itself was seized, together with the crown jewels. Nadir Shah, after reinstating Muhammad Shah upon the throne, withdrew with all his spoil to Persia. It is estimated that he took with him plunder to the value of 32 millions sterling.

Collapse of the Moghul Empire.—Nothing could exceed the destitution which this invasion left behind it. The Moghul Empire was practically destroyed; for its prestige and authority were now completely gone. Muhammad Shah was left by this invasion little more than an emperor in name. The Deccan, Malwa, Guzerat, the whole of Rajputana and the Punjab ceased to acknowledge the sovereignty of Delhi; the district now called Rohilkhand, occupied by Afghan freebooters called Rohillas, was virtually independent; the Sikhs, the Rajputs, and the Jats in the north and centre were closing in on Delhi; and the Mahrattas from the south were steadily extending their dominions. Bengal among the outlying provinces alone paid tribute to the Emperor.

Rise of independent Mahratta kingdoms.—We must now return to affairs in the Deccan. In 1739 a memorable event took place, which broke for ever the power of the Portuguese in India. This was the storming and capture of Bassein by the Mahrattas under Baji Rao's brother. But while it ruined the prestige of the Portuguese, it greatly enhanced that of the Mahrattas, and emboldened them to further enterprise. The next year the Peshwa Baji Rao died. He had proved himself no unworthy successor to his father, and during his Peshwaship the Mahrattas had greatly extended their possessions. But the Mahratta power had become too vast for one man to wield, and signs were not wanting, in the constant dissensions of the Mahratta chiefs and generals, that the central control was breaking down. Sindhia and Holkar in Malwa, and the Gaekwar in Guzerat were asserting their independence, and another general, Raghuji Bhonsla, was laying the foundations of a separate kingdom of his own in Berar.

Raghuji Bhonsla plunders Bengal.—Baji Rao was succeeded by his son, Balaji Baji Rao, in 1740. Like his father and his grandfather before him, he was a man of

great ability; but he had not the same chances of success that they had, for he was saddled with heavy debts contracted by his father, and from the first met with much opposition, particularly from Raghuji Bhonsla. Two years after Balaji's accession, Raghuji, without his consent, sent an expedition into Bengal, defeated Ali Vardi Khan, the Moghul governor, and obtained two and a half crores of rupees by plunder. He would no doubt have overrun the whole country and annexed it, had not the Emperor, Muhammad Shah, who was aware of the jealousy between Raghuji and the Peshwa, appealed for help to the latter on Ali Vardi Khan's behalf. Balaji Rao was only too glad of the chance of humbling Raghuji, and willingly came to Ali Vardi's assistance. Raghuji was forced to retire for a time; but though balked of his ambition to conquer Bengal he continued so systematically to harass Ali Verdi Khan that the latter was glad at length to permit him to levy the chauth over the whole of Bengal, Berar, and Orissa.

Poona made the capital of Maharashtra.—In 1748 Sahu died at Satara. The event made little difference to affairs in the Deccan; for he had exercised no real authority since the days of Balaji, the first of the Peshwas. After his death the Peshwa removed to Poona, which henceforth became the capital of Maharashtra, while Satara sank into insignificance.

Disorder in the Carnatic.—The same year the old Nizam of Hyderabad died. South of his kingdom lay a tract of country between the river Krishna and Cape Comorin called the Carnatic. This, though not forming part of his dominion of Hyderabad, had been subject to him, and he had exercised the right of appointing its Nawab or governor. But the Nawab whose seat of government was at Arcot, was virtually an independent ruler; for the Nizam was generally too preoccupied with his own affairs to pay much attention to those of the Carnatic. A few years before the Nizam's death, however, the Mahrattas, by overrunning the country and slaying the Nawab, forced the Nizam to intervene. He soon succeeded in driving them out, and having restored order appointed one of his generals, Anwaruddin, Nawab of the the Carnatic. The

death of the Nizam threw both countries into confusion; disputes arose regarding the succession to the vacant throne of Hyderabad, and in the Carnatic a rival to Anwaruddin appeared in the person of Chanda Sahib, governor of Trichinopoly. What followed is so closely connected with the history of British rule in India that it will be dealt with in the next book.

BOOK III. THE BRITISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

Dupleix seizes Madras.—In the year 1742 Joseph François Dupleix, a man of remarkable ability and unbounded ambition, was appointed governor of Pondicherry and of the French possessions in India. The aim of his life was to found a French empire in India, and with this object in view, as a first step, he was bent upon driving the English out of the Carnatic. The outbreak of hostilities in Europe between the French and English in 1740 afforded him the occasion for which he had long been waiting. In 1746, having completed his preparations, he declared war upon them, and shortly after laid siege to Madras both by land and sea, and forced the English governor to surrender the town

DUPLEIX.

The battle of St. Thomé.—Anwaruddin, whose capital was at Arcot, had begun to view with anxiety the growing power of the French, and was looking out for a chance of humbling them. He strongly resented their seizure of Madras, and peremptorily ordered Dupleix to surrender the town to him. On Dupleix's refusal to do so, he attacked him; but to the surprise of all, the French, though far outnumbered, easily drove away the Nawab's vast army. This action, which took place on 4th November, 1746, is known as the battle of St. Thomé, and is memorable as the first occasion upon which Europeans decisively showed their superiority over Indians both in courage and military skill. Hitherto they had confined themselves to the defensive; but this victory, by disclosing the weakness of oriental armies, taught them to despise them however large, and emboldened them to assume the offensive. It was the turning point in their history in India, and they began from this time forward boldly to interfere in the affairs of the neighbouring states.

Madras restored to the English.—After the fall of Madras some of the English managed to escape to Fort St. David, an English settlement a few miles south of Pondicherry, and there defended themselves so vigorously that the French were obliged to abandon the siege. Among this heroic handful was a young civilian named Robert Clive, who greatly distinguished himself by his courage and resource. The war between the French and English dragged on with varying success till 1748, the year of the Nizam's death, when news was received that peace had been made between the two nations in Europe. Hostilities therefore ceased, and it was agreed that Madras should be restored to the English, and that each side should give up what advantage it had gained during the war.

Muzaffar and Chanda Saheb.—On the death of the Nizam, Muzaffar Jung, his nephew, claimed the throne by virtue of his uncle's will. But Nazir Jung, the Nizam's second son, who was supported by the army, seized the throne, and Muzaffar was forced to fly for his life. He made his way to Satara to seek the aid of the Mahrattas; and while there he met and formed a friendship with Chanda Saheb, the Governor of Trichinopoly, who, having

fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas, had for seven years been kept a prisoner at Satara. Chanda Saheb, as has already been mentioned, had in former days been a claimant for the post of Nawab at Arcot. The French had favoured his claims, for he had always taken their part, and indeed had been of much assistance to them in their schemes of aggrandisement in the Carnatic. During all the years of his captivity his wife and children had been living at Pondicherry under Dupleix's protection.

Dupleix's scheme.—Since the Mahrattas would not take up the cause of Muzaffar, Chanda Saheb persuaded his friend to lay his cause before the French. This was accordingly done, and Dupleix, who saw thereby a prospect of making French influence paramount in the Deccan, promised to help him, and Chanda Saheb, too, at the same time. Dupleix, who had a truly Oriental genius for intrigue, formed the following daring and brilliant scheme for making use of both. Chanda Saheb was to be ransomed from the Mahrattas, and then the French, Muzaffar, and Chanda Saheb were to fall on Anwaruddin. If they succeeded in overthrowing him, Chanda Saheb should be made Nawab of Arcot in his place, and should then assist the other two to place Muzaffar on the throne of Hyderabad. After this the three were to unite in expelling the English from the Carnatic. Muzaffar and Chanda readily fell in with this proposal.

Battle of Ambur.—Chanda was thereupon ransomed by the French, and set to work immediately to collect as large an army as he could. As soon as their preparations were complete, the three allies joined forces, and, falling upon Anwaruddin at Ambur in 1750, gained a most decisive victory over him. The old Nawab and his son were among the slain, and all his baggage and artillery were captured. The French were commanded on this occasion by the famous General Bussy, to whose military skill the successful issue was mainly due. Chanda Saheb was now proclaimed Nawab of Arcot, and Muzaffar assumed the title of Subadar of the Deccan. So far the plan had been entirely successful. But, instead of following up their advantage, the allies, chiefly through the folly of Chanda Saheb, wasted precious time in plundering expeditions.

Failure of Dupleix's scheme.—Nazir Jung, finding himself threatened by so powerful a coalition, called in the Mahrattas and English to assist him. Both readily agreed to help him, for they perceived that the overthrow of the Nizam would imperil their own safety. A vast army was quickly brought into the field, composed of Mahrattas, the Nizam's troops, and a few hundred English. The French and their allies, being completely taken by surprise, were obliged to fall back, but were overtaken near Pondicherry and completely routed. Chanda Saheb fled southward, but Muzaffar fell into the hands of Nazir Jung. Chanda Saheb was at once proclaimed a usurper, and the Nizam appointed Muhammad Ali, a younger son of Anwaruddin, Nawab of Arcot in his place.

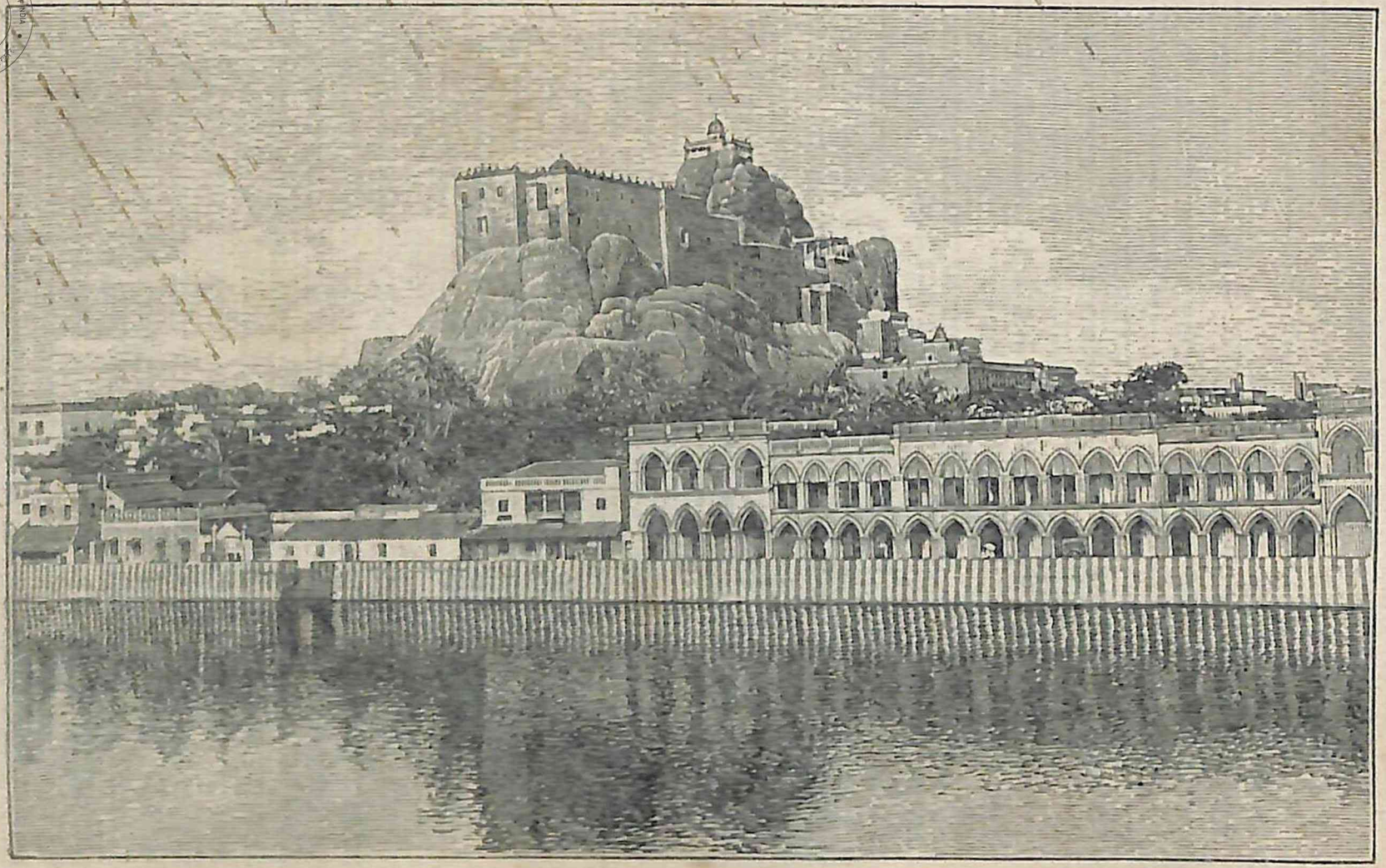
French influence again supreme.—Dupleix's scheme had therefore failed completely, but he was not the man to give way to despair in consequence. He retired to Pondicherry and waited upon events. It was not long before Muhammad Ali, who was weak and obstinate fell out with his English allies, and was deserted by them. This was just the opportunity Dupleix was waiting for, and he at once despatched Bussy against him. Bussy utterly defeated him at Punar, and then followed up his victory by the storming and capture in a few hours of his stronghold of Ginji, hitherto considered by the natives impregnable This last brilliant achievement greatly raised the prestige of French arms. The Nizam, Nazir Jung, though greatly frightened at the turn of events, marched an army into the Carnatic; but, before he could make up his mind whether to come to terms with the victorious French or to oppose them, he was assassinated by a band of conspirators working in the interests of the imprisoned Muzaffar Jung. The latter was at once released and placed upon the throne. Shortly afterwards Chanda Saheb, who had taken refuge at Pondicherry, was restored to the position of Nawab of Arcot. With Muzaffar Jung Nizam of Hyderabad and Chanda Saheb Nawab of Arcot, Dupleix's dreams of empire seemed likely to be realised. So elated was he with his good fortune that he set up a pillar near the place of Nazir Jung's assassination, and gave orders for the building of a town

there, to be called Dupleix-Fatah-abad, the town of Dupleix's victory.

The French at Hyderabad.—French influence was now supreme in the Carnatic, and to ensure that it should also be supreme at Hyderabad, General Bussy was sent with a body of French troops to reside at the Nizam's court, under the pretence of protecting him. Muzaffar did not long enjoy his high position, for he was assassinated within six months by the very conspirators who had raised him to the throne. Bussy, however, lost no time in finding a successor who should be as subservient to the French as Muzaffar. Salabat Jung, a younger son of the old Nizam-ul-mulk, who had been kept a prisoner by Muzaffar, was released and placed upon the vacant throne.

Critical situation of the English.—Such was the position of affairs in 1751. The whole of the Deccan had passed under French influence, while the English, at the mercy of their rivals, and with their prestige destroyed, were clinging insecurely to their settlements at Madras and Fort St. David. Their ruin seemed imminent, and it apparently only remained for Dupleix to attack them in order to drive them out of southern India altogether.

Siege of Trichinopoly.—Muhammad Ali, who had been so severely handled by Bussy, after his defeat had retired to Trichinopoly; but Chanda Saheb, feeling that the presence there of the deposed Nawab was a menace to himself, laid siege to the town. Muhammad appealed in desperation to his former friends, the English. Their own position was hardly less critical than his, but they resolved as a last expedient for retrieving their fortunes to make an effort to save him. The Governor of Madras, Mr Saunders, was a man of courage and firmness, and he had at his right hand the brilliant young soldier, Robert Clive. Desperate efforts were made to relieve Trichinopoly; but in spite of all that the English could do the place seemed certain to fall; for Dupleix, who had quickly perceived the importance of its reduction, had come to Chanda Saheb's assistance with all the resources at his disposal. At this juncture Clive suggested to Saunders the daring plan of attacking Arcot, as a means of creating a diversion and forcing Chanda Saheb



THE ROCK AND TEPPA TANK FROM THE OLD GATEWAY, TRICHINOPOLY.

to relinquish the siege of Trichinopoly. It seemed a forlorn hope, but in the desperate state of the English fortunes it appeared worth trying, and Saunders gave his consent to the enterprise.

Clive occupies Arcot.—In 1751, with a force composed of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, and with a few light guns, Clive set out on this perilous enterprise. Fortune favoured the expedition, for, when the little force reached Arcot, it found the place weakly defended. The garrison, completely taken by surprise, fled without offering any resistance. Thus Clive was able to enter the Nawab's capital without striking a blow. He proceeded, while he had yet time, to put it into a state of defence, and, having done all that was possible, awaited with a stout heart the arrival of the forces which he knew Chanda Saheb would send in all haste from the south to recapture the city.

Lord Clive.

Successful defence of Arcot.—On receipt of the news of the occupation of his capital Chanda Saheb sent his son with a force of 10,000 men from Trichinopoly to recover it. Thus Clive by carrying the war into the enemy's country, succeeded, as he had hoped, in drawing off a large body of the enemy from before the beleaguered town, and lightened considerably the labours of the defenders. But he was soon in sore straits; for his gallant little band, besides having to withstand day and night, behind crumbling defences, the attacks of an overwhelming host, had to endure in a few weeks the privations of hunger. Yet he never thought of surrender, and continued to turn a deaf

ear to the threats and promises of the baffled besiegers. At last, after seven weeks of the most heroic defence, help came. Morári Rao, a Mahratta chief, struck with admiration at the courage and endurance of the garrison, came to their assistance with 6000 men; Saunders from Madras also sent what help he could. The son of the Nawab made one more desperate attempt to carry the place by assault, was repulsed with heavy loss, and then withdrew, leaving Clive in undisputed possession of the capital.

Relief of Trichinopoly.—The effect of this splendid feat of arms was magical. It infused fresh courage into the defenders of Trichinopoly and disheartened the besiegers. With as little delay as possible Clive marched his victorious army southward to the relief of the town. On the way he encountered a French force sent out to intercept him, and utterly routed it. Further on he was joined by Lawrence with a force from Madras. Advancing together, without meeting opposition they arrived in front of Trichinopoly and proceeded to surround the besiegers. Chanda Saheb and the French, cut off completely, now found the tables turned upon them. They were forced to relinquish the siege and retire to Srirangam, a small island close to the fort of Trichinopoly, and being closely invested were compelled to surrender unconditionally on 13th of June, 1752. Two days before the surrender Chanda Saheb was killed.

Decline of French influence.—The relief of Trichinopoly, and the capture of the besieging force together with its guns and stores was a heavy blow to the French. Their position was now hardly less hopeless than that of the English the year before. But Dupleix did not cease to struggle. Bussy, who might have helped him, was at the court of the Nizam, and took no part at this time in the affairs of the Carnatic. He did, however, manage to arrange that the Nizam should nominate Dupleix Nawab of the Carnatic in place of Chanda Saheb; but this did not help much, for all real power was exercised by Muhammad Ali, who had been restored to power. Clive meanwhile continued his victorious career, and the prestige of the French declined as that of the English rose.

Fall of Dupleix.—At last, in 1754, the French government, which had for some time been losing confidence in Dupleix, was prevailed upon to recall him. Thus ended the career of the restless and ambitious Dupleix. Had he been properly supported he might perhaps have realised his dream of founding a French empire in India. Instead, he was hampered continuously in all his schemes by the niggardly and short sighted policy of the home government, and the selfishness, jealousy, and unpatriotic conduct of his countrymen in India. He returned to France a ruined man, and was left by his ungrateful country to die in abject poverty.

Arrival of Lally.—After his recall peace was made between the English and the French; the title of Muhammad Ali was recognised by the French, and the schemes of Dupleix were definitely abandoned. But hostilities breaking out again between the English and the French in Europe, the war in India was soon resumed. In 1758 Count Lally arrived from France to take command of the French forces in India. Clive was at the time absent in Bengal. Lally, in spite of the half-hearted support he received from jealous brother officers, was at first successful. He captured fort St. David, and then, being joined by Bussy, he laid siege to Madras. But he was so badly served that from the first he had no chance of capturing the town; and when an English fleet arrived in the harbour he relinquished the attempt, and retired on Pondicherry. Next year reinforcements from England arrived under General Sir Eyre Coote.

Final overthrow of the French.—Now began the last stage in the struggle between the two nations. The French attacked Wandewash, and Sir Eyre Coote hurried to its assistance On January 22nd, 1760, a decisive battle was fought there, in which the French were completely routed and Bussy taken prisoner. This crushing defeat was fatal to the French cause, and the final issue of the war could no longer be doubted. Sir Eyre Coote in quick succession took one after another all the forts in the Carnatic belonging to the French. Finally, in 1761, he captured Pondicherry and took Lally himself prisoner. This was the end of French ambitions in India, and in a few years the French East India Company was dissolved. Pondicherry was subsequently restored to them; but their power was completely

broken and their prestige ruined. The English were left by the war in undisputed possession of the field, and the virtual control of affairs in Southern India passed finally into their hands.

Afghans in the Punjab.—While the struggle between the French and the English was going on in Southern India, the Moghul Empire was continuing its downward course. A new and even more terrible enemy than the Mahrattas had descended upon it. The Afghans, under their King, Ahmad Shah Abdali, made their first appearance in India in 1748; and though they met with little success at first, they managed to gain a foothold in the Punjab, and before the end of the year had obtained the cession of Lahore and Multan. They now directly threatened Delhi, but they were not yet prepared to attack it.

Continued decline of the Moghul Empire.—During the next eight years the process of decline continued, and one after another Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and the remaining portion of the Punjab, following the example of the other provinces, threw off the yoke of Delhi. Puppet emperors followed each other in quick succession, and reigned only so long as they were of use to the party which supported them. One man however managed to maintain his influence at court through it all. This was the cruel and unscrupulous Ghazi-uddin, a descendant of the first Nizam of Hyderbad. Under his maladministration the empire fell into a state of anarchy such as even it had never known before, and the wretched people cried out in vain against every form of oppression and injustice. The Sikhs, however, profited by the general state of disorder and gained many converts during this period; for with their military organisation, which was being steadily developed, they were able to afford some measure of protection to their adherents.

Ahmad Shah sacks Delhi.—The Afghans had meanwhile been steadily increasing their hold upon the Punjab and growing more formidable. Their administration of the conquered territory was about as bad as it could be, and they were exceedingly cruel in their treatment of the subject people; but they were so strong that resistance would have been hopeless. In 1756 the Afghan governor

died, and the whole Punjab was thrown into confusion. Ghazi-uddin, taking no account of Ahmad Shah Abdali, decided that the time had arrived for recovering the province for the Delhi Empire. Marching an army into the Punjab, he took possession of the government, and appointed his own nominee governor. Ahmad Shah was furious when he heard what had happened, and at once descended upon India. Delhi itself was the objective this time; and after overcoming a futile attempt at resistance, he entered the capital in September, 1757. Sack and slaughter followed as the necessary consequence, and the streets were soon filled with corpses. Then a pestilence broke out in the Afghan army, and the Abdali hastened from the stricken city back to Kabul with all that he could carry away.

The Mahrattas in Northern India.—After Ahmad Shah Abdali's departure, Ghazi-uddin again assumed the reins of government, and recommenced his acts of oppression and violence. At last his conduct made for him so many enemies that he began to fear for his own safety. He thereupon, with the basest treachery, called in the Mahrattas to his assistance. In response to his appeal Raghaba, the brother of Balaji Baji Rao, the Peshwa, entered Delhi at the head of a large army, and the enemies of Ghazi-uddin fled. The Mahrattas were now supreme at Delhi, and Raghaba, puffed up with his success, talked of founding once more a Hindu empire. Unmindful of what dire consequences had followed the provoking of Ahmah Shah Abdali's wrath in 1756, he rashly determined to drive the Afghans out of India. Leading an expedition into the Punjab forthwith, he quickly achieved his object, and then, having set up a Mahratta governor of the province, he returned in triumph to Delhi. When Ahmad Shah Abdali heard what had occurred, he was beside himself with rage and swore to wreak full vengeance on the insolent Mahrattas. Re-entering India in 1759, at the head of a magnificent army, he encountered the Mahrattas under Holkar and Sindhia, and, driving them before him, retook the Punjab and advanced on Delhi.

Bold bid for empire.—By their talk of a new Hindu empire, the Mahrattas had alarmed the Musalmans of

Northern India. The Rohilla chief and the Nawab of Oudh, though they feared and hated the Afghans, yet recognised that without them there was no hope of stemming the rising tide of Hinduism, and they therefore decided to throw in their lot with them. The Mahrattas had now to face a most formidable combination; but they could not for their credit withdraw. They perceived that a crisis was at hand which would decide whether the Musalman supremacy in Northern India was to continue, or whether the Hindus should at last throw off the hated yoke and recover their ancient liberty; and they therefore made frantic preparations to meet it. No time was to be lost, and during the next few months reinforcements were arriving daily from the south as fast as they could be sent. Sivadusha Rao, known as the "Bhao," the Peshwa's cousin, and Viswas Rao, the Peshwa's son, Holkar, Sindhia, Gaekwar, and every Mahratta chief of note, with all the forces they could collect, were soon upon the scene.

The battle of Panipat.—The Mahratta army is said to have amounted to upwards of 270,000, including horse and foot; the Muhammedan, to less than 90,000. The two hosts confronted one another on the field of Panipat, that ancient battleground on which the fate of Hindustan has so often been decided. From October 28th, 1760, to January 6th, 1761, neither side was willing to risk a general engagement. The delay, however, was all in favour of the Muhammadans, for the Abdali had collected abundance of provisions, while the Mahrattas had to supply themselves by plundering the country round. At last, on January 7th, Sivadusha Rao, who was in supreme command, believing that further delay would be fatal, as his army was already suffering great privations, ordered a general attack. The Mahrattas advanced with great gallantry, and at first it looked as if they would overwhelm the enemy; but the hardy Afghans, though forced back by the sheer weight of numbers, did not break, and after a time the Mahrattas began obviously to tire and their attack to fail. Holkar at this crisis deserted, and Sindhia soon after fled. The exhausted Mahrattas were now in their turn forced back, and the retirement soon became a rout. Viswas Rao was killed, and Sivadusha, in endeavouring to rally his

men, was borne down by the enemy and never seen again. Many other noted chiefs fell, one after another, till at last the Mahratta army, deprived of its leaders, degenerated into a jumbled mass of terrified fugitives. The victorious Afghans, getting in amongst them, slaughtered them by thousands. All captives taken were the next morning, with characteristic inhumanity, beheaded.

Thus ended the last battle of Panipat, and with it vanished forever the Mahratta dreams of empire. The news of the disaster is said to have killed the Peshwa. The whole of Maharashtra was plunged into mourning, for there was scarcely a household that had not to grieve for the loss of a son or father.

Suraj-ud-Dawla.—We must now turn to affairs in Bengal during these eventful years. In 1756 Ali Vardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, who had spent so many years of his life in resisting the encroachments of the Mahrattas, died at his capital of Murshidabad. In his will he nominated as his successor his grandson, Suraj-ud-Dawla. His choice could hardly have fallen upon a worse representative of his house. The new ruler, who was now about twenty-five years of age, had been a spoilt child, and had been allowed to grow up in complete ignorance of his duties. He was, moreover, self-indulgent, tyrannical, of a violent temper, cruel and revengeful. His accession was therefore regarded with consternation by his subjects.

Quarrels with the English.—Ali Vardi Khan, though making frequent demands for money from the English settlers in Bengal, as the price of his protection from Mahratta raiders, had on the whole treated them fairly and justly. But Suraj-ud-Dawla, being devoid of any sense of honour, no sooner came into his title than he began to scheme how he might plunder them of the vast wealth which he believed them to possess. He therefore took the earliest opportunity to quarrel with them, and, because they would not comply with an impossible demand, plundered their factory at Kassimbazar, and marched with a large army upon Calcutta.

Captures Calcutta.—The fort at Calcutta during the days of Ali Vardi Khan had been allowed to fall into disrepair, and was in fact quite indefensible. The garrison

contained about sixty ill-trained European soldiers, and a small body of militia, drawn from the company's servants and the Portuguese and Armenians employed about the place. The bombardment commenced on the 18th June, and by night time most of the defences had been demolished. Seeing the hopelessness of the position, the Governor and as many as could get away in the few available boats, lying in the Hoogly under the fort, made their escape to a station called Fulta, further down the river. One hundred and forty-six persons were left behind, amongst whom was Holwell, a junior member of the council at Calcutta. Further resistance was out of the question, and the next morning they were obliged to capitulate. The Nawab's troops at once marched in, took possession of the place, and made prisoners of all whom they found there. Holwell, who was sent for by the Nawab, received an assurance that no harm should happen to them; and to the Nawab's credit it must be said that the tragedy which followed was not due to his orders.

The Black Hole of Calcutta.—When darkness came on the whole 146 wretched prisoners were driven by their guards, with threats of instant death if they did not comply, into a small dungeon, memorable for all time as the Black Hole of Calcutta. It was not more than 18 feet square, and had only two small apertures for light and air high above the ground. What followed is soon told. It was the hottest season of the year, and as the buildings round about had been fired by the plundering soldiery of the Nawab, the heat was insufferable. The agonies endured by those wretched captives squeezed together in that tiny, ill-ventilated chamber, crying in vain for release to their inhuman guards are indescribable. When the door was opened in the morning only twenty-three, among whom was Holwell, were found to have survived that awful night.

