the succession. The Marathas appeared on the scene, and at the battle of Damalcheruvu in May 1740 defeated and killed the Nawab Dost Ali, whose son-in-law, Chanda Saheb, was also turned out of Trichinopoly. Thereon Benoît Dumas, the French Governor of Pondicherry, offered an asylum to the fugitives in the French possessions. The Nizam now exercised his lawful authority and appointed Anwar-uddin Nawab of the Carnatic, whose son, Muhammad Ali, escaped from the battle of Ambur after the defeat and death of his father. A year before this event, in 1748, Asaf Jah, the famous Viceroy of the Deccan, having practically achieved his independence of Delhi had died. Hyderabad at once became the scene of a war of succession, the French supporting Muzaffar Jang, a grandson of the deceased Viceroy, against his son Nasir Jang, whose cause was espoused by the English. For the Carnatic the French put forward Chanda Saheb, while the British took the part of Muhammad Ali who at least had a better title to the throne of Arcot than his rival could claim. Three of these candidates met with their deaths at no distance of time. Nazir was assassinated at Gingee and Muzaffar Jang fell in a skirmish with Pathans, while Chanda Saheb lived until 1752, when he was put to death by the troops of Tanjore. Muhammad Ali lived to enjoy his title as Nawab of the Carnatic under the solemn guarantee of the Treaty of Paris. But the efforts put forth by the rival companies on behalf on their nominees filled southern India with the clash of arms, and led the victors into a series of wars with Mysore.

To that country attention must now be turned. It had lately exchanged its Hindu for a Muhammadan dynasty, a change which was watched with some

concern by the Peshwa's court at Poona and not without suspicion by the Muhammadan rulers of Hyderabad. The Sultan of Mysore, Haidar Ali, rose to power by deposing his Hindu master, whose forces he commanded in the operations at Trichinopoly. He extended his dominions at the expense of Hyderabad as well as his Hindu neighbours, and his military genius inherited by his son, Tipu Sultan, enabled Mysore to organise a formidable force which more than once exacted inglorious terms from the British. The contrast between the rabble army defeated at Plassey and the Mysore cavalry that overran Madras within sight of the British factory, or the troops that confronted Arthur Wellesley at Seringapatam, explains the long-drawn contest in the south of India, and the impossibility of maintaining there the policy of non-intervention so highly prized in Bengal and Bombay. The Sultan's hand was not only raised against the British. He tore away large strips of territory from Hyderabad. He encouraged Tanjore in evading the demands of the Nawab of the Carnatic, and before his overthrow Tipu despatched embassies both to Constantinople and Paris. But neither Haidar Ali nor his son possessed the art of employing diplomacy to enhance his military strength. Coalitions were discussed and dropped, common enterprises broke down where jealousies were so deeply rooted, and the ally of one day was despoiled of his possessions on the morrow. Between Mysore and Poona any lasting agreement was out of the question, and this deep gulf between the competitors for dominion in Southern India was an obstacle to the policy of the ring-fence which the authorities in Leadenhall Street did not at once realise.

A brief notice of the position of the Marathas is

needed to complete this sketch of the powers which were about to enter upon the final struggle for ascendancy. Balaji, the first Peshwa of Poona, had, in 1720, obtained from the puppet Emperor a confirmation of the tribute or chauth, 25 per cent of the revenues, which Sivaji had levied by force. The third Peshwa enforced the claim by invading Hyderabad, and sending expeditions into the Carnatic. The gradual break-up of the Maratha confederacy after the battle of Panipat, and the growing independence of the Central Indian powers, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpore, tended to direct what energies the Poona Government still possessed towards the Southern Deccan and the Carnatic. The Company, who had lately fortified their own position, both in Bengal and in the Northern Sarkars and Madras, by securing the confirmatory title of the Emperor, were as yet hardly strong enough to dispute the title of the Peshwa to chauth, and in some of their first engagements with other states they formally reserved the rights of the Peshwa. That tax was the main concern of Maratha rule. Expeditions were carried into distant regions not for extension of their dominion but solely for pillage and wanton destruction. What the Maratha hordes could not carry away they wantonly destroyed. In far-off Bengal even a "ditch" if properly defended or a buffer-state of Oudh might keep off the freebooters, but nearer home one swarm of robbers succeeded another, and the admission of their rights as fixed to-day was not a settlement which they were likely to respect on the morrow. Independently, too, of his pecuniary interests in the chauth, the Peshwa, as a Brahman, had a religious sympathy with the Hindu dynasties still surviving in the south; and in addition to his traditional and racial hostility to the

Nizam, he resented the means by which Haidar Ali had rebelled against his Hindu master and strengthened his position in Mysore at the cost of Maratha interests. On the other hand, the Poona Court watched with some degree of suspicion the growing power of the British, who, although they recognised the Maratha claims to tribute, yet were already exhibiting too much energy in the suppression of piracy and in negotiations with the maritime states. The Peshwa, compelled to be careful by the delicate state of his relations with the members of the Maratha confederacy, and in doubts as to whether he had most to fear from the Nizam or from Haidar Ali, hoped to play off the English against one or the other, and to step in where and when circumstances might offer a favourable opportunity for demanding payment of arrears of tribute.

Dissolution of French power, and its legacy.

§ 26. Upon this stormy sea of politics the rivalry of Dupleix drove the British Company, who would have much preferred a policy of watchful inactivity; and although the immediate result of the contest was the downfall of the French, the entanglements which their foreign policy had woven were not so easily untied. Each of the three native rulers who were aiming at sovereignty desired to see both his adversaries weakened, and felt that the aggrandisement of one at the expense of the other would not improve his own position. If the Nizam established authority over the province of the Carnatic and defeated Haidar Ali, the Peshwa could not expect his traditional enemy strengthened by success to give him tribute. Himself to all intents a rebel against the Emperor, the Viceroy of the Deccan was not likely to pay any respect to a vague title to chauth wrung from the imperial puppet. If the Peshwa succeeded, the

Nizam, who had already suffered at the hands of the Marathas, would receive further drafts on his treasury for arrears of tribute supported by plundering expeditions. The success of Haidar Ali, who had shown conspicuous military talent, and whose strategic basis of operations supported by the forts of Dharwar, Bednore, and Bangalore, and the natural strength of the Ghats and Droogs, made him almost unassailable, would leave the Nizam face to face with a claimant for the viceregal office in the Deccan, and the Peshwa in antagonism with a younger and a stronger Muhammadan power than the Deccan had yet witnessed. As regards a British success, it is probable that at this period neither the Nizam, nor the Sultan of Mysore, nor the Peshwa entertained any serious alarm for his own safety from the proceedings of the European Companies. So far, the French had been useful to Muzaffar Jang and his successor Salabut Jang, and their influence in Hyderabad seemed tolerably well established. But direct hostilities were now to take the place of intrigue, and within five years of the outbreak of war the French Company was to be reduced to impotence.

