The Governor-general established the sound financial principle that reproductive public works, that is to say, those which earn the interest on their cost, should be paid for by loan.

Commercial failures. The civil war in the United States of America produced an abnormal demand for Indian cotton, and consequent extravagant speculation. The management of the Bank of Bombay unfortunately lent itself to the support of wild schemes, which in 1865 resulted in a commercial crash involving the suspension of payments by the Bank. Many people who had believed themselves to be wealthy were ruined in a moment.

Tenancy legislation. Sir John Lawrence, throughout his career, took a deep interest in the fortunes of the peasantry, and always was inclined to support their cause as against that of the greater landholders. He succeeded in passing a measure (Act XXVI of 1866) for the protection of under-proprietors and tenants in Oudh ; but was warned by the Secretary of State ' to take especial care, without sacrificing the just rights of others, to maintain the talookdars of Oude in that position of consideration and dignity which Lord Canning's Government contemplated conferring on them '.

The talookdars, who are combined in a powerful association, have been able to take good care of their interests, while the country as a whole is densely populated and prosperous.[1]

The Panjāb Tenancy Act, passed at a later date, was drafted in the time of Sir John Lawrence.

Sir John Lawrence as Viceroy. The validity of the arguments against the appointment of a member of the Civil Service of India to the office of Governor-general was confirmed rather than discredited by the history of the viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence. He was never able to shake off the habits of the Panjāb official of old days, and admittedly was too indifferent to the ordinary daily maintenance of the dignity of his great office. His reputation rests upon his administration of the Panjāb after the annexation and on the invaluable services rendered by him at the time of the Mutiny, not on his work as Viceroy, which could have been done as well or better by a worse man.

He was created a Baron on his retirement. He then filled up his time by accepting the office of Chairman of the London School Board and by much active work in connexion with the Church Missionary Society and kindred institutions. In June 1879, when he had become almost blind and wholly worn out, he died at the age of sixty-eight. His memory was fitly honoured by burial in Westminster Abbey and the erection of statues in Calcutta and London.

Lord Mayo. In January 1869 Sir John Lawrence made over charge to a man of a very different type, Richard Bourke, Earl of Mayo, an Irish nobleman, then almost forty-seven years of age,

[1] The term *talukdār* in Oudh has a meaning quite different from that which it has in Bengal. For a summary history of revenue and rent legislation in Oudh see *I. G.*, 1908, vol. xix.

who had served his native country as Chief Secretary with distinction. His selection as Viceroy by Mr. Disraeli, although sharply criticized, was not disturbed by the Radical Government which came into power in 1868 under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone. Lord Mayo during his three years of office justified the hopes of the statesman who had appointed him, and proved himself to be a thoroughly efficient Governor-general and Viceroy. His exceptional personal charm endeared him especially to the rulers of the Protected States, who regarded him as the ideal representative of the Sovereign. He worked hard at all the problems of administration, and lost his life owing to his zealous efforts to improve the defective system of government in the convict settlement of the Andaman Islands.



LORD MAYO.

Afghanistan and Russia. A personal interview between Lord Mayo and the Amīr Shēr Ali at Umballa (Ambāla), in March 1869, removed the unpleasant impression left on the mind of the Afghan ruler by Sir John Lawrence's cynical declarations and secured the personal friendship of the Amīr, although his specific requests were not granted. Lord Mayo increased his cash subsidy and supplied him with arms. Informal negotiations conducted in Russia by Sir Douglas Forsyth with the sanction of the Home Government induced the Tsar to recognize the Oxus as the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and also, after some delay, to admit the justice of the Amīr's claim to Badakhshān.

Protected States. A serious case of misgovernment in the Alwar State, Rājputāna, was disposed of by transferring the powers of the vicious young Mahārāja to a council. Difficult problems arising in the turbulent little states of the Kāthiāwār peninsula were dealt with judiciously. Lord Mayo founded the Mayo College at Ajmēr for the education of the sons of chiefs and nobles, but the institution was not actually opened until 1885. Similar colleges have been established at Lahore and at Rājkōt in Kāthiāwār. The obstacles to complete success in the working of institutions of the kind are so great that too much must not be expected from them.

Visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. The visit in 1869 of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, Queen Victoria's second son, was an event of high significance as marking the beginning of close personal relations between the Sovereign and her Indian peoples. The policy thus initiated was continued in later years by the tour

of H.R H. the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, by the Indian service of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, and by the visit of the late Prince Edward. It was crowned by the memorable solemnity at the close of 1911, when the King-Emperor George V and his gracious consort received in person the fervent homage of all India.

Finance. Lord Mayo was firmly resolved to adjust the finances of the Indian Empire so that the expenditure in normal years should be within the income. He succeeded in his purpose by imposing certain additional taxes and enforcing rigid economy. He reorganized the Public Works Department, and paid the closest personal attention to the working of every department in order to secure efficiency without waste. He introduced the system of state railways.

His most memorable financial reform was a measure of decentralization which made every Provincial Government responsible for its own finance within certain defined limits. Previously every local government had engaged in a scramble for grants from the Supreme Government, so that the provincial administrations had no interest in economy, while the Government of India was unable either to make accurate estimates or to exercise effective control over imperial finance.

Murder of Lord Mayo. The administration of jails and the penal settlement at the Andaman Islands was one of the many subjects which engaged Lord Mayo's untiring energy. When inspecting the convict settlement at the Andamans he unfortunately prolonged his visit until after dark. Just as he was stepping into the boat a Muhammadan frontier tribesman, who had been transported for a blood-feud murder, sprang out of the bushes upon the Viceroy's back and stabbed him to death, on January 24, 1872. The murderer had determined to kill some high European official and was proud of his success in slaying the Viceroy. Lord Mayo was dead when brought on board the frigate. The crime excited universal horror in India and Europe.

Lord Northbrook. The duties of the head of the Government having been carried on by two officiating incumbents, the newly appointed permanent Governor-general, Lord Northbrook, assumed charge of his office in May 1872. He was a member of the wealthy banking house of Baring, and brought to the discharge of his novel functions excellent business capacity and varied official experience. His period of office presents few incidents worthy of special notice.

Afghan policy. Lord Northbrook lacked the personal charm of his predecessor. In his relations with the Amīr of Afghanistan, acting under instructions from the Duke of Argyll, then Secretary of State, he resumed the cold, repellent attitude of Sir John Lawrence, with the result that Shēr Ali developed feelings of hostility to the English and turned to Russia for the support which India refused. When the Conservative Government came into power in 1874 the Viceroy was unable to concur in the policy

suggested by Lord Salisbury, who desired to send a special mission to Kābul.

The Gaikwār. The strange case of Malhār Rāo, Gaikwār of Baroda, was the only remarkable incident marking the relations between Lord Northbrook and the Protected States. Malhār Rāo, who had become Mahārājā in 1870, grossly misgoverned his dominions, behaving with folly, extravagance, and cruelty. Colonel Phayre, the Resident appointed by the Government of Bombay, devoted all his energy to the exposure of abuses, with the result that the Government of India ordered an inquiry, which resulted unfavourably to the Gaikwār. Sir Lewis Pelly was then appointed Special Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-general. He arrived at Baroda in December 1874. Meantime, in November, an attempt had been made to poison Colonel Phayre by the administration of diamond dust in his food. Grave suspicion resting on the Gaikwār, he was arrested in January 1875 under the orders of the Government of India, which arranged for the constitution of a commission to try his case and report. The commission was composed of six members under the presidency of the Chief Justice of Bengal. The three Indian members, namely, the Mahārājās of Gwālior and Jaipur, with Sir Dinkur Rāo, the eminent minister, found a verdict of 'not proven'; while the three English members were fully satisfied as to the Mahārājā's guilt. The Government of India, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, although declining to formally convict Malhār Rāo of attempted murder, deposed him as the penalty for 'his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the State, and his evident incapacity to carry into effect necessary reforms'. The deposed prince ended his days at Madras in 1893. A boy named Sayājī Rāo, a distant relative of the family, was placed on the throne and carefully educated. During his minority the state was ably administered by Sir T. Mādhava Rāo. The Baroda Government continues to be of a progressive and enlightened character (1918).

Bihār famine. The authorities had been so frightened by the censure passed on the mismanagement of the Orissa famine in 1866, that in 1873–4, when a calamity of the same kind, but on a much smaller scale, occurred in Bihār and part of Bengal, relief operations under the direction of Sir Richard Temple were conducted regardless of expense with unnecessary extravagance. Nearly seven millions sterling were spent.

Tour of Prince of Wales. The Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, made an interesting tour through the Indian Empire in 1875–6, and received many proofs of cordial loyalty.

Retirement of Lord Northbrook. Lord Northbrook had the misfortune to differ from the Home Government, not only with regard to Afghan policy, but on the question of taxing Manchester cotton goods. His retirement in 1876, ascribed officially to domestic reasons, must have been influenced by the discomfort of his relations with the ministry in London.

CHRONOLOGY

Withdrawal of doctrine of lapse; army amalgamation; Rent Act X of 1859 1859
Indigo disputes and riots in Bengal 1859–60
Enactment of Indian Penal Code 1860
Establishment of High Courts; enactment of Code of Criminal Procedure; Indian Civil Service Act; famine in N.W. India 1861
Lord Elgin I Governor-general 1862
Umbeyla or Black Mountain campaign 1862–3
Death of Amīr Dōst Muhammad 1863
Sir John Lawrence Governor-general 1864
Failure of Bank of Bombay 1865
Famine in Orissa and on eastern coast 1865–7
Shēr Ali established as Amīr of Afghanistan 1868
Lord Mayo Governor-general; meeting with Shēr Ali at Umballa; visit to India of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh . . . 1869
Murder of Lord Mayo (January 24); Lord Northbrook Governor-general (May) 1872
Bihār famine 1873–4
Deposition of Malhār Rāo Gaikwār 1875
Tour of Prince of Wales 1875–6
Retirement of Lord Northbrook 1876

AUTHORITIES

In addition to the books cited in the notes and in the last preceding chapter, reference for the most authoritative account of the legal changes in the time of Lord Canning may be made to ILBERT, *The Government of India*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2nd ed., 1907; 3rd ed., 1914. Famines, relations with the Native or Protected States, and other administrative subjects are well discussed in *I. G.* (*Indian Empire*), 1907, vols. iii, iv. For Lord Mayo, Sir W. W. HUNTER, *The Earl of Mayo* (R. I., 1892) suffices. The larger *Life* by the same author in two vols. was published in 1875. I have looked into *Thomas George, Earl of Northbrook, a Memoir*, by BERNARD MALLET (large 8vo, Longmans, 1908).

CHAPTER 2

Lord Lytton; Royal Titles Act; famine; finance; Vernacular Press Act; second Afghan War; Lord Ripon; reversal of Afghan policy; internal administration; Lord Dufferin; Panjdeh incident; third Burmese War; Tenancy Acts.

Lord Lytton. Mr. Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) selected as Lord Northbrook's successor, Edward Robert, second Baron Lytton, son of the first Baron, the well-known novelist, dramatist, and politician. The appointment in 1875 of the second Lord Lytton to the government of India was a surprise to everybody, because the Viceroy designate, then forty-four years of age, was a diplomatist by profession, wholly lacking in administrative experience, and known outside of the Foreign Office chiefly as a man of letters under the name of 'Owen Meredith'. In a private

letter the Prime Minister explained his choice by observing that 'the critical state of affairs in Central Asia demands a statesman', adding that his nominee by accepting the post would have an opportunity not only of serving his country, but of winning enduring fame. Lord Lytton, who had already refused the Governorship of Madras on account of his delicate health, was unable to resist the pressure put upon him by Mr. Disraeli, and felt constrained to accept the offer of the Viceroyalty as 'a high and glorious command, which it would be a dereliction of duty to disobey'. He assumed charge at Calcutta in April 1876, and remained office for a little more than four years until June 1880. After spending some years quietly in England he became Ambassador at Paris, where he died in 1891 at the age of sixty.



LORD LYTTON.

The administrative inexperience of Lord Lytton did not hinder him from dealing brilliantly with one of the worst famines on record; from carrying into effect indispensable measures of financial reform; or, generally speaking, from maintaining a high standard of executive efficiency. His state papers and speeches are models of clear thinking expressed in an admirable style.

His reputation has been obscured by the lack of an adequate biography; by certain foreign peculiarities of manner and habits which offended conventional opinion; and, above all, by reason of the bitter partisan controversies aroused by his Afghan policy, executed by him under the instructions of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury. The equally venomous criticism of the Vernacular Press Act further discredited him in popular opinion. Those causes have prevented Lord Lytton from attaining the 'enduring fame' promised by the Prime Minister, and perhaps may be said to have left a general impression that he was a failure as a ruler of India. If such an opinion exists it is based upon insufficient grounds. The best parts of his internal policy were of permanent value, and served as the basis of developments effected by his successors; while the most essential measures of his Afghan policy, by which I mean the occupation of Quetta and the securing

of the Kurram valley, either remained undisturbed, or, if reversed for a time, had to be reaffirmed a few years later.

The Royal Titles Act. The necessity for official recognition of the patent fact that Queen Victoria since 1858 had become the paramount sovereign of all India, including the Native or Protected States, had been emphasized by incidents during the tour of the Prince of Wales in 1875–6. Lord Northbrook's Government recommended that Her Majesty should be designated as Sovereign. The Prime Minister took up the idea, and intimated in the speech from the throne in 1876 that a measure would be introduced for making the desired change in the royal titles. Unfortunately the proposal met with considerable opposition in Parliament, and came to be regarded from a party point of view. The Bill, however, passed, and the duty of giving effect to the Act devolved upon Lord Lytton. He regarded the enactment as the beginning of 'a new policy by virtue of which the Crown of England should henceforth be identified with the hopes, the aspirations, the sympathies and interests of a powerful native aristocracy'. He believed strongly in the appeal to the loyal sentiment of the princes and nobles, and was right. The form of title chosen, 'Kaisar-i Hind', 'the Caesar of India', on the analogy of 'Kaisar-i Rūm', the well-known designation of the Byzantine emperors, was generally approved as being the best that could be devised.