Recovery of the English settlements by Clive.—The news of the tragedy was received in Madras with a thrill of horror, followed by a burning desire for vengeance on the perpetrators of this horrid crime. At the time there was fortunately a respite from the war with the French in the Carnatic. Clive, who was then Governor of Fort St. David, was naturally chosen as the leader of the

avenging army that was quickly got together. With him went a squadron of the Royal Navy under the command of Admiral Watson. The force which reached Calcutta in December, seemed absurdly small for the task it had before it. In all, it consisted of only 900 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys; but its ranks were filled with veterans who had followed Clive in his victorious career, and had unbounded confidence in his generalship. Immediately on its arrival the little army stormed and captured Budge-budge, one of the Company's settlements which had been occupied by the enemy. On this occasion Warren Hastings, destined to share with Clive the credit of establishing the British Empire in India, fought in the ranks as a volunteer. Calcutta and Hoogly were recovered soon after without much difficulty, and the Nawab's troops, beaten and dispirited, were everywhere driven back. Suraj-ud-Dawla, thoroughly alarmed, opened negotiations, and on his promising full compensation for the damage done and to respect the privileges granted to English traders, peace was concluded.

Chandernagore captured.—Shortly after, war between France and England once more broke out in Europe. Clive and Watson, following the example which Dupleix had set in Southern India during the former war, declared war on the French in Bengal, and in spite of the Nawab's threats and remonstrances laid siege to their settlement of Chandernagore and captured it.

Plot against the Nawab.—The Nawab was the more annoyed because he was at the time intriguing with the French to turn the English out of Bengal. While pretending to conciliate the English, he was actually writing letters to the veteran Bussy, then at Cuttack, imploring his assistance against them. He was half crazy with fear, hatred, and disappointment, and like the spoilt child that he was, had not the sense to refrain from venting his spite and ill-humour on those about him. Such behaviour disgusted both Hindus and Muhammadans, and a plot was soon formed by certain of his wealthy nobles to dethrone him. Chief of these was Mir Jáffár, the commander of the Nawab's forces. The conspirators opened secret negotiations with Clive, and promised that if the English would help them to dethrone the Nawab, in return for their

assistance they should be granted certain valuable privileges which it was known they were anxious to obtain.

War declared.—Clive readily fell in with the scheme, and in order to force the Nawab to disclose his intentions towards the English, demanded immediate satisfaction of all outstanding claims, threatening hostilities if he did not comply. Suraj-ud-Dawla, perceiving that further concealment of his designs was impossible, at once put in motion the large army he had been getting ready to attack the English. With 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, a large train of artillery, and a small body of French gunners, he took up his position on the field of Plassey close to Murshidabad, and awaited the attack of the English. To oppose this vast army Clive had with him no more than 900 Europeans, 2100 Sepoys, and ten guns.

The battle of Plassey.—The situation was extremely critical, and Clive called a council of war to consider it. Of the 21 officers assembled only seven voted for attacking the Nawab, but among this minority were Clive and Coote. However since from the situation of the two armies to withdraw was well-nigh impossible, Clive determined to use his own judgment and attack. He accordingly ordered a general assault on June 17th, 1757. The French gunners, who were immediately in front of the English, opened fire, and with such effect that within half an hour the English were forced to retire for shelter. Had the Nawab's troops thereupon advanced they could easily have overwhelmed the small and dispirited force opposed to them; but they contented themselves with discharging their artillery at long range. It was the rainy season of the year, and in the midst of the cannonade a heavy shower occurred which lasted for an hour. The Nawab's gunners kept pounding away through it till their powder, which they had omitted to protect, was rendered damp and useless. Meanwhile the English had carefully covered their ammunition, and had not attempted to reply during the rain to the enemy's fire. The Nawab, believing that the English guns had been silenced like his own by the rain, and that his enemy was now at his mercy, ordered his numerous cavalry to charge into their midst. This was the turning point of the battle; for the English, reserving their fire till the cavalry

was almost upon them, suddenly discharged their guns with such terrific effect that those who were not knocked over fled wildly back upon the main army.

Mir Jáffar and the conspirators, who had been watching the fight in some trepidation, and were waiting for the turn of events before deciding whether to fulfil their treacherous part or not, now hastened to the Nawab, and in feigned anxiety for his safety, begged him to fly while there was yet time for escape. The Nawab, believing his life in danger, without stopping to enquire, listened to the advice of these false friends, and fled in terror precipitately from the field. The news of his flight caused a panic in his army, and Clive, observing the signs of confusion, advanced once more to the attack. The gallant little band of Frenchmen alone made any resistance, and by five in the afternoon the Nawab's troops were in full flight, leaving everything behind them.

Result of the battle.—This victory, which decided the fate of Bengal, and is reckoned the starting-point of the British Empire in India, cost the English a loss of only 22 killed and 50 wounded. Mir Jáffar, despite his vacillation, was made Nawab of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in place of the deposed Suraj-ud-Dawla. The latter, who was soon after seized, was put to death by Mir Jáffar's son. The new Nawab did his best to recompense the English for their losses due to the sack of Calcutta, and indeed was nearly ruined in his attempts to meet their extortionate demands. Almost his first act on his accession was to grant to the Company the landlord's rights over a tract of country round Calcutta of some 880 square miles in extent.

Clive's first governorship, 1757-1760.—For the signal service which he had performed Clive was made governor of the Company's settlements in Bengal; but as Mir Jáffar was little more than a puppet in his hands, he might almost be said to have become the ruler of the whole province.

Forde drives the French out of the Northern Circars.—Clive was not long allowed to enjoy his governorship in peace. The French were still in possession of the territory along the coast between Madras and Orissa known as the Northern Circars, and were found to be carrying on intrigues with the Nizam as well as with other native

chiefs, whereby the security of the English in Bengal was threatened. Clive felt that there could be no lasting peace so long as they were allowed to occupy this strip of territory. He therefore in 1759 despatched a force under Colonel Forde to drive them out of the Northern Circars. The campaign was a brilliant one, and was entirely successful. The French were everywhere defeated, and finally Masulipatam, where they had strongly fortified themselves, was stormed and captured.

The Shahzada invades Bengal.—The next year the Shahzada, the eldest son of the Moghul Emperor, escaped from Delhi, where his father was a virtual prisoner in the hands of Ghazi-uddin, assumed the Imperial title, and advancing on Bengal laid claim to it as part of his empire. He was supported by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, and the two together invested Patna, and overran the province of Behar. Mir Jáffar was terror-stricken, and began to waver in his allegiance to the English; but he was soon reassured, for Clive promptly despatched a force to the relief of Patna, which dispersed the Moghuls, and forced the Shahzada to evacuate Behar.

Defeat of the Dutch.—Mir Jáffar was by this time thoroughly tired of his powerful English friends, whom he saw gradually usurping all real authority, so he entered into an intrigue with the Dutch settlers at Chinsurah for a combined attack upon them. Though the Dutch had small hold upon the Indian peninsular, he knew that they had many valuable possessions in the East Indies, notably Batavia in Java, and that they were a power on the high seas with which even the English did not wish to come in conflict. In an evil hour for themselves the Dutch, though Holland was at peace with England, listened to his proposals, and wrote to Batavia for reinforcements. Clive, however, got intelligence of the intrigue before help could arrive, and at once attacked them by land and sea, utterly defeated them, took Chinsurah, and forced them to agree to humiliating terms of peace.

State of India in 1760.—Having thus secured Bengal on all sides against attack, Clive resigned his governorship and set sail for England in 1760. The comparatively few years which he had spent in India had witnessed the

most momentous changes. The Moghul Empire had sunk to insignificance; the Mahrattas, by rashly provoking the Afghan Ahmad Shah Abdali, had suffered a crushing defeat which had well nigh destroyed their power; the final blow to French hopes of supremacy had been struck by Eyre Coote at Wandewash; and the English, by the victory of Plassey, had laid the foundations of their Indian Empire.

Misgovernment at Calcutta. —The outlook on Clive's departure was full of promise for his countrymen, and they seemed at last to have emerged safely from the long period of stress and struggle into a time of peace and prosperity. All that was needed was a firm and statesman-like policy to secure to them what they had so quickly won by the genius of Clive and the skill of Coote. But Vansittart, who succeeded Clive, was a man of a very different stamp, irresolute and short-sighted, and upon his Council there was no one fit to advise him; for Warren Hastings, who might well have done so, was away at Murshidabad looking after the Company's interests there. The English officials, instead of devoting themselves to the Company's interests, were bent on amassing private fortunes by trading on their own account, and bribes were accepted and even extorted by men in high places.

Mir Jaffar deposed.—The feeble Mir Jáffar had by this time, through the exactions of the English and his own incompetence, become hopelessly involved in debt. The Calcutta Council, unjustly regarding him as the sole cause of his own misfortunes, and ignoring the part which the Company's servants had played in bringing about his ruin, resolved on his deposition in favour of his son-in-law, Mir Kasim. Mir Jáffar was accordingly made to resign and sent to Calcutta, and Mir Kasim was installed in his place.

Quarrel with Mir Kasim.—This transaction was as great a mistake as it was a piece of injustice; for in place of a puppet, the English had to deal with a man of energy and ability who was even less likely to put up with their high-handed procedure than his predecessor. A quarrel soon arose between them and the Nawab regarding exemptions from transit duties on goods carried across his dominions. The Nawab would not give way, and the dispute led to an open rupture. When war was declared the Nawab seized

Mr. Ellis, the resident of Patna, together with all the English in his dominions whom he could lay hands on. The Company retaliated by proclaiming the aged and deposed Mir Jáffar once more Nawab, and sending a force against Mir Kasim. Monghyr, which Mir Kasim had made his capital, was, after a stubborn contest, taken from him, and the English then advanced upon Patna to the release of their countrymen.

The massacre of Patna.—This was in 1763, and the year is memorable for a tragedy even more horrible since it was more deliberate than that of the Black Hole. For Mir Kasim, wild with rage and disappointment, ordered the massacre of his helpless prisoners. A file of soldiers under the command, it is said, of a German in the Nawab's employ, going to the house in which the captives were confined, pointed their guns at them through the windows and shot them down in cold blood. In the massacre of Patna, as this foul deed is called, 148 persons, including Mr. Ellis himself, perished. Patna was taken, but the bloody Nawab escaped to the protection of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh.

The battle of Buxar.—The Shahzada, now the Emperor Shah Alam II., had been residing at the Nawab Vizier's Court ever since his defeat by the English in Behar; for while the Afghans were at Delhi he could not return to his capital. He had not yet abandoned hope of recovering Bengal, so that when Mir Kasim fled to Oudh he eagerly espoused his cause and persuaded the Nawab Vizier to do the same. The two together marched with a large army into Bengal, but their advance upon Patna was checked, and they retired to Buxar. It was fortunate for the English that they did; for a Sepoy mutiny just then broke out in the Company's army. The situation was critical, but Major Munro, who was in command, was a man of decision. On the first sign of rebellion he ordered 24 of the ringleaders to be blown away from the guns. This promptness and severity quelled at once what might have grown to be a formidable mutiny. As soon as order was restored, Munro, in October, 1764, marched out against the enemy, who with an army of 50,000 men were still at Buxar, waiting for his attack. In the

battle which ensued the allies were utterly routed, and 160 guns were taken from them. The victory was not less decisive than that of Plassey. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh, who had looked upon himself as the arbiter of Northern India, was forced to beat an ignominions retreat.

English supremacy acknowledged in Northern India.—English supremacy in Northern India was now an admitted fact, and Shah Alam II., the Moghul Emperor, came as a suppliant for terms to the English camp. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh retreated westward, and was joined by Holkar and his Mahrattas. But he could make no stand, and when Allahabad had been taken from him, and his army finally scattered at Kalpi, he was forced to beg for peace on any terms that his conquerors would grant. The greater part of the North West Provinces were now as much at the disposal of the English as Bengal. About the same time Mir Jáffar, greatly harassed by debt and worried by the shameless and extortionate demands of his English masters, died. An illegitimate son of his, who had heavily bribed the corrupt members of the Calcutta Council, was by them declared his successor.

Clive's second Governorship, 1765-1767.—At this juncture Clive, now Lord Clive, having been raised to the peerage for his services, returned to Calcutta as Governor of Bengal for the second time. The Directors of the Company in London were thoroughly alarmed, as well they might be, at the conduct of their servants, and it was in response to their urgent appeal that Clive had consented to go out to India. He had only agreed on the understanding that his powers should be increased; for he intended to take strong measures to put down the illicit trade which the Company's servants were privately carrying on, to the damage of the Company's interests and the corruption of its service.

The dual system in Bengal.—Immediately on his arrival he found himself called upon to settle the momentous questions which had arisen in connection with the late war. It was work which he dared not entrust to any of his Council, so he went himself to Allahabad and negotiated the terms of peace with the defeated princes. The Nawab Vizier was restored to his kingdom on his promising to pay

5 crores of rupees and become an ally of the English. The Emperor Shah Alam was given the tract of country comprised by Allahabad and Kora, in the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, on condition of his granting to the Company the Diwani or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and full possession of the Northern Circars. In return for this concession, and in acknowledgment of his title, he was to receive a yearly tribute from the Company of 25 lacs of rupees; while the Nawab of Bengal, as his deputy, was to be allowed to retain criminal jurisdiction, and was to receive 50 lacs a year for his maintenance from the Company. There was thus a dual system of administration in Bengal, the Company collecting and controlling the revenues and maintaining a standing army, and the Nawab administering justice and maintaining the police. By this arrangement, which was concluded, August 12th, 1765, the Company was advanced from a mere trading corporation to the greatest territorial power in India.

Clive's reforms.—Clive had now leisure to carry out the reforms in the Company's administration which he had been expressly sent out to effect. His first measure was to forbid the receipt of presents by civil and military officers. The custom was one of long-standing, and was a fruitful source of corruption. His next measure was to reduce the extravagant allowances given to the army when on active service. Subsistence money, or batta, as it was called, had been granted at so preposterously high a rate that the expenses of a campaign had on that account alone become ruinously great. Something like a mutiny occurred among the officers when they heard of the proposed curtailment of their allowances. But Clive was firm and would not yield, though there were at the time grave fears of an incursion of the Mahrattas; and the officers, seeing the uselessness of resistance, soon submitted. His third reform raised a veritable storm of indignation among both military and civil officers. He absolutely forbade the Company's servants to trade on their own account.

Their effect.—In justice to the Company's servants, who one and all had been in the habit of making money by this means, it should be said that their salaries were

wretchedly low, and that one of the chief inducements to accept the Company's service was the unquestioned privilege of engaging privately in trade. What made it harder was that the very man who was now introducing these reforms had himself amassed an immense private fortune by such means, and was known in times past to have accepted large sums of money from native potentates. But Clive was nevertheless right, and the reforms he introduced were necessary to secure the good name of the Company and insure the integrity of its servants. To compensate them for their loss, he set about devising means for increasing the pay of the Company's servants, both civil and military; and to his credit it may be said that he suffered himself as much as any one by his reforms, so that he left India after his second governorship a poorer man than when he had returned to it.

Clive leaves India.—After carrying out these reforms in the year 1767, Clive finally retired from the Company's service. He was the real founder of the British Empire in India; for he had not only started it by his brilliant achievements on the field of battle, but had secured it to his country by his wise and statesmanlike conduct of affairs. In the words of the famous resolution passed by the House of Commons in the year 1773, when his enemies tried in vain to obtain his impeachment for maladministration and corruption, "he rendered great and meritorious services to his country." His name is now justly inscribed among those of the greatest statesmen and generals that England has produced.

Growth of Sikh power.—Though the genius of Clive had converted the Company's possessions in India into an empire, and had made the English the arbiters of Northern India, yet there were powerful and independent states in the peninsular which were quite equal to holding their own against the English, and which in combination would have been more than a match for them. The Sikhs in the Punjab, when that province was finally wrested from the Delhi Empire by Amad Shah Abdali, had little cause to rejoice; for the Afghans were more fanatical and cruel than the Moghuls and their administration exceedingly corrupt. But the Sikhs never ceased to struggle, and for

purposes of mutual protection organised themselves into small bands, or Misls. The Misls frequently fought with one another; but they were capable of combining against a common enemy, and in 1763 attacked and captured Sirhind. They signalised their victory, according to their usual custom, by perpetrating the most horrible barbarities upon its Musulman inhabitants. Ahmad Shah more than once returned to the Punjab to punish them, but he never quite succeeded in subduing them. After his death they speedily revived, drove the Afghans out of the country and took possession of it. By the time of Clive's second governorship they had developed into a formidable power, capable of holding their own against all comers. But as yet the Company's interests did not extend so far north, and there was little or no danger of a conflict between the two.

Rise of new kingdoms.—The Mahrattas, since their defeat at Panipat, no longer exercised the same influence in the north, but they were still supreme in Central and Western India. At Poona the new Peshwa, Madho Rao, was only a boy; and his uncle, Raghunath Rao, better known as Raghaba, was acting as regent The latter was a restless man of a rash and scheming nature, and so long as he remained in power there could be no security for peace in Southern India. The Gaekwar of Baroda, the Bhonsla ruler of Berar, Sindhia, and Holkar were now quite independent of control from Poona, and had developed into powerful monarchs. The Nizam of Hyderabad still ruled over a wealthy and extensive kingdom, and in recognition of his claim of suzerainty over the Carnatic had compelled the Madras Government in 1766 to sign a treaty acknowledging his authority, granting him a yearly tribute, and making an offensive and defensive alliance with him; while further to the south a powerful and aggressive ruler had lately appeared in the person of Haidar Ali, Sultan of Mysore.

Haidar Ali.—This extraordinary man had started his career as a soldier in the service of the Hindu Raja of the state, had risen to be commander-in-chief of his army, and in 1761 had deposed his master and proclaimed himself Sultan of Mysore. Haidar Ali was as able and ambitious as he was cunning and unscrupulous. At the expense of his feebler neighbours he soon extended his territories in

every direction, and, with the wealth which he accumulated by plunder, raised and equipped a powerful army. Although on one occasion signally defeated by the Mahrattas, whose hostility he had rashly provoked, he continued steadily to grow stronger and to enlarge the boundaries of his kingdom.

The first Mysore War, 1766-1769.—In the year 1766 he invaded Malabar and captured Calicut. This last achievement alarmed the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and made them fear for the safety of their own dominions. They therefore formed a confederacy against him and invaded his territory. The Madras Government, by reason of its recent treaty with the Nizam, was forced, much against its will, to take part in the war. Haidar was now in great straits, and, realising that he had no chance against so formidable a combination, he entered into secret negotiations with the Mahrattas, and bribed them to retire. He then made overtures to the Nizam, and, surprising as it may seem, not only succeeded in detaching him from his alliance with the English, but persuaded him to join him in an attack upon them. The Madras Government, which had been forced to take part in the war, now found itself not only deserted by its allies, but attacked by one of them in conjunction with Haidar. But Colonel Smith, who commanded its contingent, was a brilliant soldier, and, though his force was immensely outnumbered by the enemy both in guns and men, he gained two signal victories over them and captured the greater portion of their artillery. A force, meanwhile, which had been despatched from Bengal to aid the Madras Government, had entered Hyderabad territory, and another sent from Bombay had invaded Mysore from the west and captured Mangalore. The treacherous Nizam thereupon dissolved his alliance with Haidar and sued for peace.

Haidar dictates terms of peace.—The Council at Madras was at this time as feeble as it was corrupt. All the malpractices which Clive had sought to put down in Bengal flourished unchecked among the Company's servants in the Carnatic. They were so intent upon money making that they seemed to have no time to think of anything else. In spite of the successful state of the war and the humiliation of the Nizam, the Madras

Government treated with him as if he had been a victor, acknowledged his authority in the Carnatic, and, what was still worse, again entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with him. Disaster shortly after this befell the Bombay contingent, which, after suffering heavy loss, was forced to retreat. But Colonel Smith continued his victorious career, and drove back the enemy towards the capital, Seringapatam, capturing the principal forts as he advanced. Haidar now asked for peace on terms which the Madras Government might with credit have granted; but, as if bent upon accomplishing its own undoing, it declined, and about the same time superseded Colonel Smith, its only capable commander. Reverses followed as a natural consequence, and Haidar, assuming the offensive, quickly recovered all he had lost. Smith was once more restored to the command, and did his best to check Haidar; but it was too late, and the Sultan, with a body of 6000 cavalry, slipping round the force opposed to him made a dash for Madras. His unexpected appearance within a few miles of the town struck terror into the hearts of its inhabitants. The place was almost denuded of troops, and was in no condition to withstand a determined assault. It was now Haidar's turn to dictate terms. The Madras Government was forced to consent to a mutual restitution of conquests, and, notwithstanding its agreement with the Nizam, to enter into a defensive alliance with Haidar. Thus did the war, which, but for the folly of the Madras Government, might have ended with such credit a year before, terminate in defeat and disgrace.

Haidar defeated by the Mahrattas.—Haidar was so elated by his success that he determined to try conclusions with the Mahrattas. But in 1772 he met with such an overwhelming defeat at their hands that he was forced to retreat precipitately to his capital, where he was soon besieged by them. In these straits he called upon the Madras Government to assist him in accordance with the treaty between them; but this it declined to do, as it had not consented to nor taken part in his attack upon the Mahrattas. He was forced therefore to come to terms with the Mahrattas, and only got rid of them by making a payment of thirty-six lakhs of rupees, a cession of territory,

and a promise of an annual tribute of fourteen lakhs. Haidar never forgave the English for what he considered their base repudiation of the treaty.

The Mahrattas supreme at Delhi.—The victory over Haidar greatly increased the prestige of the Mahrattas, besides supplying them with much-needed funds. They now felt themselves strong enough to renew their raids on Northern India, which had ceased since their disastrous defeat at Panipat. They had little to fear from the three British Presidencies. Madras was humbled by its disastrous campaign with Haidar; Bombay was too weak and too near Poona to dare to interfere with their schemes; and Bengal was too far away to be affected thereby. In 1769 they crossed the Chambal and invaded Rajputana. The Rajput princes were overawed and forced to pay a heavy tribute, and from the Jats a sum of sixty-five lakhs of rupees was exacted. Then, while Sindhia occupied Delhi, another army ravaged Rohilkhand. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh, alarmed for the safety of his own dominions, entered into friendly relations with them, and Shah Alam II., who had been living at Allahabad since the battle of Buxar, leaving British protection, returned to Delhi and placed himself in Sindhia's hands. Their triumph was complete, and all that was left of the dominions of the Great Moghul was virtually theirs. It suited their purpose, however, to preserve for the present the semblance of the Moghul Empire, so they formally placed Shah Alam II. on the throne of Delhi in 1771, but characteristically exacted a crore of rupees from him for the service.

Hastings made Governor of Bengal, 1772-1774.—At this juncture Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal. He had shown such conspicuous ability as Resident of Murshidabad, and later as a member of Council at Calcutta, that the choice of the Directors naturally fell upon him. He took over charge on the 13th April, 1772; and never did a Governor succeed to a more plentiful crop of troubles. The dual government which Clive had established seven years before had proved a complete failure, and after his departure all the old forms of corruption had crept in again The Nawab's government was too weak to perform its share of the work, so that

crime went unpunished and injustice prevailed; the English officials, neglectful of their duties, were amassing private fortunes by trade monopolies at the expense of the Company; and the Company's native revenue collectors, while practising the most shameful extortions upon the people, defrauded the Company of its revenues. The treasury was almost empty, heavy debts had been incurred, and the whole administration was in disorder. In fact, under the dual system, with its divided responsibilities, there was not, nor could there be, any proper government. To add to the general confusion, a famine of unprecedented severity, followed by a terrible outbreak of epidemic diseases, had swept away a third of the inhabitants of Bengal, and almost ruined the agricultural classes.

WARREN HASTINGS.

His instructions from the directors.—The Directors at home were at last thoroughly alarmed at the state of affairs, and rightly attributing much of the decrease in the Company's revenues to the malpractices of their servants in India, were determined to put a stop to misgovernment at all costs. Hastings received strict injunctions to make a minute enquiry into cases of alleged misconduct, to punish offenders severely, and to reform the revenue system. He had hardly begun his task when he received a letter from the Directors further informing him that it was their determination to take the collection of the revenue out of the hands of the native revenue collectors, and to trust to their European servants "the entire care and management of the revenues of Bengal."

Reform of the revenue system.—The reform of the revenue system therefore was the first matter which engrossed his attention. A fresh assessment of the land was set on foot, the treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta, and European officers called collectors were appointed to supervise the collection of the land-tax, and to preside in the revenue courts of the districts into which the country was divided. Still further, to guard against irregularities Commissioners were appointed over groups of districts to supervise the work of the collectors, and courts of appeal were established in Calcutta for both civil and criminal cases. His next and hardest task was the improvement of the Company's trade; for the corrupt practices and irregularities which he had to put a stop to were in many cases committed by men in high places who were friends and relatives of Directors. He did not, like Clive, raise a storm of protest, for the wrongdoers had no shadow of excuse for their conduct and dared not openly protest; but he made for himself many private enemies, whose influence hereafter was used against him on every possible occasion.

Shah Alam forfeits the Company's tribute.—Meanwhile the state of Upper India was giving cause for serious alarm. As soon as the Mahrattas had got the feeble Emperor Shah Alam II. into their hands they began to put pressure on him. One of their first acts was to force him to make over to them the districts of Allahabad and Kora, which Lord Clive had given him in 1765 for the support of his dignity. The occupation of this territory by the aggressive and predatory Mahrattas was a direct menace to the Company's possessions in Bengal, and to permit it would have been to acquiesce in a state of things which the grant to Shah Alam had been intended to prevent. Warren Hastings therefore declined to acknowledge the cession to the Mahrattas, promptly occupied Allahabad, and declared a protectorate over the ceded districts. Furthermore, the yearly tribute of 25 lakhs paid by the Company to Shah Alam was regarded as forfeited, since he had voluntarily left British protection.

The King of Oudh enters into a subsidiary alliance.—It had been the object of successive Governors

in Bengal to maintain and support one or more friendly powers on their northern border to serve as a barrier against invasion. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh by the turn of affairs was now alone able to play this part. To detach him from his northern neighbours became a matter of the first importance. Accordingly, in 1773 Hastings went to Benares and concluded a treaty with him, by the terms of which the Company sold to him the districts of Allahabad and Kora, and agreed, on the payment of a subsidy by him, to assist him with the Company's troops in the event of his being attacked by the Mahrattas.

The Rohilla War, 1774.—Within a few months of this agreement the Nawab Vizier of Oudh wrote to Hastings, proposing that the Company should assist him in driving out the Rohillas from Rohilkhand, and annexing their country to his own dominions. He pointed out that the Rohillas had dealt treacherously with him; that the year before, at their earnest request, and on a promise made by them of a payment to him of 40 lakhs of rupees, he had assisted then in repelling a Mahratta invasion of their country; that they had since refused performance of their promise; and that they were now actually intriguing with the Mahrattas against him. The Vizier offered to pay all expenses of the expedition, and in the event of success, to give the 40 lakhs in dispute to the English. Although the Company had never been troubled by the Rohillas in any way, Hastings agreed to send a brigade, and justified his action by arguing that the presence of so weak and treacherous a government as that of the Rohillas in so important a strategical position could not be tolerated on grounds of political expediency; and that it was necessary for the safety of the Viziers' dominions, and therefore of the Company's also, that Rohilkhand should be incorporated in the kingdom of Oudh.

No act of Hastings has been so severely condemned as this participation in the ruin of a power which had done nothing to incur the Company's hostility. But in his defence it must be said that he lived at a time when political expediency was too frequently allowed to override all other considerations; that the fear of the Mahrattas was very real; and that he was at his wit's end to obtain money

for his government. The moral side of the argument hardly presented itself to him or to his council, so intent were they upon the political exigency of the case. If he thought about it at all, he probably argued that the Rohillas were by origin a mere handful of Afghan adventurers, who had imposed their harsh rule upon the Hindu population of Rohilkhand by force, and were therefore entitled to little sympathy.

The Vizier having got what he wanted, lost no time in attacking the Rohillas. They fought bravely, and but for the staunchness of the Bengal brigade would have routed the Vizier's undisciplined hordes; but they had no real chance of success, and were obliged shortly to submit. Rohilkhand was annexed to Oudh, and the Rohillas, to the number of some twenty thousand, were banished from the country.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF BRITISH INDIA.

The Regulating Act.—The constant wars with the "country powers" and the misgovernment and corruption which had marked the Company's administration since its conversion by the exploits of Clive from a mere commercial undertaking into a territorial sovereignty, had been viewed with some alarm in England, and the government had been for some time anxiously looking for an opportunity of interfering in its affairs. The opportunity had now arrived; for the Company which had for years been drifting further and further into debt was forced in the year 1773 to apply to Government for financial assistance. The Government, having the Company at its mercy, informed it that it would be prepared to help it pecuniarily only on certain conditions. These conditions were that the Government should be kept informed of all political transactions of the Company; that the Crown should have the right to veto or cancel any rules or orders of the

Company; that a Supreme Court of Judicature, appointed by the Crown and independent of local authority, should be established in Calcutta; and that the Governor of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa should be raised to the position of Governor-General of the British possessions in India, and, assisted by a Council of four, should exercise authority over the Governors of Madras and Bombay. The Company was in no position to refuse these terms, and they were accordingly embodied with others of minor importance in an Act of Parliament known as the Regulating Act.