The arrival of the impatient and imperious Lally with reinforcements and a French squadron, on April 28, 1758, promised victory for the French. Hitherto the genius and military talents of Clive had turned cowards into soldiers at Arcot, secured the safety of Trichinopoly, and frustrated French endeavours to win over the Mysoreans. During his absence in Bengal the French had greatly improved their position in the Northern Sarkars, but their success at Chitapet in the south was balanced by British gains at Madura. Both sides had avoided any decisive action up to the close of 1757. But Lally was not

disposed to play a waiting game; Cuddalore was taken, and soon afterwards, in June, Fort St. David capitulated to a superior French force. In the following year Madras would have fallen but for the timely arrival of the British fleet on the 16th of February 1759, that fateful year which was to witness the surrender of Quebec, the battle of Minden, and Hawke's irresistible swoop on Conflans in Quiberon Bay. Lally, however, had made a fatal mistake in recalling Bussy from the court of the Nizam, and he paid the penalty. British influence naturally rushed into the vacuum created by his withdrawal from Hyderabad, and Salabut Jang undertook, on the 14th of May 1759, to expel the French. Thus the important step of bringing Hyderabad into treaty relations was taken. After the siege and recapture of Wandiwash the French were routed in 1760 by the English troops under Colonel Eyre Coote, and finally Pondicherry was besieged, and surrendered on the 14th of January 1761. In the same year Salabut Jang was deposed by Nizam Ali, and, when the "honourable and beneficial" Peace of Paris was proclaimed in 1763, the French Government formally recognised the British candidate, Muhammad Ali, as the Nawab of the Carnatic. Although, therefore, the ruins of Pondicherry were restored to the French by the same treaty, the British Company was now pledged in the face of Europe to support Muhammad Ali in the government of the Carnatic. The legacy of the war with France was a protectorate which was resented by both Haidar Ali and the Nizam, and an obligation of which French intrigue was able to take full advantage. The British received from the Nawab of the Carnatic a Jaghir, which was in due form confirmed by Imperial

Firman in 1765, and thus an attack on the Carnatic henceforth involved not only the duty of assisting an ally, but also the necessity for defending the Company's own possessions.

The first and second Mysore wars.

§ 27. The position so acquired by the Company brought them at once into collision with the Nizam and with Haidar Ali. Nizam Ali, who had succeeded Salabut Jang, was invading the Carnatic when he was ordered to desist, and by a Treaty of Alliance, dated the 12th of November 1766, he was left in no doubt as to the intention of the Company to protect that country. The Nizam broke his agreement, however, and joined with Haidar Ali, but after the discomfiture of the allies at Changama on the 3rd of September 1767, Hyderabad was bound by a fresh treaty of 1768 to desist from giving any protection or assistance to "Haidar Naik." Haidar Ali thereon continued his operations against the Carnatic, but after the destruction of his fleet he made overtures to Colonel Smith which were rejected. Accordingly, on the 29th of March 1769, he appeared within five miles of Madras itself. Unprepared to meet this assault at headquarters, the Company by a treaty dated the 3rd of April 1769, accepted the terms dictated to them, and closed the first war with Mysore on the basis of a mutual restitution of prisoners and forts. They also agreed that, if either of the "parties shall be attacked, they shall from their respective countries mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out." At the conclusion of this treaty the Company's stock was reduced in value by 60 per cent; but the heaviest part of the price at which they purchased peace was the fresh entanglement it brought. The Marathas seized the opportunity to demand tribute from enfeebled Mysore, and Haidar Ali appealed to

the British for aid. Upon the refusal of the Company to comply, it became clear that peace could not long be maintained. In 1778 the masked assistance which the French had given to America ended after Saratoga in an open alliance, and England and France were once more at war. The British, having conquered all the other French possessions in India, now attacked Mahe, and Haidar Ali, who was at all times well disposed towards the French, retaliated by invading the Carnatic.

The second Mysore war, for which Haidar Ali, then in his seventy-eighth year, had made extensive preparations, commenced in July 1780, and on the 10th of September Baillie's force was annihilated. It is unnecessary to follow the varying fortunes of the campaign, or to dwell upon the successes gained at Tellicherry and Mangalore. The latter town, at which Haidar had established dockyards and an arsenal, suffered many vicissitudes. After capture by the British it had been restored in 1768 only to be retaken in 1781. Tipu secured it notwithstanding a stubborn defence in 1784 to lose it again in 1799. The personal influence of Haidar Ali was clearly established by the failure of the British to set his people against him, although they appealed to the supporters of the old Hindu dynasty at Mysore. Hostilities were not even interrupted by the death of Haidar Ali on the 7th of December 1782, for Tipu Sultan encouraged by French promises maintained the war with unflinching vigour until the peace of Mangalore, dated the 11th of March 1784, which followed after the conclusion of the negotiations for the Peace of Versailles in 1783. The Sultan of Mysore had thus conducted two wars against the British with no loss of dignity, and with very

slight injury to his power. The havoc he had wrought on the Company's territories was disastrous, and its effects were accurately described by Edmund Burke, in his speech delivered on the 28th of February 1785 on the debts of the Nawab of Arcot, as having left "the country emptied and disembowelled by so accomplished a desolation." The Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the East India Company, printed by order of the House of Commons on the 28th of July 1812, narrates how, after the termination of the war, there were hardly any signs of the previous occupation of the Company's own territory round Fort St. George save the bones of the people massacred, and the naked walls of burnt houses, choultries, and temples. When to the succession of massacres there was added the horror of famine, the country became depopulated and the treasury empty. By the Treaty of Mangalore the Nawab Tipu Sultan recovered the forts and places he had lost, and agreed to "make no claim whatever in future on the Carnatic." The Rajas of Tanjore and Travancore were expressly included in the arrangements as the allies of the Company, and thus once more the ground was prepared for a fresh outbreak of hostilities.

The Triple Alliance, and third Mysore war.

§ 28. Upon the restoration of peace with the British Tipu turned his attention to the Marathas, and his acts soon revealed the bigotry of the man. His destruction of Hindu temples, and his forcible conversion to the faith of Islam of 100,000 people, afforded a marked contrast to the toleration and conciliatory temper which his father had wisely exhibited. Accordingly, when in 1789 he attacked Cranganore and Jaikotah in Travancore in flagrant defiance of the Treaty of Mangalore, and forced upon

the British the third Mysore war, the Company's officers were able to take advantage of the feeling of animosity which he had provoked at Poona. It was necessary to avoid the mistakes committed in the previous wars, for neither of which had the British been fully prepared. In fact, their forces in the field had frequently been reduced to the verge of starvation. By the triple alliance treaties concluded in July 1790 with Hyderabad and the Peshwa, a league was now formed against Tipu. These alliances were contrary to the policy of the ring-fence, but they were indispensable. After some indecisive campaigns Lord Cornwallis took the command, and the injurious delays which had been involved in the last war by references to Calcutta were thus avoided. The British forces gained possession of the Droogs and Bangalore, whilst the Marathas, still with an eye to their own advantage, took Dharwar. The Nizam's troops operated against the forts north-east of Bangalore. By occupying the passages of the Ghats and depriving Tipu of his seaboard, the British were at last able to march on his capital by the high-level road, when their commissariat arrangements once more broke down. From these difficulties they were extricated by junction with the Marathas, and by organising transport with the aid of the Brinjaris. A final march on Seringapatam brought Tipu to terms, and the Treaty of Peace, dated the 18th March 1792, ended the third Mysore war. The Sultan lost half of his kingdom, which was divided amongst the three allies. From that date Tipu recognised in the British his most formidable competitor in the Carnatic, and took note of the skilful policy of the league by which the peace of Seringapatam had been brought about. He lost no time in opening fresh negotiations with the

French, the Peshwa, and the Nizam; but although the Native states throughout India were now beginning to feel uncomfortable at the prospect of British ascendancy, it did not suit either of those princes to join him just then.

The fourth Mysore war, and its consequent Treaties.

§ 29. The Marathas indeed saw that a favourable opportunity had arrived for promoting their own interests, and that Tipu's help would not be convenient. They revived their claims against Hyderabad for chauth, and since the British declined to help the Nizam in consequence of the determination of Sir John Shore to adhere to a policy of non-intervention, the Marathas inflicted a severe defeat on the Muhammadan state at Kharda, on the 11th of March 1795, whereby the Nizam was forced to pay an indemnity of 3 crores of rupees, and to surrender territory producing an annual revenue of 35 lacs. Once more the Nizam, disgusted with the Company, received French officers, but in 1798 a new Treaty was negotiated with him by which the subsidiary force was made permanent and increased. Meanwhile the accession of Baji Rao to the office of Peshwa, through the influence of Sindhia, had produced dissensions at Poona, where a scheme for a French alliance was being seriously discussed. Events in the Carnatic, accordingly, once more hinged upon the proceedings of France in Europe. Tipu, who was in active correspondence with the French, and had enrolled himself as "citizen" Tipu in a local club, heard rumours of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt. The victory of the Nile, on the 1st of August 1798, shattered his anticipations of a French invasion of India, but, until the battle of Alexandria in 1801 compelled the French to evacuate Egypt, the Sultan of Mysore did not abandon the hope that at least

some important diversion would be made in his favour. He accordingly sent an embassy to the Isle of France, and somewhat prematurely boasted of his intention to sweep the English out of India.

