstances under which British rule gradually grew up in the country. The English company never dreamt of empire when they began to trade with India. They avoided war and any increase of responsibilities as much as possible. But events were too strong for them, and the provinces took their shape not out of any design, but under the pressure of self-defence and out of accidents which were never foreseen. In order that the provincial arrangement may be properly understood, it is necessary to look back at the course of events.

34. Madras. The Madras province or presidency is the oldest of British Indian provinces. A petty chief sold to a British trading company in 1639 the site of Fort St. George, because he expected much profit by trading with them. In 1653 this humble settlement, acquired

so lawfully and peacefully, was made a presidency, but a century later it was violently captured by the French.



LORD CLIVE.

From an engraving by Bartolozzi, after the picture by Nathaniel Dance.

After its restoration the tide of war turned, and Masulipatam was taken from the French in 1757, and eight

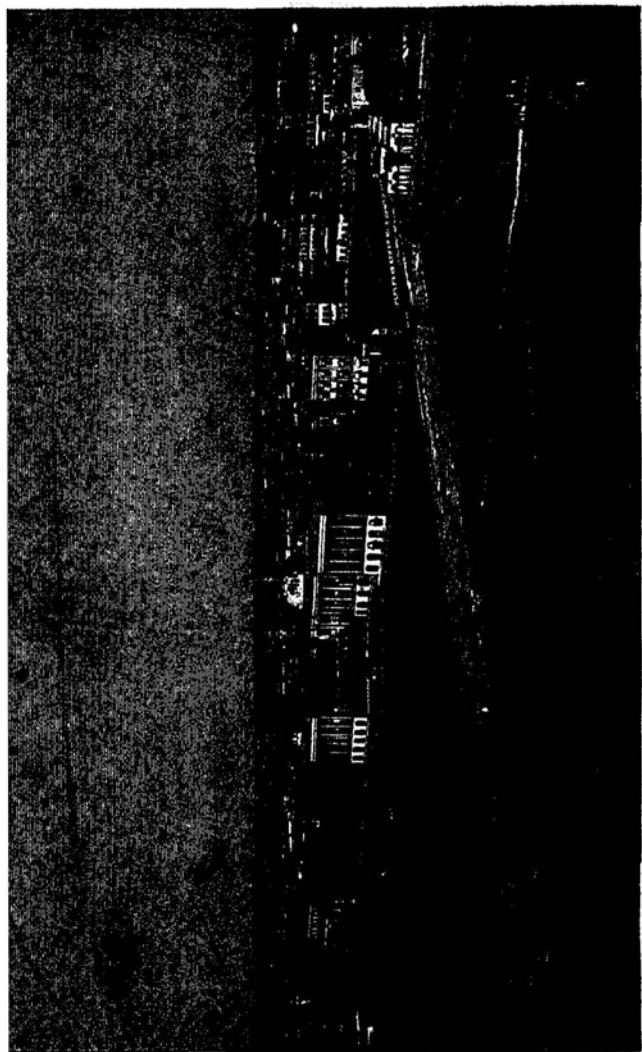
years later the emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam, granted the Northern Sarkars to Clive. The French in course of time opened negotiations with the neighbouring native chiefs, hoping with their aid to expel the British settlers, and a Mahomedan general in the service of the Hindu state of Mysore, named Hyder Ali, who had usurped his master's power, lent a ready ear to their proposals. The result of the Mysore wars which ensued with Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan was to restore the Hindu dynasty to power in Mysore, and to add five districts to the Madras Presidency. Bellary and Cuddapah were ceded in 1799, and in 1801 the Nawab of the Carnatic renounced his sovereign rights. In 1838 Kurnool was annexed; but in 1862 the Madras government transferred to Bombay the northern district of North Canara. Thus from a quiet trading settlement Madras grew under the three influences of wars with the French, grants from the emperor, and the defeat of the Mysore usurper, into a settled province of British India, embracing an area of 141,189 square miles, with 35½ millions of people.

35. **Bombay.** Only twenty-six years before the Hindu raja invited the British traders to Madras, a British factory had been established on the western coast at Surat under a firman granted by the emperor of Delhi, who in the next year, 1614, issued orders to allow the merchants of King James the privileges of free trade throughout his empire. Within twenty years of the cession of Bombay by the Portuguese to the King of England, the head-quarters of the trading company were moved from Surat to that island, and in 1708 the settlement was made a presidency. The British occupation of Bombay was thus founded upon

a just title. But the British settlers were hemmed in on all sides by the Maratha government, which subsequently became established at Poona. The rise of Sivaji to power commenced after the establishment of the company at Surat, and for a century the British merchants gained little profit from the emperor's firman in favour of free trade. In consequence of a revolution at Poona which followed the murder of the Peshwa Narain Rao, the usurper Raghoba applied to the British for aid, and ceded to them Bassein, Salsette, and neighbouring islands in 1802. The interference of the British on behalf of Raghoba led to their defeat at Wurgaon and consequently to further hostilities. It was impossible for either party to sheath the sword until one side or the other prevailed, and fresh treaties only paved the way for fresh wars. Surat, Broach, and Kaira were acquired by force of arms in the second Maratha war, and after the battle of Kirkee, in 1817, the Dekhan and the Konkan were added to the presidency. In 1843 Sind was annexed by Sir Charles Napier, and the fort of Aden in Arabia, which was captured in 1839, was handed over to Bombay, of which province it was afterwards declared to be an integral part. Thus the history of Madras was repeated in the case of Bombay, a province of 125,144 square miles with nearly 19 millions of people.

36. **Bengal.** The growth of Bengal was far more rapid. In Madras and Bombay the company acquired a legal title to only small settlements on the sea coast. The growth of the factory into a province was the slow result of a struggle on the part of the settlers to retain in peace a strip of coast which belonged to them of right. The French and Hyder Ali in the south, and the Mara-

thas in the Dekhan, threatened to drive the British traders into the sea, and their resistance and the victories won by them over their assailants brought to them the spoils of war. In Bengal the same company of London merchants, who had commenced their trade in Surat, acquired from the Delhi emperor a right to trade with Pipli in the Midnapur district. But no factory was established until 1642, when Balasor was selected. The native authorities oppressed the foreign traders, and seized their factories when they prepared to defend themselves. The company accordingly obtained the permission of the local governor of Bengal in 1698 to purchase Calcutta, and for some time their affairs prospered. But in 1756 the Subahdar of Bengal, Siraj-ad-Daula, attacked Calcutta, and on the 20th of June in that year he thrust 146 Englishmen into the "Black Hole," where all save 23 perished in a single night. The settlement thus lost to the company was recaptured on 2nd January, 1757, by a force sent to its relief under Clive from Madras. Soon afterwards the battle of Plassey was fought and won on the 23rd of June, and in 1765 the emperor Shah Alam, conferred the Diwani of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa upon the East India Company. The company thus acquired by a single stroke a large territory. In 1803 Orissa proper was conquered from the Marathas, who had invaded it without any lawful pretext, and the whole province of British Bengal, which then included part of the present North-Western Provinces, was placed under the administration of the Governor General of Bengal until 1834, in which year the Governor General of Bengal became Governor General of India. The Governor General of India, however, continued, without the aid



CALCUTTA, FROM THE OCHTERLONY MONUMENT, LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

of his council, to govern the province until 1854, in which year the first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was appointed. In 1836 the upper provinces were detached from Bengal and added to the province which was afterwards called the North-Western Provinces, while Bengal itself received, in 1856, some tracts from Sikkim, and in 1865 further additions from Bhutan. Again, in 1874, it became necessary to relieve the local government of an excessive charge by detaching the districts now known as the province of Assam. Bengal however remains the second in point of area, and the first in respect of population, of the provinces of the empire, embracing 151,543 square miles with more than 71 millions of people. Its capital is Calcutta.

British rule in Bengal was thus established over the whole province upon the best of titles. The defence of the settlement of Calcutta and the vindication of its lawful claims, after the outrage of the "Black Hole," were followed by the emperor's firman which conferred upon the British merchants the rights and duties of governing the province. The extent of the emperor's grant was so large that it included not merely the province of Bengal as now known and Sylhet and Goalpara, but it laid the foundations of the adjoining province, which has next to be described.