Meddlesomeness of the new Council.—The Act did not come into force till October, 1774, when three of the members of the new Council arrived in Calcutta from England. They were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis. The fourth member was a servant of the Company named Barwell, residing at Calcutta. Warren Hastings assumed the office of Governor-General from the date of their arrival; but if he thought that his new dignity was to bring him increased power he was doomed to bitter disappointment. Under the new Act he was but the president of a committee, with a casting vote in case his Council disagreed. He was therefore liable to be outvoted, and could do nothing without the consent of the majority The three councillors from England came out with a prejudice against him; and they proceeded at once to make things uncomfortable for him by enquiring into matters which had occurred before their arrival, and by reversing or annulling several of his most important acts. They seemed, in fact, bent upon his ruin, and prepared to encompass it at all costs. They eagerly listened to every charge of maladministration and corruption which the malice of his enemies could invent, and in the investigation of abuses acted rather as the agents of a prosecution than as impartial enquirers. Hastings withstood them with firmness and spirit, but as he was supported by Barwell alone he was completely at their mercy.

Interference in the affairs of Oudh.—In 1775 the Vizier of Oudh died, and the factious members of the Council, in spite of the remonstrances of Hastings and Barwell, cancelled the existing treaties, insisted on his heir

paying an increased subsidy for the Company's troops stationed in Oudh, and compelled him to make over the districts of Ghazipur and Benares to the Company. Chait Singh, the local landowner, who had hitherto been a tributary of the Vizier of Oudh, was by them raised to the rank of Rajah, on consideration of his paying over to the Company the annual tribute of 22 lakhs which he had been accustomed to collect for the Nawab. This was bad enough; but what followed was still worse. The Begums, the widows of the late Vizier, had appropriated two crores of rupees of treasure lying in the palace at the time of his death, and had laid claim to the revenues of certain rich districts in Oudh. The new Vizier, who was heavily in debt to the Bengal Government, whose treasury was empty, and whose troops were in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay, declined to acknowledge their claims; for, in truth, to have done so practically meant ruin to him. The Begums appealed to the Council, and the intractable majority decided in their favour out of sheer perverseness. The affairs of Oudh at once fell into hopeless confusion, and the state was soon in no position to perform its part of the Treaty of 1773.

Execution of Nund Kumar.—Not satisfied with the public mischief they had wrought, Clavering, Monson, and Francis proceeded to collect privately against Hastings evidence of corruption and embezzlement; and to such a pass did things at length come that they recorded a minute in Council in March, 1775, that there was no species of peculation from which the Governor-General had thought it reasonable to abstain. The chief of his accusers was a Bengali, named Raja Nund Kumar. He was known to have been a bitter enemy of Hastings for many years, and moreover he bore an infamous reputation; but the three members of Council, ignoring all this, proceeded to treat him as a trustworthy witness, and eagerly listened to the monstrous charges which he brought against the Governor General. Hastings, whose ruin seemed imminent, resolutely faced his refractory Council; and while declining to be arraigned as a criminal in the council chamber, offered to submit his conduct to the investigation of a special committee. To this the Council unreasonably declined to agree, and a deadlock

ensued. Suddenly, in the midst of the confusion, the chief accuser, Nund Kumar, was arrested on a charge of forgery brought against him by a native merchant. The enemies of Hastings asserted then and subsequently that he had instigated the prosecution, but Hastings solemnly denied on oath having done so, and no evidence has ever been found to support their allegation. It is significant that during the course of Nund Kumar's trial no such suggestion was made, and that the enemies of Hastings in the Council, though appealed to, declined to interfere on the prisoner's behalf. Nund Kumar was tried in the Supreme Court, found guilty by the jury, and sentenced, according to then the existing law, to be hanged as a forger. Even then his patrons in the Council, who might still have intervened on his behalf, refused an application to suspend the sentence, and he was accordingly hanged in spite of his age, his caste, and his rank. This dramatic incident, though it checked for a while, did not put a stop to the attacks upon Hastings' reputation. His implacable enemies in the Council still continued to assail him, and in order to destroy his influence systematically reversed all his decisions.

Dispute over the succession to the Peshwaship.—While through the action of the Council affairs in Bengal were getting into a desperate state of confusion and the kingdom of Oudh was drifting into ruin and anarchy, matters in Bombay and Madras were almost equally unsatisfactory. In the year 1772, a few months after his signal defeat of Haidar, Madho Rao, the Peshwa died, a victim to consumption. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayan Rao, who, being only a boy, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle Raghaba. But Narayan Rao had scarcely held office for six months when he was assassinated under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. Raghaba as next-of-kin thereupon assumed the office ; but as he was unpopular, and was moreover strongly suspected of having contrived the murder of his nephew, a conspiracy was formed against him, headed by Nana Furnavis, one of the greatest of Mahratta statesmen. The conspirators produced a posthumous son of Narayan Rao, and succeeded in getting his claims recognised by most of the Mahratta chiefs. Raghaba, finding himself almost deserted, appealed for help to the Bombay

Government, promising in return for it to give them the islands of Salsette and Bassien.

First Mahratta War, 1775-1782.—The Bombay Government had already taken possession of the former, and they were anxious to retain it, for fear that it might fall again into the hands of its original owners, the Portuguese. Without troubling themselves much about the merits of his case they readily agreed to help Raghaba, and in 1775 despatched a force under Colonel Keating into the Mahratta country to support his claims. The whole Mahratta country rose in arms to resist this unprovoked invasion, and Colonel Keating found himself confronted with a force which outnumbered his own by ten to one. Nevertheless, on the plains of Arras, the Mahrattas, after a desperate struggle, were defeated.

Interference of the Supreme Council.—The Bombay Government, by the terms of the Regulating Act, were not empowered to make war without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council. As soon as the Supreme Council of Calcutta heard of what was going on it denounced the war as 'impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust,' ordered the Bombay Government to cease hostilities, and sent a representative to make peace with the Mahrattas. Hastings, though strongly disapproving of the conduct of the Bombay Government, disagreed with his Council's summary method of dealing with the affair. Moreover, he thought it impolitic for the Supreme Government openly to disavow the action of the Western Presidency, and he feared that the Mahrattas might misunderstand the motives of the English in thus abruptly treating for peace. The Bombay Government having meanwhile received the approval of the Court of Directors to their agreement with Raghaba, in spite of the Supreme Government, continued to support his cause. The result showed that they were wise in not abandoning him; for it was soon after discovered that Nana Furnavis was intriguing with the French, with a view to recovering Salsette from the English with their co-operation.

Goddard's march across India.—Hastings was not now hampered at every turn by his Council; for of his antagonists Monson had died in 1776 and Clavering in

1777, and Francis in a minority of one, though as bitterly hostile as ever, was now powerless to organise a systematic opposition to his plans. He was at last free to follow his own judgment, and the greatness of his character never showed to better advantage than in the eventful years which followed the outbreak of the first Mahratta war. Realising that a crisis was impending on the western side, he promptly despatched Colonel Goddard with a force from Bengal to assist the Bombay Government. Goddard's rapid march across the peninsular through a wild and hostile country is one of the most daring and brilliant exploits in history. He reached Surat on 6th February, 1779, having marched the last 300 miles in twenty days.

The convention of Wargaom.—But meanwhile disaster had overtaken an expedition sent by the Bombay Government against Poona. After getting within eighteen miles of the place, the officer in command came to the conclusion that the task was too great for his small force, and decided to retreat. The Mahrattas at once took heart and gathered round him like a swarm of bees. The force, harassed in front and rear, and unable to obtain supplies, struggled on as far as a place called Wargaom, and there, utterly exhausted, allowed itself to be surrounded. To save his troops from annihilation, the commander was obliged to enter into a disgraceful convention with the two Mahratta leaders, Nana Furnavis and Sindhia.

British successes.—When the news of the disaster reached Bombay, the Government, though in sore straits, refused to ratify the convention, and Goddard, with whom was the fugitive Raghaba, opened fresh negotiations with Nana Furnavis. But as the Mahratta haughtily declined to treat till Raghaba had been given up and Salsette handed over, Goddard recommenced hostilities in January, 1780. The Mahrattas had soon cause to regret their uncompromising attitude, for Goddard captured Ahmadabad, overran Guzerat, and reduced the strong fort of Bassein; while Captain Popham, with another force sent from Bengal, stormed and took the rock fortress of Gwalior, hitherto regarded by the natives as impregnable.

The second Mysore war, 1780-1784.—In the midst of these successes alarming news arrived from Southern India.

The Madras Government, with characteristic incapacity and meddlesomeness, had so provoked Haidar Ali and the Nizam of Hyderabad that, setting aside their differences, they had agreed to make common cause with the Mahrattas against the English. The Nizam from the first does not seem to have been in earnest, and not much difficulty was found in detaching him from the alliance. But Haidar, who cherished an implacable hatred against the English for their abandonment of him in 1772, was burning for revenge; and as he had taken advantage of the war between the English and the Mahrattas in Western India to consolidate his power and to extend the boundaries of his kingdom, he was now a still more formidable antagonist than in the first Mysore war. In 1780, having completed his preparations for attack, he made a sudden descent upon the Carnatic, and laid waste the country with fire and sword up to within 50 miles of Madras. The Government, with its wonted short-sightedness, had made no preparation for such a contingency, and though all available troops were at once ordered out, only a wretchedly inadequate force could be got together. When all arrangements were complete, Sir Hector Munro with 5000 men took the field against Haidar, while Colonel Baillie marched with 2800 men to occupy Guntur. A fatal mistake was made in dividing up so small a force; for Haidar, getting between the two intercepted Baillie, overwhelmed him, and took him prisoner. Munro, now old and feeble, learning of the disaster and fearing that a similar fate would overtake him, at once retreated to Madras, and left Haidar unchecked, to spread ruin and desolation far and wide over the fertile country of the Carnatic.

Sir Eyre Coote despatched to Madras.—When Hastings received the news of this serious reverse he began at once with his accustomed calmness and energy to devise means of retrieving it. It was a difficult task, for the war in the Western Presidency had almost drained his resources. But he was as usual equal to the occasion, and within three weeks the veteran Sir Eyre Coote was despatched to Madras with all available men and money, and with orders to suspend the incompetent governor who had so recklessly involved his presidency in ruin. Haidar in the meantime

had laid siege to and captured Arcot, and was causing untold loss and suffering in all directions by his raids; while his son Tippu was vigorously assaulting Wandewash, and its reduction appeared imminent.

Defeat of Haidar.—For four months Coote was obliged for want of provisions to remain inactive, while Haidar ravaged the country to his heart's content. Then he struck a sudden and decisive blow, catching Haidar with the bulk of his forces at a place called Porto Novo. The battle raged for six hours, and Haidar, after losing 10,000 men upon the field, was forced to fly. The news of the victory caused Tippu to relinquish the siege of Wandewash, and completely changed the aspect of affairs. But Haidar was not yet vanquished; for, quickly gathering together a large force he attacked Coote at Pollilor. Again he suffered a crushing defeat; but, rallying once more at Solinghar, he threw himself a third time upon Coote. After a stubbornly contested fight, he was there finally overcome and forced to retreat to the south, September, 1781. But his son Tippu still kept the field, and soon after succeeded in cutting off and overwhelming a force under Colonel Braithwaite operating on the western side.

Capture of Negapatam.—The English, though successful both against the Mahrattas and Haidar, were not yet by any means secure. Haidar was hardly in worse plight than themselves; for they were nearly ruined by the cost of their wars, and the Mahrattas, though worsted, were still dangerous. To make matters worse, in the latter half of 1781, the French and the Dutch, who were at war with England, came forward with offers of assistance to the enemies of the English in India. But far from being overwhelmed by misfortunes, the greater the dangers and difficulties, the greater grew Hastings's spirit and the stronger his determination. The Dutch, who had been encouraging Haidar to continue the war, had soon good cause to rue their interference; for they were attacked by land and sea in their settlement of Negapatam, and after a short resistance, forced to yield up the place with all the stores and ammunition they had been accumulating there.

Critical situation of the British.—Early in the

next year a French fleet appeared off the Coromandel coast, bringing help to Haidar in the shape of men and guns. Indecisive engagements between the French and English fleets followed; but the French managed to land 3000 men at Porto Novo, and the English, although getting slightly the best of the encounters, suffered so much from the effects of a storm that they were obliged to put in to Madras to refit. Affairs on shore were no better; for Sir Eyre Coote quarrelled with Lord Macartney, the new governor, and resigning his command returned to Bengal. The outlook was indeed gloomy towards the end of 1782. Haidar was recovering from his defeats and had with him now a large contingent of French soldiers; and the Mahrattas, on the western side, though they had been worsted in every engagement, still kept the field, and had lately mustered in such overwhelming numbers in front of Goddard that they had compelled him to retire. Madras was famine stricken, partly from natural causes and partly owing to Haidar's devastating raids. Bengal alone was free from trouble; but its revenues were well nigh exhausted by the calls which the other Presidencies had made upon it to carry on their wars.

Death of Haidar and treaty of Salbai.—But just when things were at their worst, news arrived that Haidar who was now more than 80 years of age, had died at his capital on the 7th December, 1782, from the effects of a carbuncle. His death coming so unexpectedly caused a profound impression. Some idea of the influence which he had exercised on Indian politics may be gathered from the fact that Nana Furnavis and the Poona party, upon receipt of the news, at once agreed to sign the treaty which Sindhia, tired of the war, was trying to negotiate with the English. On the 20th of December, at Salbai, near Sindhia's capital, a treaty of peace was made between the English and the Mahrattas, under the terms of which Raghaba, in consideration of foregoing his claims to the Peshwaship, received a handsome pension, the English retained Salsette, and the Mahrattas bound themselves not to admit the French or the Dutch within their dominions. Haidar's death at such a time was a great stroke of luck for the English. He was their most implacable enemy, and

with his military genius, his large and well equipped army, and the support of the French, he might have wrested from them the whole of the Carnatic, had he lived a little longer. He had been a savage and a ruthless tyrant, ignorant and bigoted, and his subjects, more especially the Hindus, had groaned under his cruel yoke. But he must have possessed uncommon powers of organisation; for he had found Mysore a petty and insignificant principality, and had left it the most powerful kingdom in the peninsular.

Tippu resumes the war.—Tippu was away on the Malabar coast when the news of his father's death reached him, and he hurried at once to Seringapatam to take possession of the vacant throne. He had good reason to congratulate himself upon his father's thrift; for, in addition to a territory which stretched as far north as the Krishna, he came into possession of three crores of rupees in cash and vast hoards of treasure in jewels and gold. Tippu, though a man of energy, had not his father's abilities; but he was equally ambitious and unscrupulous, and had an even blinder hatred of the English. Finding himself possessed of such vast wealth, with an army of more than 100,000 men at his command, and supported by the French, he was not inclined to make peace with the English. He therefore hastened back to the Malabar coast to resume hostilities. General Matthews, who was in command of the forces operating on the western side and had been meeting with continuous success, soon found the tables turned upon him. Tippu, as Sultan of Mysore, was a very different person to be reckoned with than as heir-apparent. Matthews was forced to give up all he had taken, and within a year, being shut up at Mangalore with no hope of escape, after a gallant resistance was obliged to capitulate.

French support withdrawn from Tippu.—While Tippu was engaged upon the Malabar coast, the French under their veteran leader Bussy had managed to land a large force at Cuddalore to aid him. Things were becoming so serious that Hastings despatched Sir Eyre Coote again to Madras to take up the supreme command. But, two days after landing, the fine old soldier died. His military career, which throughout had been almost uniformly brilliant, reached back to the days of Plassey. His loss at

such a time was a great misfortune, for he was dreaded by the enemies of the English more than any other commander. Stuart, who succeeded him, was quarrelsome and irresolute, and wasted precious time in dilatory operations. A crisis again seemed imminent, when the English were once more saved by their good fortune. News arrived at this juncture that peace had been made between the English and the French in Europe. Bussy at once withdrew his troops and recalled the French officers and men lent to Tippu. Tippu, finding himself unsupported, and learning that a force under Colonel Fullerton had entered Mysore and was marching on his capital, after reducing the forts along the way, surlily, and with much reluctance, consented to receive envoys of peace from the English.

The treaty of Mangalore.—It was by this time characteristic of the Madras Government to throw away its advantages, and it need not therefore be a matter of surprise that, in the midst of Fullerton's victorious progress, it sent an embassy to Tippu and sued for peace. By the treaty of Mangalore, 1784, which resulted from these negotiations, each side agreed to give up all that it had gained by the war, and Tippu restored to liberty such of his English prisoners as had survived the misery of their captivity, or had not, like Baillie and Matthews, actually been murdered in prison. Peace on such terms with a proud, revengeful and inveterate enemy, who now despised the English as much as he hated them, could not be lasting, and Lord Macartney who concluded it must bear the blame for what followed; but at any rate it put an end for a time to hostilities in India, and gave the British time to recover from the exhaustion resulting from their recent struggles.

The untamable spirit of Hastings.—The Governments of Madras and Bombay had shown recklessness and incapacity in the conduct of their wars. That disaster was averted was due to the energy and judgment of Hastings alone. He had kept them constantly supplied with money and troops, and, when their own generals proved incompetent, had even supplied them with able commanders to replace them. He had never failed them in their hour of need, although himself at his wits' end to find means to

meet their calls upon him; all the while, too, he had his own difficulties to contend with. Francis had never ceased to harass him with his opposition, and with unflagging malice to misrepresent his motives. The Court of Directors, which should have supported him with its confidence, treated him, as he himself says, "with every mark of indignity and reproach." But no amount of opposition or mortification could break his indomitable spirit; instead, his determination to overcome his difficulties seemed to grow with their accumulation.

His methods of raising money.—Hastings's methods of meeting his financial embarrassments have been severely blamed; and as it was in the main on this account that he was subsequently impeached by Parliament, we must therefore briefly glance at the more important of them.

The insurrection at Benares.—In 1778, with his council's approval, he had called upon Chait Singh, the Rajah of Benares, for a war subsidy of five lacs of rupees. This was provided without demur; but when Hastings the next year made a similar demand, the Rajah did not comply. It will be remembered that Chait Singh had been made a tributary of the British by the Council, when the Vizier of Oudh was made to cede the districts of Ghazipur and Benares to the Company. As a feudatory he was, by immemorial custom, liable to aid his sovereign in time of war both with men and money, if called upon to do so. The contribution was not excessive, and the Rajah was moreover immensely rich; but he had heard exaggerated accounts of the disasters which had overtaken the British in Madras, and had begun to wonder whether the end of their rule might not be at hand. He was, therefore, hesitating whether or not to comply with their further demands.

Hastings determined to teach him a lesson; and, as he was on his way to visit the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, he halted at Benares and demanded from the Rajah fifty lacs of rupees as a fine for his dilatoriness, and, further, called upon him for an explanation of his apparent disloyalty. As the Rajah's reply was unsatisfactory, Hastings, though with but a small escort, ordered his arrest. The Rajah submitted quietly enough; but this rash act caused an immediate

commotion in the city, which quickly developed into a riot. The guard placed over the Rajah was massacred, the Rajah escaped, and within a few hours Hastings was in a very awkward predicament, being practically defenceless in the midst of a tumultuous and hostile mob. That night he and the few who were with him slipped away, after dark, to the fortress of Chunar.

The disturbance spread very rapidly, and in a short time the whole country was up in arms. Hastings was soon closely invested in his place of refuge by the Rajah's troops. In this alarming situation he acted with his accustomed coolness and resolution, and, while concerting measures to repress the rebellion, took steps to prevent its spreading beyond the Rajah's territory. To Major Popham was entrusted the task of restoring order, and he did it speedily and effectually. The Rajah's troops, which were little better than an undisciplined rabble, were quickly dispersed, and the Rajah, fearing that he would be captured if he remained any longer in the field, fled to Gwalior. The country was soon pacified, and, the Rajah having been pronounced a rebel, his estates were confiscated and made over to his nephew. Much was made of this incident by the enemies of Hastings, and it must be admitted that his conduct was rash and his treatment of the Rajah unduly severe.

The affair of the Begums of Oudh.—While Hastings was still at Chunar he was visited by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. Hastings was now in greater straits for money than ever, for the visit to Benares, instead of producing fifty lacs of rupees, had resulted in a small campaign and a temporary suspension of revenue. Money had to be found somehow; for the Governments of Bombay and Madras, destitute of funds with which to pay their troops on service, were beseeching him for instant help to save them from utter ruin. The Nawab of Oudh was very much in the Company's debt; and, since the Council at Calcutta had decided that the Begums should retain possession of the treasure and the districts which they had laid claim to on the death of his father, he was quite incapable of meeting his liabilities. Hastings had good reason for suspecting that one at any rate of the Begums had lent aid to the

rebellious Rajah of Benares, and it was a matter of common knowledge that both were intriguing against the Nawab. He did not therefore consider that they were entitled to much consideration; so that when the Nawab proposed, as a means of liquidating his debts, to despoil the Begums, he readily acquiesced.

Had Hastings gone no further, his conduct would have been correct; for the Begums' claim was an unjust one, and Hastings had opposed it from the first and had never since acknowledged it. But in sending a body of the company's troops to coerce them, when they proved stubborn and the timid Nawab began to waver, he not only went beyond his authority, but acted in a manner unbecoming the dignity of his position. It is fair, however, to add that after compelling the Begums to give up their lands and treasure, he took care to ensure that they should receive handsome pensions.

His duel with Francis.—If it cannot be denied that the methods which Hastings had sometimes recourse to were not such as a high-minded statesman would employ, in his defence it may fairly be pleaded that he acted as he did from no mean personal motives, but to protect the Company's dominions in time of great emergency. The manner in which he rid himself at last of his implacable enemy Francis was characteristic both of himself and of his times. Towards the close of 1780, goaded to desperation by the ceaseless attacks of this man and by his rancorous and unpatriotic opposition, he charged him openly in council with being 'void of truth and honour.' Such an insult was a deliberate provocation, and according to the code of honour of those days made it incumbent on Francis to send Hastings a challenge to fight a duel. The two men met each other a little way out of Calcutta two days later, and Hastings so severely wounded Francis that he had to be carried from the ground. The duel served Hastings's purpose well, for Francis, as soon as his wound would permit him, left for England. But Hastings purchased his temporary relief at a heavy cost, as Francis when at home devoted himself with all the ardour of his malignant nature to the task of poisoning the public mind against him.

The dispute with the Supreme Court.—There remains one other matter in connection with the conduct of Hastings, which was once more generally considered censurable than it is now. The establishment of a Supreme Court under the Regulating Act led to a conflict of jurisdiction between it and the District Courts, owing to the powers of the new court not having been properly defined. Impey and the judges of the Supreme Court claimed the right of general interference and the power to override the decisions of the District Courts. As the District Courts dispensed a somewhat rough and ready justice in accordance with the law and usage of the land, and the Supreme Court insisted on enforcing English law, strife and great confusion naturally ensued. The Council took the side of the District Courts, and strongly remonstrated with the Supreme Court for its unlawful interference. The Supreme Court rejoined with some heat, and as neither party would give way a deadlock ensued.

There had been in Calcutta for some time a Central Court of Appeal, called the Sudder Adal At, over which the Governor-General presided; but since the Regulating Act it had been seldom resorted to by litigants. Hastings, as a means of putting an end to the dispute with the Supreme Court and preventing further conflict of jurisdiction, made Impey the chief judge of this court, and gave him a considerable addition to his salary for the extra work the appointment entailed upon him. The arrangement was vehemently decried as a bribe to Impey to forego his opposition as Chief Judge of the Supreme Court; but as Impey accepted the position subject to the approval of the Directors, and the measure, besides reconciling all parties, was a practical solution of the difficulties, the charge of corruption falls to the ground. The district judges, whose method of dispensing justice had been haphazard, benefited by having someone to direct them according to recognised principles. The Court of Directors subsequently, influenced by the malicious misrepresentations of Francis, disallowed the arrangement; but that the plan of placing the District Courts under the charge of the chief judge of the Supreme Court was a good one is proved by the fact that since 1853, when the Company's charter was renewed, the High Court

of each presidency has been the Court of Appeal from the District Courts.

Hastings resigns office.—In 1783, just when Hastings after his long struggle believed himself finally to have emerged from his difficulties, he received a letter from the Court of Directors directly censuring him, and expressing the strongest disapproval of his conduct at Benares and in the affair of the Begums of Oudh. In spite of this and of the growing hostility to him in England he stuck doggedly to his post for another two years. Then, finding himself abandoned by the Ministry in Parliament, on the support of which he had confidently counted, he resigned, and in February, 1785, left India. When it became known that he was going, his countrymen and the native princes and nobles of Northern India united in expressing their admiration of his high and statesmanlike qualities and their regret at his departure. He was returning to his native land in great depression of spirits, with little hope of meeting there with a just and impartial verdict upon his work; and as he had loved India well and spent the best part of his life in her service, it must have been a great consolation to him to be thus assured that there at any rate his work was appreciated.

His work as an administrator.—Whatever may be the estimate in which his public acts are held, no one will now deny that Hastings was guided solely by patriotic motives in what he did; and it should not be forgotten that he steered the ship of empire safely through a time of unexampled storm and stress, and that but for the energy, resolution, and resourcefulness which he displayed throughout all that dark period it must have foundered and gone down. To him must be given the credit of planning a system of administration which in the main is still in force, and reducing the chaotic rule of the company to an ordered and settled government. In the midst of the cares of state and the anxieties which so continually beset him, he yet managed to find time to pay attention to many matters of public utility, amongst which may be mentioned the opening of a trade route with Thibet, the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit literature by European scholars, the founding of a learned society called the Royal

Asiatic Society, the translation and compilation of a digest of Hindu law, and the establishment of a madrassah or college for Muhammedan education in Calcutta.

His impeachment.—On his return to England he met at first with an unexpectedly favourable reception. But Francis, his bitter and relentless enemy, was now in Parliament, and had succeeded in persuading many of the most influential politicians of the day that Hastings was a corrupt and rapacious tyrant. Three years after his return, so great was the feeling aroused against him that he was impeached for crimes alleged to have been committed by him during his Governor-Generalship. After one of the longest and most famous trials in history he was acquitted on all counts. Though much reduced in circumstances by the expenses of his defence he was not ruined, but lived for many years after the trial in peaceful and honourable retirement, and died at his country seat at the ripe age of 86.

The India Bill of 1784.—During the last year of Warren Hastings's Governor-Generalship, Indian affairs absorbed a good deal of the attention of Parliament. The late ruinous wars and the cases of the Rajah of Benares and the Begums of Oudh had created considerable uneasiness in England and great distrust of the Company's methods of dealing with the native states. William Pitt, who was then Prime Minister, shared in the general desire to curtail the powers of the East India Company and increase those of the Crown. He accordingly brought in a bill, the chief provisions of which were the creation of a Board of Control of six members, presided over by an Indian Minister, the reduction of the Governor-General's Council to three members, the granting of authority to the Governor-General to override his Council in case of emergency, and the withdrawal of his powers of making war or entering into alliances with native princes on his own responsibility. The general result of the measure was that the Governor-General's supremacy in India was ensured, but his authority was curtailed.

Sindhia becomes supreme at Delhi.—An interval of twenty months elapsed before a successor to Warren Hastings was appointed from England. Meanwhile Sir

John Macpherson, Senior Member of Council, held charge. The period was an uneventful one, as far as the company's government was concerned, but it was utilised to good purpose by Tippu and by Sindhia. Sindhia had been largely instrumental in bringing about the peace of Salbai, and had in consequence been more generously dealt with by the English than other Mahratta chiefs. Being an extremely ambitious man he was encouraged thereby to embark on schemes of aggrandisement. Shortly after the conclusion of peace he seized upon the territory of his Rajput neighbour, the Rana of Gohud. He next paid a visit to Delhi and obtained from the feeble emperor, Shah Alum II., the post of commander-in-chief of the imperial army. Shah Alum was not in a position to resist him, even if he had wished, and Sindhia soon usurped all authority and did as he pleased in Delhi and Agra, the two sole remaining provinces of the Moghul empire. So puffed up did he become with success that he sent at length a demand, in the name of the Emperor, to Macpherson for the tribute of Bengal. As this had not been paid since the time when Shah Alum II. had left British protection for that of the Mahrattas, Sindhia was curtly told that the tribute had been forfeited, and that he must immediately withdraw the claim. Since he was not prepared to go to war again with the English, he at once explained that it had been made under a misapprehension, and there the matter ended.