The proclamation of Her Majesty's assumption of the new dignity was made with due solemnity in an Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on January 1, 1877; the 'Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire' was founded; and the occasion was marked by the release of prisoners and other acts of grace. Lord Lytton, however, was not able to carry out all his intentions. General agreement has been attained that the formal acknowledgement of the already existing suzerainty of the British Crown may be described correctly as 'an act of political wisdom and foresight'.

Famine of 1876–8. The rejoicings of the solemn assembly were marred by the development of an exceptionally severe famine due to the failure of the rains of 1876 in Mysore, the Deccan, and large areas of the Madras and Bombay presidencies. Short-sighted critics grumbled at the expense of the ceremonial, but Lord Lytton rightly decided against suggestions for postponement. The meeting with the Governors of Madras and Bombay and with the princes whose dominions were involved in the famine proved to be of high administrative value. The Viceroy observed in a private letter that 'as regards the famine difficulties the Imperial Assemblage has been a godsend'. The opportunity for personal conference was especially fruitful with reference to the Madras presidency, where the Governor, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, although animated by the best intentions, insisted with perverse obstinacy in pursuing an erroneous and ruinous policy. Even after the conversations at the Assemblage the Duke persisted in his opposition to the instructions of the Supreme Government, so that the Viceroy was constrained to make a toilsome and perilous

journey to the south in order to enforce his decisions.[1] He succeeded by the display of much tact and forbearance, but not until immense mischief had been done. In the Bombay Presidency the business was so well managed that the cost was about four millions sterling against ten millions spent in Madras with less effect in the saving of human life.

The famine lasted for two years, from 1876 to 1878, extending in the second year to parts of the Central Provinces and the United Provinces (then the N.W.P.), with a small area of the Panjāb. The total area affected was estimated at 257,000 square miles, with a population of more than fifty-eight millions. The excess mortality in British India alone was supposed to exceed five millions, exclusive of the immense number of deaths in the Native States.

The Madras errors. The Madras administration erred by strangling private trade from the first, and attempting the impossible task of providing all supplies through Government agency. Lord Lytton insisted on applying the principles of Turgot, which, as we have seen, had been successfully applied on a small scale by Sleeman to the Sāgar and Narbadā Territories in 1833. The Madras authorities, overwhelmed by the magnitude of the disaster, failed completely in organization. The Viceroy found that 'the whole action of the Calcutta grain trade was on the point of being paralysed by the conduct of the Madras Government'; that the mortality in Madras was terrible, and 'not a little attributable to the defective management and unsound principles of the local Government'; that the population on the relief works was a 'mere mob'; that there was no organized system of village relief; that the relief camps in and around Madras were 'simply huge popular picnics'; and that the whole system was 'rotten to the core'.

Lord Lytton's achievement. The drastic reforms introduced checked the abuses, but nothing could prevent an exceptionally heavy mortality. Large regions were bare of food of any kind. The injudicious early interference with private trade no doubt had much to do with the failure of supplies. Lord Lytton explained the sound principles of famine relief in an elaborate address to the Legislative Council in December 1877, and obtained sanction to the appointment in the following year of the first Famine Commission, which submitted its Report in 1880. That document is the foundation of the existing elaborate provincial Famine Codes. The Viceroy, who desired to spend freely on railways and irrigation works as preventives of famine, was checked by orders from England restricting expenditure within narrow limits.

Few people ever think of Lord Lytton except either as the man whose policy resulted in the Afghan War and the murder of Cavagnari; or as the author of the much abused Vernacular Press Act. Whatever may be thought about those matters, he deserves

[1] Lord Lytton was obliged to undergo an operation before he could start.

high credit for sound views on famine policy, thoroughly thought out and expressed with forceful lucidity. The whole existing system of famine administration rests on the foundations well and truly laid by him. Lord Lytton's singularly logical mind was constituted on a French rather than an English model. The foreignness of his mental constitution as well as of his manners made him more or less unintelligible to many of his countrymen.

Finance. Lord Lytton's intelligent appreciation of finance was not confined to the formation and enunciation of sound views upon famine problems. He also paid much attention to the complicated question of the cotton duties, and desired if possible to dispense altogether with sea customs revenue. He extended the decentralization scheme initiated by Lord Mayo. The inequalities of the salt tax were remedied in a large measure; and he succeeded in abolishing the barbarous salt customs hedge, described by Sir John Strachey, the Finance Minister, in the following words:

'A Customs line is maintained extending from a point north of Attock to near the Berar frontier, a distance of more than 1,500 miles. Similar lines some hundreds of miles in length are established in the Bombay Presidency, to prevent untaxed salt from Native States entering British territory. Along the greater part of this enormous system of inland Customs lines, which, if they were put down in Europe, would stretch from London to Constantinople, a physical barrier has been created comparable to nothing that I can think of except the Great Wall of China. It consists chiefly of an impenetrable hedge of thorny trees and bushes, supplemented by stone walls and ditches, across which no human being or beast of burden or vehicle can pass without being subjected to detention and search. It is guarded by an army of some 8,000 men, the mass of whom receive as wages 6 or 7 rupees a month. The bare statement of these facts is sufficient to show the magnitude of the evil.' [1]

Vernacular Press Act. Nearly the whole period of Lord Lytton's administration was overshadowed by the strained relations between Russia and England, arising out of the events which led to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, the treaty of San Stefano in March 1878, and the congress at Berlin in June of that year, from which Lord Beaconsfield claimed to have brought back 'peace with honour'. At that time all parties in England were opposed to the passing of Constantinople under Russian dominion, and when the British Prime Minister was successful at the last moment, in defeating Muscovite ambition, his action was almost universally applauded. The successes of Russia had excited the minor journalists in India and led to the publication in vernacular newspapers of many seditious articles, extolling Russia, deprecating England, suggesting the assassination of British officers

[1] I cannot find any record of the date of the construction of the hedge which replaced innumerable inland customs posts scattered throughout the interior of the country. 'The whole customs line was abandoned in 1879, with the exception of a portion along the Indus, maintained to prevent the still lightly-taxed Kohāt salt being smuggled across the river' (*I. G.* 1907, iv. 251). The same authority states the strength of the former 'army' as being 'nearly 13,000 officers and men'.

and advocating combination for the purpose of overthrowing the British Rāj. The Government of India came to the conclusion that the safety of the state required immediate preventive legislation to curb the excessive license of the papers not printed in English. The Bill was strongly supported by all the members of the Legislative Council who spoke, as well as by all the provincial governments consulted, except that of Madras, where the vernacular press was insignificant. Accordingly, in 1878, the Vernacular Press Act was passed.

The object of the Act, prevention not punishment, was to be attained chiefly by the requisition of security bonds under strictly regulated conditions. During the four years of its currency the Act was put in force only once. It was repealed under Lord Ripon's Government in 1882, reliance being then placed on an amended section (124 A) of the Penal Code, which provided penalties for seditious writing. Later emergencies, and especially the necessities of the Great War, have rendered more stringent legislation unavoidable.

Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Lytton. Having thus dealt with the more prominent features of Lord Lytton's internal administration, we now proceed to discuss briefly his relations with Afghanistan. The general outlines of his policy were laid down by Lord Beaconsfield, the Prime Minister, and Lord Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary. The Viceroy cordially concurred with the policy of the ministry, and, when quitting office, addressed Lord Beaconsfield as his 'dear and honoured chief', to whom the writer owned 'unreserved allegiance', and felt bound 'by every tie of personal gratitude, political sympathy, and public duty'. The outgoing Prime Minister marked his sense of the Viceroy's services by raising Lord Lytton to an earldom.

Hostility of Amīr Shēr Ali. In 1873 the refusal of Lord Northbrook, acting under instructions from the Gladstone ministry, to give Shēr Ali definite assurances of protection, had determined the Amīr to take the side of Russia, which then seemed to him to be the more formidable power. In 1876, when Lord Lytton became Viceroy, the hostility of the Amīr to England was manifest. The ministry and the Viceroy were agreed on the policy of forcing the ruler of Afghanistan to declare himself to be either a friend or an enemy, of preventing his country from falling under the control of Russia, and, if necessary, of taking effective steps for destroying the Amīr's capacity for mischief to British and Indian interests.

Occupation of Quetta. An important preliminary step was taken in 1876 by the occupation of Quetta (also called Kwatah or Shāl) in Balōchistan, which was effected by amicable arrangement with the Khān of Khelat (Kalāt). The strategical position thus secured dominated the road to Kandahār and gave the Government of India full control over the Bolān Pass. The occupation, which was not disturbed by Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1880, was the most important permanent result of the Beaconsfield and Lytton policy. The Afghan flank was turned, and the direct

routes to Kābul became matters of secondary importance. Quetta with the surrounding territory, now forms a prosperous British district, with much trade. The large cantonment is connected with India by a railway.

Second Afghan War. In 1878 the crisis was brought on by the Amīr's public and honourable reception of a Russian envoy and his refusal to receive a representative of the Viceroy. When Sir Neville Chamberlain, under instructions from Lord Lytton, presented himself at Ali Musjid, and demanded passage through the Khyber Pass in order to communicate the views of the Government of India to the Amīr at Kābul, he was turned back. This deliberate affront necessarily led to war, which began on November 21, 1878.[1] The military operations, admirably planned and brilliantly executed, involved the simultaneous advance of General Browne through the Khyber, of General (Lord) Roberts from the Kurram Valley, and of General Biddulph from Quetta. The combination was so completely successful that Amīr Shēr Ali fled into Russian territory, from which he never returned. He died at Mazār-i Sharīf in February 1879, having failed to obtain the expected Russian help.

Difficulties. So far all had gone well with the British plans. Hostile criticism could find little scope, and the military success attained was beyond expectation. Difficulties then began to be felt owing to the non-existence of any responsible Afghan authority. The late Amīr's declared heir apparent had died just before the war, and Shēr Ali had been obliged unwillingly to release from confinement his other son, Yākūb Khān, whom he acknowledged as his successor.

Treaty of Gandamuk. Lord Lytton was disposed to separate Kandahār as a distinct principality and to reduce Kābul to such comparative insignificance that it could not be formidable whoever might be its chief. When Yākūb Khān was accepted by the Afghans, the Viceroy recognized him in May 1879 as Amīr of Kābul, and, as a concession, promised to restore both Jalālābād and Kandahār. The treaty of Gandamuk, negotiated by Major (Sir Louis) Cavagnari with Yākūb Khān, provided for the control of Afghanistan foreign affairs exclusively by the Government of India, for British occupation of the passes, and for the posting of a British minister or envoy resident at Kābul.[2] Lord Lytton would have preferred that the envoy should be stationed elsewhere, but when Yākūb Khān insisted on his residing at Kābul the Viceroy accepted the obvious risk.

Massacre. Sir Louis Cavagnari, the envoy, arrived in Kābul on July 24, with a small escort, and was assigned quarters in the Bālā Hissar. On September 3 he and all his men were massacred by two or three regiments described as being mutinous.

[1] The text of the Viceroy's declaration of war, dated at Lahore, November 21, 1878, is given in App. II of the *Official Account*.

[2] The text of the treaty is given in App. V of the *Official Account* of the war.

residency was burnt. Yākūb Khān certainly did nothing to save his guests, and probably was cognizant of the intended attack. Credible information showed that he had incited his troops to religious war, but the exact extent of his personal share in the crime necessarily remained obscure.

Retribution. Measures of retribution were taken with commendable promptitude and skill. General Stewart at once reoccupied Kandahār, General Roberts led a force of 5,000 men to the Peiwār Kotal on the Kurram route, and the troops on the Khyber line were rapidly reinforced. On September 27 Yākūb Khān, the Amīr, took refuge in the British camp. General Roberts arrived before Kābul on October 8, and entered the city four days later. After a time he was obliged to withdraw to the entrenched camp at Shērpur, which was defended successfully against vigorous attacks. Kābul was then reoccupied.

Resignation of Lord Lytton. On April 28, 1880, the Conservative ministry of Lord Beaconsfield was replaced by a Radical cabinet under Mr. Gladstone, pledged to reverse the policy of its predecessors. Lord Lytton resigned, and the Marquess of Ripon was appointed his successor. The Marquess, who was fifty-three years of age, had become a Roman Catholic. The appointment for the first time of a member of the Roman Church to be Governor-General and Viceroy of India aroused a storm of opposition in England.

Ayūb Khān and Maiwand. Complications were caused by the action of a son of Shēr Ali, named Ayūb Khān, who had made himself Governor of Herat after the flight of his father. On July 27, 1880, Ayūb Khān, who had assembled a large force, defeated General Burrows at Maiwand and drove the remnant of the vanquished brigade to take shelter within the walls of Kandahār.[1] The garrison was relieved by General Roberts, who made his celebrated march from Kābul with a force of 2,800 Europeans, 7,000 Indian soldiers, and 8,000 followers. The distance of 318 miles was covered in twenty-three days.

Amīr Abdurrahmān. In the end a nephew of Shēr Ali named Abdurrahmān, who had long lived in Russian territory as a pensioner, received sufficient support from his countrymen to be recognized as Amīr of Afghanistan, including Kandahār, which was definitely evacuated by the British forces. The Government of India undertook to support and defend the Amīr against foreign enemies. Ayūb Khān, after recovering possession of Kandahār for a time, was finally defeated by Abdurrahmān, who proved himself to be a strong ruler. Lord Lytton's policy of breaking up Afghanistan into separate states was disallowed and has not been revived.

Results of the Lytton policy. But, as already observed, the eligible and valuable results of his action remained. Khelat

[1] The strength of the brigade was 2,476. The casualties amounted to almost half of the force, being: killed and missing, 971; wounded, 168. Ayūb Khān's army numbered about 20,000, including irregulars.