37. The North-Western Provinces. The very name which this province still bears throws light upon the policy which the British company desired to pursue. When Bengal was granted to the British, its population rapidly grew rich and prosperous under their rule. Unfortunately the country beyond it remained a prey to anarchy and civil war. The merchants who

had acquired Bengal had no wish to extend their responsibilities, but in order to protect their possessions they were drawn into wars with the Marathas, and then with the Nepalese. They had created a kingdom of Oudh in the hope that a strong and friendly power might prove a good neighbour, and protect its own as well as the company's frontier from attack. The king of Oudh disappointed their hopes, and the armies of Sindhia and Holkar took the field against a British force under Lord Lake. The results of the arrangements made with Oudh, and of the defeat of the Marathas in 1805, were the cession and conquest of certain districts which were called the "ceded and conquered districts." British authority was extended to the Sutlej in 1808; the hill-tracts of Kumaon, Garhwal, and Dehra Dun were taken from their Gurkha invaders in 1816; and the Sagar and Nerbada territories (afterwards incorporated in the Central Provinces) were surrendered by Nagpur in 1811. The province of Oudh, which had been, about 1732, carved out of the decaying Moghal empire by the Wazir, was annexed in 1856, and in 1877 it was united with the North-Western Provinces, whose Lieutenant-Governor is also styled Chief Commissioner of Oudh and has his headquarters at Allahabad. For many years the province, which in Akbar's reign was called Allahabad, bore the brunt of frontier defence, and grew in strength under the attacks of enemies from all sides. After 1857 it transferred Delhi to the Punjab, but it still retains its old title although the real north-western frontier is far removed from its extreme limits. Its area is 107,503 square miles with 47 millions of people.

38. The Punjab. The province of Punjab, watered

by the five rivers—the Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab, and Jhelum—was created almost at a single step, like that of Bengal. It was not laboriously built up like the North-Western Provinces out of a long series of wars. The reason for this was that for many years the British company strove hard to avoid an extension of its rule beyond the north-western boundary. Accordingly, the same policy which had been tried in Oudh, when Oudh was recognized as a native kingdom, was applied on a larger scale to the Punjab. In 1809 the company made a treaty with Ranjit Singh which left to that conquering ruler of the Sikhs the country beyond the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh reduced the Punjab to order by absorbing the principalities within it, and by maintaining a powerful army. The army got beyond the control of its leaders, and in 1845 it numbered 72,000 men with 381 guns. On 13th December of that year the Governor General published a proclamation in which he laid stress on the fact that the treaty of 1809 had been faithfully observed by the British government, which “sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh government re-established in the Punjab able to control its army and to protect its subjects.” But the Sikhs had nevertheless invaded British territory “without a shadow of provocation.” To punish this violation of treaty the territories of Dhulip Singh on the left bank of the Sutlej were confiscated and annexed, and subsequent victories led to the annexation of the rest in 1849. The country was first governed by a Board of three members, and then in 1853 by a chief commissioner. In 1859 it was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. Its area is now 110,667 square miles, with a population of nearly 21 millions. Its chief city is Lahore.

39. The Central Provinces. It has been shown that from the North-Western Provinces certain districts were detached, namely the Sagar provinces, conquered from Sindhia, and the Narbada provinces, acquired from the Raja of Nagpur in 1818. When the Raja of Nagpur, Raghoji III. died without heirs in 1853, the rest of his territories were added to these two groups of provinces. In 1862 Sambalpur and some other districts were taken from the control of Bengal, and at a later date, in consequence of various exchanges of territory between the British Government and certain Native states, Nimar was also added. By these means one united province, called the Central Provinces, was constituted and placed under a chief commissioner in 1861. The area of the 18 districts so combined is 86,501 square miles, with nearly 11 millions of people. The capital town is Nagpur.

40. Assam. Part of this province, created in 1874, was severed from Bengal, and two of its districts, Sylhet and Goalpara, were included in the Emperor's Diwani grant of 1765 already referred to. Other districts, including that which gives its name to the province, were conquered from the Burmese in 1826, and portions of the hill districts, inhabited by wild and lawless people, were annexed from time to time, as a punishment to the tribes for their attacks upon villages within the British border. The area of the whole charge placed under a chief commissioner is 49,004 square miles, with a population of about five and a half millions. The capital town is Shillong. There is not a single town, in the whole of Assam, which has a population of 20,000 inhabitants.

41. Burma. The British authorities were even

more anxious to avoid an increase of their responsibilities on the north-eastern frontier than in the Punjab on the north-west. If the issues of peace or war had rested entirely with them, the court at Ava would still be ruling over Burma. But the constant insults and encroachments of the Burmese authorities thrice compelled the British to draw the sword in defence of their rights, and on the 1st of January, 1886, Upper and Lower Burma were united, and became a province of the Indian empire. It will be remembered that the emperor's grant of Bengal to the company brought their districts of Assam and Chittagong into close touch with the province of Arakan. The King of Burma conquered Arakan in 1784, and some forty years later the Burmese government advanced a claim, to the sovereignty of Bengal as far as Murshedabad. The company's territories were violated, and when Lord Amherst, the governor-general, addressed the King of Ava in serious tones of remonstrance, he replied that "it is the pleasure of the king of the white elephant, the lord of the seas and land, that no further communication be sent to the golden feet." Only one answer was possible to so impudent a refusal to discuss the matters at issue. As the result of the war which followed, the lower provinces of Arakan, Tavoy, and Tenasserim were ceded in 1826 to the company, and an agreement was concluded with the Burmese for the protection of the company's trade.

The treaty was not kept, and in 1852 an insult, deliberately offered by the governor of Rangoon to Captain Fishbourne, led to the capture of that city, and the annexation of Pegu by Lord Dalhousie. Finally, after a long course of most unsatisfactory con-

duct toward the British representative, King Thibau proclaimed in November, 1885, his intention of invading Lower Burma, and war was of necessity declared



THE MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA K P 1884 TO 1888.
From a photograph by Bourne & Shepherd, Calcutta.

which ended in the annexation of Upper Burma by Lord Dufferin. In 1862 the lower provinces had been placed under a chief commissioner, and in 1897

both Upper and Lower Burma were united under a Lieutenant-Governor, whose head-quarters are at Rangoon. The eastern frontiers of the Indian empire now touch Siam on the south, the French possessions on the Mekong, and the empire of China on the north. Exclusive of the Shan states, the area of the province is 171,430 square miles, with a population of seven and a half millions. In area therefore the province, which includes 36 districts, is the largest of Indian provinces, and since the country was the scene of constant disorders, which desolated the villages and reduced the population during the rule of the Avan court, it is certain that under the influences of peace and order its population will greatly increase. The port of Rangoon, protected by British command of the seas, already takes its place as one of the large centres of trade and commerce under the British flag.

42. Five Remaining Provinces. A very brief account of the remaining provinces will suffice to complete this review of the growth of the present Indian empire. Ajmer with Merwara is in Rajputana. Ajmer was received from Sindhia in 1818 in exchange for certain territories which had been acquired from the Peshwa. Merwara fell to the Company as its share of a district rescued from gangs of plunderers by a British force sent to assist the Rajput states of Mewar and Marwar. The chief political officer in Rajputana is also the chief commissioner of Ajmer.

Berar, lying between two ranges of hills in the centre of India on the road from Bombay to Nagpur, was assigned to the British by the Nizam for the punctual payment of a force which the ruler of Hyderabad has engaged by treaty to maintain. Its

six districts, with an area of 17,718 square miles and a population of 2,879,040, are included in the census as a province of British India because the entire administration is vested in the government of India. But the province is not strictly a part of British India as defined by law.

Coorg, a small province covering 1,582 square miles, nestles in the hills which bound the Mysore state on the west. The cruelties inflicted on his subjects by its ruler, Vira Rajendra Wadiar, induced the people to seek the protection of the company, and when war was declared in 1834 and the district conquered, it was formally annexed by Lord William Bentinck "at the unanimous wish of the inhabitants." Its capital is Mercara, and the resident of Mysore administers the province as a chief commissioner in accordance with the wishes of the Coorgis, who asked that their country might be treated as a separate province.

British Baluchistan, with an area of 18,020 square miles, is an advanced outpost of the empire on the south of Afghanistan, and is administered by the chief commissioner and chief political officer at Quetta. The district of Quetta came under British rule in 1879, the Bori valley in 1884, and the Zhob district in 1889.

The Andamans, with Port Blair as their headquarters were established as the penal settlement for Indian convicts in 1858. They form a chain of four principal and several smaller islands, distant 450 miles from Rangoon, and inhabited by a Negrito race of small stature.

43. **Little Seeds.** The rapid expansion of British rule in India is due to the growth of a few seeds of

peace, law, and commerce, planted on the coasts of the country by a company of merchants. Under the shade of these plantations the settlements of Bombay, Surat, Calcutta, and Madras grew into cities, and neighbouring districts and states, wearied by constant strife, sought the protection of the strong men from over the seas who showed that they were able to restore to the people of India the peace and order which they so much needed. The public enemies, who carried fire and sword through the land, and left the districts half deserted and the villages in flames, could not be suppressed by the unaided efforts of the Indians themselves. Mr. Tupper relates of the district of Karnal in the Punjab that out of 221 villages in one part of it, the inhabitants of 178 were absolutely driven from their homes and lands in the beginning of the present century. Similar instances could be mentioned in Central India. Habits of law and peace were lost in the incessant appeal to arms. The harassed people, therefore, welcomed a power which could restore rest to the land, and give security to its industrious raiyats. No one, least of all the British traders, expected or wished for empire when they opened trade with India. But the example, set by the first fugitives who fled to Bombay, and by the state of Coorg was followed by others who saw that the only hope for their own country lay in a close alliance with a race able to teach the Indian people how to fight and to defeat anarchy and lawlessness.