Tippu persecutes the Hindus of the south.—Tippu, after the peace of Mangalore, turned his attention to the Hindu principalities lying to the south and west of his dominions. Though a man of more culture than his father, he seems to have inherited a double portion of his cruelty and bigotry. With his vast and well-equipped army he swept like a whirlwind upon Kanara and Coorg, slaughtering the inhabitants or forcing them at the sword's point to embrace Islam, and pillaging and burning Hindu temples. It is said that two thousand Brahmans perished by their own hands to escape conversion, and that one hundred thousand persons were carried away and forcibly made into Mussulmans. This cruel persecution of the Hindus infuriated the Mahrattas; and Tippu's assumption

at this time of the title of Badshah, which had hitherto been reserved for the Delhi emperors alone, greatly displeased the Nizam. Nana Furnavis had little difficulty, therefore, in persuading the Nizam to join in a war for the spoliation of the cruel and arrogant tyrant.

But Tippu was too strong for the allies, and by carrying the war into their country soon forced them to come to terms. They had to acknowledge unconditionally his right to do as he pleased in the country south of the Tungabhudra River; while he on his part gave back the towns he had taken from them, and paid the Mahrattas the arrears of tribute which they claimed under the treaty made with his father in 1772. Tippu, fortified by the new treaty, invaded the territory of the Nayars in Malabar. He afterwards boasted that in this expedition he had destroyed 8000 Hindu temples, and that such of the population as he did not slay he converted to Islam or expelled the country. Thus, strangely enough, at a time when Hinduism was triumphantly asserting itself in other parts of India, the Hindus of the extreme south were at last subjected to the Muhammedan yoke, and made to suffer a persecution in which all the horrors of the early Pathan invasions of Northern India were repeated.

Lord Cornwallis, 1786-1793—his reform of the services.—In September, 1786, the new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, arrived in India. He came out with the declared intention of avoiding war and devoting himself to the reform of the company's service. In spite of the efforts of Clive and Hastings corruption was rampant in all branches, and the Company's servants continued to enrich themselves by illicit gains at its expense. In Madras, particularly, grave scandals were allowed to go on unchecked, and were even in some instances connived at by the authorities. Lord Cornwallis turned his attention at once to this subject, and acted with vigour, firmness, and sympathy. Clive's proposal to pay the civil and military officers of the Company at a scale which would enable them to live by honest means was given effect to, and the regulations against bribery and corrupt practices were at the same time put stringently in force. Measures were also taken to reform the currency which had become debased;

so that no shadow of excuse for dishonesty now remained. The best proof of the fairness of his measures is to be found in the fact that the Company's servants responded generously to his effort to ameliorate their condition, by generally ceasing henceforward to accept bribes or enrich themselves by underhand dealings.

Agreement for the cession of Guntur.—Lord Cornwallis soon found that he had misjudged Hastings, and that it was not so easy to keep out of entanglements as he had imagined. The Nizam of Hyderabad had promised some time before to cede to the British the district known as Guntur, south of the Krishna River. The possession of Guntur was of great strategical importance to the Madras Government, and as the Nizam seemed inclined to forget his promise, Lord Cornwallis peremptorily ordered him to hand it over. This the Nizam did at once, but stipulated that a British contingent should be lent to him to help him, if need be, against Tippu. Lord Cornwallis consented readily; for he had by this time realised that the greatest source of danger to the peace of India lay in the growing power of Tippu, and he felt that something must be done to curb his aggressive insolence.

Triple alliance against Tippu.—Tippu soon brought matters to a crisis by attacking the Rajah of Travancore, who was an ally of the English. War was at once declared upon him, and not only the Nizam but the Mahrattas also were induced to join against him; for much as Nana Furnavis, their great statesman, feared the English, he feared Tippu more, and the whole Mahratta country was burning for revenge upon the cruel persecutor of the Hindus.

The third Mysore war, 1790-1792.—The Madras Government began the war with traditional half heartedness, and Lord Cornwallis, who was himself a skilful general, came down from Calcutta in 1790 to conduct the war in person. Tippu was deceived as to the direction taken by the English army, and Bangalore, the second city of his kingdom, was captured before he could come to its assistance. Two months later at Arikera, close to Seringapatam, where he at length came up with the British, he suffered so disastrous a defeat that he fled for refuge to his capital.

The supplies of the British at this time began to fall short, and the Mahrattas, who should have been at hand, were far away engaged in plunder. Lord Cornwallis was therefore forced to return to Madras. But the campaign still went on, and, one after another, Tippu's fortresses, deemed impregnable by him, were captured.

In January, 1792, the Governor-General, having completed his preparations, again took the field and marched direct upon Seringapatam at the head of a magnificent army. But the Mahrattas, who were expected to join him in large force, sent only a small contingent, and the troops of the Nizam proved worthless. The size and splendid equipment of the British army had alarmed the allies, and they were now as anxious to save Tippu from his fate as they had previously been anxious to procure his ruin; for they feared that with Tippu's power destroyed there would be no one left capable of checking the British.

Seringapatam, a fortress of extraordinary strength, was invested by the combined forces early in February. Notwithstanding its strength and the skill with which its defences had been constructed, its outer works were soon stormed and captured by the British, and the place was about to fall when Tippu wisely sued for peace. Lord Cornwallis conducted the negotiations in a very different spirit to that in which the Madras Government had arranged the treaty of Mangalore. Tippu was made to cede to the British the districts of Dindigal, the Baramahal, and Malabar, and to restore Coorg to its Hindu Raja.

Lord Cornwallis did not escape censure in England for provoking the war, and adding fresh territory to the Company's dominions; but the wisdom of his action in humbling the agressive and insolent Tippu was so generally admitted that the attacks made upon his conduct failed ignominiously, and he was even made a marquis for his services.

The Permanent Settlement.—The Governor-General now turned his attention once more to the subject of reform. The land tax had been from time immemorial the chief source of revenue in India. The Moghul emperors had been accustomed to collect their revenue by means of local agents whose business it had been to realise for the state a certain sum annually. By degrees, as the Empire fell to

pieces, the agents in Bengal, left pretty much to their own devices, had developed into semi-independent local magnates, exercising authority by the maintenance of miniature armies. The East India Company, in making its land revenue collections, had ignored the Zamindars, as they were called, and dealt directly with the cultivators. The system had not worked well, and the Directors recommended that the experiment of collecting the revenue through the Zamindars should be tried for ten years at any rate. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis, going beyond his instructions, recognised the Zamindars as the absolute owners of the soil, and made a permanent settlement of the land revenue with them instead of with the cultivators. The Permanent Settlement, in that it gave security to the Zamindari class, has no doubt helped to keep the peace in Bengal; but as it made the cultivators the tenants of the Zamindars, and neglected to provide against tyranny and extortion, and as the value of the land has greatly risen since it was made, it cannot be considered altogether a wise and far-seeing measure.

Short-sighted reforms.—His well-meant civil and criminal reforms were hardly more successful; for his attempt to systematise Sir Elijah Impey's rules and regulations gave into the hands of the police a weapon with which to harass the people, and led to all sorts of oppression. But his greatest mistake, and one it is strange that so tolerant and large-minded a man should have committed, was his laying down rules whereby the natives of India were excluded from all but the most subordinate posts in the public service.

Lord Cornwallis left India in 1793 after seven years of office. Though not comparable as a statesman with Hastings, and having far less difficulties to contend with, his work, as judged by its results, was almost equally important; for by his reform of the services, and his firm and vigorous policy, he had added dignity and stability to the growing empire.

Sir John Shore, 1793-1798.—He was succeeded by Sir John Shore, a Bengal civilian, who had brought himself into notice by the ability he had displayed in carrying out the Permanent Settlement. Like Cornwallis, he looked upon himself as bound to abstain from interference in the

affairs of native states, and to enter on none but defensive wars. The result of such a policy was that the implacable Tippu, being allowed to do as he pleased, began openly to make preparations for another struggle with his hated enemies, the English. It was a prevalent but mistaken notion then, that the safety of the East India Company's dominions in India could best be secured by the maintenance of a balance of power among the native princes, and by holding aloof as far as possible from their internecine quarrels.

Battle of Kurdla.—In pursuance of this policy Sir John Shore declined to help the Nizam of Hyderabad, when the latter was threatened with war by Nana Furnavis for non-payment of disputed arrears of tribute. The Mahrattas, surprised and delighted at being thus given a free hand to deal with their ancient rival, mustered together to the task of subduing him in a way they had not done for many years. Sindhia, Holkar, the Bhonsla, and the Gaekwar of Baroda, besides most of the petty chiefs, all sent their contingents to the campaign. The Nizam had no chance against such a combination, and in 1795, at the battle of Kurdla, sustained so crushing a defeat that he was obliged at once to submit to the most humiliating terms of peace. It was a great triumph for the Mahrattas, and for Nana Furnavis in particular; for besides compelling the Nizam to pay three crores of rupees and cede several districts to them, they had at length reduced the last Moghul stronghold, and made themselves supreme from Delhi to the Tungabhadra.

Interference in the affairs of Oudh.—But Sir John Shore, despite all his good intentions, could not get through his term of office without interfering in the affairs of a native state. The condition of the neighbouring kingdom of Oudh forced him at length, much against his will, to intervene. Long continued misrule had reduced the country to such a state of disorder that its condition had become a serious menace to the neighbouring territories of the Company. The Nawab Vizier, sunk in sloth and debauchery, neglected public business altogether, and turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances from the Governor-General. So grave did the situation at last become that

Sir John Shore found it necessary to remove him and to place Saadat Ali, a brother of his predecessor, on the vacant throne.

This was the Governor-General's last important act, and it is noteworthy that it should have been a reversal of the policy of non-interference, which he had so long and blindly supported. He cannot be said to have fulfilled the high expectations formed of him; and he left to his successor a plentiful crop of troubles. For Tippu, by the aid of French officers, was once more at the head of a powerful army, and the Mahrattas, since their defeat of the Nizam, had begun to assume an aggressive attitude.

Lord Mornington, 1798-1805.—Sir John Shore was succeeded in 1798 by Lord Mornington, "the Great Proconsul," as he has been fittingly called; for no other Governor-General exercised so despotic an authority or so largely added by conquest to the territories of the Company. His period of office is one of the most critical and eventful in Indian history, and it marks the final stage in the struggle between the British and the native powers for supremacy.

French influence at the native courts.—He came out with two fixed ideas: one was to make the Company the paramount power in India, and the other to root out the malign French influence which, under the non-interference policy of his two immediate predecessors, had been steadily growing stronger at the courts of the leading native princes. The latter was the more pressing necessity; for the French and English were again at war in Europe, and Napoleon Buonaparte, who was then in Egypt, was known to favour the proposal for a French invasion of India, and to be in communication with his countrymen there and in the Mauritius regarding it. French influence was all-powerful at the courts of the Nizam, Sindhia, and Tippu, and many French officers and men had taken service in their armies. Tippu's hatred of the English had become an absorbing passion with him, and he had begun openly to boast that with the help of the French he meant to drive them out of the country. There was only too good reason to suspect also that the Mahrattas and the Nizam, influenced by their French advisers, were secretly intriguing with him

to the same end. The position of the British in India in the year 1798, thus threatened by a formidable combination of two leading native powers, backed and aided by the French with men and guns, was as critical as at any period in their history.

It was to such a state of things that Lord Mornington, with his preconceived notions, arrived. It is no wonder that he found in them confirmation of his views. While the native powers maintained their political independence and were guided by French influence, there could be no guarantee of permanent peace in the land. He therefore set himself the task of devising means of putting an end to the one and stamping out the other. It was necessary for the peace of the country that some one power should be supreme, and he was determined that that power should be the British.

Threatening attitude of the native powers.—He had not long to wait for an occasion to put his views into practice; for he had only been in the country a few weeks when news arrived that Tippu had sent an embassy to the Mauritius to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and to ask for troops to assist him in driving the British out of India; and that the governor of the Mauritius had honourably entertained the envoys, promised them assistance, and sent 100 men to Tippu as a first instalment. Lord Mornington at once called upon Tippu to renounce his alliance with the French and respect his treaty obligations with the British. Tippu returned evasive answers and continued his preparations for war with feverish haste. The situation was daily growing more serious. The Mahrattas and the Nizam could not be trusted to remain neutral in case of hostilities breaking out, and the ruler of Afghanistan, to whom Tippu was known to have appealed, was threatening to invade Northern India. To add to the Governor-General's anxieties, the Madras Government could not be got to realise the seriousness of the situation, and in response to his urgent appeals to it made the most inadequte preparations to meet the coming storm.

The Nizam forced into a subsidiary alliance.—Had Lord Mornington followed at this crisis the

traditional policy of non-interference in the affairs of native states, the British Empire in India might have been simultaneously attacked on all sides; in which case it would in all probability have been overwhelmed. But he had the courage and ability to strike out a new line of policy. In place of the balance of power, by which his predecessors had sought to hold in check ambitious native princes, he introduced what is known as the Subsidiary System. It will be remembered that Warren Hastings had made an arrangement with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, whereby, in return for a guarantee of protection against foreign invasion, the Nawab had acknowledged the supremacy of the British and had agreed to maintain a subsidiary force to aid them in time of need. Lord Mornington boldly called upon the Nizam to enter into a similar agreement, and backed up his demand with such prompt and vigorous action that the Nizam agreed at once. What no doubt greatly influenced the Nizam's decision was that the French soldiers in his army were on the verge of mutiny for arrears of pay, and his French advisers, backed by the army, had lately begun to adopt a threatening tone towards him. A British force was immediately despatched to Hyderabad to see the agreement carried out. The French officers in the Nizam's service were completely taken by surprise owing to the suddenness of the move, and without the need of striking a blow the French troops were disbanded. The Nizam at once signed the agreement and undertook in addition not to employ in future any Europeans without the consent of the British Government. The Peshwa, when asked to do the same, declined; but he was so much impressed by the way in which the British had put an end to French influence in Hyderabad, that he hastened to assure the Governor-General of his loyalty to existing treaties.

The fourth Mysore War, 1799.—Having thus prevented the dreaded combination by detaching the Mahrattas and converting the Nizam into an ally, Lord Mornington sent an envoy to demand from Tippu an immediate and satisfactory reply to his communications, and went himself to Madras in December, 1798, to direct affairs in person. He had rightly little confidence in the

ability of the Madras Government to conduct negotiations or prepare for eventualities. Tippu, relying on the promises of French assistance and encouraged by a friendly letter he had received from the great Napoleon himself, treated the British envoy with contempt. Further negotiations being out of the question, war was declared upon him. Two armies were despatched against his capital, one by way of the Carnatic under General Harris, the commander-in-chief, and the other down the Malabar coast from Bombay under General Stuart. The Nizam also sent a subsidiary force of 20,000 men under the nominal command of his son, but really led by the Governor-General's brother, Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington.

Tippu forced to retreat.—Tippu attacked the Bombay army first and suffered a severe defeat at Sedasir. He then fell upon the army of the Carnatic at Mallavelli, within twenty-six miles of Seringapatam, and was again heavily defeated. He was now upon the defensive, and his only chance was to prevent General Harris from crossing the Caveri and effecting a junction with General Stuart. But his two defeats seem to have so much upset him as to deprive him of his generalship; for he allowed General Harris to elude him, and, before he had realised what movement was in progress, the river had been crossed and the Madras and Bombay armies had united. He made no further effort to check the advance of the British, but retreated before them to his capital. His rage and desperation at this time led him to act like a madman. Fits of ungovernable fury were followed by periods of blank despair, and, after proposing peace, he would not listen to terms. Meanwhile, with characteristic savagery, he put to death every European prisoner that had fallen into his hands.

Fall of Seringapatam.—The siege of Seringapatam is one of the most glorious episodes in British Indian history. It commenced on the 15th of April, and by the 4th of May a breach had been made in the stupendous fortifications. General Baird, who had once spent four years as a prisoner in the dungeons of the fort, gallantly led the assault. A desperate little band of the defenders, among whom was the

Sultan himself, attempted to repel it; but the British, despite their heavy losses, clambered in, and in a few minutes the city was taken. The Sultan's body was found in the archway where the fight had been thickest under a heap of slain. No further resistance was offered; and the city, with its heaps of military stores and its immense treasure, was handed over to the conquerors.

Settlement after the war.—The family of Tippu was removed from the kingdom and Colonel Wellesley was appointed Governor of Seringapatam, with orders to restore order in the country. The Sultan's dominions were divided up, the northern portion adjoining Hyderabad being given to the Nizam, while the districts of Kanara, Coimbatore and the Wynaad were annexed to the Company's dominions. The ancient Hindu royal family was almost extinct; but after a diligent search a boy of five years of age belonging to it was found, living in a miserable hovel in a suburb of Seringapatam. He was duly installed upon the throne, and given a kingdom roughly corresponding to the old Mysore state.

Effects of the war.—The conquest of Mysore made a great impression on the native princes and gave to the British undisputed supremacy in the Deccan. Two years later the Nawab of Arcot, who was still the nominal ruler of the Carnatic, in return for a large pension, handed over the whole of his territories to the British. About the same time the Rajah of Tanjore died without issue, and the Governor-General pensioned off his adopted son and annexed his territory. The Madras Presidency was thus greatly extended, and at the present time is little altered from what it then became. The overthrow of Tippu was recognised in England as a great achievement. Lord Mornington was made Marquis of Wellesley for his services, and suitable honours were conferred upon those who had played a prominent part in bringing it about.

The Peshwa seeks British protection.—Mahratta affairs next engaged the Governor-General's attention. The old confederacy was now practically dissolved, and the authority of the Peshwa, Baji Rao II., extended little beyond Poona, while the Rajah of Satara was a mere puppet with no influence at all. In 1800 Nana Furnavis,

who by his statecraft had managed to keep the Peshwa's Government together, died. The whole Mahratta country at once fell into confusion and civil war broke out. The leading chiefs at that time were Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar, and a bitter feud existed between them. Each was jealous of the other's influence, and each wished to get control of the Peshwa. First Jaswant Rao pillaged the sacred city of Ujjain in Sindhia's dominions, and then Daulat Rao pillaged Indore, Holkar's capital. The Peshwa favoured Sindhia, and, as their combined forces were much greater than those of Holkar, they together gained many successes against him. But Jaswant Rao was a dashing and brilliant soldier, and, just when his antagonists were expecting him to yield, he suddenly turned the tables upon them. By a forced march he arrived unexpectedly in the vicinity of Poona in October, 1801, and, taking his enemies completely by surprise, decisively defeated them. Baji Rao II. at once fled to Bassein and put himself under British protection. Jaswant Rao Holkar entered Poona unopposed and set up a puppet Peshwa of his own choosing.

The treaty of Bassein.—The Governor-General had not relinquished his project of bringing the Mahratta chiefs under the subsidiary system. When therefore Baji Rao applied to the British for aid in recovering Poona, he agreed to assist him on condition that he entered into a subsidiary alliance. Baji Rao, being anxious on any terms to regain his capital, and recognising that there was no other way in which he could hope to do so, submitted to the condition; and on the last day of 1802, at Bassein, signed a treaty engaging to maintain a subsidiary force, to take into his service no European without the consent of the British, and to enter into no engagements with other powers without the permission of the Governor-General.

The second Mahratta War, 1803.—The great Mahratta chiefs were all, as was natural, furiously angry when they heard the news, and refused to recognise the treaty. But General Wellesley, who was in command of the British forces, advanced so rapidly against Poona for the purpose of reinstating the Peshwa, that no concerted action was possible on their part, and Holkar sullenly retreated to

Indore. But though an immediate conflict had been avoided by Wellesley's promptness, serious trouble was clearly imminent; for Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsla were moving large masses of troops into the Deccan, and, though professing friendly intentions, were seen to be making every preparation for war. The shifty and treacherous Peshwa, too, now that he had recovered Poona, was found to be secretly urging them on. General Wellesley, recognising that war was inevitable, and that the Mahratta chiefs were only waiting till their preparations were complete before attacking him, forced them to unmask by proposing that all parties, including the British, should retire to their own territory. This they declined to do, and war was at once declared upon them. The Governor-General felt that his opportunity had come to humble the Mahrattas, and he determined to make the most of it. When all was ready he arranged for an attack upon them at seven different points; but the two largest and most important forces sent against them were those commanded by General Lake and General Sir Arthur Wellesley. The armies of Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsla were many times larger than the British, and had been carefully trained by French officers. It is said that at the beginning of the war there were upwards of 300,000 Mahrattas in the field.

The battle of Assai.—General Wellesley scored the first success in August, 1803, by capturing Ahmadnagar, in which Sindhia had stored his munitions of war. Sindhia retaliated by plundering the Nizam's dominions in rear of the British. But he was not permitted to do so for long with impunity, for Wellesley wheeled round, and by forced marches came up with him at Assai, a little village lying in the fork of two tributaries of the Godavari, between Khandesh and Berar. With Sindhia was Raghuji Bhonsla, and the two had with them 100 guns and an army which outnumbered the British by five to one; moreover, the position they had taken up was a very strong one. On September 23rd the British advanced against it, and were met by a terrific and well-directed cannonade, which mowed down hundreds of them. But, nothing daunted by their heavy losses, they swept irresistibly forward, and, coming to close quarters, charged boldly in among the enemy. The

Mahrattas fought stubbornly, but they could not withstand the British bayonets for long, and, after a desperate struggle over the guns, wavered, broke, and were driven with great slaughter into the stream behind their position. Sindhia and the Bhonsla fled from the field long before the end, and were pursued by Colonel Stevenson, who had arrived with reinforcements too late to take part in the battle. The victory was a most glorious one; the enemy's losses amounted to upwards of 10,000 men, and the whole of their artillery was taken; but so severe had been the struggle that the British losses amounted to a third of the forces engaged

Lake's victorious campaign.—General Lake meanwhile advancing from Cawnpore captured by storm the strong fort of Alighar, defeated Sindhia's French general Bourquin at Delhi, and then took Agra. This was the end for ever of Mahratta influence at Delhi and of Sindhia's pretensions in North-Western India. But Sindhia's power was not yet completely broken; for the flower of his army, known as The Invincibles, including a veteran battalion which had been trained by a famous French officer, De Boigne, still remained to be dealt with. Lake, therefore, after the fall of Agra, went southward in pursuit of them, and on November 1st came up with them at a place called Laswari. The battle which followed was almost as bloody and decisive as that of Assai. The Mahrattas, though fighting with desperate courage, could not withstand the British onslaught, and were again driven from the field.

Sindhia and Raghuji enter into treaty with the British.—Sindhia was now in great straits. In every part of his dominions towns and fortresses had been captured by the British, and his magnificent army, beaten at every point, was almost destroyed. Raghuji Bhonsla had still a large army intact, but further resistance was clearly useless; for, besides being decisively beaten by Lake and Wellesley, the confederate Rajahs had suffered defeat at other points, notably in Bundelkhand and Orissa, out of both of which provinces their forces had been driven. Sindhia at this juncture made overtures of peace, but the terms offered him were such as he would not accept, and the war was therefore continued. It did not last much

longer, however; for in November, Wellesley, catching the remnant of his forces and the bulk of Raghuji Bhonsla's together at Argaon in Berar, after a short and bloody contest completely defeated them and scattered them in flight. Then Colonel Stevenson, who had distinguished himself by the capture of many towns and forts during the war, reduced Gawilgarh, Raghuji's principal stronghold. This decided Raghuji to make peace at once before he was utterly ruined; and on the 17th December, two days after the fall of Gawilgarh, he signed a treaty at Deogaon, by which he agreed to receive a resident at Nagpur, to enter into no relations with other states, to admit no foreigners into his service without the consent of the British, and to cede a large part of his territory, including the greater part of Orissa, to them. Daulat Rao Sindhia, thus left alone, with no means of continuing the struggle, was now forced to accept such terms as the British would offer him; and a little later signed a treaty at Burhanpur, by the terms of which he agreed to receive a resident at his court, ceded to the British all his possessions north of the Jumna and the districts of Ahmadnagar and Broach in the south, and renounced his claims to interfere in the affairs of his neighbours.

MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY.

Results of the war.—The result of this war greatly increased the power and prestige of the British. Most of the Rajput chiefs hastened to enter into treaty with them, and British influence became from then paramount over all

India, with the exception of the Punjab, where the Sikhs had now firmly established their supremacy. The Moghul Emperor returned once more to British protection, and the whole of his dominions were brought under the Company's rule. It would have been well for Shah Alam had he never left it; for Mahratta friendship had not been able to prevent his falling on one occasion into the hands of a cruel and bloodthirsty Afghan noble, named Ghulam Kadir, who, after torturing his sons and grandsons before his face, struck out both the old man's eyes with a dagger.

Disorder in Oudh.—The Governor-General, like his predecessors, was troubled with the affairs of Oudh. Saadat Ali, whom Sir John Shore had placed upon the throne, proved no better than the Nawab whom he had displaced, and by continued mismanagement had become so hopelessly involved in debt that he was unable any longer to pay for the maintenance of his subsidiary force The Marquis, finding remonstrance useless, and being determined to prevent the disorders of the kingdom of Oudh from endangering the peace of Northern India, compelled the Nawab to cede certain districts for the support of the force. These districts, together with the remnants of the Moghul Empire, comprised the whole of what is now called the North-West Provinces.

Holkar provokes the British.—It may seem strange that Jaswant Rao Holkar should have taken no part in the second Mahratta war. Indeed nothing but his hatred of Sindhia and his desire to see his rival humbled had kept him from plunging at once into the struggle. But he was of so wild and turbulent a disposition that he could not long remain inactive; moreover, some employment had to be found for the hosts of restless freebooters who kept flocking to Indore during those troublous times. Beside this rabble horde, ever ready for mischief, he had a numerous and well-equipped army, which was continually being swelled by batches of deserters from the armies of Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsla. By the end of the second Mahratta war he had at his command an army of 80,000 trained soldiers, the pick of the fighting men of Malwa and Central India. It was not long before he began to ravage Malwa and Rajputana, and, ignoring remonstrances, raided the terri-

tory of Rajput princes who were allies of the British. Growing daily more insolent he at length sacked Ajmir, and made peremptory demands for the cession of territory from the British. War was therefore declared upon him, and the British forces put in motion against him in April, 1804.

The third Mahratta War, 1804-1805.—Thus commenced the third Mahratta war. General, now Lord, Lake was still available, but Sir Arthur Wellesley had left for England early in the spring. The campaign opened brilliantly with the capture of Indore; but soon after Colonel Monson, who was operating in Central India, found himself opposed to nearly the whole of Holkar's army, and, to avoid being overwhelmed, was forced to retreat so precipitately to Agra that he had to abandon his guns and baggage on the way. Such a reverse to British arms had not occurred since the time when the Bombay army had been surrounded and forced to capitulate at Wargaon in 1778. Holkar, greatly elated at his success, first seized Muttra and then attacked Delhi; but he was repulsed at the latter place with such heavy loss by Colonel Ochterlony that he retired to Bhurtpur, the Rajah of which place, though an ally of the British, had espoused his cause. Monson, joined by General Fraser, now made a fresh advance, and coming up with Holkar's and the Rajah's combined forces at Dig utterly defeated them and captured all their guns. Lake meanwhile was carrying on his campaign with his usual brilliancy and success, and soon had captured Holkar's principal forts.

Siege of Bhurtpur.—Holkar's power was now practically broken and the end of the war seemed to be in sight; but in January, 1805, Lake received a serious check at Bhurtpur. This huge fort, surrounded with a mud wall, was one of the strongest in India; but Lake, grown overconfident, attacked it recklessly and tried to capture it by assault. Four times his gallant troops made the attempt, and were each time repulsed with heavy loss. He then found himself obliged to besiege it, and for this he had made no proper preparation. By great good fortune, after a siege of three and a half months, at the end of which the British were no nearer capturing it than at the

beginning, the Rajah of Bhurtpur, grown tired of the defence, opened negotiations with Lake. On condition of the British relinquishing the siege he agreed to pay twenty lakhs of rupees and to renounce his alliance with Holkar. But the failure to reduce Bhurtpur left a bad impression, and, though the balance of success was greatly in their favour, the military reputation of the British did not stand quite so high towards the close of the war as it had done at the beginning. The war had, however, clearly established the fact that it was useless to struggle against British supremacy; and the Gaekwar of Baroda, when called upon to enter into a subsidiary alliance, did not dare to demur. Thus all the Mahratta chiefs, excepting the ruined Holkar, who was still in arms, had now been brought under the subsidiary system.

Resignation of the Governor-General.—The Marquis Wellesley had for some time been contemplating retirement; for the Court of Directors did not share his Imperial views and had grown more and more impatient of the expenses of his great campaigns. Moreover the Governor-General's policy was at variance with that of his employers in another matter. He was anxious for the free and unrestricted development of Indian trade, while the Company was only anxious to keep the trade as much as possible to itself; and his letters urging upon the Directors the advantage to India of throwing open the trade to all comers gave great offence. He was a proud man as well as a determined one, and when he found that he had forfeited their confidence he resigned, and in August, 1805, while the third Mahratta war was still in progress, left the country.