The Company in their turn had no alternative but to complete the work half finished in the last war. By strengthening their alliance with Hyderabad, they were able to count on the co-operation of the Nizam; and, profiting by the experience of the past, they collected ample supplies and transport. Tipu had no allies, and his main defence lay in the strength of the fortress of Seringapatam. His troops, however, saw that fortune had turned, and after two battles had been won by the British on both sides of the Ghats they began to desert their leader. The brilliant capture of Seringapatam by General Harris, on the 4th of May 1799, terminated the fourth Mysore war, and on this occasion the Treaty of Alliance, dated the 8th of July 1799, created the new state of Mysore under a Hindu Maharaja in subordinate alliance with the Company. The Nizam received large additions to his territories and a fresh treaty, whilst the Peshwa refused to accept anything because the Company tacked on to their offer the conclusion of a subsidiary alliance with themselves. Shortly afterwards, however, Holkar defeated the united forces of the Peshwa and Sindhia, and the Peshwa was glad to entertain the British proposals. He signed the Treaty of Bassein, dated the 31st of December 1802, by which he received a subsidiary force of six battalions, and ceded territories for their maintenance, including Bundelkhand. He agreed to submit his disputes with the Nizam and the Gaikwar to the Company's arbitration, and to enter into no negotiations with other powers without consultation with the British. In the event of a British war with

any European nation, the subjects of that nation were to be discharged from his service.

Thus the distant possessions of the Company in the west as well as the south of India were agitated by the storm which raged in Europe, and by the wars which followed it in the East. The policy of non-intervention foundered on the rocks of necessity, and the friendship of Haidar Ali and his successor Tipu Sultan for the French compelled the Company to promote the Triple Alliance of 1790. The ultimate consequences of that alliance, forced upon the British by the necessities of self-defence, were to draw the Treaty map of Southern India as in the main it still remains, and to bring the British into close alliance not only with Hyderabad but also with the Peshwa. If the Peshwa had been in reality what he professed to be, the sovereign of the Maratha nation, the further extension of alliances might have been avoided at least for a time, and the Company would have gained what they sorely needed, quiet rest and breathing time to consolidate their power in the South. But the settlement of the Madras Presidency was no sooner completed, than a fresh demand was made on the British to undertake the establishment of order and settled Government in the Presidency of Bombay. Thus step by step, and still much against their will, the Governor-Generals were compelled to accept their destiny, and to take up the dominion and responsibilities which awaited them in India. Meanwhile, fresh experiences and ideas were being gained which inevitably led to an alteration in the aims and forms, as well as in the extent, of their Treaty obligations. But for the present the Company and its officers at least professed adherence to the general outline of their policy, namely, the avoidance of any

political obligations which were not immediately required.

The situation in Bombay. First Maratha war.

§ 30. From the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, the course of events now passes on to Bombay, where the Treaty of Bassein involved the British in war with the three leading states of the Maratha confederacy, and in an alliance with another. Ever since its cession to the Company in 1668, Bombay, notwithstanding its magnificent harbour, had disappointed expectations. The headquarters of the British had been moved from Surat to Bombay in 1687, but the future fortress with its five gates and strong ditch was not yet constructed. The defence of Bombay by sea was first undertaken. In 1730 a "firm peace and friendship" was established with the Sar Desai or ruler of Sawantwari, with a view to attacking by sea and land Kanoji Angria, the piratical chief of Kolaba. In 1733 an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with the Abyssinian dynasty, which had been established at Janjira as Lord Warden of the Ports by the Mughal Empire. In 1739 the first treaty with the Peshwa restricted British sovereignty over the river of Mahim to the limits imposed upon the Portuguese. The same treaty bound the English to arrest and deliver up any slaves that escaped from the Peshwa's jurisdiction. The Peshwa's passes were also required for the Company's boats. In 1756 Clive wrested the fort of Gheria, or Vijayadrug, from the pirates, and it was given to the Marathas in exchange for Bankote, the first foothold gained by the British on the mainland of Bombay. In 1766 Kolhapur was forced to agree to the suppression of piracy. In 1771 the British reduced the piratical Kolis of Taraja, and made it over to the Nawab of Cambay. In 1775 the factories in Sind, established in 1758, were closed

owing to the treatment they received from the Native Government. These transactions illustrate the difficulties against which the expansion of Bombay had to contend by sea. By land the position of the British community was still less secure. The town of Bassein on their northern frontier, and the Island of Salsette, which was an inseparable part of Bombay, were coveted possessions which the authorities longed to acquire.

In this state of affairs the opportunity of a disputed succession at Poona tempted the local Government, as similar occasions had tempted the rival Companies in Madras, to secure by diplomacy what they were unable to take by arms. Ragoba, or Raghunath Rao, one of the sons of Baji Rao Peshwa, having got rid of his two nephews, aspired to be Peshwa; and, in 1775 as the price of a British alliance, he promised to hand over to the Bombay authorities Bassein, Salsette, and the islands of Caranja, Kennery, Elephanta, and Hog Island in Bombay harbour, and to secure for them the Gaikwar's share in Broach. The treaty was disapproved of by the Governor-General, and replaced by another in 1776, called the Treaty of Purandhar, which dissolved the alliance with Ragoba. But Salsette, Caranja, Elephanta, and Hog Island were left in British occupation, while Bassein with the other acquisitions was to be restored. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the first Maratha war, or the convention of Wargaon, because, after a reversion to the alliance with Ragoba, the Treaty of Salbai in 1782 eventually revived the Treaty of Purandhar; and thereafter the politics of Poona were governed by the course of events in Mysore of which an account has just been given.

In the North also the Bombay authorities en-

deavoured, with similar want of success, to extend their authority. The Gaikwars of Baroda thoroughly realised the fact that the Peshwas desired only to weaken them; and when the succession to the Baroda state was disputed on the death of Damaji one party invoked the aid of the British, whilst another paid the Peshwa a liberal succession duty for His Highness's support. The Treaty of Salbai revoked the engagements which the Bombay authorities had made, and from the confusion of disputes regarding successions and the intrigues which followed, it is only necessary to divert attention to the convention of March 15, 1802, which was embodied in the Treaty signed at Cambay on the 6th of June 1802. By that agreement Anand Rao Gaikwar was admitted into the Protectorate, and the assistance of the Company was granted to him in settling the claims of his mercenaries. The British thus acquired an absolute control over Baroda, and the Treaty of Bassein, dated 31st December 1802, which confirmed their arrangements, guaranteed the Company against interference in the settlement of their pecuniary claims against the state. The position reached in 1802 was therefore as follows:—The Gaikwar was already dependent upon the British. The three other principal Maratha states—Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpore—were jealous of each other, and although each of their rulers was impatient of the sovereignty of the Peshwa, he had no desire to see it pass into other hands. The British authorities were still straining to extend their possessions along and beyond the coast-line; but the principle was by this time established that the Government of India, and not the local Government, must take charge of any further negotiations with the Court of Poona.