"Our enemies have fall'n, have fall'n : the seed,
The little seed they laughed at in the dark
Has risen and cleft the soil, and grown a hulk
Of spanless girth that lays on every side
A thousand arms and rushes to the sun."

CHAPTER V.

THE NATIVE STATES.

44 Foreign Territory. If the reader who has reached this point in his studies should consult a map of India he would notice considerable tracts of country which are not included in the districts or the provinces hitherto described. Some of these tracts are filled by a cluster of important states lying close to each other; others form single principalities under one chief, and others again lie scattered about in small patches within the ring fence of a British district. The total area occupied by them is considerably more than a half of that of British India, and the number of separate states within this area is nearly eight hundred. Some are very large, and others can count only a few villages. But there is one feature common to all. Although they are all parts of India or of the British empire in India, yet they are not parts of the territories governed by the British which are known as British India. They are not ruled by the officers of the Queen Empress, although they are protected by Her Majesty. British courts of law have no jurisdiction in them or over them so far as their general population is con-

cerned. The people who reside in them are subjects of the chiefs, and in short the states are not British, but foreign territory.

It does not follow, however, that the citizen of British India need take no account of them, or regard them as no concern of his. • On the contrary, past experience has shown that the good government of the native states, and the prosperity of their subjects, are objects of direct interest to the British government and its citizens. If disorder should gain head in one of the great blocks of territory filled by several states, such as the Central India Agency, it would be impossible to exclude it from the adjoining provinces. This lesson was taught by the Pindari war. If the native army should defy its officers as the armies of Gwalior and the Punjab once did, the battles of Maharajpūr and Sobraon would have to be repeated. Again, if a powerful ruler were to enter into negotiations with the enemies of Great Britain, as Tippu Sultan once did with the French, war both by sea and land might again be provoked, and it might involve not only the ruin of the state but great losses to British India. So too in the affairs of every day: if the chiefs who rule the patches of foreign territory in British districts should shelter gangs of robbers or encourage practices like suttee and infanticide, which are forbidden in the neighbouring British villages their action would defeat the efforts of British law and peace. The friendly and neighbourly conduct of the native chiefs is therefore essential both to the welfare of British India and to the continuance of the native states.

45. Past and Present. There is no achievement of which the British government is more proud than the

preservation of so many states in the midst of its territories. Before the establishment of British rule the states were either annexed by a stronger power, as by the emperor of Delhi, or by the Sikh Lion of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh, or else they were left in a state of chronic disturbance and civil war as in Central India. The alternative in old days lay between absorption and anarchy. Even after the successful wars which the British company waged in defence of its factories in Surat, Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, the difficulty of transforming the princes and chiefs of the states into loyal neighbours and allies was so great as to seem a hopeless task, and it required many changes of policy. Success has, however, been attained by a resolute adherence to a principle which was expressed by a Secretary of State for India in these terms, written in 1860: "It is not by the extension of our empire that its permanence is to be secured, but by the character of British rule in the territories already committed to our care, and by showing that we are as willing to respect the rights of others as we are capable of maintaining our own."

46. **Lord Cornwallis.** The first step taken by the company with the intention of preserving the native states had to be retraced. It ended in failure and continual wars. The British traders, who had obtained the emperor's sanads and had proceeded peacefully and lawfully to establish their factories on the sea coast, had neither the desire nor the idea of exchanging commerce for rule. Their first object was to engage in profitable trade, not to take part in intrigues and wars. When they were forced by attacks to defend themselves and to strengthen their positions,

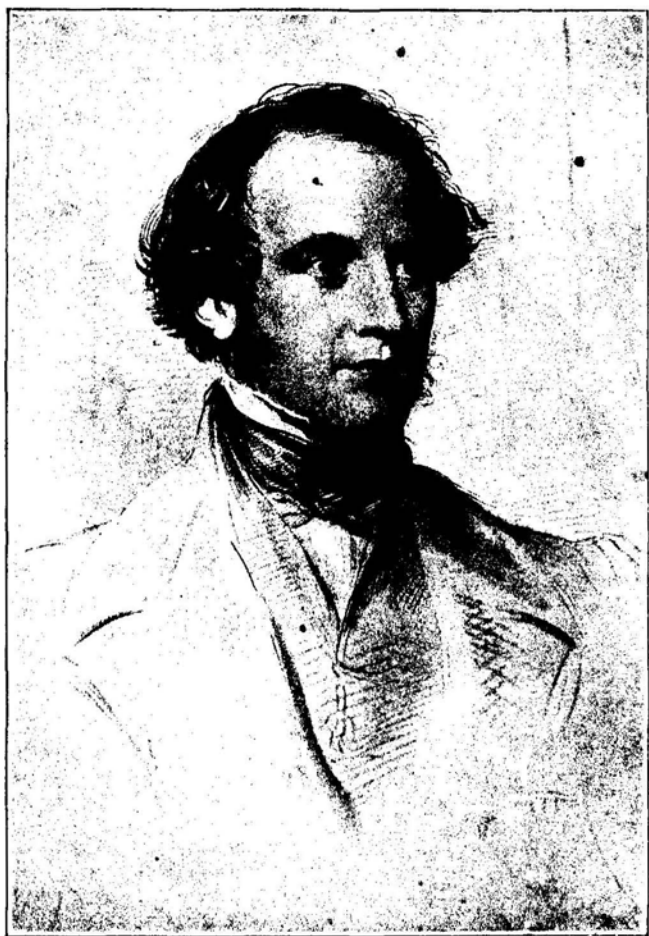
the English parliament did all in its power to restrain them from undertaking larger responsibilities. Accordingly, in the reign of George III. an Act was passed in 1793, which recited the words that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation." The authorities at home tried to carry out this view, and they forbade their officers in India to enter into any engagements with the native states which could be avoided. Lord Wellesley, however, during his term of office (1798-1805), not only established British power by bringing fresh territories under its rule, but required the country princes to enter into subordinate relations with the Company. He introduced the system of subsidiary forces, under which troops were provided for the defence of the native states, and security was taken for their payment. But on his departure Lord Cornwallis again reverted to the policy of non-intervention, and civil war soon spread like a jungle fire.

47. Lord Hastings. It devolved upon Lord Mofra, better known as Lord Hastings, who filled the post of Governor-General from 1813 for ten years, to conduct to a successful issue the wars which the policy of "let alone" entailed, and as a consequence to bring the greater part of the native states under British protection. Wars ceased between the native princes and the company, and between one prince and another. The conditions of a lasting settlement were laid down, and from that date the relations between the states and the provinces were put upon a satisfactory basis. But for many years it was considered proper to leave the rulers of the protected states entirely to themselves in the management of their internal affairs.

The consequence was that, for lack of timely advice and interference, misrule grew to serious proportions; and then, when the ruling chief chanced to die without leaving an heir, public opinion demanded a change of rulers, and the state was held to have lapsed to British rule.

48. **Lord Canning.** When the government of India was transferred in 1858 to the crown an end was put to these lapses, and the ruling princes were assured of the desire of Her Majesty to continue the dignity and representation of their houses. As long as they are loyal to the crown and faithful to their engagements, the chiefs are assured that they will be protected and their states perpetuated. Advice is given to them when needed, and if any particular chief is proved to be unfit for rule he is replaced by another who can govern better. The states themselves are both protected and preserved. Advantage is taken of minorities or any temporary removal of the chief to introduce a better system, as was done in Mysore and Baroda, but when reforms have been carried out the native state reverts to the rule of its own chief. By these means an enormous area of 595,167 square miles has been preserved under native rule in the teeth of many difficulties.

49. **Classes of States.** What these difficulties have been may be more readily understood if a general idea is formed of the position of the states, and of the points upon which differences would naturally arise between them and their powerful neighbour. The states protected by the government of India may be divided into three classes: those which lie close to each other, and form extensive blocks of territory subject to



VISCOUNT CANNING, First Viceroy, November 1, 1858.