His Imperial policy.—The Governor-Generalship of the Marquis Wellesley is memorable, not only for the destruction of the aggressive Muhammadan kingdom in the south, the crippling of the Mahratta power, the rooting out of antagonistic French influence, and the addition of a large amount of territory to the Company's dominions, but because the East India Company was made by his masterful hand to stand forth openly at last as a great Imperial power, and forced to accept its responsibilities as such for the peace and welfare of India. The policy which he then laid down has come to be regarded as the only possible one

for British rule in India, and its success is an enduring monument to his statesmanship and sagacity.

Return of Lord Cornwallis, 1805.—He was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who, though now very old and feeble, had been induced to take up the post of Governor-General once more. He came out strongly biased against the policy of the Marquis Wellesley, and with the declared intention of reverting to the old idea of a balance of power. He had in England denounced the Mahratta wars and condemned the treaty of Bassein which led to them, and he was now determined that peace should be restored at any cost. So set upon his purpose was he that he turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances and would not even listen to Lord Lake. Shortly after his landing he left Calcutta for the seat of war to conduct the peace negotiations in person. But the fatigues of the journey, undertaken at the most trying season of the year, proved too much for the old man, and he was soon seriously ill. By the time he reached Ghazipur he was a dying man, and there a few days later he expired, on October 5th, 1805. It was fortunate for his country and his own high reputation that he did not live to carry out his purpose; for by undoing all the work of his predecessor he would undoubtedly have encouraged the Mahrattas to try conclusions with the British again. But in that case the blame would have lain rather with those who had sent him out at a time of life when he was no longer fit for work, than with the upright and spirited old soldier.

Sir George Barlow, 1805-1807.—Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, was appointed to succeed him. He also was a firm believer in the policy of non-interference, though he was not prepared to go to the length of undoing all that Wellesley had done. But in spite of Lord Lake's remonstrances, and of the fact that Holkar had been driven away into the Punjab and was at the mercy of the British, he insisted upon concluding peace with him at once upon the easiest terms; and then in order to conciliate Sindhia, who had begun to be troublesome again, he handed over to him the strong fortresses of Gohud and Gwalior. What was far worse, on the plea that the British had no business to interfere in the affairs of

the native states, he broke the engagements made by Wellesley with the Rajput chiefs, and abandoned them to the vengeance of the resentful Holkar and Sindhia.

The Vellore Mutiny.—During Sir George Barlow's administration a significant incident took place at Vellore in Southern India. The Madras Sepoys stationed there mutinied and massacred 113 European soldiers garrisoned with them. The causes which led to the outbreak were curiously similar in some respects to those which led to the great mutiny of 1857. The Sepoys were led to believe by disaffected persons that certain changes which were being made in their uniform were designed to take away their caste and turn them into Christians. The mutiny was quickly suppressed; but it showed, though the lesson was unfortunately not taken to heart, how extremely credulous the masses of India were, and how easily they could be excited to savage and fanatical outbursts. Tippu's family, which, it may be remembered, had been removed to Vellore, had taken advantage of its freedom from restraint and the liberality with which its members had been treated to corrupt the Sepoys and spread sedition. It was in consequence of the outbreak removed to Bengal, in order that it might be more closely watched.

Sir George Barlow superseded.—Sir George Barlow was superseded in 1807 and sent as Governor to Madras. His two years of office had proved his unfitness for so high and responsible a position, and it was felt that a stronger and abler man was required.

Lord Minto, 1807-1813.—Lord Minto, the President of the Board of Control, was selected as his successor. It was his task to restore the credit of the British name which had been tarnished by the feeble policy of his predecessor, and to consolidate the conquests of the Marquis Wellesley. The lawless state into which Central India was sinking, owing to the return to the non-interference policy, was causing grave anxiety, and the first matter to engage the new Governor-General's attention was connected with it. Holkar and Sindhia, though they had subjected the peoples of Malwa to every sort of oppression and misrule, had been strong enough to maintain some sort of order in their dominions, and to keep in partial check the lawlessness

and violence of robber chiefs. But when their power was broken by the British, Western and Central India sank into such a state of anarchy, that the people were left to defend themselves as best they could against the marauding bands that sprang up in every direction and infested the land. Whole tracts of fertile country, from which the peaceful and industrious peasantry had been driven by the depredations of these bandits, went out of cultivation, and many of those who had been plundered of all they possessed, to make a living, turned robbers.

Pacification of Bundelkhand.—Lord Minto could not interfere in the affairs of the native states because he had been expressly forbidden by the Board of Control to do so. He was therefore forced to remain a passive spectator while all sorts of barbarities were committed. But the lawlessness of Bundelkhand was a direct menace to adjoining British territory, calling for prompt action, and he felt justified in taking upon himself the responsibility of sending a force against its turbulent chiefs. The campaign lasted from 1807 till 1812, and much hard fighting in difficult country occurred; but in the end, after the strong hill fort of Kalanjar had been taken, they were forced to submit, and the country was pacified.

Treaty with Ranjit Singh.—In the second year of Lord Minto's administration the British Government, for the first time, came into touch with the Sikhs. The chiefs of the districts between the Sutlej and the Jumna, known as the Cis-Sutlej Sirdars, appealed to the British for protection against Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the powerful and ambitious ruler of Lahore. Charles Metcalfe, a young man of 26, was sent by Lord Minto as British envoy to Lahore to try and settle matters; and so well did he succeed that Ranjit Singh signed a treaty engaging to abstain from interference with the Sirdars of the Cis-Sutlej states.

Embassies to Sindh, Kabul, and Persia.—England was again at war with France, and the possibility of the revival of French influence caused much anxiety in India. Trouble had already occurred at Travancore owing to French intrigues; and it was feared that the hostile French influence which it was known was being exerted in Sindh, Kabul, and Persia, might endanger the peace of India. Negotia-

tions were therefore opened with the Amirs of Sindh and ambassadors sent to Kabul and Persia. All three enterprises were successful, the Amirs of Sindh readily agreed to exclude the French; Mountstuart Elphinstone, the envoy to Kabul, succeeded in getting the ruler of Afghanistan to sign a treaty that he would not have any dealings with any other European power than the British; and Sir John Malcolm persuaded the Shah of Persia to bind himself not to allow the passage of European troops through his dominions to India.

French and Dutch piracy put down.—But Lord Minto was not yet satisfied; for so long as the French could use Mauritius as a base of hostilities there could be no security for peace. The Dutch, who were then in alliance with the French, were also proving troublesome in eastern seas. French and Dutch cruisers lay in wait for British merchant ships, and did great damage to the East India Company's trade. In 1809 Lord Minto organised an expedition, and sent it first against Mauritius and the adjacent French islands. They were speedily captured and annexed; though Mauritius only was afterwards permanently retained. The Dutch colonies were next attacked, and all were taken, including the magnificent island of Java, though this was afterwards restored. Before the expedition returned it had brilliantly accomplished its task, having stripped the French and Dutch of all their colonies in the East Indies, and cleared the seas of their armed cruisers.

Retirement of Lord Minto.—Lord Minto left India in 1813. He had successfully performed the difficult duty entrusted to him; for he had succeeded in keeping free from any entanglements with native states without loss of prestige, and had waged no serious wars. By peaceful means for the most part he had done his work of consolidation, had widened the sphere of British influence, and worthily upheld his country's name.

Abolition of the Company's monopoly in Indian trade.—In the same year, the period of twenty years for which the Company's charter had been last renewed expired, and it became necessary for the Directors to obtain from Parliament a further extension. The East India Company,

as we have seen, had long ceased to be a mere trading corporation, and had become a great territorial sovereign responsible for the lives and happiness of millions of human beings. The opinion had for some time been steadily gaining ground in England that its interests as a trading corporation were often opposed to its duties as a ruler, and that its tremendous responsibilities in the latter capacity required that it should confine itself more exclusively to its governing functions. When, therefore, the question of the renewal of its charter for another twenty years came before Parliament great stress was laid upon this point, and after a heated discussion it was decided, in spite of the most strenuous opposition on the part of the Company's supporters, that its monopoly of Indian trade should be abolished. Thus, what Wellesley had pleaded for in vain was now accomplished, and the trade of India was at last thrown open to all comers without restriction.

Lord Moira (the Marquis of Hastings), 1813-1823.—The Earl of Moira, who was appointed to succeed Lord Minto, was a man already distinguished as a statesman and a soldier. It has been the good fortune of England to obtain, with scarcely an exception, men of the highest character and ability to fill the post of Governor-General of India; but none have deserved better of their country than this great nobleman, who may be said to have completed the work begun by Clive, and to have accomplished the making of the Indian Empire. He was fifty-nine years of age when, in October, 1813, he landed in Calcutta; yet he held the reins of government for nine years through a critical period, and up to the last continued to discharge his duties with unflagging zeal and uniform success.

The Nepaul War, 1814-1816.—The conduct of the Gurkhas of Nepaul had lately been giving cause for uneasiness; and the first question that confronted him was the settlement of a dispute which had arisen between the British Government and this aggressive and truculent little people. The Gurkhas, the ruling race in Nepaul, were Hindu immigrants, who less than fifty years before had overrun the country and subdued the indigenous Indo-Thibetan people. They had since by conquest gradually been adding neighbouring Indian districts to their posses-

sions, till at last, emboldened by success, they seized Butwal and Sheoraj in the northern part of Oudh, belonging to the British. When called upon to give them up they refused, and shortly after committed an act of war by putting to death eighteen British police officers taken in Butwal. Lord Moira himself directed the plan of campaign, and despatched against them four divisions starting from different points. It was a difficult undertaking, and in view of the condition of India a critical one too. The great Mahratta chiefs were watching with close attention, and the news of a severe reverse might set all India in a blaze of revolt.

The frontier of Nepaul stretched 600 miles, and the mountainous nature of the country made the advance slow and difficult. The Gurkhas were an enterprising enemy, with a natural aptitude for war. The British troops, both native and European, being accustomed to win brilliant victories against enormous odds made at first the mistake of despising them. But when they met with stubborn resistance, and failed to carry all before them, their recklessness gave place to despondency. The Gurkhas were proportionately elated as their foes were depressed; and though the hill fort of Kalunga was taken, and General Ochterlony in the west had stormed and captured all the Gurkha posts in that direction, the outlook on the whole was not encouraging. The other divisions had meanwhile made little or no progress, and there had been too many mishaps and small reverses.

Treaty of Segowli.—But the skill and courage of General Ochterlony eventually saved the situation. In May, 1815, he captured a principal Gurkha stronghold named Malaon, and thereby forced the Gurkhas to evacuate the district of Garhwal. Early the next year, marching straight from Behar upon Khatmandu, the capital, he got almost within striking distance of it, before the main army of the Gurkhas, which was guarding the regular route to it, could intercept him. Thereupon, the Gurkhas, finding their capital threatened, lost heart, and opened negotiations for peace. In March, 1816, a treaty was concluded at Segowli, by which the Gurkhas agreed to receive a British resident at Khatmandu, to give back the places they had wrongfully seized, to cede the districts lying to the west of

the Gogra, and to withdraw from Sikkim on the east. The Gurkhas have never since given trouble, and have faithfully observed the terms of the treaty. For his successful conduct of the war Lord Moira was created Marquis of Hastings.

Impending trouble in Central India.—The Governor-General had next to turn his attention to affairs in Central India. The Peshwa, Sindhia, and the Mahratta chiefs in general, though much disappointed at the issue of the Nepaul war, had not yet given up all hope of crushing the British, and were evidently waiting for a favourable opportunity to try conclusions with them once more. But besides the fear of a combination of Mahratta chiefs a new danger had arisen in Central India, and was rapidly assuming formidable proportions. To understand clearly what this danger was and how it had arisen, a short digression will be necessary.

Unsettled state of Malwa.—When the Moghul Empire began to decay, one of the first provinces to be overrun by the Mahrattas was Malwa. After overthrowing the government and plundering the country from end to end, they contended themselves with levying chauth from it, and so long as this was paid troubled themselves but little with its affairs. It soon fell, for want of a strong central authority, into a state of anarchy, and robbery and violence of all sorts went on unchecked. Sindhia and Holkar, when they subsequently divided the country between them, being mere military chiefs, organised no proper government, so that their dominions were always more or less in a state of unruliness. When the British began to restore order in India, Malwa became the refuge of all the restless spirits and bad characters of Western and Central India; added to which the Bhils, the indigenous non-Aryan peoples scattered up and down the country, were by nature a predatory folk. In the beginning of the 19th century the country simply swarmed with desperadoes, freebooters, mercenary bandits, and thieves of all sorts.

The Pindaries.—When Lord Moira came to India the Pindaries, as these lawless bands of robbers were called, had become so numerous and so enterprising in their

plundering expeditions that no part of Western and Central India was safe from them. They were always ready to hire themselves out for a promise of plunder to any chief who required their help, and Sindhia and Holkar especially, who derived great assistance from them in their constant wars, sheltered them, and even assigned grants of land to some of them. They were men of no particular nationality, nor even of the same religion; their only bond, in fact, was their common profession of robbery. The most redoubtable leaders among them were Amir Khan, Karim Khan, and Chitu, a Jat. They could on occasion put into the field an army of 60,000 horsemen, and they possessed several batteries of guns. They were the most cruel and callous ruffians imaginable, and in pursuit of plunder would not stop at any atrocity, but mutilated and murdered men, women and children indiscriminately.

Fourth Mahratta War, 1817-1819.—The immediate cause of their coming into conflict with the British was a raid which they made in 1816 into the Northern Circars, during which they destroyed no less than 339 villages. The Governor-General determined at once to put them down, and, as he knew that they were receiving the secret support of the Mahratta chiefs, he made his preparations on the largest scale. It was well that he did so, for hardly were they completed when, in November, 1817, the Peshwa, Baji Rao, openly took their part and attacked the British Residency at Poona. Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident, retired with the British subsidiary force, numbering 2800 men, to Kirki. The Peshwa, after plundering the Residency, attacked him with a force more than ten times as numerous, but was gallantly repulsed, and withdrew.

Sindhia made to stand aloof.—The Governor-General's worst fears seemed likely to be realised; it looked as if the British would have upon their hands not only a Pindari war, but another Mahratta war as well. Assuming himself the post of commander-in-chief, the Marquis of Hastings marched rapidly on Gwalior at the head of a large force, and arrived just in time to prevent Sindhia, who was growing restless, from plunging into the war. This prompt action so disconcerted Sindhia that he gave up all idea of joining in the fray, and even signed a

treaty promising to help the British in restoring order and stamping out the Pindaries.

The battle of Ashta.—While these events were taking place other British forces were advancing from different directions, it being the Marquis's plan to surround the Pindaries on all sides. The Peshwa had soon good cause to regret his rashness, for he was driven out of Poona and forced to fly. Satara was next occupied by the British; and of the dominions of the descendants of Sivaji all but a small portion, which was reserved for the maintenance of the Rajah, was annexed. Baji Rao was pursued towards the Carnatic; and at Ashta, near Sholapur, where he made a last desperate stand, he was finally and decisively beaten in 1819. After wandering about in great distress, seeking vainly for assistance, he surrendered at last to Sir John Malcolm. His territory was forthwith annexed, and he himself was sent to reside at Bithur, near Cawnpore, as a state prisoner. Thus ended ingloriously the great house of the Peshwa.

The battles of Nagpur and Mehidpur.—The Bhonsla ruler at Nagpur likewise attacked the British Residency at his capital, and was likewise defeated and forced to fly. A grandson of the late Raghuji Bhonsla was then placed upon the throne in his stead, but with such greatly curtailed powers that Nagpur fell thereafter almost wholly under British control.

Jaswant Rao Holkar had died raving mad some years before the occurrence of these events, leaving his throne to an illegitimate son named Mulhar Rao. As the latter was a minor the state was being administered for him by a regency; but, owing to the turbulence of the nobles and the mutinous condition of the army, it had been for some time in a chronic state of disorder. When the Pindari war broke out the army became uncontrollable and forced the State Council to join in the attack upon the British. In 1817 the whole army, numbering some 20,000 men, marched out to Mehidpur, on the bank of the Chambul, and there encamped against the British. Sir John Hislop and Sir John Malcolm, who were in the neighbourhood with a strong force, boldly crossed the river and attacked it. The Mahrattas fought gallantly, but

in spite of a stubborn resistance the camp was brilliantly stormed, and they were driven out and forced to fly in all directions. A fortnight later the young Mulhar Rao capitulated and placed himself in the hands of the British.

The Pindaries exterminated.—It only now remained to deal with the Pindaries. Amir Khan, the most powerful of them, soon came to terms and disbanded his army, on condition that he should be allowed to retain the small principality of Tonk, in Rajputana. Karim Khan surrendered unconditionally, in 1818, to Sir John Malcolm. Chitu, the cruellest and most remorseless of them all, after being defeated, was driven from place to place, till at last, being deserted by his followers, he fled alone to the jungle, and there came to a fitting end, being killed and devoured by a tiger. The Pindari bands were speedily broken up, and the robbers hunted down and killed like wild beasts. The whole campaign lasted only four months, yet in that short time the question of British supremacy had been finally settled, and the country freed from lawlessness and violence. In the words of the Governor-General himself, multitudes of people had been enabled to return from the hills and fastnesses in which they had sought refuge for years, and had reoccupied their ancient deserted villages. The ploughshare was again in every quarter turning up soil which for many seasons had never been stirred, except by the hoofs of predatory cavalry. The Rajput chiefs, who had been so basely deserted by Sir George Barlow, were now compensated by assignments of land, and taken again under British protection. But to prevent disorder Ajmir, as being central, was taken over by the British Government, and Rajputana as a whole placed under the supervision of British officers.

Resignation of the Governor-General.—The remainder of the Marquis's term of office was not eventful. Much of his time was taken up in questions of law reform and the improvement of the Civil Service. He proved himself as successful an administrator as he had been a skilful commander in the field; for notwithstanding his great wars he was able to show an annual surplus of two millions sterling. Yet he did not escape censure. The acquisition of so much new territory displeased the selfish and short-

sighted Directors, and they disapproved of his schemes for ameliorating the condition of the people by the spread of education, and of his encouragement of a free press. At length, like Lord Wellesley, growing disgusted, he resigned, and in January, 1823, left for England.

Lord Amherst, 1823-1828.—His successor, Lord Amherst, did not arrive till six months afterwards, and Mr. Adams, a Civil Servant, officiated in the interval. It seemed as if now at last the period of great wars was over, and a time of peaceful development had set in. But Lord Amherst had hardly taken office when the arrogance of the Burmese forced him to undertake a costly war against them. Some years before, the king of Burmah had made an impudent demand for the session of Chittagong, Dacca and Murshedabad on the ground that they belonged to the old kingdom of Arakan, which had been absorbed into the Burmese Empire in times long past. No notice was taken of the demand, and there the matter was thought to have ended. But the Burmese had lately become aggressively insolent, had raided British territory and carried off British subjects. When called upon for redress their only answer was to commit fresh outrages; so that there was no other course than to declare war upon them.

The first Burmese War, 1824-1826.—In May, 1824, Sir Archibald Campbell, in command of a strong British force, entered the Irrawady and anchored off Rangoon. The Burmese now quickly realised what was the power of the enemy they had so lightly provoked. After offering a feeble resistance to the landing of the British they fled precipitately and left the town a solitude. At Kemendin, where they had constructed strong stockades, they attempted to make a stand; but when the guns came into action, the shot and shell hailing upon them struck such terror into them, that they fled again in confusion. But as they retreated they took care to remove all supplies they could, and to lay waste the country; so that the British, who had not brought large stores of food with them, were soon in great straits for provisions. To add to the misery of the situation, the rainy season set in and the country was soon deluged. Malarial fever then made its appearance, and committed such fearful ravages in the British

force that at length there were not left 3000 men fit for duty. In these depressing circumstances the British were called upon to repel a desperate attack by a largely reinforced enemy. The artillery again did great service and the Burmese, unable to face it, were repulsed at all points. After this the British were left unmolested for two months, and employed the time in subduing the country behind them and along the coast.

The treaty of Yendabu.—When the rainy season ceased, a large force, consisting of the flower of the Burmese army under a redoubtable leader, was despatched against them by the King of Ava. But it had no better success than its predecessors, and by the middle of December it had been dispersed and its leader killed. The British now again assumed the offensive; and while Sir A. Campbell pushed on to Prome, another force was sent on to Arakan. A second rainy season had to be endured before a further advance could be made, but the time was well employed in expelling the Burmese from Assam and Arakan. As soon as the cold weather set in the Burmese again advanced in great force, and attacked Sir A. Campbell at Prome. After a couple of months' continuous fighting, in which no considerable advantage was gained by either side, the British made a determined attack and drove the Burmese in great confusion from all their positions. Some fruitless negotiations with the King of Ava then followed; but as it was clear that the Burmese were merely trying to gain time, they were broken off, and the British continued their advance. At Pagahn the Burmese made another stand, but were driven off with great slaughter. At length, in February, 1826, when the British had got within four days' march of Ava, the king, recognising the hopelessness of further resistance, sued for peace. The chief conditions upon which it was granted were that Arakan, Tenasserim, and certain of the lower provinces, should be ceded to the British, and that the King of Burmah should renounce all claims to Assam, and pay an indemnity for the war of a crore of rupees. The agreement is known as the treaty of Yendabu, after the place where it was signed.

Important result of the war.—Thus, after an arduous campaign lasting nearly two years, the war was

brought to a successful conclusion. The most interesting, and indeed the most important consequence of the war, was that the barrier which for so many hundreds of years had arrested the eastward progress of Aryan civilisation was at length broken down; and under the protection of the British Government immigration began at once to flow from Hindustan into adjoining Burmese territory.

The taking of Bhurtpur.—Before the Burmese war had reached its end Lord Amherst found himself involved in a dispute over the succession to the vacant throne of the Jat state, Bhurtpur. He had declined to be guided by the advice of Sir David Ochterlony, then agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, who strongly urged him to intervene, and that fine old soldier had in consequence resigned. But intervention soon became imperative, and he had to send a force under Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, against the celebrated mud fort overlooking the city. Artillery could make no impression on its massive walls; but at last, on January 18th, 1826, a breach was made by the explosion of a mine containing 10,000 lbs. of gunpowder, and the fort, which had baffled Lake and had come to be regarded as impregnable, was gallantly stormed and captured. The taking of Bhurtpur was convincing proof to all of the invincibility of the British, and their supremacy was recognised throughout India as an accomplished fact.

The Company's supremacy proclaimed.—After this event it was not thought expedient any longer to maintain the fiction that the pensioned Moghul ruler of Delhi was still the Emperor of Hindustan; and Lord Amherst went to Delhi and announced that henceforward the Company was to be treated as the paramount power in India.

Only one other fact is noteworthy in connection with Lord Amherst's administration, and that is that Simla was in his time first occupied as a summer residence for the Governor-General. Lord Amherst left India in March, 1828. During the four months that elapsed before Lord William Bentinck, his successor, arrived, Mr. Butterworth Bayley acted as Governor-General.

Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1835.—Lord William Bentinck had been Governor of Madras about the beginning of the century, but had been unjustly recalled on account of

the Vellore Mutiny. He had now an opportunity of showing how false had been the estimate then formed of his capacity, and he may be said to have more than justified his selection for the highest appointment in India. Lord William Bentinck's seven years of office are noteworthy for the many important reforms which were introduced during it. But he did not escape altogether from the necessity of making war.

Annexation of Coorg.—The ruler of the little state of Coorg in Southern India was in his small way as great a tyrant as any known to history. He put to death every male member of his royal house, committed every vice and crime, and shamefully misgoverned his people. When remonstrated with by the British Government he madly defied it. A force was therefore sent to depose him; and after a state of war which lasted ten days he was taken prisoner and sent a captive to Benares. As he had put to death all possible claimants to the throne, and as the people of Coorg expressed a strong desire to come under British rule, his state was annexed.

Financial reforms.—One of the first subjects to engage Lord William Bentinck's attention was finance. The condition of the finances was beginning to cause serious uneasiness; for the cost of the Burmese war had been very great, and the annual expenditure on administration had outrun the annual income. It was necessary to make extensive reductions if the Company's government were to be kept solvent. Committees were appointed to inquire into civil and military charges, and as a result the permanent expenditure on the services was considerably cut down. This method of effecting economies was naturally regarded with great disfavour by the European officers whose emoluments were curtailed thereby, and the reduction of the allowance given to troops on active service particularly aroused resentment. Besides reducing expenditure the Governor-General created new sources of revenue; a duty was levied on Malwa opium, and lands which by oversight had escaped assessment, or had been too lightly assessed, were made to yield their fair share of revenue. Whatever hostility his financial policy may have aroused at the time, it came to be admitted, even before he left India, that he had saved the country from a

grave financial crisis and had enabled the revenues to meet all normal charges of government.

Judicial reforms.—He next turned his attention to judicial reform. The pressure of work upon the European officers of the department had become so heavy that arrears had accumulated in nearly every district. To increase the number of European officers was, on the ground of expense, out of the question. Lord William Bentinck solved the difficulty by appointing natives to many of the posts hitherto held by Europeans and by increasing generally the number of native judicial officers. To lighten the work of the Calcutta Court of Appeal, which had grown exceedingly heavy, he created a Court of Appeal for Upper India at Allahabad; and finally, to facilitate justice, in place of Persian, which had been the court language since the establishment of the Moghul Empire, he substituted the Vernaculars in all courts.

Sati prohibited.—But the reform with which his name is most commonly associated was the abolition of Sati. From very early times there had existed a belief in Northern India that it was a noble act for a widow to burn herself on the pyre of her dead husband. Though not essentially a part of the Hindu religion, this barbarous rite had come to be looked upon with reverential awe. In Bengal particularly the practice was very prevalent, no less than 287 being known to have occurred in the Calcutta division alone in the year previous to its suppression. In spite of the most strenuous opposition and even of threats of revolt, the Governor-General, having fully weighed the arguments on both sides and considered the possible consequences of an interference in the religious rites of the people, decided that this brutal and inhuman custom should at any cost be put a stop to. In December, 1829, a Government resolution was passed making it a penal offence to aid or abet a Sati, and authorising the police to interfere to prevent its performance. His courage and humanity were rewarded by the almost immediate and complete suppression of the practice.

Suppression of inhuman rites and Thugi.—But he did not rest satisfied with having saved Hindu widows from a dreadful fate. Proceeding on the assumption that

it was not right for an enlightened Government to tolerate the shedding of innocent blood, he took measures to prevent the killing of infant daughters, so prevalent among the Rajputs, and the performance of human sacrifices among the wild non-Aryan tribes. Then his attention was called to the existence of a sect of secret murderers and robbers in Central India, called Thugs. In the annals of crime there is nothing more wild and terrible than Thugi. It is not easy to conceive of a more despicable gang of miscreants than the Pindaries, yet the Thugs were far worse. The Pindari was a professional robber, not averse from murder in pursuit of plunder; but to the Thug murder was as much part of his business as robbery. These vile wretches, having decoyed their victims, strangled them by throwing a handkerchief or noose round their necks, and then robbed and hid the bodies in the ground, counting every such murder a propitiation of the savage goddess, Kali, whom they worshipped. That such an association could have sprung into existence and flourished, and that such atrocious crimes should have been committed in the name of religion, are sufficient evidence of the state of depravity into which long-continued anarchy and misrule had reduced Central India. To Major, afterwards Sir William Sleeman was deputed the task of exterminating these inhuman ruffians; and so well did he perform it that before Lord William Bentinck left India fifteen hundred and sixty-two Thugs had been brought to justice, and the gangs practically broken up.

Renewal of the charter.—In the year 1833 the question of renewing the Company's charter came before Parliament again. Public opinion was now more than ever opposed to the Company's continuing to engage in trade; and a parliamentary committee, appointed to enquire into the subject, strongly recommended that the Company should be required to confine itself to the business of administering its vast dominions. The charter was accordingly only renewed on this condition; but the shareholders of the Company were guaranteed by Parliament against loss. The new charter was a great gain to India; for under it the Government was freed from the necessity of viewing questions from a commercial as well as a

political point of view, and was able to devote its whole attention to the task of administering its Indian Empire. The Company became, in fact, from now a great Imperial ruler, looking solely to the welfare of those committed to its charge.

English education.—During the last two years of Lord William Bentinck's Governor-Generalship a controversy was raised regarding the best medium for imparting education to the people. Mr. Macaulay, afterwards Lord Macaulay, the legal member of Council, lent the whole weight of his great influence in support of English as opposed to the Oriental classics or the Vernaculars. The Governor-General, after carefully considering the opinions expressed by all parties, decided in favour of English, and issued a resolution that the funds appropriated to education should be employed in imparting a knowledge of Western literature and science through the medium of the English language.

One other measure connected with the Governor-General's term of office is important. This was the conversion of the North-West Provinces into a separate presidency with Sir Charles Metcalfe as its first Lieutenant-Governor.

Lord William's benevolent rule.—Lord William Bentinck left India in May, 1835, amid general expressions of regret. Among the natives particularly his memory was long cherished with affection and respect; and even his countrymen who had suffered not a little by his reforms, joined in honouring the departing Governor as one who had done great good to India. His peaceful and benign administration went a long way towards persuading the natives of India that their foreign rulers had the welfare of their subjects at heart. His admission of Indians in large numbers into the public services and their appointment to more responsible posts were convincing proofs of the confidence and good faith of the British Government; and the greater security to life and property, which had resulted from his efforts to put down robbery and violence tended greatly to reconcile them to a foreign dominion.