(Kalāt) had passed permanently under British control; the occupation of the strong strategical position at Quetta secured the uninterrupted use of the Bolān Pass, and commanded the road to Kandahār so effectively that the evacuation of that city became a matter of slight importance. The decision to restore it to the Amīr probably was right. Although the Kurram valley also was given up in 1880, it was reoccupied in 1892 at the request of the Tūri tribe, and is now administered by an agency of the North West Frontier Province. The cantonment is at Pārachinār. The Afghan policy of Lord Lytton, looked at broadly, cannot be justly described as a failure, notwithstanding its partial reversal by Lord Ripon under the direction of Mr. Gladstone's Government. Subsequent developments in the time of later Viceroys, effected by the construction of strategical railways and other methods, were rendered feasible by the action of Lord Lytton. A moderate exertion of military power would now suffice at any time for the occupation of Kābul, Kandahār, Ghaznī, or any other important point in Afghanistan on the Indian side of the Hindu Kush. The events of 1917 and 1918, by which Russia has been extinguished as a political and military force for many years, to say the least, have altered the situation so radically that it is difficult for the younger generation now living to realize the reasonableness and intensity of the apprehensions concerning Russia's approach to India which led to the second Afghan War. It should be remembered that all parties, Lord Lawrence as well as Lord Lytton, were agreed that Russia should be excluded from exercising political control over Afghanistan, or from advancing towards the Indian frontier beyond certain limits to be defined. The differences of opinion concerned the methods to be pursued for the attainment of the objects concerning which everybody agreed.

Lord Lytton's error. Lord Lytton at times permitted his imagination to play with visionary schemes for the extension of British influence in Central Asia and for the advancement of the Indian frontier to a dangerous extent. But he did not attempt to realize such dreams. The logical policy actually pursued was carefully thought out and skilfully executed, with one lamentable exception. Nothing should have induced him to yield to Yakūb Khān's request for the stationing of a permanent British envoy at Kābul, a step practically certain to result in disaster. It is impossible to ascertain the Amīr's motive in making the request. He may have made it with the deliberate intention of provoking a massacre, or he may not. However that may be, an attack on the envoy was almost a certainty, and Cavagnari ought not to have been sent to Kābul. With that important reservation Lord Lytton's Afghan policy does not seem to me deserving of censure, when the circumstances of the time are realized and duly considered.

The 'twin gates of Hindostan'. The proposed separation of Kandahār as a principality under British protection did not involve any violation of national feeling or ancient sovereignty

the tribes of the Kābul province are totally distinct from those of Kandahār, and the political connexion of the two regions under Durrakzai princes was quite recent. With reference to the 'forward policy' generally and the question of a 'scientific frontier', it is well to remember that the close connexion of Kābul, Ghaznī, and Kandahār with India Proper dated from ancient times, and has endured for many centuries with interruptions. The Mauryas of the third century B. C., whose capital was at Patna, held the whole country now called Afghanistan as far as the Hindu Kush. Bābur was lord of Kābul when he gained the throne of Hindostan in 1526, and the Kābul province continued to be ruled by his descendants as an integral and important part of the Indian Empire until 1739. Akbar was appointed Governor of Ghaznī in his boyhood, and Kandahār, regained by him in 1595, had been in his father's possession. It would be easy to illustrate at great length the intimate relations which existed for ages between India and the region extending to the Hindu Kush, but it will suffice to quote the explicit statement of Abu-l Fazl, Akbar's learned Secretary of State and historian.

'The wise of ancient times', he justly observes, 'considered Kābul and Kandahār as the twin gates of Hindostan, the one leading to Turkistān and the other to Persia. The custody of those highways secured India from foreign invaders, and they are likewise the appropriate portals to foreign travel.' [1]

When the modern advocates of a forward policy thought of drawing a line of 'scientific frontier' so as to include the 'twin gates of Hindostan' they had ample historical justification for their ideas. The expediency of an advance at any given moment must be judged according to the circumstances of the occasion. Questions of international law or abstract justice rarely arise out of dealings with the many diverse tribes of Afghanistan or the military adventurers who have acquired dominion over the country from time to time. Even now, in 1918, we may accept as true the remark of Lord Lytton's daughter that 'impartial observers can only conclude that after many vicissitudes of policy, and a large expenditure of men and money by the Indian Government, the problem of our permanent relations with Afghanistan is still awaiting a durable and satisfactory solution'.

Rendition of Mysore. In 1867 during the viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence the Secretary of State and the Government of India had decided to restore the Mahārājā of Mysore to power when he should come of age. That event took place in 1881, when the promise made fourteen years earlier was duly fulfilled. The young Mahārājā, an adopted son, who had been carefully trained, succeeded in governing his dominions creditably, with the aid of capable ministers, until his much lamented death in 1894. Another minority followed, which came to an end in 1902, when the present Mahārājā assumed power. Mysore, as already observed, is

[1] *Āīn*, tr. Jarrett, ii. 404.

administered admirably, the half-century of direct British management from 1831 to 1881 having given opportunities for the development of a succession of efficient, well-educated officials.[1]

General census. In the same year (1881) the first general census of all India, except Nepāl and Kashmīr, was taken. The statistics then collected disclosed an enormous mass of important and novel information. Since that date a fresh enumeration has been effected every ten years. The Reports of the various census Commissioners are storehouses of facts and observations concerning the social conditions of the infinitely diverse peoples of India.

Local self-government. The action of Lord Ripon's government concerning Afghanistan and the Vernacular Press Act has been noticed sufficiently. The name of the Marquess is chiefly remembered for a series of Acts passed in 1883–5 introducing the so-called scheme of local self-government, based on the creation of District Boards and subordinate bodies, modelled more or less closely on the English system of County Councils and Rural District Boards. At the same time the powers of Municipal Boards were extended, and the Government of India intimated that the chairman of a municipality should be a non-official whenever possible. The Supreme Government recognized the fact that one general system could not be imposed upon all provinces. A large discretion necessarily was left to local governments and administrations concerning the manner in which the new institutions should be constituted and operated. The degree to which the elective principle has been introduced varies greatly in different parts of India. The practice of appointing to office by popular election, which is not in accordance with the general sentiment, is difficult to work in a country where caste is the predominant institution, and the electors are sharply divided by differences in race, religion, traditions, and other respects.

The District Boards are concerned primarily with local roads, but are expected to take an interest in education, sanitation, famine relief, and several other departments.

The actual working of the Boards has hardly justified the hopes of Lord Ripon. He avowed that 'it is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as a measure of political and popular education. His Excellency in Council has himself no doubt that, in the course of time, as local knowledge and local interest are brought to bear more freely on local administration, improved efficiency will, in fact, follow.'

Perhaps.

The Ilbert Bill. A great turmoil was caused in the year 1883 by the introduction of a measure commonly known as the Ilbert Bill, because it was introduced by the Legal Member of Council,

[1] For everything concerning Mysore see the revised ed. of the *Mysore Gazetteer*, an excellent work by B. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., in two thick vols. (Constable, Westminster, 1897).

Mr. (afterwards Sir Courtenay) Ilbert. Up to that time no persons other than Europeans, or in more technical language, 'European British subjects', could be appointed justices of the peace with jurisdiction over persons of the same category, in districts outside the limits of the Presidency towns.[1] The bill proposed to remove from the Code of Criminal Procedure 'at once and completely every judicial disqualification based merely on race distinctions', and consequently to confer on many native or Indian-born magistrates authority to deal with Europeans, as with anybody else. The proposal, although in appearance reasonable and fair, roused the most violent opposition among the planters in the indigo and tea districts and among other classes of the non-official European population in all parts of India. They feared, and not altogether without reason, that their safety in up-country places might be endangered in certain contingencies. A strong counter-agitation was started among the educated Indians, the result being an outbreak of bitter racial feeling such as had not been experienced since the days of the Mutiny. The excitement of the public mind became so threatening that the Government was obliged to withdraw the Bill, and to be content with a much less drastic amendment of the Code, which reserved to European alleged offenders the right to claim trial by jury. The ill-feeling roused by the unlucky Bill did not die down for a long time.

Resignation of Lord Ripon. Lord Ripon resigned office in December 1884. Although he was in reality a commonplace man of moderate abilities, who had never attained in his own country a reputation higher than that of a steady, experienced official, with hereditary rather than personal claims to cabinet rank, the occasion of his departure aroused the most extraordinary demonstrations of enthusiasm for his person among his Indian admirers who lamented his resignation. Hundreds of addresses were presented to him, and his journey from Simla to Bombay assembled a triumphal procession. It is hardly necessary to add that the attitude of his countrymen was different.

The chosen successor of Lord Ripon, Frederick Blackwood, Earl of Dufferin, was a person of a totally diverse type, who may be justly described as a man of genius. He was then fifty-eight years of age, and was specially fitted by reason of his exceptional tact to heal the soreness caused by his predecessor's proceedings.

Qualifications of Lord Dufferin. Sir Alfred Lyall, who was well qualified to judge, believed that

> No Governor-general ever came to India so well equipped by antecedent experience for the work as Lord Dufferin. The appointments previously held by Lord Dufferin had been of such a kind that if they had been purposely undertaken as a course of preparatory training for the Indian viceroyalty, a more appropriate selection could hardly have been made. In Syria, and long afterwards in Turkey, he had learnt the difficult art

[1] The terms 'British subject' and 'European British subject' as used in Indian legislation have technical meanings open to much diversity of interpretation. See Ilbert, *The Government of India*.

of dealing with Asiatic rulers and officials ; he had studied their weakness and their strength. At St. Petersburg and Constantinople he had represented the interests of England on the Eastern Question, and all the issues connected with the wider field of Central Asia were familiar to him. Lastly, in Egypt he had been entrusted with a task that has been continually imposed upon the English Government in India—the task of reforming and reconstructing under European superintendence the dilapidated fabric of an Oriental State.'

Those observations, which demonstrate that Lord Dufferin was unusually well qualified to deal with foreign policy, must be subjected to the reservation that he did not possess any specialized knowledge of Indian affairs, such as that possessed by some of his predecessors who had served on the Board of Control, and that he had little aptitude or taste for the problems of internal administration, which he usually left for the disposal of his colleagues and secretaries.



LORD DUFFERIN.

Lord Dufferin's success. Lord Dufferin, after he had been at the head of the Government of India for some time, became keenly sensible of the unknown dangers which beset the ruler of the Indian Empire. 'I have now', he wrote, 'been two years and a half in this country, that is to say, one-half of my term, and I feel now, and have always felt, like a man engaged in a very dangerous steeplechase over a course interspersed with horribly stiff fences and exceedingly wide brooks. . . . One feels that there can be neither rest nor peace nor breathing time until one has got safe past the winning-post at the end of one's five years.'

He rode his fences so skilfully that he never had occasion to lament a fall. When about to retire he was able to offer the customary congratulations on the peaceful state of the country, and had the good fortune to find that his hopeful language was not falsified by the event, as had happened to so many of his predecessors.

Mr. Lecky's well-phrased appreciation of Lord Dufferin's character deserves quotation. 'He was a great diplomatist and a great statesman ; a man who possessed to a degree that was hardly

equalled by any of his contemporaries, the qualities of brilliancy and the qualities of charm ; a man of unequalled tact and versatility, and who combined with these gifts a rare sagacity of judgement and a singularly firm and tenacious will.' His 'rare gift of carrying out great works with the minimum of friction was perhaps the most distinctive feature of his great Indian career '.

The Panjdeh incident. After the conclusion of Lord Lytton's Afghan War, the advance of the Tsar's armies in Central Asia continued rapidly and without serious check until the beginning of 1885, when a Russian force came into contact with the Afghan outposts at Panjdeh. On March 29 the Russian commander sent an ultimatum to the Afghans requiring them to withdraw from their position. The Afghans, claiming to be within their own boundary, refused. A sharp action ensued. The Russians, who were victorious, then proclaimed the annexation of Panjdeh, which lies between Herat and Merv. This incident aroused a storm of warlike passion in both India and the United Kingdom, before which even Mr. Gladstone's pacific Government had to bend. Active preparations for a war with Russia began, and the Muscovite authorities, seeing that England was in earnest, withdrew some of their pretensions, so that the affair was adjusted by negotiation.

Immediately after taking over charge Lord Dufferin had occasion to apply the personal qualifications which have been described to the troubled waters of Afghan politics, and especially to securing the goodwill of the Amīr, Abdurrahmān. The Viceroy arranged an interview at Rāwalpindi with the Amīr, who crossed the frontier on the very day on which the Russians attacked his troops at Panjdeh.

The Amīr, taking the sensible view that the affair at Panjdeh should be treated merely as a frontier skirmish, did not much care whether or not the Russians secured the disputed bit of territory. The thing he really cared about was 'the exclusion at all hazards of British troops and officers from Afghanistan '. Being equally resolved to keep out the Russians, he wished to be allowed to defend himself with English aid in the shape of arms and money only, not men. That resolve of the Amīr's was a relief to Lord Dufferin, who much disliked the prospect of being compelled by existing engagements to risk an army on the Russo-Afghan frontier. He remarked that 'we have undertaken to defend the inviolability of a frontier nearly a thousand miles from our own borders ' ; and felt that it was much more satisfactory not to be obliged to stake anything beyond so many lakhs of rupees. He recognized that the obligations undertaken by Lord Ripon to defend Abdurrahmān were 'very absolute and specific'—not to be evaded, whatever the cost might be.

The Amīr went home pleased. The immediate difficulty was ultimately settled by diplomacy and the appointment of a boundary commission, which gave the disputed tract at Panjdeh to Russia. In business of this kind the personal gifts and special experience of Lord Dufferin were invaluable.