§ 31. Whilst the Treaty of Bassein was the neces-

The second Maratha war, and events in Central India.

sary corollary to British treaties with Hyderabad, the second Maratha war was the immediate outcome of the treaty itself, and the campaigns which resulted were prosecuted with equal vigour in the South and in the North. Sindhia of Gwalior and the Bhonsla Raghoji of Nagpore in vain united to defeat the results of British diplomacy. The victories of Assaye on the 23rd of September 1803, of Argaon in November, and of Laswari in the same month, and the surrender of Gawalgarh, led to the Treaty of Sarje Anjengaon, dated the 30th of December 1803, with Gwalior, and the Treaty of Devgaon, dated the 17th December 1803, with the Nagpore state. By the first-named treaty, Sindhia ceded territories to the Company, engaged to employ in his service no foreigners whose Government might be at war with the Company, and renounced all claims upon the Emperor. He also took the first step towards a subsidiary alliance with the British. In the two following years these arrangements were further developed. The provisions of the Treaty of Devgaon with the Nagpore state were similar. Undeterred by the fate of Sindhia or that of the Raja of Nagpore, Holkar, whose army was glutted with spoil collected by it in the North, sought an alliance with the Afghans for the overthrow of the Company. His successes against Colonel Monson's force, and his daring attempt to capture Delhi, were avenged at the battle of Deeg, but since Sindhia began to waver in his engagements to the Company, the Maharaja of Indore was unwilling to make peace. At length, failing to induce the Sikhs to take part in his affairs, Holkar was chased across the Beas, on the banks of which he signed the Treaty of Rajpur Ghat on the 24th of December 1805. The terms of his treaty were rather more onerous than those imposed

on Sindhia by the treaty of 1803, but if due allowance is made for the military expenditure which the Maratha chiefs had forced on the Company, their engagements with all three of the Maratha rulers were remarkable for their moderation. Alwar and Bhartpur were admitted into alliance with the British Government in the course of this campaign. The Peshwa was granted a share in the territories acquired from Sindhia and Raghoji Bhonsla under the partition Treaty of Poona, dated the 14th of May 1804, an arrangement which secured to the Company his confirmation of their title to their recent acquisitions. The Nizam also received a share by a separate treaty. Thus the Company was true to the principle of the Triple Alliance of 1790; and although the Mysore wars and the Maratha war had ended in building up their rule both in Madras and in Bombay, these results were neither contemplated nor at the outset desired. The wars they waged were wars of defence, and the terms they exacted after inflicting crushing defeats on their adversaries were conspicuous for their generosity. To the end of the period under present review, relations with the Poona Court continued satisfactory, and Central India may now be left in order to glance at the course of events occurring on the North-western frontier of the Company's dominions.

Punjab affairs.

§ 32. During the proceedings of the second Maratha war, Holkar after his defeat at Deeg sought the help of Ranjit Singh, who had, on his forcible acquisition of Lahore from its ruling Sardars, already assumed the title of Raja in 1799. By the Treaty with Sindhia of the 30th of December 1803, the British had acquired possession of Delhi and Agra, and this expansion of British dominion left Clive's

arrangement with Oudh out of date. The power against which the British had now to provide was not the tottering and divided Maratha confederacy but one approaching from the mountain passes in the North-west, and the buffer-state must be shifted from Oudh to Lahore. No doubt Holkar had foreseen this result, and represented the danger to the Court at Lahore. In the operations against the Marathas, the Malwa Sikhs, south of the Sutlej, had taken part against the British, but the families of Jind and Kythal had subsequently joined the Company. In 1808 the chiefs of these two sections became alarmed at the intervention of Ranjit Singh in the affairs of the Cis-Sutlej states, and earnestly appealed to the British Resident at Delhi for help. Thus, on either side of the growing Sikh power the Company had cause for disquietude and intervention. Once more a fear of French intrigues, which had operated so powerfully to extend the red line of British dominion on the map in Southern India, was to exercise a similar influence in a new direction. The victories of Nelson had given to the British the command of the sea, and citizen Tipu had waited in vain for the French ships. But aggressions overland still remained open to the inveterate enemies of England, and it was natural that the overthrow of Prussia and the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, by promoting friendship between France and Russia, should turn the thoughts of Lord Minto to the North-western Frontier of India. Ambassadors were despatched to Persia and to Peshawar, whilst Sir Charles Metcalfe was deputed to visit the court of Ranjit Singh at Lahore. As Metcalfe proceeded on his way, the Raja of Patiala, chief of the Phulkian house, pre-eminent in the *misls* or confederacies of the Malwa Sikhs, earnestly represented the danger to

which the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs were exposed by the unscrupulous ambition of Ranjit Singh. But the Envoy could only decline with politeness the keys of the city, which the Raja offered to him as a token of submission in return for protection. His instructions were to offer an alliance of offence and defence to Ranjit Singh against the French, and the intrusion of Cis-Sutlej affairs into the discussion would have complicated matters, and aggravated a potentate whose ambition contemplated the annexation and absorption of all the Malwa, as well as the Manjha Sikhs. Ranjit Singh, saw his opportunity, and on his part demanded, as the price of his adhesion to an alliance against the French, the Company's formal recognition of his sovereignty over all the Sikhs both north and south of the Sutlej. While Metcalfe was referring to Calcutta for instructions, the astute ruler of the Punjab proceeded without a moment's delay against Faridkot and other of the Phulkian states, taking the British Envoy with him as an unwilling spectator of these aggressions. This action precipitated a crisis. Professions of indifference and of easy contentment with the established policy of the ring-fence satisfied no one. The authorities dare not ignore so public an affront; they and their allies could not but perceive that the policy of non-intervention was bearing its natural fruit. Metcalfe accordingly withdrew from the camp of Ranjit Singh, and in due course was instructed to remind the Raja of Lahore that during the Maratha war he had himself suggested the Sutlej as the boundary of the Punjab, and that the British, having conquered the Marathas, had taken, and intended to maintain, the Cis-Sutlej chiefs under their protection. The ruler of the Punjab was, therefore, required to remove his army to the north of the river.

The issue of peace or war trembled in the balance. On both sides preparations were made for the latter contingency, but, after mature deliberation, the good sense of Ranjit Singh, and his appreciation of his own difficulties on the one hand and of the Company's power on the other, induced him to evacuate Faridkot and to withdraw his troops. On the 25th of April 1809 he signed the Treaty of Lahore, by which the British undertook to abstain from interference with his subjects north of the Sutlej, whilst he agreed to respect the territories of the Sikh chiefs south of the river. The Cis-Sutlej states were then formally included in the Protectorate map of India. This treaty, which was practically forced upon Lord Minto, as much by the old scare of French aggression as by the bold policy of the ruler of the Punjab, fitly closes the first period of the policy of non-intervention. It was, however, a treaty of equal alliance, and not, as in the case of the Maratha states, an engagement of subordinate isolation. It left the Maharaja of Lahore free to work his will on the principalities north of the Sutlej, and it imposed no restriction on his military force. It thus gave faithful expression to the policy inaugurated by Clive, but it carried with it the seeds of further interference with the country powers.

Endeavours to avoid intervention or alliances.

§ 33. The irresistible force of necessity drove the Company's officers so far ahead of their instructions from home and their own wishes that, in reviewing the growth of dominion and ascendancy between 1757 and 1813, one is apt to overlook the fact that they persistently exercised the greatest self-restraint, and frequently refused to include states in the Treaty map. Outside India there was nothing to be gained by inaction, and the Company's position was established in Penang in 1786, in Burma in 1795, in

Ceylon in 1796, and, as opportunity offered, along the littoral of the Persian Gulf and Arabia. But the rulers of India, mindful of the policy laid down in 1793 by the Act of 33 George III. cap. lii., persistently refused protection to the princes of Rajputana, and even after defeating Sindhia they bound themselves by their treaty, dated the 22nd of November 1805, not to enter into treaties with Udaipur, Jodhpur, and other states, except Bhartpur and Alwar. Bikanir, Banswara, and Bhopal sought protection and were refused it, whilst several engagements negotiated by the authorities in Bombay were disallowed. In Bundelkhand the petty chiefs were required to renounce all claim to the British protection. Partabgarh and Jaipur were cut adrift from their alliances notwithstanding the earnest protest of Lord Lake. Almost the whole of Rajputana, which now encloses 128,918 square miles of protectorate,[1] and much of Central India, which now occupies 77,395 square miles, remained unwritten on the Treaty map. Sind was most indistinctly traced on the map by the short and vague treaty of the 16th of November 1809. This instrument claims attention, inasmuch as the treaty of alliance which Captain Seton negotiated in the preceding year was not ratified because it went too far in the direction of a protectorate. In Punjab and Kashmir the Sikhs were left to consolidate empire. Nepal was released from its treaty obligations. When Lord Wellesley left India, his successors used their best endeavours to revert to the policy of the ring-fence; but events were too strong for them, and the settlements which Lord Hastings undertook were the inevitable result. Before, however, a fresh

[1] The area is taken from vol. iv. chap. iii. of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

chapter is opened, this light sketch of the first period of Indian treaties must be completed by a brief account of their form and substance, and by a passing reference to the subsidiary treaties.