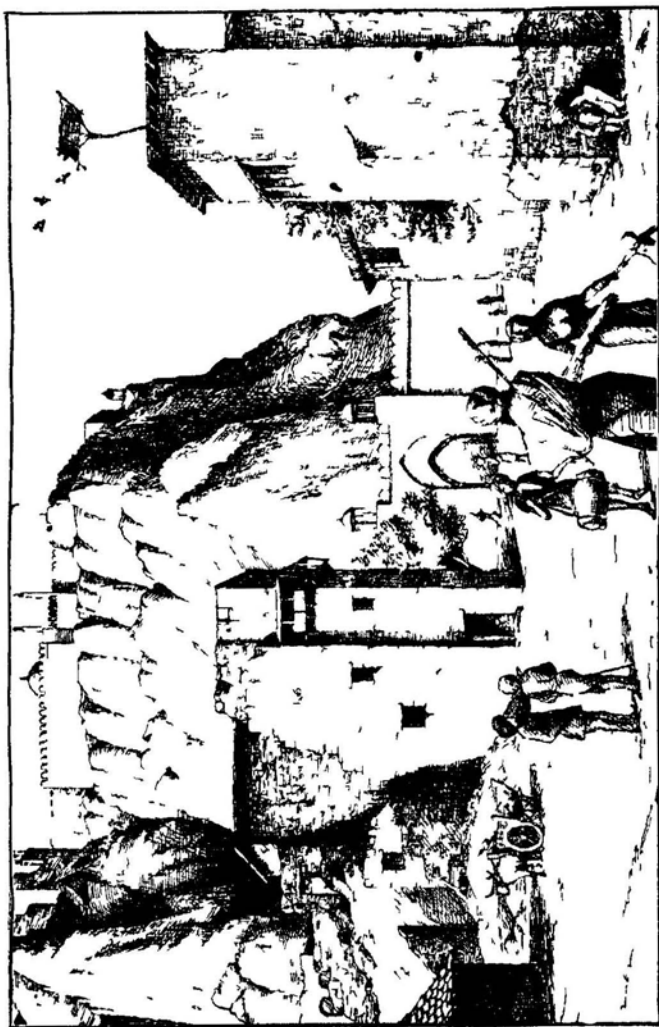
foreign jurisdiction; secondly, individual states of large area; and, thirdly, small scattered principalities

which lie inside British districts or provinces. Of the first class, the Rajputana Agency, the Central Indian Agency, Baluchistan, and Kathiawar are the most important. Of the second class, Kashmir, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Baroda are the most conspicuous; but Travancore, Kolhapur, and Kutch may also be mentioned as considerable states. In the third class are included some hundreds of states, which vary in size from that of a district to a small collection of villages.

50. Groups of States.

Rajputana. The Rajputana Agency covers an area of 130,268 square miles, and is therefore larger than the whole of Bombay and Sind. Its population of twelve millions is less than two-thirds of that of the Western Presidency. It includes twenty states, of which Tonk is Mahomedan, two are Jat, and the rest Rajput. In the extensive deserts of Rajputana the Rajputs, driven out of Hindustan by the Mahomedans, found a refuge for hundreds of years, and thus their chiefs of Mewar or Udaipur, Marwar or Jodhpur, and Jaipur, rank as the oldest princely families in India. Among the other states may be mentioned Bikanir, Jaisalmir, Bharatpur, Alwar, Kota, and Dholpur. They had suffered in turn from the exactions of the Delhi emperors, and from the incursions of the Pindaris and the Marathas, when in 1818 they were brought under the protection of the British. The chief political officer resides at Abu, and is styled the agent to the Governor-General.

Central India. The Central India Agency includes a larger number of states, which constitute a solid



MAIN GATE GWALIOR

block of 77,808 square miles in the very heart of India. Both in area and population it somewhat resembles the British province known as the Central Provinces. Gwalior is its chief state, and Indore the next in rank, but Bhopal, Rewa, and Ratlam also deserve special mention. The chief feature of this large group of principalities is its patchwork of territory and titles. Many petty estates nominally belonging to larger states are separately protected by the British government, and the possessions of the leading chiefs lie scattered about in small strips or patches, while some of the most important princes pay tribute to their inferiors. This result is due to the scrupulous fidelity of the British authorities to their engagements. When they intervened, the whole area was the scene of war and plunder. British armies suddenly proclaimed peace and order, and the conquerors, who prevented any further appeal to force and violence, undertook to secure all parties in possession of the rights and lands which they at that moment held. The chief political officer resides at Indore, from which centre he exercises control over Bundelkhand, Bhaghelkhand, Gwalior, Nimar, and Malwa.

Baluchistan. Baluchistan lies beyond the plains of the Indus, on the western frontier of India, and guards the approaches into Hindustan from Persia and Afghanistan. It consists of the territories of the Khan of Khelat and the Jam of Lus Beyla, and with the British province of Quetta falls under the political control of an officer of the government of India who resides at Quetta.

Kathiawar. The only other considerable block of several chiefships which needs notice is that of

Kathiawar, which is under the government of Bombay. Within an area of 20,559 square miles it affords the best possible study of the efforts made by the British to prevent native states "*falling into the vortex of annexation.*" Under its treaty with the Peshwa the company might have introduced British rule into the province, but it preferred to make engagements with 147 chiefs, undertaking to protect them if they maintained order. About 80 of these estates in course of time were annexed to other chiefships, while the rest became split up under the local rules of succession into numerous petty estates. In 1863 the number of chiefships had risen to 418, and owing to disputes amongst the jurisdiction holders, and the frequency of boundary quarrels, robbery, and outlawry, it seemed as if annexation was inevitable. But this measure was avoided by dividing the larger chiefs into seven grades with different powers, by grouping the smaller ones round Thana circles, and by entrusting to political officers the trial of cases which the chiefs were unable to try. Thus Kathiawar remains under native rule, and the ordinary courts of justice established under British laws do not exercise authority in it.

51. Important Single States.

Hyderabad. The most extensive states in India under a single ruler are those which enjoy the fullest measure of internal authority. Some of them have already been mentioned above. Here we have to deal with a few of those which are not included in the groups of states already described. One of them, Hyderabad, with an area of 82,698 square miles, is nearly as large as the British province called the Central

Provinces. Its founder was a servant of the emperor of Delhi, who shook off the authority of his master when the Mahomedan power began to decline, and his successors have received considerable additions of territory from the British government as a reward for their military and political services.

Kashmir. Kashmir, which is almost of the same area as Hyderabad, was created by the British after the defeat of the Sikh army at the battle of Sobraon in 1846. The hill-country between the rivers Indus and Ravi, then acquired by conquest, was conferred upon Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu, by the treaty of Amritsar.

Mysore. Mysore, a considerable state in the south of India, covering 28,000 square miles, rich in gold and fertile in soil, also owes its existence to British arms, by which it was restored to the Hindu dynasty from the hands of a usurper. Some years after this event, which occurred in 1799, the subjects of Mysore rose against the oppression and exactions of their Maharaja, and the British government took over the administration. On the death of the Maharaja in 1868 the British government again determined to revive the native rule, and they recognized his adopted son, who was invested with authority in 1881. His untimely death closed a career of great promise, and his son, a minor, succeeded him in 1894. Thus, after half a century of British administration, Mysore was once more placed under a native ruler, under certain conditions which afford a guarantee for the maintenance of the reforms introduced by the British commissioner.

Baroda. Baroda is another important state standing by itself in the fertile division of Guzerat in

Western India. Damaji, the founder of the line of Gaekwars who rule this state of 8226 square miles, established himself by arrangement with the Peshwa on the fall of the Mahomedan government in Ahmedabad. Baroda was thus formed into a native state many years after the establishment of British factories in Surat and Bombay, and at several periods in its history it has been sustained by British help. More recently, on the deposition of its ruler in 1875, who thus lost the benefit of the right of adoption granted to ruling chiefs, the British government allowed the widow of a former Gaekwar to adopt a member of the Gaekwar family who had been selected by the government of India as a suitable person upon whom to confer the state of Baroda.

There are many other states which stand out in the midst of British territory besides those described above. The honour of a salute, which varies from twenty-one guns to nine, indicates in a general way the degree of importance attached to a native chief. To the rulers of the three states of Baroda, Hyderabad, and Mysore the highest salute is given, and to the eight states of Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore, Kashmir, Kelat, Kolhapur, Mewar, and Travancore salutes of nineteen guns are given. Thirteen chiefs are entitled to seventeen guns, and seventeen receive a salute of fifteen guns. Besides these there are sixty-five other chiefs who are honoured with salutes. Judged then by this standard there are in India one hundred and six rulers of states who stand in the front rank. These figures, however, include several of the states which are massed together in groups like the Rajput and Central Indian states, as well as those which lie apart from others.

52. **Estates.** The third class of native states embraces many scattered portions of foreign territory lying in the midst of British districts. Such are the Jaghirs of Satara and the Southern Maratha country, the chiefships of the Central Provinces, and those of Orissa and others. It is not necessary to give a list of them, but any one who looks at the map of India will see at a glance that, if these states should prove bad neighbours or unable to maintain peace and order, they would only become thorns in the side of the local governments and district officers. A weak central government would have long ago given up as hopeless the task of controlling so many chiefships without the aid of British law and British courts. Their preservation is honourable to both parties. It testifies to the power of the suzerain government to protect the rights of the weak, and to the good sense of those chiefs who accept advice and co-operate with the British officers.