Liberation of the Press.—It was hoped that Sir Charles Metcalfe, who held charge of the office for one year after the Governor-General's departure, would be appointed

his successor, but the Government in England in the end decided to send out Lord Auckland. During his officiating term of office Sir Charles Metcalfe, supported by Macaulay, removed all restrictions on the liberty of the Press, a measure which Lord William Bentinck had long been contemplating; but the Board of Control so strongly expressed its disapproval of what it considered a premature innovation, that Sir Charles Metcalfe, after handing over the charge to Lord Auckland, found it necessary to resign the service and retire.

Lord Auckland, 1836-1842.—Lord Auckland's administration marks an epoch in British Indian history. With the pacification of the country, and the extension of the Company's dominions, questions of foreign policy had begun to attract attention. While the British were gradually acquiring fresh territory, and getting nearer and nearer to the north-west frontier of India, Russia was rapidly absorbing the petty kingdoms of Central Asia into her vast empire, and reaching out in a southerly direction towards India. Prior to the coming of the English every invasion of India known to history had come from the north west. In that corner alone is it possible to break through the chain of mountains which protects India on the north. Previous to Lord Auckland's time, beyond sending embassies of a friendly nature to the ruler of Afghanistan, the British had taken no interest in affairs beyond the frontier. The presence of so powerful a ruler as Ranjit Singh at Lahore with his magnificent Sikh army, burning with a traditional hatred of the Afghans as oppressors of their forefathers, was a sufficient guarantee that no descendant of the Abdali would be able to repeat his devastating invasions.

Troubled state of Afghanistan.—During Lord William Bentinck's term of office, Shah Shuja, the reigning monarch of the Abdali dynasty, as the result of a successful revolution against him headed by a chief named Dost Muhammad, had been driven out of Afghanistan to seek refuge in India under the shelter of the friendly British Government. Dost Muhammad was only able to establish his authority over the districts of Kabul and Ghazni; for Herat remained faithful to the house of the Abdali, Balk was annexed by the ruler of Bokhara and

Peshawar, and the Indus districts were seized upon by Ranjit Singh. The Shah of Persia, noting the troubled state of the country, thought an opportunity had arrived for repeating the conquests of Nadir Shah, and as a preliminary step attacked Herat. In his attempt to subjugate Afghanistan he was found to be receiving encouragement from Russia, who hoped by fomenting trouble to find later on an excuse for interfering to her own advantage.

Lord Auckland supports Shah Shuja.—Into this turmoil Lord Auckland plunged with all the recklessness of inexperience. Some action to counteract the schemes of Russia was no doubt required, but nothing could have been more disastrous than the line of policy he pursued. He first tried to come to an agreement with Dost Muhammad, but failed, chiefly through the influence of the Russian envoy at Kabul. Though no open rupture had occurred, and though Dost Muhammad showed no hostile inclination, Lord Auckland determined that if he would not do as he wished he should be dethroned. He therefore took up the cause of Shah Shuja, and persuaded Ranjit Singh, by promising to guarantee him in the possession of the districts he had seized, to help him to replace Shah Shuja on the throne. It is fair to Lord Auckland to state that he looked upon Dost Muhammad as a usurper occupying a precarious position, and believed that the people of Afghanistan would welcome the return of their lawful sovereign.

First Afghan War, 1838-1842.—A British army escorting Shah Shuja on this hazardous enterprise marched by way of Sindh into Afghanistan in 1838. While it was on its way news arrived that the Shah of Persia had relinquished the siege of Herat, and abandoned his project of conquering Afghanistan. The intrigue of Russia was thereby frustrated, and there was no longer any urgent reason for interfering in the affairs of Afghanistan. Yet the expedition was not recalled, but continued amid great difficulties and privations to force its way into Afghanistan. In the middle of 1839 it reached Kandahar, and there Shah Shuja was solemnly enthroned; but it was noticed that the Afghans did not welcome back their lawful ruler with any enthusiasm. While the British force was resting at-

Kandahar, the disquieting news arrived that their ally, Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, was dead, and that his kingdom had fallen into the utmost confusion. There was no assistance, therefore, to be expected from the Sikhs.

Shah Shuja restored to his throne.—But the British officers had their orders to restore Shah Shuja to Kabul, and, moreover, matters had gone too far now for the possibility of withdrawal. Within a month of the enthronement of Shah Shuja at Kandahar the army was on the march again. Ghazni was gallantly stormed, and Dost Muhammad driven away into the Hindu Kush. In August the British entered Kabul, and Shah Shuja was with great ceremony restored to his kingdom. A British force, much against his advice, was left to defend him; and Sir William MacNaghten remained with it as British Resident at Kabul. The subjugation of Afghanistan then really began, and much severe fighting took place before it was effected. But it became increasingly evident that the Afghans did not want Shah Shuja back, and that Dost Muhammad had very many adherents. At length, in 1840, Dost Muhammad, who had reappeared, was decisively beaten and forced to surrender. He was at once sent as a prisoner to Calcutta, and with his departure all opposition to Shah Shuja seemed to be at an end.

Evacuation of Kabul.—Lord Auckland had effected his object, but he had little reason to congratulate himself on the result; for the Afghans were in such a sullen and dangerous mood that it was necessary to maintain at great expense a military occupation of the country. In fact they were ready to rebel at any moment, and a general rising was only a question of time. The storm burst very suddenly two years later. First the Ghiljis revolted and attacked Sir Robert Sale while on his way with a body of troops to India, and forced him to take refuge in the fort of Jellalabad. The next month Sir Alexander Burnes, the political agent, was, together with his suite, murdered in Kabul. Forthwith an insurrection broke out, headed by Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Muhammad. A little later Sir William MacNaghten, who had opened negotiations with the insurgents, deceived by the apparently friendly attitude of their leader, was induced to meet them at a conference,

and during the interview was with all his staff treacherously assassinated. The officer in command of the British troops stationed at Kabul was old and timid, and could not make up his mind to do anything. The opportunity of saving the situation was lost in inactivity, and the British cantonments were soon surrounded by hordes of ferocious Afghans. The general was now thoroughly frightened, and believing that resistance was useless surrendered all his guns, and pledged his Government to pay 14 lakhs and to restore Dost Muhammad, on condition that the British troops were given a safe escort back to India.

Retreat from Kabul.—The whole British force at Kabul, numbering 4000 combatants and 12,000 camp followers, started on the return journey to India on January 6th, 1842. Shah Shuja was almost immediately afterwards murdered, and his body thrown into a ditch. The treacherous Afghans, having the British at their mercy and burning for revenge, had no mind to let them escape. Hardly had the retreat commenced before they began to hover about them, day and night, harassing them in front and rear, cutting off stragglers, stealing their baggage animals, and ambuscading them on every possible occasion. The sufferings endured upon that disastrous march beggar description. It was the depth of winter and the snow lay thick upon the ground; added to which there was scarcely any food to be got. Three thousand perished in the Pass of Kurd Kabul alone; but the force struggled desperately on, every day losing numbers by cold, starvation, and the ceaseless attacks of the Afghans. When no longer any real hope of escape remained, the surviving women and children, and some of the married officers, gave themselves up to the enemy, and were taken back to Kabul. The remainder, with a solitary exception, perished in a vain attempt to reach Jellalabad.

Lord Auckland recalled.—The disaster was the most complete that had ever befallen the British in the East, and it was a heavy blow to their military reputation. But fortunately there were other forces in Afghanistan to uphold their credit; and two of these at any rate rendered good accounts of themselves. The gallant defence made by General Sale at Jellalabad was as creditable as the retreat

from Kabul had been humiliating. Here a small British force, behind dilapidated walls, kept at bay enormous numbers of the enemy, and more than once, sallying out, inflicted severe loss upon them. General Nott, at the same time, was maintaining a stubborn defence at Kandahar. When the news of the catastrophe became known in England it created something like consternation. Lord Auckland, who had been made Earl of Auckland for restoring Shah Shuja to the throne, was now as much blamed for his aggressive policy as he had before been praised for it. He was given no opportunity for retrieving his reputation, but was at once recalled.

Lord Ellenborough, 1842-1844.—He was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, in March, 1842. The Afghan Campaign had converted a balance of £10,000,000 into a considerable deficit; but there could be no thought of peace till the treacherous Afghans had been punished, the brave defenders of Jellalabad and Kandahar relieved, and British prestige re-established. But before any steps could be taken news arrived of another reverse, scarcely less disgraceful than the retreat from Kabul, and almost equally disastrous. The British garrison at Ghazni had lost heart and evacuated the place, and had been almost annihilated in an attempt to retreat.

Jellalabad and Kandahar relieved.—Though preparations for avenging these disasters were pushed on with the utmost haste, it was not till the middle of April that the relieving army, under the command of General Pollock, forced the Khyber Pass and arrived before Jellalabad. The Afghans had worn themselves out in fruitless efforts to capture the place, and they fled at once on the approach of the relieving force. The failure to capture Jellalabad was a bitter disappointment to the Afghans, and their inability to stop the advance of the British caused a general panic. The besieging force in front of Kandahar gradually melted away, and the garrison soon after was able to relieve itself. At this stage Lord Ellenborough was for withdrawing altogether; but when the generals protested against so timid a course he yielded, taking care, however, to throw upon them the responsibility for continuing the campaign.

Kabul occupied.—Kabul was now the objective; and while General Pollock advanced upon it from Jellalabad, General Nott, who had meanwhile been reinforced, made towards it from Kandahar. General Pollock's victorious progress did much to wipe away the disgrace of the surrenders at Kabul and Ghazni. The forts met with on the way were levelled to the ground, and the Afghans, wherever they made a stand, decisively beaten. The capture of Ghazni by General Nott and the complete destruction of its fortress was the crowning triumph of British arms. The Afghans were now everywhere in full retreat, and little further resistance was encountered. The two generals met at Kabul in September, 1842, having thoroughly restored the credit of their country and accomplished the purpose of the campaign. As a punishment for the treachery of its inhabitants the great bazaar was blown up. The pacification of Afghanistan was speedily effected after the fall of Kabul; and by great good luck the captives taken the year before during the retreat from Kabul were recovered.

Settlement after the war.—The policy of interference in Afghan affairs had so unmistakably proved a failure that the only thing to be done was to get out of the country as soon as a satisfactory settlement of its affairs could be made. Since it was clear that the Afghans wished to have Dost Muhammad back, and that he was the only man capable of keeping order in the country, he was released and reinstated on the throne. The British then withdrew immediately, and everything was restored to what it had been before the war. Such was the end of Lord Auckland's policy of intervention; £15,000,000 had been spent, and upwards of 20,000 lives sacrificed, in a fruitless attempt to counteract Russian influence; the military reputation of the British had been tarnished; and the Afghans, whose friendship it was to the interest of the Indian Government to cultivate, had been converted into bitter and implacable enemies.

Annexation of Sindh.—As soon as Lord Ellenborough was free from his Afghan difficulties he had to turn his attention to the affairs of Sindh. The Amirs of Sindh, with whom it will be remembered Lord Minto had

made an agreement, had lately shown unmistakable signs of hostility to the British, notwithstanding that they had more than once been protected by them from their aggressive Afghan and Sikh neighbours. The Amirs were not natives of Sindh, but Baluchis whose forefathers had invaded and conquered the land. They lived in castles dotted about the country, and exercised a sort of feudal sway over it. They were a turbulent set of men, fierce and treacherous, and they cruelly oppressed the conquered people. Lately their attitude had become so threatening that Lord Ellenborough despatched Sir Charles Napier in 1842 with a considerable force to Sindh, giving him full powers to deal with them as occasion should demand. Early the next year the Amirs committed themselves by attacking in great force the British Residency. Sir Charles therefore moved out against them and inflicted two crushing defeats upon them, the first at Miani and the second at Hyderabad (Sindh). Their power was completely broken and they had to surrender unconditionally. It was decided to send them as state prisoners to Benares, and to annex Sindh to the British dominions. The decision was thought harsh; but whether it were so or not, the Amirs were not entitled to much consideration, and the people of Sindh benefited greatly by the change of rule.

Trouble in Gwalior.—Hardly was the war in Sindh brought to a successful conclusion before trouble occurred in Gwalior. A dispute as to who should be Regent during the minority of the young Rajah led to bloodshed and great disturbance in the state. The Gwalior army, which was out of all proportion to the needs of the state, had lately usurped all authority, and being under no proper control, had begun to assume a turbulent attitude. Lord Ellenborough saw that unless he interfered promptly there was the probability of so serious an outbreak occurring that it might spread and embroil the whole of Northern India. He therefore ordered two considerable forces to march from different points on Gwalior, and himself accompanied one. The Gwalior army was not in the least dismayed at the prospect of a fight with the British, and confidently prepared to give them battle. One half faced the British at Maharajpur and the other at

Punnair. By a strange coincidence, on the same day, December 29th, 1843, at both places battles took place and at both, after hard fighting, the British gained decisive victories and captured the whole of the enemy's artillery and baggage. The last semblance of Mahratta power disappeared when the Gwalior armies were routed. The Gwalior state had now, like the rest of the Mahratta states, to submit humbly to whatever terms were imposed upon it; and Lord Ellenborough took care that they should be such as should insure a lasting peace and dependence on the British Government.

Lord Ellenborough recalled.—Two months later the Governor-General was recalled. The annexation of Sindh had particularly displeased the Directors, but there were many other points on which they differed from him. If he had not succeeded in pleasing them he had at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that he had piloted his Government with credit out of the dangerous situation into which Lord Auckland's disastrous Afghan policy had brought it.

Lord Hardinge, 1844-1847.—He was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge, a fine old soldier who had served with Wellington through the Peninsular War, and had distinguished himself on many a field. It was well for the British Government in India that a soldier was then sent to take control; for a crisis was at hand to deal with which the highest military skill was needed. The threatening attitude of the Sikhs had lately given cause for considerable anxiety. A conflict with them, sooner or later, had for some time come to be regarded as inevitable, but it was now felt to be imminent.

The military power of the Sikhs.—The Sikhs are, roughly speaking, a people of Jat descent who migrated from Rajputana to the Punjab. At first they were mere cultivators; but in the period of anarchy that set in with the decline of the Moghul Empire they began to enrich themselves at the expense of the feebler peoples among whom they dwelt. Their leaders soon acquired large tracts of land, and set up as independent chiefs; but their rule was harsh and oppressive, and the people of the soil, particularly the Muhammadan portion, suffered much at their

hands. They were but a small proportion of the population of the Punjab, for the Hindus and Muhammadans outnumbered them by ten to one; but their religious fervour, their martial spirit, and their military organisation gave to them a striking predominance. Such a people only required to be welded together under an overlord strong enough to control them to become a great power in Northern India. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they found their master in Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore. The Sikh Sirdars to the west of the Sutlej were one after another overthrown by him; and before he died he had established a great Sikh kingdom in the Punjab, more than strong enough to hold its own against its neighbours. At the time of his death the Sikh army was a splendid fighting force, numerous, well-equipped, and highly trained. The Maharajah Ranjit Singh had had the wisdom to recognise that European drill and tactics were immensely superior to anything of Indian origin, and had engaged the services of several European instructors. The most noteworthy of these was a Frenchman, General Avitabile, and it was to his skilful training that the efficiency of the army was mainly due. At the time of Ranjit Singh's death the Sikh army numbered 92,000 infantry and 31,000 cavalry, and possessed more than 500 guns.

Affairs in the Punjab after Ranjit Singh's death.—But Ranjit Singh, though a great leader of men, was not an administrator. During his reign there was no abatement of the old corruption and extortion. The people suffered as much as ever from the oppression of petty tyrants, and in addition were burdened with a multitude of vexatious taxes to support the Maharajah's vast army. Nothing but the magic of his name kept his kingdom together. Therefore, as was inevitable, when his strong hand was removed his kingdom fell instantly into a state of disorder bordering upon anarchy. While rival claimants fought for the possession of his throne, the turbulent nobility, always impatient of control, did as they pleased. By murders and massacres each party rose to power, and by the same means was in its turn disposed of by its victorious rival. At last in 1845, after scenes of horrible barbarity in which most of the relatives of the late

Maharajah had successively been assassinated, an arrangement was come to which seemed to give some hope of order being re-established. Dhulip Singh, his youngest son, was by common consent placed upon the throne and the principal Sirdars formed themselves into a Council of State.

Turbulent state of the Sikh army.—To the Khalsa, as the Council was called, was entrusted the control of the army; but it very soon found that the army was unmanageable, and that unless some employment could be found for it, it might rise at any moment and sweep away the Government. The fears of the Khalsa were very real; for there is indeed no greater danger to a state in peace time than the existence of a huge standing army which has lost its respect for authority and knows its strength. At length, as an alternative to civil war, the Khalsa was driven to the desperate expedient of launching it against the British. The Khalsa probably realised that there was little or no likelihood of its overthrowing that power; but it hoped no doubt that at the worst it would return cowed and humbled and capable of being controlled. But the army itself had a very different opinion as to what the upshot of a war with the British would be; for the disasters of the first Afghan war had shown that the British were not invincible after all. They themselves had never known defeat during the late Maharajah's reign, and they had no doubt as to their superiority to the Company's Indian soldiers. Whatever misgivings their leaders may have had, the rank and file of the Sikh army were burning to try conclusions with the British, and entered upon the war with the utmost confidence of success.

The first Sikh War, 1845-1846. The battles of Mudki and Ferozshahr.—In December, 1845, the Sikh army poured across the Sutlej into British territory, and the first Sikh war began. British troops were dispatched against them as soon as possible, and Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in Chief, and Sir Henry Hardinge both hurried to the front. The first encounter took place at Mudki, between 16,000 British and 30,000 Sikhs The Sikhs, after a short and sharp conflict, were driven from the field by a magnificent charge of the British infantry. Their loss was

heavy, and seventeen of their guns were captured; but the victors, too, suffered considerably, and among the slain was Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad. Three days later the British attacked the Sikh camp at Ferozshahr. Sir Hugh Gough somewhat recklessly assaulted with his whole force just before sunset, and all night long the battle raged in great confusion. In the morning, by the exertions of Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough, the British troops were re-formed, and by a well-concerted movement the Sikhs were at last driven with heavy loss out of their encampment, and fled in great disorder, leaving 73 guns behind them. The victory was a glorious but costly one; for, though the enemy's losses were very great, the British had more than 600 killed, and were so exhausted that they could not follow it up. After this, for a month both sides remained inactive, the British waiting for reinforcements and supplies and the Sikhs mustering for a fresh invasion.

The battles of Aliwal and Sobraon.—Towards the end of January, 1846, the Sikhs again crossed the Sutlej. General Harry Smith, who was sent ahead against them, encountered them at Aliwal, close to the bank of the river. They fought stubbornly as usual, but were steadily pushed back towards the river, and at length with great slaughter driven into it, and forced to abandon all their stores, guns, and ammunition. The Sikhs were greatly disheartened at this defeat, but they made one last great stand at Sobraon to dispute the passage of the Sutlej. General Harry Smith and Sir Hugh Gough had now joined forces, and both together advanced against the Sikhs on February 10th. The battle began with a heavy cannonade on both sides, the Sikh gunners displaying quite as much skill as their opponents. As neither side gained much advantage thereby, Sir Hugh Gough ordered a general advance. The British troops, though suffering heavily all the while, charged undauntedly across the intervening space, and getting to close quarters carried the enemy's entrenchments at the point of the bayonet. The Sikhs fought with the courage of despair, and though many fled thousands preferred to die at their posts. The carnage in the hand-to-hand fighting was fearful; but at last the remnant of the Sikhs broke and fled into

the river, pursued by the destructive fire of the British artillery.

Terms of submission.—The victory cost the British more than 300 killed and 2000 in wounded, but it was decisive. Lahore now lay at their mercy, and further resistance was seen by the Sikhs to be vain. The young king in person tendered his submission, and terms of peace were speedily arranged. The tract between the Sutlej and the Ravi was ceded to the British; the Sikh army was considerably reduced; a British Resident was received at Lahore; a British garrison stationed there for his protection; and an indemnity of a million and a half sterling fixed as the cost of the war. As the indemnity could not be paid, Kashmir, which formed part of the Maharajah's dominions, was subsequently sold to the Rajah of Jummu for £1,000,000.

There was great rejoicing in England over these brilliant victories against so stubborn and formidable a foe. For their services Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge were both raised to the peerage, and General Harry Smith was made a baronet.

Lord Hardinge's administration.—Lord Hardinge now had leisure to devote himself to questions of administration. It is noteworthy that during his time the subject of the construction of railways in India was first considered. The Governor-General entered with zeal into the work of putting down inhuman rites which Lord William Bentinck had begun. Thugi, Sati, and human sacrifices were further suppressed, and vigorous steps were taken to put a stop to female infanticide and the revolting cruelties perpetrated in the name of religion among the wild tribes. His efforts to preserve from defacement and decay the splendid architectural remains of ancient and mediaeval India have given him a special claim to the gratitude of posterity. He left India in 1848, after having held office for only three and a half years; yet few Governor-Generals have left a better record of service or have been more sincerely regretted at their departure than this chivalrous and humane old soldier.

Lord Dalhousie, 1848-1856.—His successor was Lord Dalhousie, the last of the Governor-Generals of the East

India Company, and as great an administrator as its greatest, Hastings and Wellesley. He was only 35 years of age when he landed in Calcutta in January, 1846; but he had already made his mark in politics, and had displayed so singular a talent for organisation that it was felt that in accepting the office of Governor-General he had sacrificed a great career in England.

LORD DALHOUSIE

Rebellious state of the Punjab. — Lord Hardinge made India over to him in a state of perfect tranquility, and Lord Dalhousie, like so many Governors before him, on assuming office, declared himself to be a man of peace. He soon found, as they too had found, that to preserve the empire he could not avoid war. Lord Hardinge, after the conclusion of the first Sikh war, had placed the Punjab during the minority of the Maharajah Dhulip Singh under a regency of Sikh nobles, controlled by the British Resident at Lahore. The arrangement did not work well, for the Sikh nobles disliked having to answer for their conduct to the Resident, and did not mean to co-operate with him. The Punjab, though outwardly calm, was seething with discontent, and the vanquished Sikhs, though sullenly acquiescing in their defeat, were cherishing the bitterest animosity and longing for the day of revenge.

Outbreak in Multan.—In 1848, Mulrâj, the Governor of Multan, rather than render to the Resident an account of his government, tendered his resignation. His resignation was accepted, and the Resident dispatched two young English

officers with a small escort to instal his successor. Mulrâj had never expected to be taken at his word, and had no intention of resigning his office. With feigned humility, however, he handed over charge of it, but at the same time, with a view to recovering it, secretly incited a rebellion among the Sikh soldiery. The two young officers, with their slender escort, shortly found themselves surrounded by a rabble mob from the city, and after a brief and gallant defence they were overpowered and killed. Mulrâj then returned to the fort and resumed his Governorship. This was the signal for a general revolt throughout the Punjab.

Brilliant exploits of Lieutenant Edwardes.—News of what was happening at Multan reached Lieutenant Edwardes at Dera-Fateh-Khan, two hundred miles away, and hastily collecting as many men as he could, about four hundred in all, he hurried to the scene. He was joined later by the loyal levies of the Musalman state of Bhawalpur. Edwardes was a born soldier, daring without rashness, prompt to make the most of an advantage, and capable of inspiring patience and courage in those whom he commanded. With his small force he not only succeeded in keeping Mulrâj at bay, but defeated him in two pitched battles, and drove him back into Multan with the loss of eight of his guns. The defeat of Mulrâj was a wonderful achievement, but without speedy reinforcements the little force could not long hold its ground.

Reverse at Multan.—Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, seems not at first to have realised the seriousness of the situation; for though an outbreak at Lahore was clearly imminent, and the frontier tracts were already in revolt, he did nothing. It was not till five months had passed that a force with heavy guns arrived to undertake the reduction of the fortress. Along with the relieving force came a contingent of Sikhs numbering 5000, supplied by the Regency at Lahore. To attempt to take the fortress by storm was impracticable, so the besiegers determined to reduce it by a regular siege. In the midst of the operations the Sikh contingent suddenly went over to the enemy. Their defection completely reversed the situation, and made it necessary to raise the siege. The British force, in some danger of being surrounded, was withdrawn

to a place of safety a few miles away, while reinforcements were sent for.

The second Sikh War, 1848-1849.—Meanwhile, the whole Punjab had risen, and to make matters worse the Afghans, forgetting their inveterate hatred of the Sikhs in their passionate longing for revenge against the British, were pouring down the Khyber Pass to aid them. The military authorities, incredible as it may seem, still failed to realise that a crisis had occurred requiring prompt and energetic action. But the indications of a widespread revolt were not lost upon Lord Dalhousie, who, though far away in Calcutta, thoroughly grasped the situation. 'There is no other course open to us,' he wrote, 'but to prepare for a general Punjab war, and ultimately to occupy the country.' He perceived what those on the spot had failed to recognise, that the Sikhs, while outwardly acknowledging their defeat, did not consider the result of the first Sikh war as final, and were united in their resolve again to try conclusions with the British. Mistrusting the judgment of those upon the spot, he set out at once himself for the Sutlej, and ordered up all available troops to the front with the least possible delay.

Indecisive engagements at Ramnagar and Sadullapur.—In November, 1848, Lord Gough took the field with a force of 20,000 men and nearly 100 guns. The brave old soldier, though a dashing and brilliant leader, was too rash and headstrong as a general. The first encounter took place at Ramnagar, across the Ravi. The Sikhs were driven from the field by a magnificent cavalry charge, but little was gained thereby, while the British loss was heavy. This was followed by an indecisive engagement at Sadullapur.

Reduction of the fort of Multan.—Meanwhile the British force outside Multan had been reinforced, and the siege had recommenced in earnest. After a tremendous battery from 64 heavy guns for ten days, during which the magazine of the fort was exploded by a shell, the city was stormed and captured. Mulrâj the next day surrendered the citadel and gave himself up to the British commander, January 3rd, 1849. The major portion of the besieging force then went north to join Lord Gough.

The battle of Chillianwallah.—The bloody but inde-

cisive engagement of Ramnagar had not taught Lord Gough the need of caution, but had, on the contrary, only made him more impatient to get at the enemy. On the 12th January he came up with the main Sikh army under their most redoubtable leader, Sher Sing, drawn up in a very strong position near the village of Chillianwallah, protected by jungle and brushwood. All the next day the Sikhs kept up a heavy and annoying fire upon the British camp, till at last, being unable to bear it patiently any longer, Lord Gough rashly ordered an advance, though only an hour or two of daylight remained. The intervening jungle proved a fearful obstacle, and as the British worked their way through it they were mown down in hundreds by the Sikh artillery. More than once the issue was in doubt, and only the dogged courage of the British infantry and the gallantry of their leaders saved the day from being one of disaster. But when night fell the Sikhs had been driven off with heavy loss, leaving behind them 40 guns. The British, though victors, were in a sorrowful plight; all ranks were in the utmost confusion, their loss amounted to more than 2200 men, and four of their guns and the colours of three regiments had been captured by the enemy. They dared not remain upon the ground they had so hardly won; for they were in no condition to withstand an attack should the enemy rally and return to the fight on the morrow. So in the darkness they withdrew as best they could to a safer position a mile to the rear, and waited in some anxiety for the dawn. But the Sikhs had had enough, and when daylight came the British found themselves in undisputed possession of the field.

The battle of Guzerat.—When the news of this disastrous battle reached England it caused something like consternation. Lord Gough was universally blamed for his rashness, orders for his recall were issued, and Sir Charles Napier was sent out at once to supersede him. But before Sir Charles Napier arrived Lord Gough had brought the war to a conclusion and retrieved his reputation by the decisive battle of Guzerat. There, on the 20th of February, the British came face to face with a force of 40,000 Sikhs, with 60 cannon. The battle commenced in the early morning with a tremendous

cannonade on both sides, the British on this occasion making as much use of their artillery as the enemy. Though the Sikhs fought with their usual courage, the advantage was throughout with the British, who drove them from position after position, and occupied the ground as they evacuated it. At last, towards evening, by a splendid charge of the British cavalry, they were driven in great confusion from the field, leaving behind 56 of their cannon, their standards, and all their camp equipage. The British loss on this occasion was comparatively small, being only 90 killed and 700 wounded.

General Gilbert finishes the war.—Lord Dalhousie resolved to follow up the victory by giving the Sikhs no chance of rallying. The very next day he dispatched General Gilbert, with a force of 12,000 horse, foot and artillery, after them. They were hunted down towards the frontier and given no rest till they submitted. By the middle of March the whole Sikh army had surrendered unconditionally and been disarmed. General Gilbert then turned his attention to the Afghans hovering about the frontier, and chased them out of the Punjab, and up into the Khyber Pass. "They had ridden down through the hills like lions," it was said, "and ran back into them like little dogs."