The forms and general substance of the treaties of the period.

§ 34. Some idea of the substance of the treaties, concluded in the period preceding 1814, will have been gathered from the account just given. The treaties negotiated by Lord Wellesley anticipated to a certain extent, both in matter and form, the engagements of the Governor-General, who deserves the title of the Treaty-maker, Lord Hastings. But generally the point of view from which the British regarded the Native Princes, to whom they offered alliances up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, was that of equal and independent states. The terms and the forms of negotiation were reciprocal. Reciprocity was not, however, expressed in the affected terms of equality which Clive employed. For instance, his treaty with Siraj ud daula, concluded on the 9th of February 1757, a week after the recapture of Calcutta was signed and sealed by the Nawab "in the presence of God and his prophet," whilst Colonel Clive on the 12th of February declared "in the presence of God and our Saviour" the adherence of the English to the articles of the treaty. With Jafar Ali Khan the declaration of the Company's agreement was made "on the Holy Gospels and before God," whilst he swore "by God and the Prophet of God." In the treaty with Kolhapur, concluded on the 12th of January 1766, for the suppression of piracies, the British agreed in return for similar concessions not to entertain in their service the subjects of Kolhapur, and to restore any fugitive slaves to it. In 1792 the Maratha version of another treaty with the same state was treated as the original, whereas in later times the

English document was referred to as authoritative, in the event of any dispute as to the meaning of the parties. When the Triple Alliance against Tipu Sultan was in 1790 reduced to writing, reciprocity was the spirit in which it was drawn. Due attention was to be paid, in the event of acquisitions, "to the wishes and convenience of the parties"; a representative of each signatory was to reside in the army of the other, and "the representations of the contracting parties to each other shall be duly attended to." If peace was judged expedient, "it shall be made by mutual consent."

Gradually both the spirit and the form of the Company's engagements changed, and before the close of the first period of their intercourse with the Native states their mutual relations stood as follows. The Company had advanced from the position of *primus inter pares* to an assertion of superiority. It required its allies to surrender their rights of negotiation with Foreign nations and with states in alliance with the Company, but it still left them with full powers of dealing with certain other states in India, which were specially named, as in the case of the Rajput and Sikh states. It recognised their right, except in Oudh and a few other cases, to maintain such armies as they pleased, and only sought to compensate the balance of their military organisation by subsidiary forces placed under the Company's control. With the internal sovereignty of the states, except under special circumstances as in Kutch, the Company not only did not pretend to have, but it formally disavowed, any manner of concern. Its external policy was dictated by military necessity and fear of French intrigue. It therefore placed restrictions on the rights of its allies in making war or alliances, and

imposed on them certain military obligations, and the duty of excluding from their service British subjects and the subjects of European powers at war with the English. But, as yet, the principle of subordinate isolation and co-operation was not unreservedly asserted. The Peshwa's sovereignty was impaired, but not formally resigned, and so far as it was consistent with the limitations placed upon the independence of the country princes, the forms and spirit of an international tie were still preserved. Old-fashioned methods survived in negotiations with the king of Oudh to a later date than in the case of other chiefs. In this respect the paper addressed by Lord William Bentinck, on the 31st of October 1831, to the King, the one remaining sovereign in India, to whom were still accorded full diplomatic honours, stands out in marked contrast with other treaties or engagements of that date. The reiteration of the words "reciprocal" and "mutual" throughout the document is evidently designed as a set off against the tone of ascendancy in which even the king of Oudh was then addressed. It will suffice to quote a few sentences from this correspondence which recalls the flavour of the earliest treaties negotiated by the Company. "In these days of auspicious commencement and happy close, while the sound of rejoicing has gladdened the firmament, a meeting has been arranged at a fortunate moment and under favourable circumstances between the heads of the two exalted Governments, on the terms of reciprocal friendship, and in all cordiality, with reference to the relations established of old between the two states, and many interviews have been held with mutual satisfaction; the rosebuds of our hearts on both sides having expanded." "Your Highness may derive

satisfaction from the assurance that, agreeably to the relations of friendship as settled by reciprocal engagements." "All the authorities will study to maintain the relations which exist as established by mutual engagements—so as to display to the world the standards of the mutual good faith and cordiality between the Governments." The same note was struck seven years later in the treaty of the 26th of June 1838. "Each party shall address the other on terms of equality," was the sixth article of that tripartite agreement, which reads like a leaf taken out of the treaties of the preceding century.

Treaties creating subsidiary forces.

§ 35. The subsidiary forces, to which Lord Wellesley devoted his particular attention, mark not only the pressure of common defence, which was never relaxed before the administration of Lord Hastings, but also the contrast between a policy of non-intervention and a policy of union. The system of subsidiary forces and that of Imperial service troops stand in marked contrast to each other, with an interval of a century between them. In each case the military policy is suited to its historical environment. The first treaty which introduced the plan under which the Company engaged "to have a body of their troops ready to settle the affairs of His Highness's Government in everything that is right and proper" was the Hyderabad Treaty, dated the 12th of November 1766. At that moment His Highness was contemplating the invasion of the Carnatic. With the Carnatic, Tanjore, and Oudh somewhat similar arrangements were made. To Travancore in 1795 the Company agreed to furnish three battalions of Sepoys, besides European artillery and Lascars, and laid down rules as to the manner in which requisitions for their services were

to be made. Lord Wellesley succeeded in extending the system to Mysore in 1799, to Baroda in 1802, and to Poona and Gwalior in 1804. Indore, Cochin, and Kutch were included in the scheme by his successors. The troops so provided by the Company were paid for by the states for whose protection against foreign attack they were intended. But inasmuch as punctuality and good faith were not conspicuous in the acts of the Native chiefs, security for the payment of the troops was obtained by the cession to the Company of territory yielding the requisite ways and means. Engagements of this character were not popular with the states concerned, but they were characteristic of the period. The allies looked upon the troops as a menace to their independence, whilst their subjects felt the continual pressure of a force that might be used to suppress their revolt against misrule. The timely assertion of the duty of protected states to contribute according to their resources towards the cost of common defence as a condition of protection, and to keep their own forces down to a point which would disturb neither their own government nor their neighbours, would have rendered the subsidiary treaties unnecessary. But Indian society was not yet prepared for that principle. In the same way, a policy of union and of encouraging the states to maintain a small force of their own, ready to take the field in line with the Imperial troops, would have been premature in the atmosphere of mutual distrust which prevailed in the first period of British intercourse. The whole history of the Mysore wars explains why the Company was gradually forced into an attitude of mistrusting its allies. The scheme of subsidiary forces thus illustrates the essential characteristics of a period during which

wars were frequent, the ascendancy of the British only imperfectly established, and large tracts of ill-defined foreign territory lying on the other side of the Company's boundary fence left blank on the Treaty map.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLICY OF SUBORDINATE ISOLATION

Material changes in the Treaty map between 1813 and 1857.