53. **Advantages of Native Rule.** The British government gains by the continuance of native rule several advantages. The states are a permanent object-lesson of the faithful adherence of the Indian authorities to their engagements. They also enable the people of India to compare the results of various systems of administration. Those who are curious to learn whether population, education, commerce, and industry increase more rapidly under one form of government than under another can answer this question for themselves. The British government at present contributes more to the states than they contribute to the welfare of British India. The cost of the naval and military defence of the empire, the upkeep of the ports and

dockyards, the main weight of expenditure on railways, and the expense of imperial establishments which benefit the whole of India, are borne almost entirely by the British provinces. The small payments which some states make under treaties more often represent a commutation charge for expenses of which they have been relieved than a contribution towards their share of protection from a foreign foe. But the princes and chiefs relieve the British government not merely of the cost of their local administration, but also of other civil responsibilities. So long as the chiefs are, in the words of Lord Canning's sanads, "loyal to the crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants, or engagements which record their obligations to the British government," they have nothing to fear from their powerful protector. All observers testify that under British advice great improvements have been effected in the administration of the states, and all friends of India look forward to the continuance of the union, and to the growth of a friendly rivalry between the officers of the Queen Empress and the princes of the states in promoting the prosperity of their respective subjects. The British have brought from the far west to the east new ideas of freedom and toleration. It may be hoped that in the best governed of the native states the new spirit will mix with the life of the Indian people, and that we shall learn from them what changes are best adapted to eastern habits.

"So let the change which comes be free
To ingroove itself with that which flies,
And work a joint of state, that plies
Its office, moved with sympathy."

CHAPTER VI.

THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT.

54. **National Concerns.** The reader has now gained a general idea of the frame-work of the Indian government. The empire consists of two parts, the native states and the British territories. The former are governed by their own rulers, who in certain matters follow the advice of the British government. The latter are divided into a number of villages and towns which are grouped into districts whose officers are the backbone of the executive government. The district officers obey the local government, and it is the local government or administration which rules over the province. But just as we have seen that the affairs of the province are conducted partly by local or municipal boards and partly by the officers of the provincial government, so in the larger area of British India there are some matters which lie within the sphere of the authority of the provincial governor, and others of a national character which are reserved for the orders of the central government of India. In order that there may be no confusion or conflict of authority, it is necessary that each local government

should recognize and obey one and the same supreme power, and that the government of India should in its turn avoid interference in the affairs which belong to the provinces. Upon a good understanding between the central and provincial governments the smooth working of the whole machine mainly depends. It was for the lack of such an agreement and unity of purpose that the great empire bequeathed by Akbar to his successors fell to pieces. The viceroys and local governors appointed to rule over the provinces rebelled against the central authority at Delhi, and their disobedience broke up the whole frame of the Mahomedan government.

55. Supreme Control. No one therefore who knows his history will value lightly the need for a good understanding between the local governments which command the civil officers of India, and the imperial government which gives directions to the governors and heads of administration. The first step towards such an agreement is to realize the necessity for one supreme control. It is wanted for three purposes—to adjust differences between the local governments; to represent all of them in external concerns—that is to say, affairs affecting foreign governments; and thirdly, to give uniformity to the actions of several separate authorities which are working within their own provinces.

It is not difficult to see that the local interests of one province may be opposed to those of another, and that to avoid a conflict a third party must intervene and settle the dispute. One province enjoys access to the highway of commerce—the sea—and if it were left to itself, it might enrich itself by

taxing goods in transit to or from the ports of the empire. Another province lies on the frontier exposed to the attacks of hostile tribes, and the cost of its military defence is very heavy. But since its military operations protect not only its own districts, but the provinces which lie behind it, its government has a just claim to recover from the rest of the empire some part of its military expenditure. A third province is exposed to an irregular monsoon, and frequently suffers famine when its neighbour enjoys good crops and high prices for its surplus. In these and many other cases that might be mentioned a court of appeal is needed to decide what contributions one province should make to another.

Take now a different case where it is proposed to make a treaty of commerce or a political arrangement with another nation. The effect of such a treaty upon the whole of India must be considered, and the interests of one local government may be opposed to those of another. • The foreign power can only deal with India as a whole, and it must look to one supreme authority to speak in the name of the empire and to compel all parts of it to abide by the agreement arrived at.

Again, in the internal administration of the country it is essential that progress should be made on certain uniform lines. It may be necessary that the systems of education followed in each province should be examined by a Commission, and the operations of the various local departments brought into harmony with a general plan. In all these matters the local governments, with their knowledge limited to their own districts, are not in a position to form an independent

judgment. A supreme authority, without prejudice or preference for a particular locality, is better able to deal with matters which are national rather than provincial concerns.

56. The Government of India. Accordingly, besides the local governments, there is a body known as the Government of India. It consists of a viceroy and governor-general, who is sent out from England to preside over it for a period of five years. He is assisted by a council composed of the commander-in-chief in India; a councillor versed in law, who has charge of the legislative department; another who takes the financial department; and three other members who preside over the home and revenue departments, the public works, and the military department. There are large offices under secretaries for each of the six departments mentioned above, to which must be added the foreign department, of which the viceroy invariably takes charge. Just as the local governments have councils for making laws and regulations, so the viceroy has a similar council, of which his colleagues in the executive government form a part. Such is the constitution of the central government, and we must now see where it resides, what duties it discharges, and by what authority and force it is controlled.

57. Provincial Capitals. The question of the best residence for the government of India has given rise to much discussion. In order to form a correct judgment, it is necessary to dismiss from the mind false notions based on a consideration of the places chosen as the seats of provincial governments. The duties of local governments and of the central government are quite distinct. The former administer affairs, while

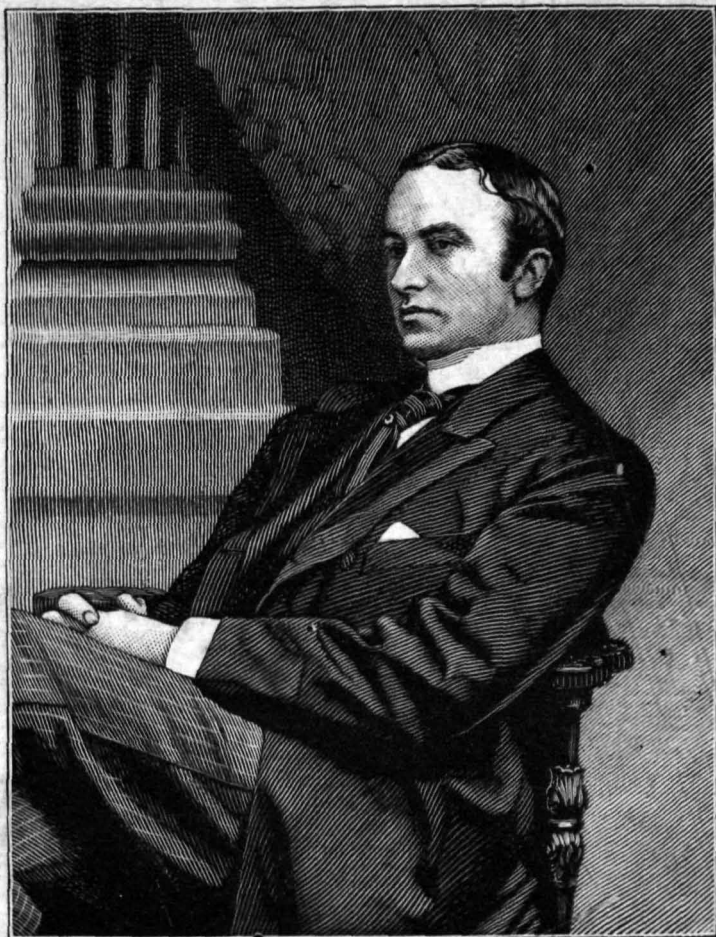


GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA

the latter controls their administration from above. Their choice of residence must in each case depend upon these varying conditions. Let us then see where the local governments are placed. It will be remembered that the Emperor Akbar called his subahs or provinces by the names of the chief city within them, and the British government, in the cases of Madras and Bombay, has adopted the same plan. But in the majority of the provinces, some geographical or racial distinction has suggested a title in preference to that of a city. There are perhaps two reasons for this change. Under Moghal rule no pains and expense were spared to give honour and dignity to the city in which the provincial viceroy of the empire resided. The British government, on the other hand, spends its public revenues on the improvement of roads and railways, and on projects of irrigation and other works, which will benefit not the city only but the province. Another reason for the avoidance of a local title in the description of a political or administrative division of the empire is afforded by the tendency of cities to rise or fall. The most famous cities of the past, such as Bijapur, Vijayanagar, Ujjain, have long since lost their pre-eminence, whilst others more favourably situated for commerce, trade, or defence have taken the lead from them. These in turn may lose their position. But although in the British divisions of India special cities have ceased to give their names to the provinces, there is in every local government or administration one city recognized as its centre or capital, where the local government resides in close contact with the life and feelings of the population. In these cities or towns are established the chief courts of law, the pro-

vincial offices of government, and the houses of firms and merchants carrying on the trades, industries, and commerce upon which the province depends. They are the head-quarters or the capitals of the province, the centre of its multiform activity and public life, chosen in order that the governing and governed classes may be in close touch with each other.