Burmese intrigues with France. Early in the same year, 1885, the Governor-general learned that Theebaw, the King of Burma, had concluded a treaty with the French Government under which France obtained certain peculiar consular and commercial privileges of a threatening character. A trained diplomatist like Lord Dufferin could not allow the intrusion of France into the affairs of Burma, which the Government of India regarded as its own exclusive concern. About the same time King Theebaw showed his dislike and contempt for the British by imposing an enormous fine of twenty-three lakhs of rupees upon the Bombay and Burma Trading Company and ordering the arrest of the employés of the Company. His action is believed to have been suggested by Monsieur Haas, the over-zealous French agent.[1]

Third Burmese War. Lord Dufferin then, with the sanction of the Home Government, dispatched an ultimatum to the Burmese court demanding the immediate settlement of all matters in dispute. The king, who, like his predecessors, was disposed to overrate the strength at his command, sent an evasive reply, and ordered his troops to resist the British advance. On November 14 the Indian army crossed the frontier. The lessons of previous campaigns had been so well learned that no serious opposition was encountered. On the 27th of the same month King Theebaw agreed to surrender, and on the following day, Mandalay, then the capital, was occupied. The war, which had been of a merely nominal character, was thus ended in a fortnight. King Theebaw and his family were deported at once to India, and ultimately settled at Ratnagiri in the Bombay Presidency, where the deposed monarch lived for many years. His personal fate need not excite sympathy or regret. His accession had been marked by the ruthless massacre of about eighty of his relations, and during his short reign he had shown himself to be an intemperate and cruel tyrant.

Annexation of Upper Burma. Lord Dufferin, from the first, had made up his mind to annex the country. Before the war he had written to the Chief Commissioner of Lower Burma: 'If, however, the French proceedings should eventuate in any serious attempt to forestall us in Upper Burmah, I should not hesitate to annex the country; and, as at present advised, I think that this mode of procedure would be preferable to setting up a doubtful prince.'

The Viceroy's action seems to have been determined chiefly as a matter of high politics in order to exclude the threatened French interference from the side of Siam. The grievances of the Trading Company, although real and serious, evidently occupied a secondary place in his thoughts.

[1] For a good account of the intolerable provocations offered by Theebaw, who had come to the throne in 1878, see pp. 33–43 of *Burma* by J. G. Scott, 'Shway Yoe' (London, Redway, 1886), a little book of permanent interest, long out of print. Theebaw was encouraged by knowledge of the British difficulties in Afghanistan and South Africa in 1879 and 1880. The British Resident at Mandalay was withdrawn in 1879.

A formal proclamation of annexation was issued on January 1, 1886. The absorption of the whole Burmese Empire had thus been effected in sixty years, beginning with the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826. Pegu had followed in 1852.

The easy conquest of Upper Burma completed the tale of annexations on a considerable scale open to a Governor-general of India. Nothing more remained to be taken.

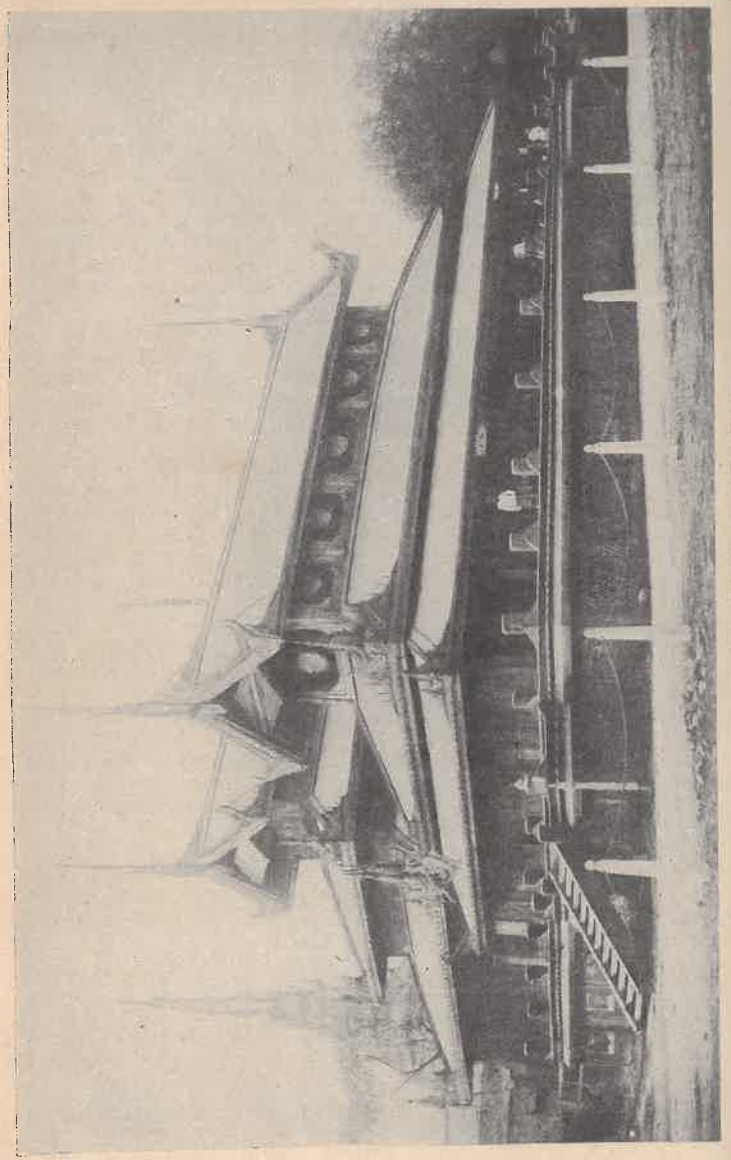
India and Burma. The natural bonds connecting the Indian Empire with Burma are slight. The Burmese, although they had obtained Buddhism and various elements of civilization from India in ancient times, had little in common with the peoples of India. Caste, the distinctive Indian institution, is unknown in Burma, which is more akin to China than to India. Those facts make it difficult for the Supreme Government of India to do full justice to the claims of its great dependency to the east of the Bay of Bengal. It is not improbable that Burma would be better administered and would enjoy improved opportunities for progress if it were detached from India, as the Straits Settlements are. Those settlements might be treated as a dependency of Burma.

Guerilla warfare. The deposition of King Theebaw and the formal annexation of his dominions were accomplished with facility which proved deceptive. The real trouble began when the formal war was finished. The robber bands, which had long infested the country and were regarded by spirited young men as affording suitable outlets for their love of adventure, were now reinforced by swarms of disbanded soldiery led by sundry pretenders to the throne. The irregular resistance of such bands lasted for five years, and became so formidable that at one time 30,000 regular troops were employed against them. Civil government was gradually introduced during that long period of disturbance, and in the end the country settled down. In 1897 Upper and Lower Burma were united so as to form a single immense province administered by a Lieutenant-governor. In due time he will develop into a Governor with all the trappings of the ruler of a Presidency. The country possesses infinite material possibilities, and the people have many virtues, as well as some faults.[1]

Restoration of Gwālior Fort. A graceful concession to sentiment was made in 1886 when Lord Dufferin handed over to the Mahārājā Sindia the famous fort of Gwālior, 'the pearl in the necklace of the castles of Hind'. Morār was given up at the same time, the town of Jhānsi being taken in exchange. The arrangements pleased all parties, and the military strength of the Empire was not impaired, changes in the art of war having destroyed the strategical value of the ancient fortresses.

Queen Victoria's jubilee. The 'jubilee' of Queen Victoria, marking her completion of fifty years of sovereignty, was celebrated

[1] 'The potential wealth in Upper Burma, not to speak of Western China, the Shan States, and Karennee, is simply incalculable. . . . Upper Burma is, undoubtedly, more fertile and promising than our older provinces' (Scott, op. cit., p. 162).



COUNCIL CHAMBER, MANDALAY.

in 1887 at every station and town throughout India with appropriate ceremonial and genuine enthusiasm. The character of Her late Majesty commanded the spontaneous veneration of all classes.

Rent or Tenancy Acts. Lord Dufferin's Government passed three important Rent or Tenancy Acts regulating the rural economy of large provinces. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, designed as an improvement on Act X of 1859, was based on the principles of fixity of tenure and judicial rents. The objection that it violated the terms of the Permanent Settlement was rightly disallowed. The Governor-general had no difficulty in showing that the Act aimed at putting into practice the unfulfilled intentions of Lord Cornwallis.

The conditions in Oudh being different, and tenant-right or 'right of occupancy' being enjoyed by only a small minority of the peasantry, the legislature sought to strengthen the position of the numerous tenants-at-will by granting them a statutory holding for seven years, with a right to compensation for improvements (1886).

In the Panjāb, where the land is largely cultivated by the owners, the question of 'right of occupancy' is less urgent than it is in Bengal and the United Provinces. The Act of 1887 gave the protected tenants a limited guarantee against eviction and enhancement of rent. The relations between landlord and tenant everywhere present problems of such extreme complexity and difficulty that legislation on the subject never can attain more than an imperfect and moderate degree of success.

Retirement of Lord Dufferin. In 1888 Lord Dufferin, who felt the burden of advancing years and was influenced by domestic anxieties, expressed a desire to retire from India and resume diplomatic employment. Lord Salisbury, who had returned to power in 1886, willingly complied with the wishes of the Viceroy and kept the embassy at Rome open for him until he should be ready to assume charge. At the close of the year Lord Dufferin was relieved by the Marquess of Lansdowne, another brilliant Irish nobleman, and was rewarded for his services by a step in the peerage as Marquess of Dufferin and Ava.

If Lord Dufferin may not be given a place in the front rank of the Governors-general, he certainly merits recognition as one of the most successful. His premature retirement was generally regretted.

CHRONOLOGY

Lord Lytton Viceroy; Royal Titles Act; occupation of Quetta	1876
Famine in Deccan and south	1876–8
Imperial Assemblage (January 1)	1877
Vernacular Press Act	1878
Second Afghan War	1878–80
Abolition of customs hedge	1879

Resignation of Lord Lytton; Lord Ripon Viceroy (April); battle of Maiwand (July 27); march of Roberts to Kandahār (August); reversal of Afghan policy 1880
Rendition of Mysore; first general census of India . . . 1881
Repeal of Vernacular Press Act 1882
Education Committee's report 1882
Ilbert Bill controversy 1883-4
Lord Dufferin Viceroy 1884
Panjdeh incident; third Burmese War 1885
Tenancy Acts (Bengal, Oudh, Panjāb) 1885-7
Annexation of Upper Burma (January 1); restoration of Gwālior Fort 1886
Queen Victoria's 'jubilee' 1887
Resignation of Lord Dufferin; Lord Lansdowne Viceroy . . 1888

Authorities

The R. I. series ends with Lord Mayo. No large scale biography of the first Earl of Lytton, the Viceroy, exists. The leading authority is *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1876 to 1880; compiled from Letters and Official Papers by* Lady Betty Balfour, his daughter (Longmans, 1899). That volume (551 pp.), prepared with the help of Sir J. Strachey and Sir A. Lyall, contains many documents not accessible elsewhere. All military details are stated authoritatively in *The Second Afghan War 1878–80; Official Account produced in the Intelligence Branch Army H.Q., India* (734 pp., Murray, 1908); originally 'secret', but revised in 1907 for publication and sale.

The Second Afghan War, 1878–79–80; its Causes, its Conduct, and its Consequences, by Col. H. B. Hanna (3 vols., Constable, 1899–1910), is virtually a huge Radical pamphlet, bitterly hostile to Lords Beaconsfield, Salisbury, and Lytton, and their advisers, and avowedly designed to 'deal a deadly blow to the Forward Policy'. Sir Alfred Lyall, *Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, 2 vols., 1905.

The following secondary authorities may be consulted: R. C. Dutt, *India in the Victorian Age*, 1904, written from the National Congress point of view; L. J. Trotter, *History of India under Queen Victoria, 1836–1880* (1886); and Marshman and E. M. D., *Abridgment* (Blackwood, 1901).

CHAPTER 3

Lord Lansdowne; frontier defence; Manipur; exchange and currency; Lord Elgin II; Chitrāl and Tirāh campaigns; plague and famine; Lord Curzon; famine; foreign affairs and frontier arrangements; internal administration; Lord Minto II; constitutional changes; anarchist crime; Lord Hardinge of Penshurst; visit of Their Majesties.

Lord Lansdowne. The Marquess of Lansdowne, who succeeded Lord Dufferin, had gained official experience in his earlier days as Under-Secretary for War and also for India. Later he had served, like his predecessor, as Governor-general of Canada. He remained in office as Viceroy a little longer than the customary period of five years, and enjoyed a generally quiet time, notwithstanding

two small frontier expeditions. The third Burmese War had closed the paths of conquest, and the alarms about Russian aggression had gradually faded away.

Frontier defence. The Viceroy devoted special attention to questions of frontier defence, and adopted measures well calculated to prevent future panics. He established friendly relations with the Amīr of Kābul by sending Sir H. Mortimer Durand as a special envoy on a temporary mission. The envoy travelled without any escort, trusting himself unreservedly to the honour and hospitality of his host. The result was eminently satisfactory. Various frontier difficulties were then settled in a friendly spirit, and arrangements were made to demarcate the southern and eastern frontiers of Afghanistan by a boundary since known as 'the Durand line'. The subsidy to the Amīr was raised from twelve to eighteen lakhs. Efficient arrangements had been made at an earlier date for guaranteeing the security of Quetta, and in 1889 the Viceroy, when visiting that station, was able to announce that the once dreaded Bolān Pass had become 'a safe and peaceable highway'. The pass proper is fifty-four miles in length. The North-Western Railway now extends to Chaman, about fifty miles beyond Quetta. An extension to Kandahār could be constructed without much difficulty. All political arrangements in the Balōchistan region were effected through Sir Robert Sandeman, an officer of extraordinary ability, endowed with a singular faculty for exercising personal influence. He died in 1892. Critics in the Indian National Congress party, who were incapable of appreciating the value of an insurance policy, and could not see anything beyond the immediate expense, rashly accused Lord Lansdowne of 'silly imperialism' and 'wasteful expenditure'. The value of the Viceroy's foresight has been tested and proved by the prolonged crisis of the Great War. The strength of the frontier defences has justified the Government of India in denuding the country of troops to an extent which would have been madness if Lord Lansdowne, building upon the foundations laid by Lord Lytton, had not provided the means for guarding against attack and for sending up reinforcements as required.