§ 36. A period of history is now entered upon during which the Treaty map of India was completely altered, and the main features, with which the present generation is familiar, were introduced. The British protectorate was extended by Lord Hastings, and his successors in office up to 1857, to all parts of the country lying south of the Himalayan wall, and enclosed between the spurs and chains thrown off from that mountain range and the seas that wash the shores of India. But this was not the only change. The large, indefinite blocks of Foreign territory left by Lord Minto, with no external frontiers delimited and no internal divisions fixed, were now brought under elaborate settlement; and the multitude of principalities, which still claim separate and direct relations with the British Government, were classified and protected. No doubt can be thrown on the depth and sincerity of the convictions entertained by Lord Cornwallis, the chief advocate and director of the policy of non-intervention. But had he lived to see the outbreak of the Pindari war, or the collapse of the imposing system of rule, rather than of government, created by the genius of Ranjit Singh, he must in the end have admitted its failure. When

Lord Cornwallis returned to India in 1805, he was given the opportunity of reviewing his theory by the light of the changes introduced by Lord Wellesley; but at that time he was unwilling to modify his views. He objected to the chain of subsidiary alliances which Lord Wellesley had forged, on the ground of the responsibility they involved for defending and laboriously propping up what he called impotent or unruly princes. He found fault with the extension of British alliances as retarding the natural development of stronger organisations, and he was prepared to view with satisfaction the absorption of the smaller chiefships in large kingdoms ruled by independent sovereigns in international relations with the British Government. In this policy he miscalculated the conditions of Asiatic society, and overlooked the consideration that Empires must rest on moral foundations. He forgot that the civil wars which had disturbed the country for so long had left rulers without any sense of faith or responsibility, and the ranks of society without discipline or cohesion. If order could be restored by force, it could only be maintained by a succession of competent rulers; whilst the development of good and progressive government required the counterpoise of a Church, a nobility, or free institutions, of which, except in the Punjab, hardly any germs existed. If despotism was the only possible form of Native government, it was essential that it should be beneficent; but the immoral influences of the Zenana, and of a Court surrounded by flattery and intrigue, were destructive of a wholesome "tone of empire," and opposed to the idea of any duty or mission. Alternations of violence and weakness, with a continuity only in repressing the growth of social or political organisation amongst

the people, were not calculated to realise the dream of Lord Cornwallis, that strong and friendly nations might be created beyond the territories enclosed by the Company.

In 1813 Central India, with its 145 chiefs who now have engagements with the British Government, and Rajputana with its 20 sovereignties, filled an undefined vague space on the map, within which "stronger organisations" were left to absorb and consolidate. The results we shall presently see in reviewing the outburst of the Pindari war. The country beyond the Sutlej was already the scene of conquest and reconstruction. Multan had been attacked, although it was not taken until after 1813; Kangra and the Hill Districts had been conquered, if not then annexed to Lahore; and most of the Sikh *Misls* north of the Sutlej already acknowledged the iron rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Before his death on the 27th of June 1839, the Sikh Empire was an established fact built up on intrigue, treachery, and severity, but held together by a strong tie of religion which was wanting in the Pindari hordes, and which in the case of the Maratha confederacy was weakened by caste. Yet the Punjab state could not survive the imbecility of Kharak Singh the Maharaja's son, the vices of his grandson Nao Nihal Singh, and the debauchery of Maharaja Sher Singh. No better field for the realisation of Lord Cornwallis's dream could have been selected than the Punjab. The experiment of a strong organisation was tried, under every condition of success, in a tract of country where the Company's frontier was defined by a river, and at a time when the house of Delhi and the Marathas were reduced to impotence, while Afghanistan was occupied with its own affairs. But the policy of non-intervention

and of avoiding political settlements broke down in the north, as it did in the centre of India, with the result that the whole map of India was filled in with protected states, and the area was parcelled out into a vast number of principalities both large and small.

A general view of the period.

§ 37. The decisive events which occupy the largest space in the chapter of history opened in 1814 and closed in 1856, are the Pindari war and the Sikh wars. But it is convenient, before giving an account of them, to cast a rapid glance at the general setting of events prior to the Mutiny, so far as they bear upon the subject of political intercourse with the Native states. Excluding two short interregnums, nine Governor-Generals held office in this period. Lord Hastings, who negotiated more treaties than any other ruler of India had even discussed either before or after 1813, held the reins of Government for ten eventful years, which witnessed the Nepal war, the so-called Pindari war, and the last Maratha war. He rescued from the wreck of the Peshwa's sovereignty a new principality of Satara, whilst out of the rest he built up the Presidency of Bombay, to which Sind was afterwards added. Lord Amherst, who succeeded him, carried the British protectorate across the Bay of Bengal, and by the Treaty of Yandabu, dated the 24th of February 1826, brought Avan and Burmese politics within the field of the Company's control. Jaintia had been protected in 1824, and by the Avan Treaty Manipur was recognised as outside the sphere of Avan politics. The Governor-General's interference in the disputed succession at Bhartpur accentuated a principle which was recognised in the case of Indore in 1844, and which was prominently recalled to public notice after the Manipur disaster in March 1891. Lord William Bentinck followed, and

at first sight his long administration, famous for its administrative and internal reforms, seems to require attention only in connexion with his intervention to terminate gross misrule in Mysore in 1831, and with his annexation of Coorg in 1834, "in accordance with the unanimous wish of the people." But in reality his tenure of office contributes an important chapter to Indian political history. He not only abolished suttee and other barbarous practices, but he thereby added a new set of political duties, which, derived from the law of nature or the requirements of civilisation, affected British relations with every Native state. From his time certain Eastern customs were officially proclaimed as intolerable, and states which claimed union with the British Government in the interior of the Empire were pressed to take the same view of them. At the outset this obligation was made the subject of special agreement, but in all cases the law of custom and usage has now engrafted on the political theory of the Indian Empire the principle that British protection involves the abandonment of inhuman practices condemned by the common sense of civilised communities.

Lord Auckland's intervention in Afghan affairs lies beyond the scope of a review of the relations subsisting between the British Government and the states in the interior of India; but Lord Ellenborough, who succeeded him, annexed Sind, leaving, however, within the British province the Native state of Khairpur. He also brought to a final issue the question of Sindhia's right to maintain an army at a strength which might prove a source of danger to himself and of embarrassment to his neighbours. Beneath the policy of isolation the principle began to be observed that each separate state was one of a

family, and that a common defence and a common welfare were objects deserving of attainment. Upon Lord Hardinge, who was appointed in 1844 to the post of Governor-General, devolved the conduct of the first Sikh war, which ended in the admission of the Lahore state into the Indian protectorate. But the final collapse of Ranjit Singh's fabric of empire, which had seemed so splendid a proof of the sagacity of those who had advocated a policy of inaction, was absolute; and a measure which might have succeeded in 1809 was in 1845 rendered ineffective by the hopeless ruin of the country of the Five Rivers under its own native Government. It was too late to correct the evil without an entire change of administration. The Council of Regency was as impotent to restrain the military power of the Sikhs as the successors of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh had proved themselves to be. It fell to the lot of Lord Dalhousie to avenge the murder of two British officers at Multan, to crush the Khalsa, and annex the country. To the Provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, acquired by Lord Amherst, he added Pegu as the fruits of the second Burmese war; and inspired by his experience of Punjab administration with a firm conviction that the good of the people could only be advanced by the direct rule of the British Government, he did not hesitate to annex Satara, whose Raja died without male issue in 1848, Nagpore, where the last of the Bhonslas died under similar circumstances in 1853, and Oudh, whose rulers had failed to act up to their solemn engagements and, in the words of the Governor-General, had carried on an administration "fraught with suffering to millions."