58. **Simla.** On the other hand, a supreme government charged with such national concerns as those already described does not need to be settled in a capital city like the governments of the provinces. The provincial governor is the head of the executive officers and the recognized advocate and guardian of local interests. He must be in personal relations with his district officers on the one hand, and with the best representatives of provincial opinion on the other. But the Government of India is charged with the task of controlling and directing all parts of the empire. The Viceroy has to examine patiently many difficult questions calling for time and thought, and he needs the advice of his councillors and the full machinery of the public offices to mature his policy and programme for the forthcoming year. For this reason it has been considered desirable that the supreme government should not reside for the whole year in Calcutta, but should spend a portion of it in the north on the slopes of the Himalayas, where the climate is favourable for prolonged work in office, and whence the affairs not merely of one province but of all provinces can be watched. There are some who think that the supreme government when it descends into the plains should not invariably go to one and the same city, Calcutta, but should visit in turn the several



LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA. 1898

provinces and thus, in course of years, come into equal contact with them all. The only objection to this

plan would be the cost of buildings and the heavy expense involved in moving the records of the Imperial offices. Perhaps the present arrangement is on the whole the most economical and advantageous, when the duties devolving upon the government of India are considered.

59. Imperial Duties. The functions of the supreme government may be described as either original or appellate. In some matters it takes the lead and directs action, while in other matters it corrects the action taken by the local governments and administrations. Its original jurisdiction is exercised in the following concerns :

- i. Foreign relations, including war, treaties, and consular arrangements,
- ii. Measures affecting the army and marine forces,
- iii. General legislation,
- iv. General taxation,
- v. Matters of currency and debt,
- vi. The post office, telegraphs, and railroads,
- vii. Emigration,
- viii. Mineral resources.

Its appellate jurisdiction covers the whole area of the administration, legislation, and expenditure of the local governments. Parties or bodies who are aggrieved by the action of the provincial authorities can seek redress from the government of India by presenting appeals in accordance with the petition rules published for general guidance. But quite apart from such appeals, the Governor-General in Council has, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, a general power to superintend, control, and direct the several

governments in all points relating to the civil or military government of their territories. In particular, certain functions are expressly reserved by parliament and by the various legislatures of India for exercise by the supreme government, so that the same law which gives to local authorities power to act, requires that in certain directions they should only use their legal powers if the supreme government approves.

60. Wide Range of Imperial Action. Complaints are sometimes heard that too much authority is exercised by the Government of India, and that the executive officers in the provinces or districts are weakened thereby. Those who feel this danger must bear in mind the reasons which have suggested the distribution of work just described. The frontiers of India extend from Arabia to the river Mekong, and even touch Abyssinia on the Somali coast of Africa. Some great powers of the west—Russia, France, and Turkey—hold territories that are in contact with India or its protected states. The empires of China, Persia, and Afghanistan are its close neighbours. The conduct of British and Indian relations with these powers and states is a difficult matter, frequently touching on dangerous ground. It must rest with one supreme authority in India to hold in its hands all the strings of foreign policy. Equally necessary is it that the power which dictates the policy should be able to execute it, and should command all the resources and means of offence and defence. The military and naval forces of India may have to work together, and in time of peace, arms, equipments, and all the machinery of war must be prepared and maintained with an eye to uniformity. Delay and confusion on the eve of war

can only be prevented by the issue of orders from a central authority. •

Similar considerations apply also to legislation and taxation. There is not a law passed by any provincial legislature which the council of the Governor-General for making laws could not pass. But its legislative action is reserved for those matters which require to be dealt with at the centre of the empire. Laws affecting the finances, or those which apply to every province in India, like the procedure codes or jail acts, and in some cases laws which involve new principles of an experimental character, like the Dekhan relief act, are passed by the imperial legislature, which also legislates for provinces having no law-making councils of their own. Since the whole machinery of government depends upon the proceeds of taxation, the supreme government takes charge of the ways and means. It provides the legal powers for taxing the empire, and it assigns to the several provinces their share of the proceeds. It prepares the budget and feels the pulse of the accounts from month to month, so as to contract expenditure if need be, and thus ensure the solvency of the empire. No debt can be incurred by any local or provincial authority without its sanction, and the difficult subject of currency is dealt with by it. Imperial departments like the post office, the telegraph, and the railway, which carry on their operations in every part of India, are directly administered by it in the interests of public economy and safety. Finally, it acts for each province in all cases where action must be based upon information and statistics collected throughout the empire, in which case the local governments could not obtain from

district officers not subject to them the requisite data for themselves. Therefore the supreme government watches the course of trade, collects from places inside and outside of India observations and returns of wind, tide, and rainfall, and fixes the terms upon which the mineral resources of the country are to be prospected or worked. In short, the business of India, like that of any large mercantile firm, is partly conducted at the head-quarters, and partly at the branches, and matters of principle, or those which concern all the branches, are decided by the central authority.

61. **Provincial Contracts.** In the list of imperial duties given above there is one headed "general taxation," upon which it is necessary to make some remarks. If it were left to the thirteen provinces to supply themselves with funds by imposing such taxes as they thought fit, there would inevitably be inequality and ground for complaint. The supreme government therefore settles what taxes shall be imposed, and it divides amongst the provinces the funds so collected, reserving for itself the means for discharging its own duties. Before Lord Mayo entered on his term of office as viceroy, the local governments annually received such provision for the purpose of their administration as the government of India chose to allot, and if they wanted additional funds they asked for them. Whether they got what they wanted or not, depended upon the state of the finances and the claims or good fortune of other applicants. The local governments collected the taxes and revenues for the supreme government, and had no personal interest in expanding them. So long as their own demands were satisfied

they had no particular motive for economy. Lord Mayo devised a new system which his successors have improved. Under present arrangements a contract is made for a term of years with the local governments. To them are allotted certain shares in the land-revenue and in the receipts from forests, stamps, excise, assessed taxes, and other sources of income. They have thus a direct interest in the collection of these taxes and revenues, and the imperial treasury, which receives its share, benefits by their success. At the same time they are made responsible for the whole, or a fixed proportion, of the expenditure upon certain departments, so that they also benefit by economy. They are by these means encouraged to make the most of the revenues of their province, and to reduce as much as possible the cost of collection and administration, because they profit by their own vigilance and economy. What they gain or save they can then spend on public works, or other public demands that will benefit the population of their own provinces. They are entrusted with certain funds, and they may make them go as far as they can according to their own discretion. The supreme government is relieved from the difficulty of deciding between rival claims for additional means advanced by several provinces, when once it has fixed the contract. It can easily be understood that in settling the grants fairly for all the provinces an impartial judge is needed, and for this purpose a supreme government is indispensable.

62. Departments. It is sometimes said that the government of India is a government by departments, and hence it is called a bureaucratic government. It

is obvious that the great machine of administration must be moved by several wheels,* each performing its own separate duties, although all are set in motion by the same motive power acting upon one principal wheel. In every large business there must be a division of labour, because skill and experience are gained by entrusting the several parts of it to different sets of men, who thus become familiar with all the details of their particular branch of the trade or business. In a native state the hand of the chief minister is felt in every department. He makes the law and he executes it. Whatever is done in any part of the state springs from his, or his master's, personal will. But in British India, where the government consists of a governor-general in council, or a governor in council, the charge of the departments is divided amongst the members of council, great questions in each department being reserved for discussion and decision by the whole body. Where the province is under a lieutenant-governor, or a chief commissioner, there is no board of council to refer to, but the advice of the secretaries in the department concerned is at the command of the head of the province. In each province of the empire business falls into the same departments as those which are recognized by the supreme government, although it may be necessary for the sake of economy to place two or more of them under the same secretary. The secretariat of the government of India is divided into seven departments. The military department includes also the marine. The financial deals not only with the finances, but also with the post-office and telegraph, with opium, customs, and salt

revenue, currency and mints, and trade and commerce. The foreign department deals with the relations of India with foreign powers, and with the native states of the empire; and the corresponding department under local governments is called the political. The legislative department deals with projects of law and rules made under Acts, and also advises the other departments on legal matters. The home department has a wide range of concerns, including education, medical and sanitary measures, judicial and ecclesiastical affairs, police, jails, and municipal government. The revenue department has charge of revenue and scientific surveys, settlements, forests, patents of invention, emigration, meteorological forecasts, museums and exhibitions, and when necessary it controls the administration of famine relief. The public works department deals with roads, buildings, railways, and irrigation. This short account of the manifold duties of the Indian government will serve to show how necessary it is to entrust them to separate departments. We have next to consider the means by which the supreme government in India is controlled by an authority at the very centre of the British empire.