Hunza and Nagar. In 1891 and 1892 a gap in the defences of the north-western frontier was closed by the occupation of Hunza and Nagar in the Gilgit Valley, two strongholds commanding the road to Chitrāl and certain passes over the Hindu Kush. The capture of the almost inaccessible forts was effected by Indian troops with extraordinary gallantry.[1]

Manipur. The small hill principality of Manipur, situated on the borders of Assam to the east of Kāchār (Cachar), was the scene of an unexampled and audacious crime in 1891. Troubles having arisen owing to a disputed succession, the Government of India decided to exile the Sēnapati, or commander-in-chief of the local

[1] The little campaign is vividly described in one of the best books of travel ever written, *Where Three Empires Meet*, by E. F. Knight (1893). The three empires mean India, Russia, and China.

forces, who was a brother of the Rājā lately deposed. Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, with an escort of five hundred men, was ordered up to Manipur to make the necessary arrangements. The Sēnapati not only refused to obey the summons of the Viceroy's representative, but offered armed resistance. Fighting went on until sunset on March 24. An interview between the Chief Commissioner and the Sēnapati having been arranged, the British officers were treacherously attacked. Mr. Quinton and certain members of his staff were captured and deliberately beheaded by the public executioner. The escort retired towards Kāchār. During the retirement strange incidents happened, some of a highly creditable, and others of a painful nature. At the end of April the outrage was avenged, the Sēnapati and some of his accomplices being hanged. A boy was appointed Rājā. During his minority the state was administered by the Political Agent, who introduced many reforms. The young Rājā, who had been educated at the Mayo College, Ajmēr, was invested with powers in 1907.

Khelat (Kalāt) and Kashmīr. After the death of Sir Robert Sandeman in 1892 the Khān of Khelat (Kalāt) committed so many acts of violence, including the murder of a bedridden cripple aged ninety-four, that he was required to abdicate in favour of his son. The Mahārājā of Kashmīr, who had found the difficulties of government too much for him, surrendered his powers for a time to a council of regency. Reforms having been effected, the Mahārājā subsequently resumed his functions.

Exchange. In India the standard of value for several centuries had been silver, that is to say, all debts, public or private, had to be paid in silver rupees. Early in the nineteenth century the rupee had been worth sometimes as much as one-eighth of an English gold sovereign, or, as expressed in British silver currency, two shillings and sixpence. About 1870 the rupee was commonly reckoned as being worth the tenth part of a sovereign or two shillings in silver, and it was customary to convert rupees into pounds sterling or sovereigns at the rate of ten to one, a thousand rupees being taken as equivalent to a hundred pounds. About 1873–4 the value of silver in relation to gold was disturbed by various causes, with the result that in 1878 a thousand rupees were worth little more than fifty pounds. The Government of India being obliged to make large payments in England for diverse purposes, the heavy and fluctuating fall in exchange threw Indian finance into confusion, while European officials and other persons who could not avoid remitting family charges and savings to England in order to make payments there in gold under English law were gravely embarrassed, and injured by the loss of a large percentage of their income. Proposals to remedy the intolerable state of affairs were discussed for many years without result. At last, in 1893, the Government of India and the Home Government decided to close the mints against the free coinage of silver, and subsequently resolved to admit gold as a legal tender, so that debts, whether

public or private, might be lawfully paid in either silver or gold. The result of Lord Lansdowne's legislation, as modified some years later in Lord Curzon's time, has been to steady the rate of exchange, which long remained at about 1*s.* 4*d.* to the rupee. In other words, a sovereign was valued at fifteen rupees, and a thousand rupees were worth about sixty-six sovereigns. The limitation of coinage has given the rupee an artificial value as money, usually far exceeding its intrinsic value as silver bullion. The disadvantages of the arrangement are two, namely, that a premium is placed on the counterfeiting of rupees even in good silver, and that the value of the large hoards of silver bullion in the hands of the Indian population is depreciated. But, notwithstanding those disadvantages, and the necessary loss of income to European residents in India, nobody has been able to devise a better plan. The subject is too intricate and technical to admit conveniently of further exposition. The currency measures initiated by Lord Lansdowne's government secured financial prosperity, and provided the yearly surplus of revenue which enabled Lord Curzon to effect his numerous reforms. The Great War has disturbed the exchange.

Lord Elgin II; frontiers. In 1894 Lord Lansdowne was relieved by Lord Elgin, son of the nobleman who had been at the head of the Government for a short time in 1862–3. The new Viceroy had never held any important office and could not be credited with the possession of any conspicuous personal distinction. His administration lasted for four years. Relations with Russia were improved by a treaty settling the frontier of the two empires in the lofty mountains of the Pāmīrs; the demarcation of the Afghan boundary was completed; and the frontier line between Burma on one side and China and Siam on the other was marked out.

Chitrāl. A disputed succession in the little state of Chitrāl, lying among the mountains to the west of Gilgit and south of the Hindu Kush, led to a small war in 1895, during which the Political Agent underwent a siege and a detachment of a hundred Sikhs was destroyed. In due course the fort was relieved and the leaders of the opposition were deported. Since then Chitrāl has been quiet.

Tirāh. Two years later a more serious frontier operation was rendered necessary by the rising of the strong Afrīdī clans, who closed the Khyber Pass. The valleys south of the pass, until then unexplored, were penetrated, and the active resistance of the clans was broken. The campaign was on an unusually large scale, 40,000 troops or more being employed. The thorough subjugation of the tribes seems to be as far off as ever.

Plague and famine. The latter part of Lord Elgin's term of office was clouded by the calamities of pestilence and famine. Bubonic plague, the same dread disease which had ravaged London and other parts of England in 1663–5, was known to be endemic or locally indigenous in certain places in India, especially on the slopes of the Himalayas, where it had existed without

attracting much notice. An epidemic spread over a considerable region in Cutch and Sind in 1812, where it lasted for ten years. In 1836 the disease extended over a large area in Rājputānā. But no very widely diffused outbreak in India seems to be recorded after 1616, in the reign of Jahāngīr, when the pestilence wrought havoc in almost every locality of northern and western India, lasting for eight years. Jahāngīr, an acute observer, described the symptoms accurately, and noted how the disease affected rats and mice. The Deccan was smitten in 1703 and 1704.

The great modern epidemic, which has not yet disappeared (1918), began at Bombay in 1896, having been introduced apparently from China. It spread by degrees into nearly every province. Up to the end of 1903 more than two million deaths had been reported, and the actual mortality must have been much greater. While the disease was a novelty and confined to a comparatively small area the various provincial authorities tried to combat it by strict quarantine regulations and other measures which offended the sentiment of the population, especially that of the Hindus. Violent opposition was aroused. At Poona two young British officers employed on plague duty were murdered deliberately, while sanguinary riots occurred at Bombay and other places. Experience having proved that it was impossible to prevent the disease from spreading the early regulations were modified, and everybody was forced to recognize that the pestilence had come to stay. A method of inoculation with a serum has been efficacious when given a fair trial. It is impossible to predict when the plague will disappear, as it disappeared long ago from Europe as an epidemic disease. The stray cases which have reached Europe of late years have not developed any general pestilence.

The famine of 1896–7, believed to have been the most severe ever known, was estimated to have affected a population of nearly seventy millions. It was especially intense in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihār, and the Hissār District of the Panjāb. All the statistics of the visitation are on a gigantic scale. The calamity was fought as effectively as possible by Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Lieutenant-governor of the United Provinces and Oudh. The administration of the Central Provinces, where special difficulties were encountered, was far less successful. A Commission under Sir James Lyall reported in 1898 on the results, and again discussed the principles of famine relief, a subject on which general agreement is not easily attained. No system can do more than mitigate the horrors of an intense and extended famine due to failure of rain in an enormous area.

Lord Curzon. At the beginning of 1899 Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, then not quite forty years of age, the youngest of the Governors-general, excepting Lord Dalhousie. Although the new Viceroy had not enjoyed the exceptional experience of Lord Dufferin in offices of the highest rank, no ruler of India before or since took up the task of governing the Indian Empire with an equipment of special, laboriously

acquired knowledge so vast as that possessed by Lord Curzon of Kedleston. He had spent a large part of the ten years preceding his assumption of the Viceroyalty in travels of extraordinary range, chiefly in Asia. His immense book on Persia is a lasting monument commemorating the zeal and intelligence with which he accumulated exact knowledge concerning the strange countries which he explored.

'He had spent nearly one year at the India Office and three years at the Foreign Office. He had visited India four times and had travelled widely within its borders. He knew at first hand the North-west Frontier, always an object of deep anxiety. He had a close personal acquaintance with the other countries of Asia, and had studied and pondered the problems they presented. He had met a singular variety of Asiatic rulers, including such diverse potentates as the Shah of Persia, the Amir of Afghanistan, the King of Korea, the King of Siam (with whom he frequently corresponded), the Emperor of Annam, and the King of Cambodia. Among administrators of lesser rank may be mentioned Li Hung Chang, with whom he was on terms of considerable intimacy. This preliminary experience of intercourse with Asiatics of exalted position was of great value in his new office, which brought him into contact with the princes and chiefs of India.' [1]



LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

In addition to those peculiar qualifications for office in India, Lord Curzon was endowed with gifts fitted to win eminence in any field of human activity, gifts which included eloquence, style, industry, imagination, sympathy, a faculty for

[1] Lovat Fraser, 3rd ed., p. 16.

Marked in ink to be copied

organization, and other merits rarely combined in one man. Such manifold capacity naturally tempted the possessor to exercise his powers, and to embark on a course of reform, which led him to deal with every department of the administration, and to leave his personal mark on each. (Most critics are agreed that Lord Curzon, like Lord Dalhousie, whom he resembled in some respects, went too fast. India does not like to be 'hustled', and unrestrained activity in reform is certain to produce a reaction. The feverish energy of Lord Dalhousie undoubtedly was one of the elements in the great reaction of the Mutiny ; and it is not unjust to affirm that the outbreak of unrest and grave political crime which ensued after Lord Curzon's resignation was in some measure stimulated by feelings of irritation induced by the cumulative effect of incessant change. Lord Curzon, like everybody else, of course, made mistakes from time to time ; but it may be said with truth that almost every one of the innumerable administrative changes effected by him was in itself an improvement. Yet, the pace was too fast, and the improvements were too many.

The calm judgement of history cannot now be passed upon the achievements of a ruler of India who happily is still (1918) engaged in important public duties at a time of unexampled difficulty. The administration of India by Lord Curzon is too near to be viewed in true perspective, and impartial consideration of his more disputable acts is hindered by the passions of contemporary party politics. Moreover, the inner history of events so recent has not been, and cannot at present be disclosed. That difficulty, the lack of authentic documents with the consequent paucity of information, hampers the historian more or less throughout the period since the Mutiny. The books dealing with the administration of the Viceroys, even when of considerable bulk, have been so discreetly edited as to leave much untold. After the time of Lord Lansdowne authentic accessible records are particularly scanty.

A slight outline sketch of a few of the more outstanding features of Lord Curzon's brilliant administration is all that can be attempted in this work.

Famine of 1900. At the very beginning of his term of office he was confronted by a formidable famine, which became intense in 1900 and smote with especial severity the favoured province of Gujarāt, usually exempt from such distress. The calamity was encountered with untiring energy by the Viceroy and multitudes of brave men and women working under him, who often sacrificed their lives in the cause of the suffering millions. A Famine Commission under the presidency of Sir Antony Macdonell, which reported in 1901, was disposed to think that relief, especially in the Central Provinces, had been distributed with too lavish a hand. Excessive liberality results, not only in financial embarrassment, but in the demoralization of the people. The exact line between excess and defect is not easily drawn.

Afghan affairs. In 1901 Abdurrahmān, Amīr of Afghanistan, was succeeded by his son Habībullah. Lord Curzon managed to

keep on friendly terms with the new Amīr, although not without difficulty. The Amīr claimed the title of King, and was conceded the style of 'His Majesty' in official correspondence. The allowances promised by Lord Lansdowne continued to be paid. The Great War has seriously affected the political position of Afghanistan, as of almost every country in the world, to such an extent that the policy of previous times has little applicability to the present. The future is incalculable.

Persian Gulf. All British statesmen have been and are agreed that foreign powers should be excluded from political control over the Persian Gulf, where British naval power should be supreme. In Lord Curzon's time Turks, French, Russians, and Germans all tried to secure a footing on the shores or islands of the Gulf. The Viceroy himself visited the region and took effective steps to protect the interests of his country. In the course of the world conflict the utter impotence of Persia has been revealed, and new prospects have been opened by the operations in Mesopotamia.

Tibetan expedition. The most notable and most debatable incident in Lord Curzon's foreign policy was the Tibetan expedition of 1903–4. The friendly relations between the governments of the Grand Lama and of India which existed in the time of Warren Hastings had come to an end long before Lord Curzon entered upon his office. The Tibetans showed a resolve to keep their country sealed against all intercourse with India, and disregarded conventions laboriously arranged. When Lord Curzon assumed charge the relations of India with Tibet were at an 'absolute deadlock'. A Russian agent having been received at Lhasa, and the attitude of the Tibetans having become unmistakably hostile, the Viceroy thought that the time for action had arrived, his letters to the Grand Lama's government not having been accorded any reply. In November 1903 he persuaded the Home Government to sanction a limited advance to Gyantse, about half-way to Lhasa, in order to obtain reparation. Strict instructions were given by the Secretary of State that the operations should be temporary, and that the mission should be withdrawn as soon as its object was attained. The Tibetans having offered armed resistance, the further advance to Lhasa was sanctioned in July 1904. In August the mysterious city was 'unveiled', and temporarily occupied. The expedition, which had crossed a pass 19,000 feet above the sea, returned safely during the autumn. Differences of opinion between the home and viceregal governments developed, so that little was gained by the operations beyond an extension of geographical knowledge, and the satisfaction of reaching Lhasa, which had been so long inaccessible. Tibet had to pay a small indemnity, and the suzerainty of China over the country was confirmed by the diplomacy of the British Foreign Office. Since the establishment of the Chinese Republic, Tibet seems to have become independent again. So far as I can judge the expedition was unnecessary and all but fruitless.