Settlement after the war.—Lord Hardinge's policy of administering the country by British officers in the name of its ruler having failed, Lord Dalhousie decided that the only course now open was to dethrone the Maharajah and annex the country. On the 28th March, at Lahore, Dhulip Singh formally resigned his kingdom to the British, and retired on a pension of £50,000 a year. The Punjab was made into what is called a non-regulation province; that is, the code of civil and criminal procedure in force in British India was modified to suit its particular needs. The administration was entrusted to a commission of four, at the head of which was Sir Henry Lawrence. But in 1853 the Board of Commissioners was abolished, and Sir John Lawrence, brother of Sir Henry, was made Chief Commissioner. Under the rule of the Lawrences the Punjab speedily settled down into one of the most prosperous and orderly provinces in the empire. After the tyranny which

they had had to endure under the Sikh rule, the people appreciated the mild and just government of the British. Oppressive taxes were abolished, and burdensome but necessary ones were lightened, and a settlement of the land revenue was made at a considerable reduction on the former assessment. Even the disbanded soldiery settled to peaceful pursuits, and soon became as loyal and industrious as their neighbours. One of the greatest benefits conferred upon the province was the splendid system of roads and canals planned by Colonel Robert Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala.

The second Burmese War, 1852.—Three years of peace for the empire followed the overthrow of the Sikhs, and then Lord Dalhousie had to prepare to wage another war. The Burmese had not taken to heart their severe punishment in the first Burmese war, but had continued to behave towards the British Government in the most arrogant and haughty manner. At last, in 1852, the King of Ava deliberately provoked hostilities by insulting and ill-treating British subjects at Rangoon and refusing redress when it was demanded. War was therefore declared, and an attack made upon the province of Pegu both by land and sea. Its principal cities—Rangoon, Martaban, Prome and Pegu—were one after another taken; and as the King of Ava still refused to treat, the province was annexed, much to the delight of its inhabitants, who had suffered grievously at the hands of their Burmese governors. The whole of Lower Burmah became henceforth British territory, and, like the lately annexed Punjab, became a thriving and contented portion of the empire.

Dalhousie's annexation policy.—Lord Dalhousie had no scruples about annexation. He contrasted the state of the country under the Company's administration with what it had been under its former rulers, and with what it still was in the independent native states. British rule, wherever it had penetrated, had replaced oppression and violence by peace and good government. There could be no doubt that the people were everywhere better off under British than native rule. It was therefore just and right to extend the protection of his Government as far as he could by every legitimate means. Where the subjects of a

native state were groaning under the tyranny of a succession of worthless princes, he held it to be the duty of the paramount power to interfere on their behalf, and, if there were no other way of securing good government, to depose their ruler and annex the state. He felt such deep sympathy with the miseries of down-trodden peoples, and so earnestly desired to ameliorate the condition of the toiling millions, that he was impatient of old-world governments which did not seek directly to secure their happiness. Therefore, when a native ruler of a backward and mismanaged state died and left no son, he welcomed the opportunity afforded him of sweeping away an obsolete government and annexed the state to British India, on the ground that for failure of heirs in the direct line of succession it had lapsed to the paramount power.

Application of the "doctrine of lapse."—On the death of the Rajah of Satara (the last of Sivaji's line) without heirs, Lord Dalhousie refused to recognise his adopted heir and annexed the much-misgoverned state. On like grounds he annexed the State of Jhansi; and in 1853, when the Bhonsla Rajah of Nagpur died without a son, natural or adopted, he took over his kingdom also. In the same year, too, he forced the Nizam of Hyderabad to hand over Berar for the support of the subsidiary force which he had stipulated to maintain. The Nizam had failed to meet his treaty obligations, and there was no other way in which the huge debt he had contracted could be cleared off. He did not allow sentimental considerations, such as the historic interest of a kingdom or the length of a dynasty, to interfere with his policy. When the pensioned Nawabs of the Carnatic and Tanjore died without heirs, Dalhousie abolished their titles; and when Baji Rao, the last of the Peshwas, died childless at Bithur, he refused to grant either the title or the pension to his adopted son, Nana Dhundu Pant, though he allowed him to inherit his immense wealth.

Misgovernment in Oudh.—The most shamefully misgoverned kingdom was Oudh, but to it the doctrine of lapse could not be applied. From the days of Clive as we have seen, successive Governor-Generals had been troubled with its affairs. The Nawabs owed their security to

British protection, and the British Government, because it supported them, had always in a measure recognised its responsibility for the affairs of Oudh. The scandalous misgovernment of the country had always been felt as a reproach to British rule, and efforts had constantly been made to bring home to the Nawabs a sense of their public duty. But the Nawabs, steeped in all the vices of Eastern potentates, had paid no heed to warnings or threats, and had continued to oppress their people. Wajid Ali, the reigning Nawab, was, if possible, even more careless and incorrigible than his predecessors. His wretched subjects under his misgovernment were being reduced to an appalling state of misery; and the country, famed from earliest times for its richness and fertility, was being gradually ruined by lawlessness and violence.

Annexation of Oudh.—Lord Dalhousie felt his own responsibility for this state of things keenly, and he determined to put an end to it. In a letter to the Directors he strongly urged upon them the duty of intervention; and so powerfully did his description of the miseries of Oudh impress them that they decided on the extreme step of annexing the country. Lord Dalhousie had not wished to go so far; but as he was not prepared to protest, he set about carrying their order into execution. On the 13th of February, 1856, Oudh was annexed by proclamation, and Wajid Ali was dethroned. He would not acquiesce in the justice of his sentence, but he did not attempt to resist. Sir James Outram, the Resident, then took over the administration, and Wajid Ali was removed to Calcutta for safe custody, and a pension of £120,000 a year was granted him.

The annexation of Oudh completed the list of additions to British India made during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie; and it is noteworthy that the empire has remained ever since substantially what he made it. In fact with him the great work of empire building begun by Clive came to an end.

Dalhousie's administrative labours.—But Lord Dalhousie's fame does not rest only upon the great additions which he made to the Company's dominions. He has a nobler title to renown than that. His determination to

ameliorate the condition of the people, his sympathy with them, his horror of oppression, and his strict regard for justice found expression in many reforms. The list of his administrative acts and works of public utility is a long and noble one. Among the most important of the former were: the throwing open of appointments in the civil service to competition among the natural born subjects of the Crown, Indian as well as European; the organisation of a public works department; the creation of a Legislative Council to represent both European and native opinion, and the appointment of a separate Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal. Among works of public utility should be mentioned the construction of the Great Ganges Canal, the laying down of 2000 miles of road, the opening of the first railway, the introduction of the telegraph, and the adoption of cheap postage throughout the whole of India. In addition he laboured unceasingly to promote trade and agriculture, and gave his earnest attention to the spread of primary education. The suppression of abhorrent rites and strange forms of crime, was as much a care to him as to his predecessors, and he made the most strenuous efforts to abolish slavery throughout the length and breadth of the vast dominions over which he ruled. He was indefatigable; and while he spent his days and nights in devising schemes for the good of the civil population, he did not forget to look to the comfort and efficiency of the soldiers, both European and Native.

Close of his career.—It is no wonder that under the excessive strain of such constant and heavy labour his health began to fail. Yet he would not relinquish his work while he had yet strength to perform it, but struggled on at his gigantic task getting weaker with each succeeding year. When in March, 1856, after eight years of incessant toil, he laid down the reins of government, his health was completely shattered, and it was clear to all and to himself that he would never recover. Four years after his return to England he died, at the comparatively early age of forty-eight; yet he had already done enough to win the foremost place among contemporary Englishmen, and to entitle him to rank among the Governor-Generals with Warren Hastings, Clive, and Wellesley.

His words of warning.—He has been blamed for ignoring the condition of the Sepoy army, and for disregarding the temper of the people, but his farewell words show how well he understood the dangers which beset British rule in India. 'In the very midst of us,' he said, 'insurrection may rise like an exhalation from the earth, and cruel violence worse than all the excesses of war may be suddenly committed by men who, to the very day in which they broke out in their frenzy of blood, have been regarded as a simple, harmless, and timid race.' His last act was to press upon the Directors a reorganisation of the native army, and an increase in the number of British soldiers to guard against this very danger.

LORD CANNING.

Lord Canning, 1856-1861 — the Persian War.—He was succeeded by Lord Canning, a nobleman who had already won distinction in England as a statesman. The new Governor-General entered upon his duties towards the close of February, 1856, and set about the peaceful work of improvement with all the zeal of his predecessor. He had reason to hope for no warlike interruptions; for India enjoyed profound repose when he landed, and no external troubles threatened. But in November of the same year the aggressive and insulting attitude of the Shah of Persia forced him reluctantly to declare war on that country. The Persians had not yet given up their designs upon Herat, nor had they forgotten that but for British interference the city would have been captured by them in Lord Auckland's time. They were now again, in spite of

remonstrances, threatening Northern Afghanistan, and had brought matters to a crisis by wantonly insulting British subjects. They were in fact bent on war, and Lord Canning had no option but to fight. An expedition was therefore dispatched into Lower Persia against them under Sir James Outram. When confronted by the British, for all their boastfulness, they made but a poor resistance, and soon begged for peace. This was granted to them on their agreeing to pay compensation, to give up all claims to Herat, and never again to invade the territories of the Amir of Afghanistan.

The Indian Mutiny, 1857-1859.—Soon after the termination of the Persian war, Lord Canning was called upon to face the most appalling crisis that it has been the lot of any ruler of British India to confront. The mutinous spirit of the Sepoys of the Bengal army had been the subject of comment for some years past. Sir Charles Napier had called attention to it in 1850, and had warned the Government that unless some steps were taken to check it, it might lead to a formidable insurrection. It was the fear of this that had led Lord Dalhousie to recommend the Directors to raise the proportion of British troops in India.

Indiscipline of the Bengal native regiments.—Several causes had combined to undermine the discipline of the Bengal Sepoys. They looked upon themselves as the flower of the native army; and they complained that they were not treated with sufficient consideration, seeing how great a part they had played in the establishment of British supremacy in India. They had as a matter of fact obtained several privileges not accorded to the Sepoys of Madras and Bombay, but they clamoured for more, and considered themselves aggrieved when they did not obtain them. Their arrogance and discontent were steadily increasing; and latterly they had grown openly disrespectful and insubordinate to their regimental officers. Unfortunately, the authorities, who should have checked them sharply, encouraged them to make frivolous complaints by lending too ready an ear to their appeals against the action of their immediate superiors. But what had most seriously undermined discipline was the baneful practice then in vogue of taking away British officers from native regiments

to serve in civil posts. Civil employment, holding out better prospects and being more remunerative than military, had attracted the best of the younger men; and thus it had come about that those who were left with their regiments were often disappointed men with little interest in their profession. Moreover, several of those in command of districts and divisions were notoriously unfitted for such responsible positions, some by reason of their manifest inefficiency, and others because they had reached an age when they were long past discharging military duties. In a word, while the Sepoy's opinion of himself was rising, his faith in the capabilities of his officers was diminishing.

Seditious agitation.—There were not wanting political intriguers and disaffected persons who were only too ready to encourage this bad spirit, and to inflame the minds of the Sepoys against their employers. The emissaries of dethroned princes or of their dispossessed heirs and widows went unchecked among the soldiery, and by bribes, promises, and misrepresentations of the motives of Government tampered with their loyalty. In this campaign of sedition, Ganga Bai, the widow of the last Rajah of Jhansi, and Dhundu Punt, better known as Nana Sahib, played a conspicuous part. The sons, too, of Bahadur Shah, the puppet Emperor of Delhi, went freely to and fro among the Sepoys inciting them to mutiny. The Muhammadans were told that the time had come for re-establishing Mudhammadan supremacy in Northern India; while the Hindu soldiers, many of whom were high caste Brahmans of Oudh with most conservative instincts, were warned that it was the intention of the Government to destroy their caste. In proof of this they were bade to observe how Western innovations, such, for instance, as the railway and the telegraph, were being introduced in order to break down the old regime and undermine their cherished customs and beliefs. Yet so well was the secret kept that those in authority, both civil and military, had no notion of the seriousness of the situation.

The Sepoys, both Hindu and Muhammadan, were densely ignorant, credulous, and superstitious. They therefore listened readily to the absurd stories spread about by

crafty and designing men concerning the acts and motives of the British Government. Religious fanatics and devotees, who saw their influence waning with the spread of Western ideas and education, eagerly joined in inciting the Sepoys to rebellion; and all that large class which then abounded in India of men who lived by plunder, or by hiring themselves out for desperate undertakings, and all the disbanded soldiers and servants of the late King of Oudh who had not yet settled down, hung about the Sepoys, and called upon them to join in a general rising to expel the British.

The air was full of strange and alarming rumours, and men's minds were disturbed with a sense of some impending calamity. It was the centenary of the victory of Plassey; and a report got about in Northern India that an old prophecy foretold that the rule of the British should come to an end a hundred years after that event. It was no doubt invented by the conspirators, but as it was generally believed, it much encouraged the disaffected, and helped to gain over waverers.

Outbreak of the mutiny.—It wanted but a spark to light the train of rebellion, and that was thoughtlessly struck by the military authorities themselves. A rumour gained currency that cartridges greased with the fat of cows and pigs were being supplied to the troops. At first it was contemptuously denied by the British officers, but investigation proved that it was not destitute of foundation. By some incredible carelessness it had actually in certain instances occurred. Every effort was then made to quiet the minds of the Sepoys, and to convince them that it was due to a mistake. But a report spread like wild-fire among the native troops, started by political agitators, that it was part of a plot to defile them preparatory to forcing them into the Christian faith. Nothing would now persuade them that it was not a deliberate act of treachery upon the part of their rulers, and they were wild with horror and indignation. The mischief was done, and on Sunday, the 10th of May, 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny commenced.

Seizure of Delhi by the mutineers.—The native troops at Meerut were the first to break out. The officer in command was old and feeble, and though he had in

cantonments sufficient British troops to overawe the mutineers he did nothing. The mutinous Sepoys were speedily joined by the scum of the population, and together they massacred all the defenceless Europeans and Eurasians they could lay hands on, plundered the houses, and, having set fire to the station, made off unmolested to Delhi. The next day at Delhi similar scenes were enacted. The European officers and their families were murdered, some at the palace in the very presence of the Emperor, and the Christian population of the city hunted down and indiscriminately massacred. But by the courage of a little band of Englishmen, the arsenal, the largest in Northern India, was prevented from falling into the hands of the mutineers. After waiting for relief from Meerut which never came, they decided that to defend it was hopeless, and blew it up. Amid this turmoil, the old king was proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan.

General Sepoy revolt.—The seizure of the Moghul capital by the rebels was the prelude to a general revolt in Northern India. In nearly every station in the North-West Provinces and Bengal, the Sepoys rose and murdered their officers, and massacred such of the defenceless Christian population, European and native, as they could lay their hands on. In this cruel work they were eagerly joined by all the bad characters and riff-raff of the bazaars. In some places not even the women and children were spared.

Loyalty of the Punjab.—The suddeness of the outbreak and the rapidity with which the mutiny spread from district to district seemed to paralyse the authorities, and in place of energy and resolution there was hesitation and delay. But in the Punjab there were at any rate men equal to the occasion. Sir John Lawrence and his officers promptly ordered the disarmament of all the Bengal troops in the province suspected of harbouring treacherous designs. A terrible example was made of the only regiment that resisted the order and mutinied. After a brief struggle it was surrounded and practically annihilated. Several native officers caught in the act of inciting their men to rebellion were straightway hung. It might have reasonably been expected that the Punjab so recently subjugated would

have been a rallying place for the disaffected; but owing to the prudent and sympathetic administration which had followed its annexation, the very reverse was the case. The Sikh population now not only bore no ill-will to their conquerors, but had learnt to admire and respect them; and the people of the Punjab generally, who had benefited so much by British rule would have nothing to do with the mutineers. There could be no more striking testimony to the good feeling that existed between the conquerors and the conquered than that Sikh chiefs, even several who had fought against the British, came forward with offers of assistance in quelling the rebellion. The Punjab, in fact, instead of being a source of danger, proved a source of strength; for it furnished throughout the mutiny relays of troops to help in its suppression.

The outbreak at Cawnpore.—The mutiny soon centred round three points, Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore. At the last-named place, when the news of what had happened at Meerut and Delhi reached him, the general in command of the station, who was both old and incompetent, ordered all the Europeans, some 400 soldiers, and about an equal number of women and children, into an entrenched position, which he had prepared in anticipation of the outbreak. But the site chosen was the worst possible; for not only was it exposed on all sides, but was situated close to the Sepoy lines. When the crash came, and the entrenchment was surrounded by mutinous Sepoys, so utterly did the general mistake the real nature of the rebellion that he insisted in spite of strong remonstrances on inviting the arch conspirator, Nana Sahib, to come with his rabble soldiery from Bithur to his assistance. He had soon good cause to know that he could not have summoned a more bitter and revengeful foe; for no sooner did the Nana arrive than, casting aside all pretence of friendship, he took the lead in urging on the attack upon the entrenchment.

The massacres at Cawnpore.—For nineteen days the garrison held out against enormous odds, bravely enduring the horrors of a siege in an open space behind a low mud wall, exposed to a tropical sun, and harassed day and night by a furious cannonade. The sufferings of the women and children were terrible, and many died from

wounds and disease during the siege. At last, unable any longer to endure the sight of so much misery, and deeming further resistance vain, the general in command, who had not yet lost all faith in the Nana, listened to overtures for surrender. Honourable terms being promised, the survivors of the heroic defence marched out under arms from the entrenchment to the Ganges, and there embarked on country boats to go to Allahabad. But no sooner were the boats pushed out into the stream than a murderous fire directed by Tantia Topi, the Nana's principal general, was opened upon them from the bank. A scene of indescribable confusion followed, while the doomed occupants of the boats made frantic efforts to save themselves. With the exception of four men, who escaped by swimming down the river till they reached the protection of a friendly Rajah living on the opposite bank, and of five men and two hundred and six women and children taken alive, the rest were all shot or drowned. The hideous story of what befell the wretched captives is soon told. They were taken back to Cawnpore, and a couple of weeks later butchered in cold blood by the orders of the Nana, and the dying and the dead flung together into a disused well.

Flight of the Nana and the rebels.—This last inhuman act of Dhundu Punt's was dictated by motives of spite and desperation, as much as by his thirst for blood. For a force from Calcutta, under Colonel Neill, had already scattered the mutinous Sepoys at Benares, and relieved Allahabad, and now joined by General Havelock had started to the relief of Cawnpore. The day before the massacre the Nana had gone out with his troops to drive it back, but had been ignominiously routed and forced to retreat to Cawnpore. He knew that his cause was lost, and in hate and baffled fury he determined that the British troops should not have the satisfaction of rescuing any of their countrymen and women. Two days after the perpetration of this horrid crime the British entered Cawnpore, and the miscreant Nana and the rebel army fled.

The siege of Delhi.—While these events were happening at Cawnpore, a British force was hastily mobilised at Umballa and dispatched against Delhi. It reached its destination on the 8th of June, and took up its position on

a ridge extending for a couple of miles along the north-west front of the city. The whole force numbered barely 3000 men, and was quite inadequate for attempting a regular siege; but the general in command dared not risk an assault. It was soon practically invested itself, and could barely hold its ground; for the number of the rebel troops within the city was daily increasing, and the mutineers were growing bolder and more enterprising. But on the 14th of August reinforcements arrived from the Punjab under Brigadier Nicholson. The arrival of this dashing and determined soldier changed at once the aspect of affairs. There were now upwards of 30,000 rebel Sepoys in Delhi, while the beseiging force scarcely numbered 7000. Yet such was the effect of Nicholson's inspiring presence that the besieger's henceforth more than held their own. Early in September siege guns arrived; and now it was determined in spite of the fearful odds to try and capture the city by storm. On the 13th a breach was effected by the guns, and the next day the assault was delivered. It was so far successful, that the British got within the walls before night-fall; but their loss had been heavy, and worst of all the gallant Nicholson had fallen mortally wounded at the head of the storming party. The general in command was for retiring, but the younger officers would not hear of it, and the dying Nicholson strongly supported them. It was decided to continue the attempt; and for six days the British stubbornly fought their way through the streets driving back the rebels. On the morning of the seventh resistance ceased and Delhi was won. The next day, first Bahadur Shah, and then his two sons, and his grandson were captured. An attempt was made to rescue the latter as they were being conducted through the streets, and as it seemed probable that they who were the ringleaders and had been guilty of the foulest crimes might escape, they were there and then shot by their captor, Hodson. Bahadur Shah was reserved for trial, and later on, being found guilty of treason and murder, was transported to Burmah, there to be kept a state prisoner till his death.

The rebellion in Oudh.—The fall of Delhi was the turning-point in the mutiny. The rebels had lost their great stronghold and rallying-point, and the hopes of

re-establishing the Muhammadan Empire over Northern India were gone. But though Cawnpore and Delhi were taken the mutiny was by no means at an end. The rebel soldiery infested the whole of the North-West Provinces and Central India, and in Oudh the population generally had risen against the British. In this province alone the mutiny had developed into a regular rebellion; in other parts the townsfolk and the villagers for the most part remained aloof. The reason why in Oudh the mutiny became a general rebellion was that the people had not yet settled down under the new regime. In the time of the Nawabs the central authority had been so weak that the Talukdars, or territorial magnates, had been accustomed to do much as they pleased. Many of them were lawless and violent men, constantly at feud with one another, and when they found that under British rule they would have to keep the peace and render obedience, they regarded the change of government with dismay. They therefore hailed the mutiny as a chance of deliverance, and used all their local influence to persuade and coerce the people of Oudh, who had not yet learnt to trust their new rulers, to rise in rebellion against them.

The defence of the Lucknow Residency.—After the fall of Delhi all eyes were turned upon Lucknow, where a desperate struggle was going on. Sir Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, was a man of a different stamp from the timid or incompetent officers who had so mismanaged things in the North-West Provinces. He had early foreseen the possibility of an attack, and had provisioned and fortified the Residency as well as he could to stand a siege On the 1st of July, 1857, the British garrison, consisting of one weak regiment and a few hundred loyal sepoys, and the European civil population, numbering in all some 1700 souls, assembled at the Residency and were almost immediately invested by thousands of rebels. From every side they were subjected to a hail of shot and shell: and in the upper stories of the houses surrounding the Residency grounds native sharpshooters crouched on the watch to pick off those who exposed themselves. On the fourth day of the siege Sir Henry Lawrence, whose forethought alone had made the

defence possible, was mortally wounded by the bursting of a shell. His loss was a severe blow; but though it depressed it did not discourage the garrison. Time after time the mutineers made desperate efforts to carry the weak defences by storm, but always retired baffled and dispirited.

But while the garrison was thinned by wounds and disease the rebels were being constantly reinforced; so that the situation was daily growing more desperate. Yet the gallant defenders never lost heart, and continued the unequal struggle with undiminished vigour, enduring with patience and fortitude unexampled hardships and dangers. At last, after nearly three months, a relieving force arrived under Havelock, Outram, and Neill. The mutineers made strenuous efforts to repel it, but stubbornly fighting its way from street to street it reached the Residency on September 25th. But the gallant Neill, while passing through a narrow lane, was shot dead.

The pacification of Oudh.—The relieving force, though it was able to bring help to the beleaguered garrison, was not strong enough to extricate it, and was itself invested along with it. But in November Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Oudh with a large and well-equipped force, and cutting his way into Lucknow, effected the relief of the heroic garrison. He did not, however, occupy Lucknow, but turned his attention to the pacification of the surrounding country. The Begum of Oudh, the Nawab of Bareilly, and the infamous Nana were hovering about doing their utmost to stimulate the mutineers to fresh exertions; and Tantia Topi, at the head of the Gwalior contingent, which, despite the efforts of the loyal Maharajah had at last joined the mutineers, was once more threatening Cawnpore. But the back of the mutiny was now broken; and Sir Colin Campbell, after driving away Tantia Topi and clearing the country between Lucknow and Cawnpore, returned and captured Lucknow in spite of the most determined and desperate resistance. The mutineers rallied again at Bareilly, but were driven out. Their last stronghold being now taken from them, they were chased from place to place; losing heavily in every engagement, till by the end of 1858 the province was cleared, and the broken remnant driven across the frontier of Nepal.

The campaign in Central India.—A force from Bombay under Sir Hugh Rose was meanwhile operating in Central India. The campaign was a most brilliant one, for though the Bombay army had to operate in a hilly and most difficult country, yet within three months it subjugated the whole. Kalpi, the great arsenal of the rebels, was first taken, and then Jhansi was besieged; and though Tantia Topi, with 20,000 men, came to its relief, it too was captured. But the cruel and revengeful Rani, who had put to death every European, male and female, who had fallen into her hands, made her escape. Tantia Topi, who was indeed the only capable commander the mutineers produced, was soon in sore straits and obliged to abandon his guns; but he managed to elude his pursuers by a series of the most skilfully conducted retreats. At length he came to Gwalior. The Maharajah, who had remained loyal to the British at great personal risk, made an attempt to drive him off, but was defeated and fled to Agra. The rebel party in Gwalior thereupon seized the government, gave to Tantia Topi an enthusiastic welcome, and placed at his disposal the treasury, the magazine, and the artillery of the Maharajah. Thither also shortly came the Rani of Jhansi with the remnant of her followers.

The capture of Tantia Topi.—Tantia Topi now proclaimed the Nana Peshwa—although the latter was at the time a fugitive in hiding—and went out with a large force to give battle to Sir Hugh Rose, who was advancing on Gwalior. The result was hardly what he expected; for he was so severely beaten at Morar that he was obliged to retreat precipitately to Gwalior and shut himself up in its fortress. Sir Hugh Rose lost no time in following up his victory, and attacked the place so vigorously that, after a brief resistance, it was captured. In the assault the Rani of Jhansi fell fighting bravely at the head of her troops, but Tantia Topi slipped away as usual. After dodging to and fro for nearly a year with rapidly diminishing adherents, he was at length betrayed into the hands of the British by one of his own followers, and, being tried for his share in the massacres at Cawnpore, was condemned and hanged.

The end of the mutiny.—With the capture and execution of Tantia Topi in April, 1859, the mutiny

virtually came to an end; for the few surviving leaders had already made their escape from Indian territory. What became of the Nana Sahib was never known; he was chased into the terai, the heavy jungle at the foot of the Nepal hills, and there lost sight of forever.

Treatment of the mutineers.—Lord Canning throughout this anxious period had displayed a wonderful calmness and presence of mind; but when it was all over, he showed that he also possessed firmness and humanity. There were many whose relations and friends had met a cruel death, and many besides who had lost all their property, and they, now that the mutiny was over, wildly clamoured for vengeance. But Lord Canning was careful to discriminate between those who had merely participated in the rising and those who had been implicated in the murder and massacre of Europeans. He proclaimed a general amnesty to all who threw themselves on British mercy, provided they were not found guilty of these offences. Those who had helped the British, and they were many, were rewarded with titles, grants of land, and pensions.

Lord Canning's clemency.—Lord Canning was accused of undue clemency by those who would have retaliated upon the natives of the disturbed districts generally for the shocking crimes committed by the rebel Sepoys and the scum of the bazaars. But that he showed no dangerous leniency came to be admitted when the passions excited by the horrors of the mutiny had subsided. The lands of the disloyal Talukdars of Oudh were confiscated, and no indulgence was shown to those who had taken a prominent part in the rebellion. It was his mission to pacify the country and to allay popular excitement, and he nobly performed it, paying no heed to the storm of detraction and abuse which his conciliatory policy aroused among a certain section of the European community.

Assumption of the government of India by the Crown.—The mutiny marks a turning-point in the social history of India. It was a vain struggle of the old order to check the march of Western civilisation; and ever since a silent revolution has been going on, modifying, transforming, and even pulling down in parts the ancient fabric of custom

and belief. But the chief result of the Indian mutiny, from an administrative point of view, was that it immediately brought about the fall of the East India Company. It was felt in England that the affairs of so vast an empire ought no longer to be administered by a company, but that the sovereign in Parliament should assume direct responsibility for them. The East India Company, in spite of the most able advocacy on behalf of its preservation, was abolished, and the administration of India transferred to the Crown. By an Act of Parliament which received the royal assent on August 2nd, 1858, the powers of the Board of Control and of the Court of Directors were vested in a Secretary of State, and a council of fifteen members—eight of whom must have previously served in India—called the Indian Council, was created to advise him. The Governor-General in India received the additional title of Viceroy, or representative of the sovereign, and was placed under the control of the Secretary of State. The responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament was assured by giving him a seat in the Cabinet.

End of the East India Company.—Thus came to an end the old East India Company. Its career is without parallel in history. Step by step, and often against its inclination, did a company of merchants, which started with no other object than to trade with the East Indies, develop into a great territorial ruler, and in the course of its development lay aside its trading interests and assume responsibility for the peace and well-being of a mighty empire. Whatever may have been its shortcomings in the earlier phases of its growth, it came at length, under the rule of the Governor-Generals, to recognise its duties to the millions entrusted to its charge in a way in which no previous government had done—not even that of Akbar.

CHAPTER III.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN.