63. Secretary of State for India. The government of India, although it is supreme in India, is nevertheless subject to a large measure of control from without. In 1858 the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland passed an Act for the better government of India, and transferred to one of Her Majesty's principal secretaries of state the powers of the East India Company and of the court of directors. A council was created to assist him in the discharge

of his duties. In regard to appointments and patronage, contracts and property, the Secretary of State in Council was invested with precise authority; and it was laid down that the expenditure of the revenues of India, both in India and elsewhere, should be subject to his control. The supreme power of the purse thus vests in the cabinet minister, who must secure the concurrence of a majority of his Council. By him a statement of Indian finances is annually presented to Parliament, and a further statement is prepared from detailed reports so as to exhibit the moral and material progress and condition of India in every province of it. Thus the whole administration passes under his review. Again, if any order is sent to India directing the actual commencement of hostilities by Her Majesty's forces in India, the fact of such order having been sent must be communicated to Parliament; and except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, the revenues of India cannot, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applied to military operations carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions. Every law or regulation passed by the Indian councils, and approved by the Viceroy, must be reported to the Secretary of State, and the Sovereign may signify Her disallowance of it through the Secretary of State in Council. These important powers by no means exhaust Her authority or the authority of the Secretary of State in Council. He can give orders to every officer in India, including the Governor-General, and he may dismiss from the service any servant of government. He advises the Queen Empress as to the appointment of the Viceroy,

the Governors of Madras and Bombay, the members of their councils, the judges of the high courts, and certain other high officers. The Secretary of State in Council may make rules as to the distribution of patronage, and, with the advice of the Civil Service Commissioners, as to the admission of candidates to the civil service. It is unnecessary here to enter into greater detail as to the powers of the Secretary of State: but it must be observed that he is a member of the Cabinet which governs the United Kingdom, and the Cabinet is responsible to Parliament for its conduct in India, as well as in the other parts of the Queen's territories and dominions. All the checks, then, which the constitution of the United Kingdom, its public opinion, and its press supply, operate upon the administration of India, and afford effective safe-guards against any misuse by the Indian authorities of the powers entrusted to them.

CHAPTER VII.

THE POPULATION OF INDIA.

64. **Diversities of Race.** The strength of a whole country, like that of any single citizen of it, depends upon the variety and qualities of its several members. Man's position in the created world is the result of his excellent powers of brain and limbs severally suited for his advancement and self-defence. So too the most prosperous nations are those which can make the best use of the resources which nature has placed at their command. History shows that different races of mankind possess special qualities and aptitudes. Some excel in fighting whether by land or sea, others are skilled in the arts of peace, some prefer agriculture or commerce, while others are famed as artizans or miners. The most prosperous community is that which contains a complete assortment of all useful conditions of men. The country of India enjoys great natural advantages of climate, scenery, and position. Protected on three sides by the ocean, it is guarded on the north by mountain barriers of high elevation. Its highlands, plains, and lowlands present a great variety of climates and of the earth's products.

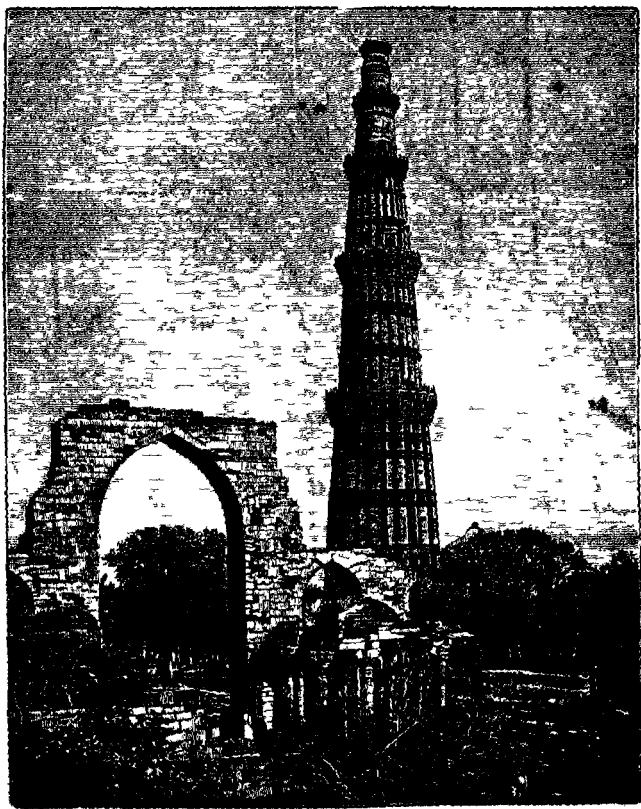
Many of its rivers are capable of navigation, and its forests are rich in timber. Its mineral wealth in gold and coal is considerable. It is true that a great part of the land is liable to scarcity when the yearly rains are withheld owing to causes over which the best of governments can have no control. But in the rivers which carry down the melted snow from the Himalayas to the plains, and in several excellent sites for storing large supplies of water, it possesses some compensation for this physical disadvantage, and the physical conditions of the provinces are so various that a general loss of crops throughout the whole of India has never been known. Its population of 287 millions is a numerical force which under judicious management ought to provide the country with all that it can require. The main essentials are the power to defend its natural frontiers by land and sea, the maintenance of internal peace, the development of its trade and commerce, and a good administration. For promoting these objects its various classes of population are admirably adapted, and notwithstanding obvious differences of race and religion there is no section of the population which does not contribute to the good of others and advance the general welfare. In this chapter some account will be given of the chief races to whom it may be said that "God has lent you India for your life; it is a great entail"; a land which was long ago called the *Bharata Varsha* or the fertile land, or again the land of the *Jambu Dwipa*, the fruitful myrtle that kisses heaven. But every country is after all that which its inhabitants make it, and India has passed through many changes of fortune and much distress.

65. **The Hindus.** The Hindus deserve the first place in any account of the population, not merely by reason of their numbers, nearly 208 millions, but because they were the first to bring social order and religious discipline to the country. The mind loses itself in the mists of six thousand years ago, when it attempts to follow the colonies of the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans, as they slowly drove their flocks and herds through the rocky gorges cut out by the Indus into the land of the Punjab. We know however that, as they advanced, the aboriginal races fell back into the refuge of the forests and into the solitude of the mountains, where their descendants still reside, avoiding contact with the people of the plains. The Aryans established themselves in Brahma Varta, the country lying between the Sarasvati (now called the Sarsuti) and the Drishadvati, a stream near Thanesar. From this cradle they extended their rule throughout India. In course of time other invaders—Scythians, Pahlavas, and Yavanas—followed their tracks, but they all in turn found their places in the Hindu system alongside of the conquered Dasyus; and thus was established social order in India upon that basis of caste which Hindu society has maintained for so many centuries. The services rendered to India by the Aryans are to this day enjoyed by their descendants, and the sacred books of the East edited by Max Müller, Menu's Code, the languages of India, and numerous records in stone and marble bear witness to the work which they accomplished in changing the half civilized races of India into a society of orderly citizens. Their power of conversion, inherited by their descendants, has been

exercised in modern times over the Kukis and Nagas of Mongoloid stock in Manipur, over the chiefs of Tipperah, in Nepal, and in other places where the outer ranks of Hindu society gain recruits from the population which surrounds it. To the Aryans and their Hindu followers the empire of India owes its first lessons in civilization, in agriculture, and in the arts of peace and settled government.

66. **Mahomedans.** The victories of peace are not however the only victories which a nation must win in order to preserve its own. India learnt this lesson to her cost, when her fair cities in the north were sacked by fanatical invaders from the mountainous country on the north-west, and the peaceful inhabitants given over to the sword. The very blessings which Aryan rule had conferred upon Hindustan sorely tempted the greed of the Pathan soldier, and the Hindus found themselves quite powerless to hurl back the Mahomedan invader from the Indus. In the eighth century of the Christian era Sindh fell a prey to the conqueror, and in 977 A.D. another of the gates of India, Peshawar, was opened and held by the Ghaznevites. The holy temple of Somnath was plundered in 1024, and ill-fated Delhi lay at the mercy of the men of Ghor in 1193. India offered to its hardy invaders not merely spoil but a home, and by the 13th century the Mahomedans, thenceforward entitled to regard themselves as citizens of the Indian Empire, began to adorn their new country with the graceful colonnade of the Kutab Minar and other noble buildings. Their wave of conquest spread to the south, and in 1347 the Bahmani dynasty, mother of the five Mahomedan states of Ahmednagar,

Bijapur Golkonda, Ellichpur, and Bidar, had risen to power.



THE KUTAB MINAR AT DELHI

Soon afterwards the country was again reminded that its north-western frontier was for ever exposed to foreign invasion, and that the people of India could

only maintain their liberties by constant proof of military power. Where the Hindus had failed the Mahomedans also proved to be insufficient, when the storm of Tamerlane burst on the north in 1398. Akbar, by his great abilities, once more restored peace and order throughout the empire, and it seemed as if at length a settled government had been established in the land. But again a Persian invader, Nadir Shah, poured his armies into the northern provinces in 1739, and it was discovered that Aryan civilization, even with the Mahomedan additions to the fighting strength of India, was of no avail in any struggle with the fresh strong blood of invading armies, recruited in colder climates and constantly exercised in the profession of arms. Something more was needed to insure peace to the country, and to protect the lives and properties of its population from the assaults of its neighbours. But the events which we have briefly noticed at least added an important element of strength to the Indian population; for, although the Hindus still outnumber all other classes of the community, the Mahomedans contribute more than 57 millions to the defence and support of the empire.