The period under review fitly closes with these annexations, which were the final legacies of a policy

of non-interference and of misapplied theories as to the "independence" of the Indian allies. Had the British Government interfered before 1856, as it has frequently done since the Mutiny, and punished grave misrule, as it does now, by the deposition of the incompetent ruler and the temporary attachment of his state, there would have been no necessity, in some of these instances at any rate, for punishing a breach of engagement by annexation. Other considerations than the suffering of millions might have compelled the paramount power in performing its duty of common defence to occupy territories, such as Sind, exposed to invasion. But for misrule in the interior of the Empire a less drastic remedy than escheat would have served all purposes and been less open to misconstruction.

Lord Hastings' administration.

§ 38. This brief outline of the historical framework, in which the political engagements of the period ending in the Mutiny were set, will repay fuller examination. In particular the administration of Lord Moira, better known as Lord Hastings, deserves attention, not merely because it extends through the ten most important years in Indian history, but because a new departure was taken by him. Opposed as he evidently was to annexation, he felt that the proper position of the states in the interior of India was one of isolation and subordinate co-operation; and at the same time he realised the fact, that it was the duty of the paramount power to make a political settlement in the distracted areas of Native territory, and not to leave India to stew in its own juice. He had no faith in the dream of Lord Cornwallis that the stronger organisations would incorporate the petty states and become good neighbours of the British; whilst at the same time he did not, with Lord Dalhousie, hold that

the good of the people required annexations. In the rest of this chapter the progress and results of his administration will be sketched. The Burmese and Afghan wars, under the policy of isolation which he established, could not affect the protected states within the frontiers of India, and their influence on the political history of British India needs no minute inquiry. On the other hand, the annexations, commenced by Lord Bentinck and completed by Lord Dalhousie, as well as the downfall of the Sikh rule, led to the application of a new principle to the conduct of political relations, and these events will be considered in a separate chapter.

The Nepal Treaty.

§ 39. The Earl of Moira had hardly assumed office when he was called upon to settle a difficulty on the Northern frontier, which the pacific dispositions of his predecessors had studiously avoided. Lord Wellesley, under the pressure of reaction against the vigour of his policy, had in 1804 dissolved his alliance with Nepal, and thus escaped the alternative of enforcing its terms. From that time constant violations of the frontier of the Company's ally, the Wazir of Oudh, were met with unavailing protest, until the hardy hillsmen, emboldened by impunity, and mistaking the leniency of their neighbours for timidity, annexed a British Zemindari, from which they were necessarily evicted by a British force despatched by Lord Minto. Then followed other aggressions; but, anxious to avert hostilities, the Company agreed to the appointment of frontier Commissioners to settle the various boundary disputes which during the past few years had grown into a long list. Their decision was adverse to the Nepal state, which, notwithstanding, evaded restitution. This left Lord Hastings no option but to support by

force of arms his just demands. The campaign which followed was in no sense discreditable to the Gurkhas, and it even encouraged them to prepare for a renewal of hostilities; but it also served to convince them that their strongholds were not inaccessible to the Company's troops, and that it would be imprudent to push to extremes the forbearance of the British. The Treaty of Segowli, drawn out on the 2nd of December 1815, was accordingly, and after some hesitation, executed on the 4th of March 1816. Apart from the territorial cessions secured by it, the engagement excluded the intervention of Nepal in the affairs of Sikkim, forbade the employment or retention of British, or Foreign European, or American subjects in the service of the Gurkha Government without the consent of the Company, and provided that accredited ministers from each state should reside at the Court of the other. The treaty was one of mutual amity, and although it imposed restrictions upon the sovereignty of the ruling prince in regard not only to his foreign policy, but also as to his employment of Europeans, it granted reciprocity in the matter of accredited ministers, and generally presented a contrast to the engagements of subordination which Lord Hastings was soon to take from the states in the interior of India. The Nepal State, in fact, by reason of its peculiar relations to the Tibetan Government and its geographical position, stands outside the category of the dependent protected states of India. During the whole course of subsequent negotiations with it this distinction has been strictly observed, whether in the matter of jurisdictory arrangements made in 1839, and of extradition in 1855, or in the manner in which, in 1860, a portion of the lands surrendered by the Segowli Treaty was finally restored.

The exceptional status of this outlying territory is emphasized by the very different provisions of the treaty with Sikkim, dated the 10th of February 1817, which naturally flowed from the arrangement with Nepal. The Raja of Sikkim was obliged to surrender to the Company his sovereign functions of declaring war or making treaties, and to submit all his disputes to the arbitration of the Company.

The Pindari robbers.

§ 40. Having settled affairs on the Northern frontier of India, Lord Hastings was at last free to devote himself to the serious complications in Central India and Rajputana which threatened the Company's dominion. Once more history was to repeat itself. Self-defence had, in 1790, compelled the British to conclude the Triple Alliance against Tipu Sultan, after a bitter experience of previous invasions of their territories, and when his attack on the Company's ally, the Raja of Travancore, indicated a fresh attempt to wrest from them dominion. The ultimate consequences of Tipu's and his father's implacable hostility to the British Company were, as we have seen, the creation of the Madras Presidency as it still exists, and a series of alliances with Mysore, Hyderabad, the Peshwa, the Gaikwar, and other chiefs of the Maratha confederacy, drawing with them entanglements which would have ended sooner in annexation or political supremacy, if public opinion in England had not held back the Indian authorities. Self-defence was again the irresistible motive for action, but on this occasion public opinion did not stay the hand of the Indian authorities. The lesson taught by a succession of imperfect settlements and renewed conflicts in Southern India was too fresh in the public mind to be forgotten. Accordingly the consequences which flowed from the Pindari war were more decisive and far-reaching than

those that had followed the wars in the Carnatic. The Pindaris, unlike the Marathas or the Sikhs, were united by neither social nor religious ties. They were a community of human jackals, who herded together attracted by the love of plunder and murder. From all quarters appeals were made to the Company for protection. Even while the Governor-General was engaged in the Nepal war, the Pindaris had crossed the Narbada river, passed the valley of the Tapti, and returned along the Godavari laden with the spoil of defenceless villages in the Hyderabad state. In 1816 they appeared in Masulipatam, and their course was marked by the violation of women and the most brutal excesses. They inspired such terror in the minds of the people that the inhabitants of Guntur set fire to their houses and perished in the flames they had themselves kindled rather than fall into the hands of cut-throats so accomplished and desperate. From India lying outside the protectorate, from its protected allies, and from its own annexed Districts, the British Government received the most piteous appeals for help. The universal outcry compelled statesmen to review their policies and amend their worn-out phrases. It was soon recognised that the Pindari outbreak of savagery, dignified by the name of a war in history, was intimately connected with the policy of the ring-fence, and could not be suppressed without an abandonment of the principle of non-intervention. It was the product at compound interest of the Company's repression of disorder within its border, and of its policy of unconcern beyond its own possessions. The knot tied by Lord Cornwallis and his school must be undone before the Pindaris could be hanged as they deserved.