North-West Frontier Province. Lord Curzon is entitled to

the credit of eminent success in his management of the tribal frontier. Previously the dealings with the tribes to the north of Sind had been in the hands of the provincial government of the Panjāb, which had the Frontier Force and Guides at its disposal. The results had been unsatisfactory and scores of raids or punitive expeditions had failed to produce any permanent effect. Lord Curzon, adopting and modifying an idea of Lord Lytton, created in 1901 the North-West Frontier Province, administered by a Chief Commissioner with head-quarters at Peshāwar, and responsible directly to the Government of India. The reform was carried out in a manner needlessly irritating to the Panjāb Government, which lost all the territory to the west of the Indus, except the Dēra Ghāzi Khān District. The new province also received the Hazāra District and was thus provided with charming sites for hill stations. The measure, although it might have been brought into operation with less friction, deserves unreserved commendation on its merits. The province as at present constituted has a ragged appearance on the map, and is so constructed that its administration must be difficult. Means to make it more compact and manageable may be found at some future time. The large area formerly known as the North-Western Provinces (N.W.P.) was rechristened in order to avoid confusion, and was styled the Agra Province. The whole region, including Oudh, under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-governor, whose head-quarters are at Allahabad and Naini Tāl, is now called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (U.P.). The designation is not convenient, the capital being Allahabad, not Agra. Oudh was mentioned in the name in order to gratify local sentiment, which objected to the complete merger of the small kingdom in its large neighbour. The local government spends some time each year at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh.

Frontier tribes. In his transactions with the frontier tribes on the Panjāb border the Viceroy sought to apply, so far as differences of conditions would permit, the system of peaceful influence worked so successfully by Sir Robert Sandeman in Balōchistān. He based his arrangements on the principles of 'withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions, employment of tribal forces in the defence of tribal country, concentration of British forces behind them as a safeguard and a support, and improvement of communications in the rear'.

The policy, which involved the organization of a considerable force of Frontier Militia, has been justified by success. Only one little frontier war, that against the Mahsūds, occurred during Lord Curzon's time. It was called a 'blockade', for the sake of appearances.

Native States and Berār. The Viceroy, who took the most lively interest in the Native or Protected States, forty of which he visited, has been criticized, and apparently with justice, for showing too much readiness to interfere in their affairs. His successor, Lord Minto, was more restrained in his action. The most important transaction with a Native State was the settlement in 1902 of

the long-standing Berār difficulty by means of a confidential personal discussion with the Nizam, at which no one else was present. The little province was made over to the Government of India under the fiction of a perpetual lease, so as to preserve the nominal sovereignty of Hyderabad. Berār ceased to exist as a separate province and was attached as a Division to the Central Provinces. The financial terms arranged were favourable to the Nizam, who is said to have been satisfied. The opportunity was taken to get rid of the Hyderabad Contingent as a distinct force, and to merge it in the Indian army. So far as is known the arrangements work well.

Viceregal energy. The inexhaustible energy of Lord Curzon, which ill health could not quench, attacked the problems of internal administration on every side. He explored minutely the details of every department and overstrained his strength by doing too much himself. The marked tendency to draw all business up to head-quarters had a pernicious effect upon the more independent members of the services, who felt that their power of action was unduly restricted and that the exercise of responsible discretion was discouraged.

Land revenue. The land revenue administration having been made the subject of much hostile criticism, the Viceroy replied in January 1902 by an exhaustive 'Resolution', written by himself. He demonstrated that famines were due to drought, not to over-assessment, and laid down principles designed to ensure greater elasticity both in assessment and in collection.

Land Alienation Act. All observers are agreed that the almost universal indebtedness of the peasantry and the numerous transfers of ownership or tenant-right to members of the trading and money-lending classes are evils to be deplored. But they are evils more easily deplored than remedied. It is extremely difficult to prevent a willing seller from concluding with an eager buyer a transaction in no way immoral, although deemed by authority to be contrary to the public interest. The mischievous effects of the alienation of land were felt with especial severity in the Panjāb, where agitators have not been slow to take advantage of the discontent of dispossessed landholders. The Government of Lord Curzon attempted a remedy by passing the Land Alienation Act (XIII of 1900) applicable to that province. The broad effect is described as being that 'money-lenders, shopkeepers, and professional men cannot buy land from hereditary cultivators, or hold such land on mortgage for more than twenty years without the consent of the State'. The sale of land to the excluded classes under decree of court is also forbidden. The difficulty of working such an arbitrary prohibition and the facility of evasion are obvious. The principle of the Act has been extended to certain other territories. Co-operative rural banks, modelled on a German system, have been established in the hope of lessening the burden of debt on the peasantry.

Higher education. The Viceroy bestowed intense study on

the education problem, even to the injury of his health. His labours, aided by those of a preliminary committee and a commission, resulted in the enactment of the Universities Act, 1904. The Act reduced the excessive numbers of members of the Senates, reformed the constitution of the Syndicates or executive bodies, placed in the hands of the Government of India the final decision concerning the affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges, and provided for the official inspection of affiliated colleges.

Grave abuses loudly calling for reform undoubtedly existed, especially in Bengal. The Bill on which the Act was founded excited opposition far greater than its author had expected. The resistance to the official proposals was based upon the belief that the intended legislation would fetter unduly the independence of the universities and colleges, while enhancing excessively the power of the executive government. Other circumstances contributed to the excitement. Notwithstanding the Viceroy's earnest assurances that the 'main principle' of his reforms was 'to raise the standard of education all round, and particularly of higher education', he was denounced fiercely as the enemy of the university system and of higher education generally. Lord Curzon's unpopularity during the latter part of his term of office was due in large part to the dislike of his methods of educational reform. The problem was not solved finally by his action. In 1919 a new University Commission has submitted fresh proposals.

The 'partition of Bengal'. The so-called partition of Bengal was not originally planned by the Viceroy. The discussion about the rearrangement of certain provincial boundaries had begun among his subordinates in 1901, but no definite proposal was made until two years later, in 1903, when the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal propounded a certain plan for lightening the intolerable burden resting upon his shoulders. At that time he was supposed to administer a territory comprising 189,000 square miles with a population of seventy-eight millions. The task could not be performed with any approach to success. Eastern Bengal especially was utterly neglected, financially starved, and allowed to present 'the most astounding record of modern crime in existence'.

Lord Curzon, after paying a visit to Eastern Bengal, recognized the absolute necessity of reducing the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-governor. Various possible arrangements were considered and publicly discussed. In 1905 the proposals of the Government of India took definite shape. Their main features, as modified by the Secretary of State in Council, were the separation from the Calcutta Government of the Divisions of Dacca, Chittagong, and Rājshāhi, the suppression of the Chief Commissionership of Assam, and the formation of a new province called 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' under a Lieutenant-governor with his capital at Dacca. The scheme was sanctioned, and different Secretaries of State repeatedly declared that the decision was irrevocable. The arrangement, contrary to expectation, provoked intense and passionate hostility in Calcutta and throughout Bengal, where

cry was raised that the Bengālī nation was being maliciously torn asunder. Serious crimes were committed in support of the agitation, but by the end of 1910 the excitement had died down, and Eastern Bengal had begun to experience the benefits of a government on the spot which cared for its interests. Unfortunately, I think, the ministry in power in 1911 thought fit to reverse the decision so often affirmed. H.M. the King-Emperor was advised to announce at the Coronation Durbar the adoption of the plan now in force which restored the Chief Commissionership of Assam, and created the new province of Bihār and Orissa, including Chutiā Nagpur, with its capital at Patna-Bankipore. Bengal proper thus remained undivided under the Calcutta Government. The sufferer was Eastern Bengal, with its preponderance of Muhammadan population, which was again made over to the administration of Calcutta. Perhaps the most neglected part of India will now be given better treatment than it ever received in the past. The withdrawal of the Bihār and Orissa province has given material relief to the over-worked Government of Bengal, which can now spare some time and money for the eastern districts.

The relics of the past. Although some of Lord Curzon's predecessors, notably Lord Lytton, and now and then a provincial Governor, had displayed some sense of the duty incumbent on a civilized government to cherish the crumbling relics of the past and to explore the treasures of ancient art buried in the soil of innumerable forgotten cities, high authorities were, as a rule, too much immersed in the current business of war, policy, or administration to pay serious attention to the less obvious claims of science upon their attention.

The official efforts made from time to time to preserve the monuments of former ages and to investigate the hidden remains of antiquity were spasmodic, desultory, unscientific, and planned on a penurious scale. Lord Curzon stands alone as the reverent liberal guardian of the heritage of the present from the past, and as the earnest advocate of adequate, instructed exploration. He justly claimed credit for initiating a 'scientific and stedfast policy' in the matter.

> 'I hope', he said, when addressing the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1900, to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge.'

The promise then made has been nobly redeemed.

Lord Curzon's achievement. Every important building or group of monuments known to exist in any province or state has been examined, and in the great majority of cases decay has been arrested by processes of conservation, usually executed with discretion. Research has not been neglected. The exploration of buried remains and the study of inscriptions have been prosecuted

vigorously in conjunction with the urgent work of a comprehensive scheme of conservation. The Government of India has at present no reason for self-reproach with regard to its care for the extant memorials of the past, and in most provinces research and exploration of many kinds have been active. The Protected States have become deeply interested in the process of recovering the ancient history of India. Several states, notably Mysore, Travancore, and Hyderabad, maintain admirable archaeological departments of their own, directed by competent Indian experts. The enormous development of historical and archaeological study in India since the beginning of the twentieth century owes much to the example set by Lord Curzon and to the fascinating Reports published by Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology and his colleagues since 1902. Other influences have contributed to the advance made, but none has been more potent than the encouragement liberally given by the Government of India.

Utilitarian economists. The congratulations of a historian on the brilliant success attained need to be balanced by some words of caution. The Indian Government, saturated with traditions of cheeseparing economy, is exceptionally liable to unreasonable financial panic and usually is disposed to be severely utilitarian, grudging every rupee not devoted to the ordinary purposes of commonplace administration. When control happens to be in the hands of officials destitute of imagination and the historic sense, as is too often the case, expenditure on the conservation of ancient monuments or on the prosecution of scientific research is apt to be regarded as an extravagance to be pruned away whenever the slightest financial stringency is felt. Such a combination of unfavourable conditions occurred in 1911, when the Government of India committed itself to the absurd assertion that the work of the Archaeological Department was substantially complete, and that the administrative structure so carefully built up by Lord Curzon might be shattered. Energetic efforts were needed to save the organization, and happily were successful on that occasion. But the attack is not unlikely to be renewed. All persons who care to preserve the links uniting the present with the past or are able to appreciate the grandeur and beauty of the work done by the men of the olden time should be on their guard against the narrow-minded prejudices of utilitarian economists. The notion that the survey and study of the monuments and hidden remains of ancient India have been substantially completed to such an extent that little more remains to be done is so ludicrously false that formal refutation is hardly necessary. In reality the field for investigation is practically infinite, and centuries hence a Director-General of Archaeology may still find plenty of work to do.

Resignation of Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon went to England in 1904 for six months on the understanding that he should return to India for a further term of office. An acute controversy between him and Lord Kitchener, then Commander-in-Chief, concerning

army organization and especially the position of the Military Member of Council, ended in the acceptance of Lord Kitchener's views by the Secretary of State. The offices of Commander-in-Chief and Military Member were combined, so that the head of the army alone became responsible for military advice to the Government. Lord Curzon, who held that the change involved the undue supersession of the civil power, resigned in 1905. During his six months of absence the government had been conducted by Lord Ampthill, previously Governor of Madras.

Lord Minto II; opium trade. The permanent successor elected was Lord Minto, great-grandson of the Governor-general who had conquered Java and Mauritius almost a century earlier. The government of Lord Minto (1905–10) was mainly occupied with two subjects, constitutional changes and an outbreak of violent anarchist crime. Before briefly noticing those topics an important measure affecting the Indian revenue may be mentioned. The export trade in opium, which brought a large profit to the Indian treasury, had long been under diplomatic discussion between the Governments of Great Britain and China. In 1907 the arrangements for putting an end to the traffic had been so far advanced that the Anti-Opium Society announced its own dissolution, because it had accomplished the purpose for which it had been founded, namely, the advocacy of the 'act of national righteousness' now sanctioned. Many reasons make it difficult to foretell the ultimate effects of the change on the manners and morals of the Chinese, whose virtuous regulations have been modified. India certainly loses an annual revenue of eight to ten crores of rupees.

Indian Councils Act, 1909. The constitutional changes effected under authority of the Indian Councils Act of Parliament of 1909 were the result of long discussions carried on for nearly three years between the Government of India under Lord Minto and the India Office, presided over by Viscount Morley, then Secretary of State. The reforms, which concerned both the Executive and the Legislative Councils of the Governor-general and the provincial governments, were designed as a continuation of the Charter Act of 1853, and the Councils Acts of 1861 and 1892.

The Act of 1909 empowered an increase in the number of members of each of the Madras and Bombay Executive Councils from two to four. The Secretary of State took the opportunity of exercising the power he already possessed to appoint an Indian member to a seat on the Governor-general's Executive Council. Thus, for the first time, a native of India was admitted to share in the innermost secrets of the Supreme Government. Similar appointments to the provincial Executive Councils have been made, and Indians have been given seats in the Council of India which advises the Secretary of State.

The membership of the Imperial Legislative Council has been raised from twenty-one to a maximum of sixty. Similarly the provincial Legislative Councils, which are no longer confined to Madras and Bombay, have been more than doubled in membership.