67. **The Parsis.** From what quarter of the globe the India of to-day has drawn the means of military and naval defence, necessary for her safety and advancement, will be presently shown. But before that account is given, we must notice a small but highly useful contribution to the empire, which is supplied by the addition of 90,000 Parsis. The Hindus organized a system of trade in their arrangement of castes, but it was rather an internal, or

a local trade which they provided. A spirit of enterprise which crosses seas to find markets, and establishes commerce with foreign countries on a large scale, was wholly alien to Hindu feelings. Nor were the Mahomedans, who brought their swords to India, well fitted to supply the need. Their experiences were not of peaceful commerce, but rather of war and its rougher methods; yet history has proved that no country can prosper which does not carry on intercourse with other countries, and exchange its products for foreign goods. Nature has distributed over the world her various gifts, and the value of what one country possesses is determined by the wants of others. The timber which would have rotted in Indian forests has served to build the ships of countries separated by many thousands of miles from the shores of India, whilst in recent years the Indian people have bought their articles of dress more cheaply from the west than they could manufacture them at home. For iron and steel, so necessary to the people's comfort, she has hitherto depended mainly on foreign countries. A spirit of enterprise which follows trade into distant lands is a special gift which Providence has conferred upon particular classes of men. The persecuted fugitives from Khorassan, who fled from the bloody field of Nahavand, found in the eighth century of the Christian era a place of refuge on the coast of Daman in Western India. In the fifteenth century their descendants had formed colonies in Naosari, Cambay, Surat, and Thana, and to-day the Parsis constitute the backbone of Indian commercial enterprise. Several wealthy Hindu merchants and many enterprising Khojas now trade with Africa and other

countries under British protection, but the Parsis have devoted themselves, as a race, to foreign commerce. In wealth and education they occupy a foremost position in the Indian population, and in enriching themselves they benefit the cultivators and artisans of India, whose products they sell, by opening up new markets for their industries.

68. Aborigines. The aborigines present a great variety of speech, race, and colour. The fair skinned Panikas of Chutia Nagpur side by side with the negro-looking Kharwars, the black Garos, the dark-skinned Kols, the Madras Paliyas, the kilted Nagas, the wild head-hunting Was of Burma, and the better known Santhals, Kandhs, Gonds, Maris, and Bhils, seem to defy all attempts to treat such varied classes of aborigines as coming from a common stock. Conquest or policy may have settled by force these different colonies of men in remote parts of the empire, just as the Kafirs of Kafiristan have of late been transplanted into Afghanistan from their own country. Science has endeavoured by examination of their skulls, by observation of their colour, and even by a comparison of their languages, to pierce the darkness of history, and to establish theories as to their past. The only facts regarding them which concern us here are that they are estimated at more than nine millions, that they are in a very backward state of education and civilization, that they are capable of great endurance and possessed of keen faculties, and that they offer to the more advanced communities a field for sympathy and influence.

69. Other Sections. In estimating the capacity
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of the Indian people to turn to the best account what nature has placed at their disposal, one must not omit a brief notice of some other sections of the population. The Buddhists of India, excluded in the census from the returns of the Hindu religion, number seven millions, and they are chiefly found in Burma. In this frontier province India is gradually admitting into her civil ranks the skilled artizan and the patient labourer of Chinese origin. The empire's power of producing wealth is thus strengthened and enlarged. The Sikhs at the other extremity of the country, although they number only two millions, have won for themselves an enduring reputation as soldiers, and they have upheld the interests of India upon many a field of battle.

70. **The Europeans.** It has been shown that India is a large country, rich in natural resources, possessing a huge population capable of supplying all forms of labour, and claiming as her sons many races of men. The qualities of these various races are diverse, but united they ought to render the empire safe against attack, and be able to produce those results in all fields of man's activity which sum up so much of human happiness. The course of Indian history shows, however, in the clearest light three serious dangers to which the lives and properties of the people of India were constantly exposed up to the end of the eighteenth century. Those dangers were liability to attack by sea, physical deterioration of the military forces, and isolation.

Even at the strongest period of Mahomedan rule India could not keep a naval enemy from her coasts, or protect her navigable rivers from the attacks of pirates.

The kings of Bijapur and the emperors of Delhi sought to supply this deficiency by employing Africans, and the Sidi admirals of the fleet were given Jaghirs as a condition of defending India by sea. This means of naval defence broke down, and one nation after another crossed the seas from Europe and settled upon the coasts of India. The rivers were infested with pirates whom the civil governments failed to suppress. In the British settlers whom the Indian chiefs invited to establish factories, the country has at last found the sea-power which is able to supply a want that the ranks of Indian society could not fill.

The admission of the British into the life of India not only relieved it of the difficulty it experienced on sea, but solved a further problem in its defence by land. It has been seen that, when the Mahomedan invaders from the north-west settled down to peaceful lives in India, the influence of the climate and the change of life weakened their military strength. The children of warriors proved, after many years of rest and exposure to the heat of the Indian plains, unable to repel fresh invaders from beyond the mountains. The British army, which under British rule India now employs in her service, comes and goes, and it is constantly renewed from the original source of supply. Thus the merchants whom the emperor of Delhi invited to trade have brought with them a valuable contribution to the military resources of the empire.

Hardly less important is the third boon conferred by the British on the Indian people. Cut off by the mountains from contact with other countries, Hindustan

was practically excluded from the blessings which discovery and science have bestowed on Western nations. The railway, the telegraph, the manufactory, and the mining industry, were the first fruits of Indian contact with Europe, a contact which has to be maintained across thousands of miles of sea.

The Europeans who have in the last century taken their place amongst the population of India are numerically very few. Their strength lies in the fact that, whatever may be their duties, whether as civil servants of the state, as soldiers, or as merchants and pioneers of industries, they are drawn fresh from the fountain head of British power. As they fall out of the ranks their places are taken by others, and deterioration is prevented by the fact that the supply is constantly renewed.

71. Jarring Concord. The Indian people are a collection of various races, various religions, and numerous speeches. Their ways of life and thought are different, and it is often the fashion to dwell on their jarring interests. But in the first chapter of this book it was shown that the body politic, or the nation, consists, like the human body, of several members; and if the finger is hurt, the whole man feels the pain. The special qualities and possessions of each class of the Indian population are the possession of the whole empire. Perfect union and common action for the moral and material progress of India can exist side by side with separate interests. Nay, even the assertion by one class of its rights permitted by law tends to create a wider respect for the rights of others and mutual toleration. This

thought is well expressed by the poet Pope in these verses :

“The¹ less or greater, set, so justly true
That touching one must strike the other too ;
Till jarring interests of themselves create
The according music of a well mix'd state.
Such is the world's great harmony that springs
From order, union, full consent of things,
More powerful each as needful to the rest,
And in proportion as it blesses, blest.”

¹ *Essay on Man*, iii. 289, where the reference is to the tender strings of Power.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS OF INDIA.

72. Division of Labour. The masses of the people in all countries maintain themselves by means of their own labour, and from the proceeds of their occupations taxes also are paid and the administration carried on. Nothing, therefore, is of greater consequence to the people and to the government than a steady supply of work for the population. The nation's working hands should be employed upon several trades and industries, and the people ought to be free to choose the form of labour, which from time to time may be the most profitable. If, for instance, Indian workmen relied wholly upon agricultural work, their hands would be idle whenever it pleased Providence to withhold the rains, or if the crops should be destroyed by locusts or other visitations. It is therefore important that India should have other resources besides the cultivation of its soil. Again, if labour is misapplied, there can only be waste and poverty. Labourers must be ready to adapt themselves to changes of circumstances. The trade of the Banjaras, or carriers of goods on pack saddles, ceased to be required or profitable when good

roads were made and carts introduced. A greater change occurred when railways were made. People who want to fetch goods from a distance, or to send them to market, will not pay heavy charges for an expensive mode of transit, when they can save expense by using carts or railways. All classes of men must benefit by improved communications, and even the old order of carriers and cartmen are sure to find new labour in some more profitable occupation. There is thus a constant division and change of occupation in a prosperous community. For this reason experience proves that a government is unwise if it makes laws or rules which interfere with the absolute freedom of industry and trade. Provided that it sees that employers of labour do not expose their men to danger of life or limb, the State may safely leave the rest to the parties themselves. If one trade decays and another thrives, the people are the first to discover and feel the change; and as each man knows for himself, far better than government can do, the sort of labour which suits him, he should be left free to follow his own interests in the choice of work.

73. **Capital.** There is, however, something which a government can do in order to help people to find labour. It can by maintaining peace and justice, encourage others to give an impulse to labour, and to set in motion the activities of artizans and labourers. That impulse can alone be given by capital. When in old times the people of Mysore collected gold from the Kolar fields, they carried their pickings straight to the goldsmiths or traders, who paid them on the spot for their labour. But a time came when the gold lay concealed in the depths of the earth, and when expen-