§ 41. Lord Cornwallis, as has been shown, was

prepared to see the smaller states absorbed by stronger organisations. Central India and Rajputana were now destined to be the theatre of his grand experiment. By article viii. of the Treaty of Mustafapur, concluded with Sindhia on the 22d of November 1805, the Government of India engaged "to enter into no Treaty with the Rajas of Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Kota, or other chiefs, tributaries of Sindhia, situated in Malwa, Meywar, or Marwar," and "in no shape whatever to interfere with the settlement which Sindhia may make with those chiefs." By the Treaty with Holkar, concluded on the banks of the Beas on the 24th of December 1805, whither Lord Lake's victorious army had driven Jeswant Rao Holkar from across the Sutlej, the pacific Sir George Barlow had engaged "to have no concern with any of the Rajas situated to the south of the Chambul." Finally, the spirit of subsisting engagements with the Peshwa at Poona recognised his sovereignty; for, in the Treaty of Bassein, dated the 31st of December 1802, the preamble referred to the "several allies and dependants" of the two Governments; while, in article xiv., the British power half apologised, and sought confirmation, for its treaty with the Gaikwar, which "was meditated and executed without any intention that it should infringe any of the just rights or claims of His Highness Rao Pundit Purdhan Bahauder." Again, by the partition Treaty of Poona, dated the 14th of May 1804, the head of the Maratha confederacy acknowledged the sovereign title of the Honourable Company to the forts, territories, and rights of Maharaja Sindhia, which had already been "ceded by the Treaty of Sarje Anjengaon" after the crushing defeat of his forces by General Wellesley. Thus the Company had recognised the rights of its

The shelter afforded by states outside the alliance.

allies to make what it was pleased to call "settlements," and had tied itself hand and foot by these several engagements. It had practically marked off a large tract of territory in the centre of India as lying outside its diplomatic action, and reserved as a playground for the forces of intrigue and disorder until its treaties were amended. It was, then, no matter for surprise that the soldiers of fortune, and the cut-throats and banditti of India, driven from the provinces governed by the British, or from the protected states in which a civilised influence had been established, should gather round the carcass in Central India, and join the standards of Amir Khan, Chitu, or any other leader who could promise them the spoils of civil war and the plunder of districts enriched by peace.

The Pindari and the last Maratha wars were thus indissolubly connected. The robber gangs who dared to raid upon the Company's territories and their allies could not be attacked without invasion of the area deliberately excluded from the protectorate. No partial settlement would avail. Order must be restored in the centre of India, and when established it could not be maintained without the recognition, nay more, without the creation of protected and isolated sovereignties. Gwalior and Indore were already written large on the Treaty Map of India. But Alwar, Dholpur, and Bhartpur, situated in Eastern Rajputana, in the neighbourhood of Agra, were the only Rajput states inscribed in the Treaty Book; and it was now necessary to write in the rest of the Rajput houses, and to parcel out the map of Central India. As the Emperor of Delhi's claims to confer titles had been abolished, so now the fiction of the Peshwa's authority must be summarily disposed of.

The Maratha confederacy had been broken by Abdalis at Panipat, but it was about to receive a greater blow from the diplomatic, as well as the military, power of the Merchant Princes. The Pindari disturbances were the occasion, rather than the cause, of the inevitable revolution, which was to shatter the policy of non-intervention, and to establish British supremacy in the heart of the Empire, as it had already, under the same stress of self-defence, been consolidated in the south.

The course of the political settlement with the Maratha powers.

§ 42. Negotiations were first opened with the Head of the confederacy at Poona. On the 13th of June 1817, His Highness the Peshwa concluded with Mountstuart Elphinstone a treaty by which he confirmed the Treaty of Bassein, undertook to deliver up Trimbukji, renounced all claims against the Gaikwar, and ceded lands in lieu of the Contingent. But the important clause for present purposes is article iv., by which he recognises "for himself, and for his heirs and successors, the dissolution in form and substance of the Maratha confederacy, and renounces all connexion whatever with the other Maratha powers, whether arising from his former situation of executive head of the Maratha empire or from any other cause." The states of Kolhapur and Sawantwadi, in Bombay, and the four great Maratha states of Gwalior, Indore, Nagpore, and Baroda were thus formally detached from the confederacy. Of them the [illegible]owerful was undoubtedly the state of Sindh[illegible]nd to his capital Lord Hastings, at the head of a [illegible]rful force, turned as soon as the close of the m[illegible]n enabled him to move. On the 5th of November 1817 Sindhia signed the Treaty of Gwalior, which was ratified within twenty-four hours in camp by the Governor-General. "Whereas the British Government and

Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Sindhia Bahadoor are mutually actuated by a desire to suppress the predatory power of the Pindarees, and to destroy and prevent the revival of the predatory system in every part of India," it was agreed that the two parties should pursue a concerted line of action. British garrisons were to be admitted into the forts of Hindia and Asirgarh, a contingent of 5000 horse was to be furnished at the Maharaja's cost, and his troops were to occupy certain fixed positions. Above all, the restrictions upon British intervention in Rajputana were withdrawn, and it was declared "that the British Government shall be at full liberty to form engagements with the states of Oudeypore, Jodhpore, and Kotah, and with the state of Boondee and other substantive states on the left bank of the Chambul." While this treaty was being signed, another for the consolidation of the Company's territories and for military co-operation was concluded with the Regent of Baroda. On the same eventful day the Peshwa at Poona shot his last bolt, and after a treacherous attack on the Resident, was defeated at Kirki on the 5th of November 1817. A few months later he was deposed and became a mere pensioner of the British Government. Appa Saheb, Raja of Nagpore, undeterred by this example fell on the Residency at Nagpore, and notwithstanding the immense disparity between the two forces was brilliantly defeated at the battle of Sitabaldi. On the 6th of January 1818 he was forced to sign a provisional agreement by which he was allowed to retain his throne until the pleasure of the Governor-General was knowu ; and meanwhile he was obliged to leave the administration to ministers in the confidence of the Resident. On the same day Holkar signed the Treaty of Mandasor after a crush-

ing defeat at Mehidpur, and transferred to the British Government his supremacy over the Rajput chiefs. He was also obliged to recognise the engagement concluded with Amir Khan, to which attention must now be drawn, and to accept a position of subordinate isolation.

The Rajputana and Central India settlement.

§ 43. By these means Lord Hastings had for the time isolated Sindhia, who was obliged by the presence of a large force to accept the terms offered to him, and had reduced to flight or capitulation the Peshwa and his two allies at Indore and Nagpore. The Baroda state was of secondary importance, since its army was more likely to be a danger to itself than to its neighbours. Anand Rao Gaikwar, whose life was now drawing to a close, had some years previously been the prisoner of his own Arab mercenaries. After their reduction by a British force and the settlement of their claims to arrears of pay, he was at the mercy of palace intrigues, so that his policy was practically dictated by the British Resident. From the Marathas, then, there was little to fear, and the settlement of Central India and Rajputana was forthwith taken up with the accustomed vigour of the Governor-General. The Nawab of Bhopal, who had in vain sought British protection in 1809, and whose gallant defence of his city has already been mentioned, was dead. He had been forced by the policy of non-intervention to invite the Pindaris to his aid in order to repel the attacks of Sindhia and the Bhonsla. His son, Nazar Muhammad, was accordingly addressed by the Governor-General's representative, on the 13th of October 1817, in these terms:—"The British Government has now unalterably determined to suppress the predatory power of the Pindaris, and to destroy and prevent the revival of the predatory

system in every part of India. The British armies are advancing from every quarter into Malwa for this purpose. Every state must therefore declare itself either friend or foe. Those even who do not co-operate zealously in this cause will be viewed and treated as enemies." He was offered and accepted the British alliance; and, although he did not sign a treaty of subordinate co-operation until the 26th of February 1818, the admission of Bhopal into the protectorate dates from Lord Hasting's letter, written on the 23rd of December 1817, in which he was granted protection.

The next blow struck at the Pindaris recoiled upon Indore. On the 9th of November 1817 "*Nawab*" Amir Khan, as he was styled, the most conspicuous of the leaders of banditti, who had made such good use of the free hand granted to him by Lord Cornwallis and his successors that he now adopted the style of Nawab and claimed possession by force of arms of a large territory, was taken under protection on conditions of reform. To the lands so acquired from Holkar the Company added the fort and the district of Rampura, besides a grant of three lakhs of rupees, on condition that the new ruler of Tonk should give up his predatory habits, disband his ill-recruited army, submit his diplomatic relations to the guidance of the British, and place the residue of his forces at the disposal of the Company when required to do so. This he agreed to do, and his force of 30,000 men including several batteries of guns, as well as his own talents, were lost to the Pindari cause. It is unnecessary to pursue the fortunes of Chitu, who at one time commanded 10,000 horsemen, until he perished in the jungles, or those of Karim who surrendered