The Queen's proclamation.—On the 1st of November, 1858, it was announced by royal proclamation throughout India that Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria had assumed the responsibility for the administration of the Indian Empire through a Secretary of State. The proclamation has fittingly been called the Magna Charta of India. In it equal justice and religious toleration were declared to be the guiding principle of the Queen's rule; a general amnesty was announced to all who had not taken part in the massacres accompanying the mutiny; and all existing treaties, rights and titles were confirmed. Its publication did more than any acts of forcible repression could have done to quell the mutiny; and the spirit of rebellion which still lingered in certain localities began at once rapidly to subside.

The right of adoption admitted.—In July, 1859, peace was proclaimed throughout Hindustan; and in the cold weather of that year Lord Canning went on a tour through Northern India. At a great durbar, held at Agra, he received the loyal native princes, and after decorating those who during the mutiny had displayed conspicuous devotion to the British Government, he announced that the right of adoption would henceforth be conceded to them. This important announcement was received with unbounded satisfaction; for the previous refusal to recognise the right of native princes to adopt heirs had given rise to much bitterness of feeling.

Financial measures.—The suppression of the mutiny had cost 40 millions sterling, and the measures to be taken to prevent its recurrence, it was estimated, would cause an annual increase in the budget of 10 millions sterling. A huge deficit had to be met, and provision at the same time made for the increase in the annual expenditure. The financial outlook was indeed gloomy, till Mr. Wilson, a distinguished financier, was sent out to India by the Secretary of State to grapple with the problem. By his advice the

customs system was revised, a state paper currency issued, and a license duty and an income-tax imposed. These measures in three years extinguished the deficit, and at the same time considerably increased the annual income of Government.

Administrative reforms.—Lord Canning spent the remainder of his tenure of office in carrying out administrative reforms. In 1859 a Rent Act was passed to protect the cultivators of Bengal from the oppression of the landlords; in 1860 the India Penal Code, which had been drawn up by Macaulay, passed into law; and in 1861 the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were brought into operation. Other important reforms were the abolition of the Supreme Court and the Sadar Adalat, and the establishment of a High Court in which the functions of both were amalgamated, and the founding of Universities in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

Character of Lord Canning.—Lord Canning left India in 1862, and in June of the same year he died. If he was slow in grasping a situation, and slow in making up his mind, he atoned for these shortcomings by his wonderful calmness throughout a period of stress and danger unexampled in the history of British India, and by his firmness in pursuing the course which he knew to be the right one, after it was over. His country recognised his great services by creating him an earl on his return, and by erecting a monument to him in Westminster Abbey when he died.

The first Lord Elgin, 1862.—Lord Elgin, who had gained experience as an administrator in Canada, and had lately returned from a mission to China, succeeded him in March, 1862. Some uneasiness was caused by a petty rebellion on the north west frontier of a fanatical sect of Muhammadans known as Wahabis. The rising in itself would have been insignificant but for the discovery that it had been fomented by seditious men in India, and that there was reason for fearing that it might spread among the wild Afghan tribes of the border. The turbulent hill-men have been a thorn in the side of every Indian Government from the earliest times; and the British Government, like its predecessor the Moghul Empire, has been almost con-

stantly at war with one or other of the tribes. The war with the Wahabi fanatics was still going on in the winter of 1863, when Lord Elgin, who had started on a tour in the north-west of India, was taken seriously ill, and died. He lies buried at Dharmasala in the Himalayas.

Trouble with Bhutan. — Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, came up to Calcutta to officiate for him. His brief tenure of office was marked by the storming and capture of the Wahabi stronghold at the top of the Umbeyla Pass. But the fanatics, though depressed thereby, were not yet sufficiently humbled to give in. Meantime trouble was imminent in the north-east corner. A powerful Rajah of Bhutan had taken to raiding the Duars, the tract of British territory lying at the foot of the Himalayas along the southern border of Bhutan. An embassy which had been sent into Bhutan to remonstrate had been subjected to the grossest insults, and war with the Bhutans was inevitable.

In England it was believed that a grave crisis was again at hand, and the Government was persuaded to depart from the established custom of sending out to India, as Governor-General, a man of distinction but with no previous experience of the country, and to send out Sir John Lawrence, who had so ably administered the Punjab, and done so much towards suppressing the mutiny in Northern India.

Lord Lawrence, 1864-1869—the Bhutan War. —On January 12th, 1864, the new Viceroy and Governor-General landed in Calcutta. With his advent the war-clouds quickly rolled away. The rising on the north-west frontier was soon put down, though not without a heavy loss in men and money. An expedition sent into Bhutan, after encountering great difficulties in its passage into that wild and mountainous land, captured two of the principal forts of the kingdom, and brought the Bhutans to a humbler frame of mind. But the season was so unhealthy, and the country so unfavourable for offensive operations, that it was decided to make peace and retire. It cannot be said that the Bhutan war was brought to a glorious termination, but the course adopted was no doubt the best possible under the circumstances; for the campaign

was a costly one, and there was no prospect by continuing it of obtaining an indemnity in the end. It, at any rate, served its purpose well, for the Bhutans have never since raided British territory.

Famine.—During Sir John Lawrence's administration, one of those appalling calamities to which India has been so frequently subjected occurred. In the year 1866 a terrible famine in Orissa swept away two millions of people. The Government of Bengal seemed powerless to cope with it. There was also at the same time much suffering due to scarcity in Madras; but there Lord Napier, the Governor, rose to the emergency and devised means which mitigated, though they could not prevent, distress.

There is only too good reason for believing that these terrible visitations have from the earliest times recurred more or less at regular intervals. The references to drought and the frequent invocation of Indra, the sky that rains, in the hymns of the Rig veda, is significant; and though Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador at Chandra Gupta's Court, was told there had never been a scarcity of food in the Kingdom of Magadha, there need be no doubt that famines were as common in the Buddhist age as now. Failure of the rains is no new phenomenon, and the conditions of life among the masses have never greatly varied. In the Ain-i-Akbari we learn how Akbar attempted to provide against these dreadful scourges. Nevertheless, in 1596 there was so severe a famine that the people died by thousands of starvation, cannibalism became common, and corpses lay about unburied in the public thoroughfares. In Jehangir's reign, also, a similar calamity occurred; and again in the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurungzeb famines swept away large numbers of the people. In the long years of anarchy and misrule that followed the break up of the Moghul Empire, when the lawlessness of the countryside made intercommunication well-nigh impossible, fertile and thickly populated areas were converted by famine into desolate wastes. In 1784, owing to a prolonged drought, such was the scarcity of food that the famished people wandered into the jungles in search of roots and berries, and there numbers were devoured by beasts of prey; and wolves, and even tigers driven by

hunger from their natural haunts prowled at night about the towns and villages, devouring the corpses that lay uncared for in the streets.

Systematic relief instituted.—The awful nature of the calamity in Orissa, and the inability of the Bengal authorities adequately to cope with it, brought home to the government of India the necessity of making some regular provision for such emergencies. It was felt to be a duty of government to undertake the systematic conduct of measures of relief. The responsibility of the state for the lives of its subjects in times of famine and scarcity had never before been recognised in India; though benevolent rulers like Akbar had been moved by humanity to take measures to alleviate distress. The British Government having once laid upon itself the burden of responsibility, has since taken up the task of famine administration in right earnest; and learning by sad experience how best to deal with these frequently recurring calamities, has devised scientific methods of relief which have saved the lives of helpless millions who would most certainly under former conditions have died of starvation.

The policy of "masterly inactivity."—In 1868 another rising occurred on the north-west frontier; this time in the Hazara district, but the same influences were again at work which brought about the earlier Wahabi affair. It was, however, speedily and effectually put down. In Afghanistan at the same time a fratricidal war was being carried on among the sons of Dost Muhammad for the throne. At length Sher Ali, having defeated his brothers, made good his claims to succeed. He had previously appealed for help to the Indian Government, but Sir John Lawrence had declined to interfere. The policy of non-interference, or, as it was called, "masterly inactivity," was much in favour at the time. But while it did not, as events will show, save India from further trouble in the north-west, it provoked the resentment of Sher Ali, and by alienating him, opened the way to Russian intrigues at the court of Afghanistan.

Sir John Lawrence retires.—Sir John Lawrence retired in January, 1869, and was raised to the peerage for his long and meritorious service. He died ten years later,

and was laid among the honoured dead in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Mayo, 1869-1872.—He was succeeded by Lord Mayo, a nobleman of great ability and inexhaustible energy. With a view to conciliating Sher Ali, the new Viceroy invited him to an interview at Umballa. Sher Ali accepted the invitation, came, and was sumptuously entertained, and a magnificent durbar was held in his honour. Great things were expected to result from his visit; but the Afghan ruler proved exacting and uncompromising, and because he did not obtain all that he wanted, went away with his former resentment increased by his disappointment. This was a bad beginning, but Lord Mayo soon retrieved his reputation by his labours in the field of internal reform.

The Provincial Contract System.—The state of the finances called for the most serious consideration. The deficits of the last three years had amounted to nearly six crores of rupees; and as it had become a practice to meet every fresh deficit by raising a fresh loan, the liabilities of the Government were accumulating at an alarming rate. Lord Mayo went thoroughly into the question, and concluded that the chief cause of this unsatisfactory state of things was that that the local governments had no incentive to economise. Under the existing system the local governments, towards the close of the year, presented their estimates of expenditure for the coming year, and the Indian Government, after revising the estimates, made its allotments. Under such a system the local governments knew that the more they asked for the more they were likely to get, and they were not therefore anxious to keep down their estimates. Nor had they any inducement to economise; for whatever they saved out of their annual allotments, lapsed to the supreme Government. Naturally, as they did not get the benefit of economy, they were not economical. Furthermore, they had no direct inducement to expand the revenue; for whatever was collected by them had to be made over to the Government of India.

Lord Mayo perceived that the best way in which to encourage economy was to give the local governments a share in the savings effected thereby, and that to interest them in revenue collection, they must be allowed to profit

by their vigilance in supervising it. With these ends in view he devised a method of allotment known as the Provincial Contract System, which, with certain modifications, is still in force. Certain shares in the land revenue and other sources of income were to be made over for a term of five years to local governments to meet their expenditure; and whatever savings were effected by a local government during the contract period were to become its absolute property, and not as formerly to lapse to the supreme Government. It will be readily seen that by the contract system the local governments have an inducement to economise, and a direct interest in the expansion of the revenue. The wisdom of the measure was immediately apparent. There was no deficit the year after it came into operation, and at the end of the second year there was actually a surplus.

Assassination of the Viceroy.—Lord Mayo carried out many of Lord Dalhousie's projects for the development of the material resources of the country, which had been suspended in consequence of the mutiny. There was during his term of office a great extension of roads, railways, and canals. An agricultural department was created, and the public works department was remodelled. Lord Mayo was popular with all classes of the community, but he was specially successful in his dealings with native princes and nobles. His dignified presence, and his courtly manners strongly appealed to a class which set great store by such qualities. He had besides a strong and attractive personality which impressed itself indelibly on those who came in contact with him. He was indeed in all respects an ideal Viceroy. With what a shock therefore was the news received that such a man had been assassinated. While at Port Blair, the chief town of the Andaman Islands, to which he had gone in 1872 with a view to enquiring on the spot into the condition of the convict settlement there, he was stabbed to death by a fanatic Afghan convict.

Lord Northbrook, 1872-1876.—Lord Northbrook was appointed to succeed him; and in the interval between Lord Mayo's death and his arrival from England, Lord Napier was sent for from Madras to officiate for him.

Hostile Russian influence.—The rapid expansion of the Russian Empire in Central Asia towards the confines of

Afghanistan and the constant reports of Russian intrigues at the Court of Kabul, hostile to British interests, had created considerable anxiety in England and in India. The suspicion that Russia had designs on India itself had been entertained for several years, and a variety of causes had combined latterly to strengthen it. There were many, and those not the least experienced, who severely criticised the policy of 'masterly inactivity' so strongly advocated by Lord Lawrence. They pointed out how Russia was taking advantage of it to establish a predominant influence along the north-west frontier, in furtherance of her sinister designs.

Understanding with Russia.—Lord Northbrook steered a middle course between the exponents of intervention and of 'masterly inactivity.' He did not share in the general alarm, but he recognised the necessity of coming to some understanding with Russia as to the respective spheres of influence of that country and the British Indian Empire. He accordingly seized the first opportunity which offered itself to effect this object, by showing the Russian Government that the Indian Government had no desire to interfere in Central Asian affairs. Chiefly through his instrumentality a friendly arrangement was come to between the two governments, by virtue of which each pledged itself to respect the other's sphere of influence. The actual boundaries of the spheres of influence were not then definitely settled; but the recognition of their existence was a most important step towards a complete understanding between the two countries.

The famine in Behar.—In 1874 the Indian Government had an opportunity of putting into practice its declaration of responsibility for the lives of famine-stricken subjects. The scarcity which was affecting parts of Bengal owing to a partial failure of the monsoon in Behar deepened as the year advanced into acute famine. Lord Northbrook nobly responded to the task of saving life, and his efforts were energetically seconded by Sir Richard Temple. Relief works were opened, upon which the starving people were employed in digging tanks, making roads, and throwing up embankments for prospective railways. More than a million and a half of people obtained the means of livelihood in this

way. Grain was poured into the affected districts at Government expense, and everything that could be done was done to save life. The extent of the operations for famine may be judged by the expenditure, which exceeded eight crores of rupees.

Misconduct of the Gaekwar.—In the same year Lord Northbrook had the unpleasant task of asserting the right of the supreme Government to interfere in the affairs of a feudatory state. The relations between the Government of India and the native princes had been steadily improving, and the latter were beginning to recognise that their dominions formed integral portions of a great and glorious empire. It was the more unfortunate, therefore, that an instance of mismanagement and misconduct so gross should have occurred, as to necessitate the adoption of strong measures with one of their number. The Gaekwar of Baroda had for some time been shamefully misgoverning his state, and there were grave suspicions that he had lately made an attempt to poison the British Resident at his Court. As the result of a commission of inquiry he was considered unfit any longer to rule. He was therefore deposed, and a young kinsman installed in his place.

Visit of the Prince of Wales.—If any bad impression was created by this unfortunate case it was the next year dispelled by the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. Wherever His Royal Highness went his presence evoked spontaneous outbursts of loyalty among the people; and it was noticeable that the native chiefs and princes in particular vied with each other in doing him honour.

Lord Northbrook spent the remainder of his term of office over questions of finance. He retired early in the year 1876, and was succeeded by Lord Lytton.

Lord Lytton, 1876-1880—assumption of the title of Empress of India by the Queen.—On the 1st January, 1877, the new Viceroy held a magnificent durbar at Delhi to proclaim to the princes and peoples of India that Her Majesty Queen Victoria had assumed the title of Empress of India. The event was celebrated in a manner worthy of the occasion. Princes, nobles, and high officials flocked from all quarters to the great assembly. On 'The Ridge'—made for ever memorable as the encampment of the

valiant besiegers of Delhi in 1857—and overlooking the historic city, the news that all India was for the first time in its history united under one Imperial ruler was proclaimed to the assembled multitudes amid a scene of unexampled splendour.

The famine in the Deccan.—In contrast to this gorgeous celebration in the north, in the south a long-continued drought was causing grave anxiety. In the autumn of the year, owing to a second failure of the monsoon rains, the worst fears were realised, and scarcity deepened rapidly into famine over the whole of the Deccan. Lord Lytton himself went down to Madras, where the suffering was the severest, to mark his sympathy with the stricken people and to watch the measures of relief. Money was freely and ungrudgingly spent, and the most strenuous exertions were made to provide food for the starving; but in spite of all that could be done, the loss of life by starvation and the diseases incident to famine was terrible.

Strained relations with the Amir of Afghanistan.—The next year was taken up with the affairs of Afghanistan. It has already been mentioned that since the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence, the Amir Sher Ali had cherished a feeling of resentment against the Indian Government, and that Lord Mayo's efforts to remove it had only embittered it. The occupation of Quetta by the British, for strategic reasons, greatly annoyed him; and when his protest against it had no effect, he turned for support to Russia. A mission from that country was received with great honour at his Court. Lord Lytton did not wish to interfere in Afghan politics if he could avoid it, but he regarded the possibility of Russia establishing her influence in Afghanistan with alarm. He therefore dispatched a British envoy to Kabul; but Sher Ali rudely turned him back at the entrance to the Khyber Pass, thus clearly showing that he was favouring Russian designs. So direct an insult could not be tolerated, and the inevitable result was a declaration of war.

The second Afghan War, 1878-1879.—British columns advanced upon Afghanistan by three different routes, and pushed their way through the passes. Jellalabad was occupied towards the close of 1878, and Kandahar a little later. Sher Ali did not wait to meet the forces

converging on his capital, but fled northward to Balk; and there a little later he died. Yakub Khan, his son, seeing that no help was to be expected from Russia, entered into treaty with the British at Gandamak on the 25th May, 1879, and was recognised as Amir on condition that he would receive a British Resident at Kabul.

Murder of the British Resident.—The appointment of a Resident was unpopular with the Afghans, and the catastrophe which followed the first Afghan war might have warned Lord Lytton against such an arrangement. But he was bent upon counteracting Russian influence at Kabul, and he saw no other way than by establishing a British Residency there. Sir Louis Cavagnari was sent to occupy this hazardous post. The fears that were entertained for his safety were soon seen to have been only too well founded. On the 3rd of September the sullen and treacherous Afghan soldiers broke out into mutiny, attacked him and his escort, and massacred every soul

The third Afghan War, 1879-1881.—To avenge his death another war was necessary. General Sir Frederick Roberts (now Field-Marshal Lord Roberts) advanced with a force rapidly on Kabul and occupied the neighbouring heights. Sir Donald Stewart, who was marching to reinforce him, on the way met and defeated an Afghan army in a desperate fight at Ahmad Khel. Kabul was soon occupied in force, and Yakub Khan was removed to India. By this time practically the whole of Afghanistan was seething with rebellion, and the position of the British garrison at Kabul was becoming critical. General Roberts, however, brilliantly repulsed an attack and dispersed the insurgents.

Lord Ripon, 1880-1884.—Lord Lytton at this juncture resigned, and the Marquis of Ripon was—in April, 1880—appointed to succeed him. Shortly after his arrival news was brought that Ayub Khan, brother of Yakub Khan and Governor of Herat, had defeated a British force at Maiwand. Once again General Roberts came to the rescue, and, marching rapidly from Kabul to Kandahar, fell upon Ayub's army and completely routed it. This splendid feat of arms, one of the most brilliant of the century, virtually put an end to the rebellion. Abdur Rahman Khan, a

cousin of Yakub Khan, was invited to Kabul and placed upon the vacant throne. In March, 1881, the British withdrew from Kabul and from all interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Liberal reforms.—Lord Ripon had now leisure to devote himself to the task of internal reform. His Viceroyalty is memorable for the introduction of certain important liberal measures. The Vernacular Press was freed from the special restrictions which his predecessor had devised to control it, and made subject only to the ordinary laws relating to printed matter. In 1882 a Local Self-Government Act was passed, giving to the people of towns in which municipalities exist a greater share in the management of their affairs. He hoped, by delegating authority to the citizens themselves in matters of purely local concern, to awaken public interest among them, and, by rendering municipalities less dependent on official control, to make them serve as instruments of political education. Lastly, a commission was appointed to enquire into and report on the state of education, with a view to its extension on a broader basis.

Employment of Indian troops abroad.—In the year 1882 an event took place which deserves special mention. A contingent of Indian troops was dispatched to Egypt to take part with the British forces in the occupation of that country. This contingent acquitted itself most creditably, and proved to the world that India is a reserve of strength to the British Empire, and that the valour and endurance of her native soldiers are forces in its general scheme of defence to be reckoned with by any invader.

Retirement of Lord Ripon.—Lord Ripon retired in 1884. No Viceroy or Governor-General has so much endeared himself to the natives of India; and his memory will be long cherished by them with peculiar gratitude and affection for his liberal reforms, and for the trust and confidence which he so unhesitatingly reposed in them.

Lord Dufferin, 1884-1888—the Boundary Commission.—He was succeeded in December, 1884, by Lord Dufferin. Immediately upon his arrival his attention was taken up with affairs beyond the north-west frontier. A crisis in Central Asia seemed at hand, owing to the

aggressive attitude of the Russian Government. Its policy of extension of territory had been so steadily pursued that the whole of Central Asia had now been absorbed into the Russian Empire, down to the very borders of Afghanistan. Russia seemed now to be making every preparation for the seizure of Herat, which was the key to Afghanistan. In view of a Russian advance upon India, Herat would be a place of the greatest strategical importance, and the Indian Government, in self-defence, could not tolerate its occupation ; and, moreover, to stand by and permit it would be a violation of its obligations towards the Amir of Afghanistan, the integrity of whose territory it had guaranteed Lord Dufferin warded off the danger of an immediate collision between Russia and Afghanistan by proposing a joint Boundary Commission of English and Russian officers to settle the borders of Afghan territory. This was agreed to, and Russia relinquished her project of occupying Herat. Disputes between the Russian and English commissioners, however, at one time very nearly led to an open rupture and to war between the two countries.

Loyalty of the native princes.—It was during this acute crisis that the native princes gave a gratifying proof of their loyalty to the paramount power. When war seemed imminent, they hastened to come forward with generous offers of assistance to the Indian Government. As a result of the scare, the bonds of union between the native princes and the Indian Government have been drawn closer, and an Imperial Service Contingent, for employment in defence of India, has since been organised in every important native state.

Misconduct of the Burmese Government.—In 1885 the conduct of the Government of Upper Burmah made war upon that country inevitable. It had continually violated its treaty obligations, and not only had it failed to afford the promised protection to British traders, but had even itself ill-treated them. King Thebaw and his advisers so grossly misgoverned the country that it was rapidly sinking into a state of anarchy. His kingdom was infested by organised gangs of robbers, who committed without fear of punishment the most brutal atrocities. At length, emboldened by impunity, they began to raid British

territory. The Burmese Government, when called upon to suppress them, returned scornful or evasive answers. But in November, 1885, King Thebaw brought matters to a crisis by a crowning act of folly in announcing his intention of invading British territory. This was too much, and war was forthwith declared upon him.

The third Burmese War, 1885.—The Burmese offered practically no resistance to the expedition sent against them, and Mandalay, the capital, was occupied without the need of striking a blow. Thebaw, who was a cruel tyrant besides being an incapable ruler, was deposed and transported as a state prisoner to India; and Upper Burmah was annexed on January 1st, 1886. The whole of Burmah has since been formed into one province and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. The task of putting down the robber bands, whose depredations King Thebaw's misrule had encouraged, has been a difficult one, but it has been satisfactorily accomplished; and Burmah, as part of the Indian Empire, has now a great future before it.

Gwalior restored to the Maharajah.—The last act of importance of Lord Dufferin's administration was the restoration of the fort of Gwalior to the Maharajah Sindhia. Ever since the days of the mutiny, when it had served the rebels as a rallying place, it had been held by the British. Its restoration to the Maharajah was a recognition of the altered conditions obtaining since the mutiny, and an expression of the confidence which the Indian Government reposed in its feudatories.

Lord Lansdowne, 1888-1893—the Manipur War.—Lord Dufferin retired in 1888, and was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne. Affairs on the north-west frontier again occupied considerable attention; and steps were taken to safeguard India against a possible Russian invasion, by the extension of British control beyond the north-west frontier. A rising in the small native state of Manipur resulted in the murder of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and four British officials. A force sent from Calcutta to suppress it had no difficulty in capturing the capital and pacifying the country. The Rajah was deposed and sent as a prisoner to the Andamans, and those who had taken a prominent part in the treacherous murder of

the officials were hanged. The Indian Government, true to its policy, did not annex the state, but raised to the vacant throne a boy belonging to the royal family. The country is now being administered by a British officer during the minority of the present ruler.

Election of members to the Councils.—The only other matter of importance during Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty was the passing of an Act providing for the election by public bodies of a certain number of members to the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, with a view to giving the Government the benefit of unofficial views on matters under discussion.

The second Lord Elgin, 1894-1899—the Chitral Expedition—Plague.—Lord Elgin, son of the successor to Lord Canning, succeeded Lord Lansdowne in 1894. No Viceroy has had to contend with so continuous a succession of misfortunes. A disturbance at Chitral, beyond the north-west frontier, led to a costly expedition, and to the occupation of that remote post by the British Government. Then followed an outbreak of bubonic plague, which, commencing in Bombay, rapidly extended throughout the surrounding country, and made its appearance in distant places. The measures taken to prevent its spreading over the whole continent were misunderstood by the people, and misrepresented by designing persons, and at first gave rise to much alarm and mistrust. The panic and disorder which its presence caused at first did great injury to trade and industrial enterprise in the Western Presidency. The ignorance of sanitation, and the state of unreasoning superstition among the people of India which the outbreak disclosed, have shown how much yet remains to be done in the matter of education.

Famine.—In the autumn of 1897, while plague was still raging, there occurred a most widespread famine. Relief operations were undertaken on a stupendous scale, and were liberally supplemented by private charity. The parts chiefly affected were the North-West Provinces, Behar, and Central India. But owing to the admirable system of relief devised, and the able direction of Sir Anthony Macdonell, the mortality directly due to famine was little above the normal in the North-West Provinces,

and even in the Central Provinces, where the famine was the most severe, the deaths from starvation were, considering all things, exceedingly few.

Earthquake.—On the top of these calamities the most violent and far-reaching earthquake recorded in Indian history took place in North-Eastern India. The loss of life caused thereby was surprisingly small, but the loss of property, the destruction of buildings, and the damage done to public works, particularly railways, was very great.

Unrest on the north-west frontier.—The year 1897 was a year of great unrest. In India the accumulation of disasters, the sufferings of the people, and the measures taken for the prevention of plague gave rise to much unreasoning bitterness and discontent. Across the north-west frontier, the warlike and fanatical tribesmen were greatly excited by the news of the defeat of the Greeks by the Turks. Their spiritual leaders, ever ready for a chance of mischief, persuaded them that the time had come for a general rising of Muhammadans. The misfortunes of the Indian Government seemed to promise a chance of success; and in the autumn of the year, one tribe after another rose, till all the borderland was up in arms. The great caravan route along the Khyber was closed, and raids were made by frontier tribes into British territory.

The Tirah Campaign.—It was needful to teach the tribes a lesson that they would not forget, and a big war was therefore undertaken against them. The preparations made for it were on an unprecedentedly large scale. Sir William Lockhart, who was appointed to the command of the punitive expedition, led across the border the largest army that had ever been employed on such a purpose. After much hard fighting the tribes were driven back and pursued into their hills and fastnesses. The expedition, which is known as the Tirah Campaign, was a long, arduous and costly one, and many valuable lives were lost; but the tribesmen were thoroughly humbled before it was finished, and their country, which they had counted inaccessible, was traversed from end to end.

Lord Elgin left India after a five years' administration with a reputation greatly enhanced by the way he had faced each succeeding disaster, and had overcome his difficulties.

Lord Curzon, 1899.—He was succeeded by Lord Curzon, who relinquished the office of Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in order to take up his Indian appointment. During the short time that he has occupied this high position, he has been called upon to meet an even worse famine than that which crippled the resources of India in his predecessor's time. But if the famine, which it has been his misfortune to face, almost at the commencement of his term of office, has been the severest known to history, it has also been more skilfully and successfully combated than any previous one.

LORD CURZON

Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty has witnessed the final dispersion of the clouds of doubt and distrust to which the stormy days of the mutiny gave rise. India has been given an opportunity of playing a part in the general scheme of defence of the British Empire, and she has made use of it to vindicate triumphantly her loyalty. To quote Lord Curzon's own words, spoken towards the close of the year 1900, in reference to the war which England was waging in South Africa and the troubles in which she was at the same time involved in China: 'The past year has been one which has conspicuously demonstrated the part that is played by India in the Imperial system. It was the prompt dispatch of a contingent of the Indian army a year ago that saved the colony of Natal.[1]

[1] An allusion to the timely arrival from India of a contingent of British troops to reinforce the garrison of South Africa when the Boers made their sudden descent upon Natal.

They were Indian regiments who accomplished the rescue of the Legations at Peking. If our arm reaches as far as China in the East and South Africa in the West, who can doubt the range of our influence or the share of India in Imperial destinies.' India's loyalty to the British throne has at last united her many divergent races in a common interest. Not only is this true of British India, but of the feudatory states as well. Of their own free will the native princes have taken upon themselves part of the burden of the Empire, and have ranged themselves among its forces. Not only do they maintain contingents for the defence of India, but they have lately offered their resources in support of the British Empire in distant parts of the world.

The close of the nineteenth century sees India emerging from her long seclusion and taking her place at last in the community of nations. Trade and commerce, education in its various forms, missionary labours, foreign travel, the railway, and the many inventions of science, which have done so much to increase material comfort, are all working together in the cause of that silent revolution which the Mutiny was a vain attempt to check; and it is inevitable that such of the old habits and beliefs of the people as are opposed to it must go down before it. Indians must face the fact that for better or for worse the old order is passing finally away; and according as they adapt their civilisation to the changed conditions of modern life will they advance along the path of moral and material progress.

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