A large proportion of the councillors is elected by Chambers of Commerce and other bodies.

Class representation. Elaborate arrangements, varying in each province, have been made for the representation of minorities and special interests, such as the Muhammadan population, the tea and jute industries, and the communities of European planters.

'The object aimed at', Sir Courtenay Ilbert observes, 'was to obtain as far as possible, a fair representation of the different classes and interests in the country, and the regulations and rules were framed for this purpose in accordance with local advice and with reference to the local conditions of each province. The consequent variety of the rules makes it impossible to generalize their provisions or to summarize their contents. All of them may be regarded as experimental; some of them are avowedly temporary and provisional.'

The principle of sectional and class representation, which was opposed by several prominent Indian politicians in closely argued papers, has obvious disadvantages, and was accepted reluctantly by Lord Morley. Opponents of the representation of particular religions and interests urge that 'the principle of class representation is always objectionable, on the ground that it makes a distinction between the different classes of the community and makes the fusion of their interests impossible'; that other communities, especially the Sikhs, have as good a claim as Muhammadans that the best men should be elected or appointed without regard to their creed; that, as a matter of fact, Hindu electors often choose a Muhammadan representative; and that, generally speaking, the idea of class representation is unnecessary and retrograde.

Such objections have much force, but on the whole the advantages of a class system of representation in India, where the different sections of the population are sharply divided, seem to outweigh the disadvantages.

The future. Liberty for the discussion of the annual budget and other matters of public interest has been accorded to the Legislative Councils. No approach to finality in the development of the Councils, whether executive or legislative, has been attained in 1918. The certainty that further extensive changes in the constitution of the Indian Governments must follow the close of the Great War renders superfluous more detailed discussion of the essentially transitory arrangements based on the Act of 1909.

Political machinery. Political reformers are prone to pay undue attention to the mere machinery of government and to attach excessive importance to reforms such as those effected by Lords Morley and Minto. The warning language of Lord Curzon merits consideration.

'I wonder', his Lordship said in the House of Lords, 'how these changes will, in the last resort, affect the great mass of the people of India—the people who have no vote and who have scarcely a voice. Remember that to these people, who form the bulk of the population of India, representative government and electoral institutions are nothing whatever. . . . The good

government which appeals to them is the government which protects them from the rapacious money-lender and landlord, from the local *vakīl* [attorney], and all the other sharks in human disguise which prey upon these unhappy people. I have a misgiving that this class will not fare much better under these changes than they do now. At any rate I see no place for them in these enlarged Councils which are to be created, and I am under the strong opinion that as government in India becomes more and more Parliamentary—as will be the inevitable result—so it will become less paternal and less beneficent to the poorer classes of the population.'

India and Parliament. The profound change in the relations between the Home Government and the Government of the Viceroy and Governor-general in Council which has taken place since Queen Victoria assumed the direct sovereignty of the Indian Empire is far more important than the repairs of constitutional mechanism. Although the formal, legal position of the Government of India with regard to the Home Government is much the same as it was in 1858, and the powers of the Governor-general in Council seem on paper to be unchanged, the practical difference between the conditions of 1918, to take that year, and 1858 is enormous. When an Under-Secretary of State in Lord Morley's time ventured to describe the Viceroy as the 'agent' of the Secretary of State the blunt phrase jarred on the ears of many. But it gave expression in a form too emphatic to the truth that the old semi-independent authority of the Governor-general in Council has gone for ever. The main lines of the policy of the Government of India and the action of that Government in all grave matters now are and will continue to be either prescribed or sanctioned in advance from Whitehall, while the control exercised by Parliament tends to become more and more stringent. The task of governing India so as to reconcile the paternal despotism still necessary on the spot for many purposes with the ideas of a democratic Parliament at Westminster becomes daily more difficult, and will become impossible unless Parliament is content to wield its supreme authority with restraint. The problem may possibly be solved by Parliament giving its sanction to the development in India of self-government to an extent hitherto regarded as beyond the vision of practical politics. Nearly the same, but not quite the same idea is expressed by Sir Valentine Chirol in the following passage:

'The future of India lies in the greatest possible decentralization in India, subject to the general, but unmeddlesome control of the Governor-General in Council, and in the greatest possible freedom of the Government of India from all interference from home, except in regard to those broad principles of policy which it must always rest with the Imperial Government, represented by the Secretary of State in Council, to determine.'

Stress must be laid on the words 'in Council', because, ever since the resignation of Lord Curzon, both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have shown a strong and mischievous tendency to ignore the existence of their Councils. The authorities recognized by law for the ordinary conduct of the Government, apart from exceptional emergencies, are the Secretary of State in Council and

the Governor-general in Council, not the Secretary of State and the Viceroy as autocrats settling the affairs of the empire by private 'demi-official' correspondence between themselves. Long ago Sir Philip Francis and his colleagues pressed their claim as of right to see the so-called 'private' correspondence between Warren Hastings, then Governor-general, and the Resident in Oudh. If the copious 'private' correspondence between different Secretaries of State and Viceroys since 1905 should be published the extent of the existing abuse would become manifest and might be abated.

Anarchist conspiracy. The termination in August 1905 of the Russo-Japanese war in favour of Japan produced a wave of intense excitement throughout Asia. The significance of the defeat of an apparently mighty European empire by a comparatively small Asiatic state could not be mistaken, and India did not fail to note it. The outbreak of atrocious political crime, which marked Lord Minto's term of office and was at its height in 1909, undoubtedly was stimulated by the meditations of discontented young men upon the Japanese success. The agitation concerning the Universities Act of 1904, the partition of Bengal in 1905, and other local grievances arising from Indian administrative measures became merged in a dangerous revolutionary and anarchist conspiracy, directed in India from Bengal and Poona, and supported by foreign organizations in Europe and America. That conspiracy, which could not be regarded as extinct even in 1918, was partially countered in 1910. Constant incitement to crime having been offered by many newspapers and other publications, restrictions on the licence of the press and other emergency measures were necessarily enacted. Many Bengālī and other officers who displayed the highest courage in the execution of their duties sacrificed their lives in the cause of social order and in the service of their sovereign lord the King. The nature of the dangers to which the State was exposed in February 1910 is indicated sufficiently by the following extract from Sir Herbert Risley's speech in the Legislative Council:

'We are at the present moment confronted with a murderous conspiracy whose aim it is to subvert the Government of the country and to make British rule impossible by establishing general terrorism. Their organization is effective and far-reaching; their numbers are believed to be considerable; the leaders work in secret and are blindly obeyed by their youthful followers. The method they favour at present is political assassination; the method of Mazzini in his worst moods. Already they have a long score of murders or attempted murders to their account. There were two attempts to blow up Sir Andrew Fraser's train, and one of the type with which we are now unhappily familiar, to shoot him on a public occasion. Two attempts were made to shoot Mr. Kingsford, one of which caused the death of two English ladies. Inspector Nanda Lal Banerji, Babu Ashutosh Biswas, the Public Prosecutor at Alipore, Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, Mr. Jackson, and only the other day Deputy-Superintendent Shams-ul-Alum have been shot in the most deliberate and cold-blooded fashion. Of three informers two have been killed, and on the third vengeance has been taken by the murder of his brother in the sight of his mother and sisters. Mr. Allen, the magistrate of Dacca, was shot through the lung

and narrowly escaped with his life. Two picric acid bombs were thrown at His Excellency the Viceroy at Ahmedabad, and only failed to explode by reason of their faulty construction. Not long afterwards an attempt was made with a bomb on the Deputy Commissioner of Umballa.

These things are the natural and necessary consequences of the teachings of certain journals. They have prepared the soil in which anarchy flourishes; they have sown the seed and are answerable for the crop. This is no mere general statement; the chain of causation is clear. Not only does the campaign of violence date from the change in the tone of the Press, but specific outbursts of incitement have been followed by specific outrages.'[1]

The case for the restraint of criminal writing in the press was unanswerable. The development and long-continued existence of a formidable murderous conspiracy of the nature as outlined in the extract quoted is a disagreeable fact needing to be steadily remembered. It suggests many reflections and cautions. The plot in its later developments spread to the Panjāb and received support from German intrigues and money. Serious attempts to undermine the loyalty of the Indian army have been made, and the execution of a considerable number of the leading conspirators has been absolutely necessary.

Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. The anarchist crimes continued in the time of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, who succeeded Lord Minto in 1910. Lord Hardinge, whose previous service had been in the Foreign Office, is grandson of the Governor-general who conducted the first Sikh war. A bomb attack made on the Viceroy at Delhi wounded him and killed an attendant who was immediately behind Lord Hardinge on the elephant. The criminals escaped.

Census of 1911. The census of 1911 disclosed the population of the Indian Empire as being more than 315 millions, an increase of 7·1 per cent. since 1901.

	1901.	1911.
Population of Indian Empire . .	294,361,056	315,156,396
Population of Calcutta and suburbs .	1,106,738	1,222,313
Population of Bombay city . .	776,006	979,445
Population of Delhi city . . .	208,575	232,837

Visit of Their Majesties. The Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst will be for ever memorable by reason of the visit of their Majesties the King-Emperor and his consort at the close of 1911,[2] and for the beginning of the Great War in 1914. I do not

[1] Sir Andrew Fraser was Lieutenant-governor of Bengal; Mr. Kingsford was magistrate of Muzaffarpur; Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, magistrate and collector of Nāsik, was a learned Sanskrit scholar, and a special friend of Hindus. Yet he was shot by a young Hindu fanatic. Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State, was killed at the Imperial Institute by a student.

[2] Their Majesties left London, November 11, 1911; arrived at Bombay, December 2; made state entry into Delhi, December 7; held Coronation Durbar, December 12; left Delhi, December 16; arrived at Calcutta, December 30; left Calcutta, January 8, 1912; arrived in London, February 5, 1912.

attempt to describe the events subsequent to the momentous visit of Their Majesties, or to give details of the splendid ceremonies arranged by the Viceroy and his colleagues for the fitting reception of the Sovereign. The programme was thoughtfully devised and well executed with due regard to the requirements of the occasion.

His Majesty, speaking under the advice of his responsible ministers, made two unexpected announcements. That concerning the reversal, described officially as the 'modification', of the partition of Bengal has been sufficiently discussed on an earlier page. The other, informing an astonished world that the official capital of the Indian Empire would be transferred forthwith from Calcutta to Delhi, where a new city would be built for the accommodation of the Supreme Government, is open to criticism at least as damaging as that invited by the sudden change of policy on the Bengal question. The arguments adduced by the Government of India in support of the transfer of the capital to Delhi are so unconvincing and so liable to easy refutation that it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the Secretary of State was influenced by unavowed motives. However that may be, the unconstitutional manner in which the policy of the ministry was proclaimed secured the act against reversal or modification, and no useful purpose would now be served by dissecting the assertions put forward by Lord Hardinge's government.

Results of the visit. The happy results of the visit of Their Majesties are not in any way dependent on the opinion which may be held concerning the merits of the two chief announcements made by the King-Emperor on the advice of his ministers, with whom alone the responsibility for policy rested. The intense and profound emotion which greeted the Sovereign and his gracious consort was the spontaneous, heartfelt offering of India to their royal persons. An eyewitness writes:

> 'That incomparable moment when the Monarchs seated themselves upon their high thrones, beneath a shining golden dome, in the midst of a hundred thousand of their acclaiming subjects, will assuredly remain in the minds of those present as the most vivid memory of their lives. It was a majestic and a moving rite, fraught with deep emotion, compelling thought into unwonted channels. The greetings of the multitude set the final seal upon the validity of the British Empire in the East.'

The writer of those words felt that the solemn assembly was 'the ultimate expression of the potent force of kingship, which in that resplendent scene reached a height we may never see again'.

Since that auspicious day the devouring lust of Germany for riches and dominion has plunged the whole world into misery beyond the power of words to express, and has constrained almost every other nation under heaven to join in the fight for right and all that makes life worth living against the demoniac armed might of the nation which lives by and for war, which knows no pity and jeers at any arbitrament save that of the sword. In this noble fight, still, at the moment of writing (April 1918), in one of its most critical stages, India has borne and is bearing her part

the brotherhood in arms sanctified by the blood of myriads of gallant men shed on the battle-fields of Asia, Africa, and Europe will, we trust, develop into a still more comprehensive community of sentiment between Englishmen and Indians and between all the sections of the vast population of Hind, so infinitely diverse on the surface, and yet so subtly bound together by hidden threads woven on the looms of immemorial antiquity.

The momentary apparition of Their Majesties to receive the eager homage of their Indian lieges will not be forgotten when these present horrors are overpast, and a bleeding, but purified world resumes its normal course.

CHRONOLOGY

Lord Lansdowne Viceroy	1888
Manipur massacre	1891
Occupation of Hunza and Nagar	1891–2
Lord Elgin II Viceroy	1894
Chitrāl expedition	1895
Plague epidemic began	1896
Famine	1896–7
Tirāh expedition	1897
Lord Curzon Viceroy	1899
Famine; Land Alienation Act	1900
Death of Queen Victoria; Habībullah, Amīr (King) of Afghanistan; creation of North-West Frontier Province	1901
Tibetan expedition	1903–4
Universities Act; Lord Curzon in England; Lord Ampthill temporary Viceroy	1904
Partition of Bengal; Lord Minto II Viceroy	1905
Indian Councils Act; anarchist crimes	1909
Lord Hardinge of Penshurst Viceroy	1910
Visit of Their Majesties; announcement of change of capital and reversal of partition of Bengal	1911

Authorities

[Sir] G. Forrest, *The Administration of the Marquis of Lansdowne*, 1888–94 (Calcutta, Supert. of Govt. Printing, 1894); Lovat Fraser, *India under Curzon and After*[3] (Heinemann, 1912), a very useful book; *Lord Curzon in India*, being *A Selection from his Speeches*, &c., ed. by Sir T. Raleigh (Macmillan, 1906); *Speeches of Lord Curzon of Kedleston* (Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1901); W. H. Hutton, chap. vii in Trotter, *History of India* (S.P.C.K., 1917); Ilbert, in *The Government of India*[3], 1914 (or Suppl. to ed. 2), discusses the Indian Councils Act of 1909. I have also used the blue books on the subject. Sir Valentine Chirol, in *Indian Unrest* (Macmillan, 1910), with Introduction by Sir A. Lyall, describes the earlier stages of the criminal conspiracies. The Royal and Imperial visit is fully described and illustrated in *The Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India, compiled from the Official Records* (Murray, London, 1914, publ. for Government of India; 4to, illd.).

5476 COIMBATORE

APPENDIX A

Some events from 1912 *to October* 1918 *specially concerning India and the Indian Army.*

1912

Jan. 8.	Departure of Their Majesties from Calcutta.
Feb. 5.	Arrival of Their Majesties in London.
April 1.	Province of Bihār and Orissa constituted; Lord Carmichael Governor of Bengal.
Oct. 1.	Chief Commissionership of Delhi constituted.
Dec. 22.	Lord Hardinge wounded by a bomb.

1913

Conference of British, Chinese, and Tibetan representatives at Simla; decisions not ratified by China.
Trade, both import and export, exceptionally active.

1914

Aug. 4.	Declaration of war by Great Britain against Germany.
Sept. 26.	Indian Corps began to land in France.
Nov. 5.	Declaration of war by Great Britain against Turkey.
Dec. 18.	Prince Kāmil Husain Pasha appointed Sultan of Egypt.

1915

Mar. 10.	Battle of Neuve Chapelle.
Nov. 22.	Battle of Ctesiphon near Baghdad.
Nov. 29.	Retreat of British force in Mesopotamia.
Dec. 3.	General Townshend enters Kut-el Amara.

1916

Mar.	Failure of Indian Government to supply Mesopotamian force.
April 4.	Lord Chelmsford Viceroy.
April 29.	Kut-el Amara taken by the Turks.
July	The Sharīf of Mecca declared his independence as King of the Hedjaz.
Dec. 7.	Mr. Lloyd George Prime Minister.

1917

Feb. 24.	Kut-el Amara retaken by the British.
Mar. 11.	Capture of Baghdad by the British.
Mar. 12.	Revolution in Russia.
Mar. 15.	Abdication of the Tsar.
April 5.	Declaration of war on Germany by the United States.
June 27.	Report of Mesopotamian Commission published.
July 19.	Wholesale retreat of Russian army.
Aug. 27.	Pronouncement of Secretary of State intimating that the policy of H.M. Government aims at 'gradual development of self-governing institutions' and 'progressive realization of responsible government'.
Oct.	British successes on the Euphrates; Mr. Montagu arrived in India.

[illegible]c. 3.	Germans driven out of East Africa.
[illegible]c. 9.	Surrender of Jerusalem to the British.
[illegible]e. 11.	Entry of General Allenby into Jerusalem.

1918

[illegible]b. 22.	Jericho occupied.
[illegible]b.–Mar.	Collapse of Russian power.
[illegible]ar. 21.	Beginning of renewed German offensive in France; retreat of 3rd and 5th British armies.
[illegible]pril	Long advance of British force in Mesopotamia.
[illegible]ly	Execution of the ex-Tsar by the Bolshevists.
[illegible]ly–Oct.	Continued defeats and retreat of the Germans in France and Belgium.
[illegible]g. 6.	Debate in Parliament on Montagu–Chelmsford *Report*.
[illegible]pt. 30.	Surrender of Bulgaria.
[illegible]t. 1.	Damascus taken by British, Indian, and Arab troops.
[illegible]t. 24.	Debate and division in House of Lords on reform question.

APPENDIX B

EAST INDIA COMPANY

[illegible]00 (December 31).	Queen Elizabeth's charter.
[illegible]61.	Charter of Charles II.
[illegible]08.	Final fusion of rival Companies.
[illegible]73.	Regulating Act (Governor-general of Bengal).
[illegible]84.	Pitt's India Act ('Board of Control').
[illegible]93.	Charter renewed.
[illegible]13.	,, ,, (India trade thrown open.)
[illegible]33.	,, ,, (Company's trading functions abolished; China trade thrown open.)
[illegible]53.	,, ,, (Competition for Civil Service.)
[illegible]58.	Government of India Act (Direct government by Crown: Queen's Proclamation).
[illegible]74.	Formal dissolution of the Company.

APPENDIX C

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

I. *Governors-general of Bengal or of Fort William (Regulating Act of* 1773).

(*Temporary and officiating in italics.*)

[illegible]74 (October). Warren Hastings, Esq. (Right Honourable).
1785 (February 1). *Sir John Macpherson.*
[illegible]86 (September). Earl (Marquess) Cornwallis.

1793 (August). Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth).
1798 (March). *Sir Alured Clarke.*
1798 (May). Earl of Mornington (Marquess Wellesley).
1805 (July 30). Marquess Cornwallis (for second time).
1805 (October 5). *Sir George Barlow.*
1807. Baron (Earl of) Minto I.
1813 (October 4). Earl of Moira (Marquess of Hastings).
1823 (January 1). *John Adam, Esq.*
1823 (August 1). Baron (Earl) Amherst.
1828 (March 8). *William Butterworth Bayley, Esq.*
1828 (July). Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck.

II. *Governors-general of India (Charter Act of 1833).*

1833. Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck.
1835 (March 20). *Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe.*
1836 (March 1). Baron (Earl of) Auckland.
1842. Baron (Earl of) Ellenborough.
1844. Sir Henry (Viscount) Hardinge.
1848. Earl (Marquess) of Dalhousie.
1856. Viscount (Earl) Canning.

III. *Governors-general and Viceroys (Queen's Proclamation).*

1858 (November 1). Earl Canning.
1862. Earl of Elgin I.
1863. *Sir Robert Napier (Lord Napier of Magdala).*
1863. *Sir William Denison.*
1864. Sir John (Lord) Lawrence.
1869. Earl of Mayo.
1872. *Sir John Strachey.*
1872. *Lord Napier of Merchistoun.*
1872. Baron (Earl of) Northbrook.
1876. Baron (Earl of) Lytton.
1880. Marquess of Ripon.
1884. Earl of Dufferin (Marquess of Dufferin and Ava).
1888. Marquess of Lansdowne.
1894. Earl of Elgin II.
1899 (Jan. 6). Baron (Earl) Curzon of Kedleston.
1904. *Lord Ampthill.*
1904. Baron (Earl) Curzon of Kedleston (reappointed).
1905. Earl of Minto II.
1910. Baron Hardinge of Penshurst.
1916. Baron Chelmsford.

Note.—India in Transition by H.H. the Aga Khan (Lee Warner, 1918) is an important work containing many valuable observations and ideas. The remarks of H.H. concerning Indian universities in chap. xxii coincide with those recorded independently on p. 730 *ante*.

INDIAN EMPIRE AND CEYLON

INDEX TO PART III

ABBREVIATIONS

Ci., city; *co.*, country; *k.*, king; *km.*, kingdom; *r.*, river; *t.*, town; *v.*, village.

Abdurrahmān, Amīr, 753, 759, 770.
Aboukir, battle of, 582.
Abu-l Fazl, xix.
Adam, John, 646, 654.
Aden, i.
Afghanistan, government of, 675; relations with, 677, 740, 751.
Afghan wars, (1) 678–84, 688; (2) 752–5, 763.
Africa, German East, 784.
Aga Khān, H.H., author, 786.
Ahalyā Bāī, 576, 578.
Ahmadābād, in Gujarāt, 533.
Ahmadnagar, *ci.* and *km.*, ix.
Ahmad Shāh, Durrānī, 590 *n.*
Āīn-i Akbarī, xix, xx.
Aix-la-Chapelle, peace of, 473, 485.
Ajaigarh, fortress, 614.
Ajantā, range, 599.
Akbar, Pādshāh, self willed, xii; *Ilāhī* era of, xvi; executed Thugs, 667.
Alam Shāh, titular emperor (Shāh Ālam), 500, 503, 513, 572.
Alberūnī, author, xix.
Alexander the Great, invaded India, iii, xiv.
Aligarh, stormed, 600, 606, 634.
Alī Murād, chief, 686 *n.*
Ali Musjid, 752.
Aliwāl, battle of, 694, 709.
Allahabad, 501, 504, 513, 663; a strategical position, 711, 712 *n.*; capital of U.P., 772.
Allahvardi (Alīvardī) Khān, Nawāb, 487, 488, 491, 509.
Allard, General, 693.
Allenby, General, 785.
Almora, district, 623.
Alwar, misgovernment in, 743.
Amazonians, or female sepoys, 575 *n.*
Ambājī Marāthā, 626.
Amboyna, massacre of, 617, 640.
Amherst, Lord, Governor-general, 648–54.
Amiens, peace of, 593, 606.
Amīrchand, 492, 505.
Amīr Khān of Tonk, 614, 629.
Ampthill, Lord, temporary Viceroy, 777, 783, 786.
Amrit Rāo, 598.
Anarchist conspiracy, 780.
Andaman Islands, 744.
Antiquities, Indian, 775.
Anwaru-d-dīn, Nawāb, 473, 474, 485.
Āpā Sāhib Bhonsla, 627, 628, 633, 680.
Arakan, 648–51.
Arās (Adās, Arras), battle of, 532.
Archaeology, xvii, 776.
Arcot, *t.* and *co.*, 473–6.
Argāon (Argaum), battle of, 599, 606, 634.
Arikera (Arrakerry), battle of, 559.
Armenians, 496.
Army, of Lord Hastings, 628; flogging in, 658; Indian, 663; organization, 708; in 1858, 712; amalgamation of, 733.
Āryāvarta, defined, iii.
Asaf Jāh, 473.
Ashtī, battle of, 630, 634.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 775.
Asīrgarh, vi, 629, 634.
Assam, 648, 651, 774.
Assaye, battle of, 470, 599, 606, 634.
Auchmuty (Ahmuty), Sir Samuel, 616, 617.
Auckland, Lord, Governor-general, 672–82, 684, 688.
Aurangābād, 476.
Austrian succession, war of, 472.
Autocracy, xi, xii.
Ava, court of, 648, 702.
Avitabile, General, 693.
Ayūb Khān, 753.

Bactria, xvii.
Badāonī, historian, xx.
Badrīnāth, x.
Baghdad, 784.
Bahādur Shāh, II of Delhi, titular emperor, 716, 723, 724, 730.
Baillie, Colonel, 542, 554.

Baird, General, 593.
Bāji Rāo, Pēshwā, II, 575, 578, 596, 629-34, 705.
Bakhar = Bukkur, *q.v.*
Bālā, Hissār of Kābul, 680, 683.
Balōchī chiefs, 675.
Balōchistān, 772.
Bāna, author, xix.
Bandobast = Settlement, *q.v.*, 564.
Bangalore, 484, 559.
Banjāras, 560 *n.*
Bank of Bombay, failure of, 742.
Bānkōt, 490, 532.
Bārakzāi clan, 675.
Bareilly, in Rohilkhand, 517; outbreak at, 642; mutiny at, 720.
Barker, Sir Robert, 513.
Barlow, Sir George, 571 *n.*, 608-11, 615, 619, 621, 625, 656, 658.
Barrackpore, mutiny at, (1) 649, 654; (2) 715.
Barwell, Richard, 521, 523-6.
Bassein, near Bombay, 532, 543; treaty of, 598, 605, 606, 609.
Batavia, 617.
Batta = field allowance, 504, 575, 657.
Bayley, Butterworth, 653, 654.
Beaconsfield, Lord, 746, 751, 753, 764.
Bednūr (Bednore), 484, 486.
Bēgams of Oudh, 536, 538-40, 554.
Benares, treaty of, 517; Rājā Chait Singh of, 537; revenue settlement of, 565.
Bencoolen, in Sumatra, 521.
Benfield, Paul, 553, 646.
Bengal, famine in, 507; supremacy of, 521; *Gazette*, 646; Tenancy Act, 763, 764; partition of, 774, 782, 783.
Bentinck, Lord William Cavendish-, and Vellore mutiny, 610; Governor-general, 655-72, 676, 712.
Berār, *co.*, 598-601, 707, 772, 773, 784.
Beveridge, Mr. and Mrs. H., historical researches of, xxii.
Bhāgīrathī, *r.*, 492.
Bhāskar Rāo Pundit, 487.
Bhonsla (Bhonslē), Rājā, 599, 633.
Bhopāl, Nawāb of, 627.
Bhūj, capital of Cutch, 639.
Bhurtpore, 602, 606, 634; fall of, 653, 654.
Biās, *r.*, 609.
Biddulph, General, 752.
Biderra, battle of, 496, 509.
Bird, Robert Merttins, 662.
Bishop, of Calcutta, 619.
Bithūr, *t.*, 631, 717.
Blacker, Lt.-Col. V., historian, 630.
Black Hole, 489; Mountain campaign, 737, 746.
Blake, Mr., murder of, 659.
Board, of Control, 551, 675, 676, 757, 758; of Revenue, 663; of Punjab administration, 701.
Bodoahprā, *k.* of Burma, 648.
Boigne, de, Count, 536, 555, 573, 582.
Bolān Pass, 679, 754, 759.
Bolts, W., 510.
Bombay Presidency, early history of, 531-3; revenue settlements of, 645; mutiny slight in, 721; city, the premier in India, vi.
Bonaparte, General = Napoleon, *q.v.*, 581.
Bourbon, island, 507, 613.
Bourdonnais, La (de la), 472.
Bourquin, Louis, 600.
Brahmans, India the land of the, x.
Brahmaputra, *r.*, iii.
Braithwaite, Colonel, 544, 554.
Brinjaries = Banjāras, 560 *n.*
Broadfoot, Captain George, 682.
Browne, General, 752.
Brydon, Dr., 681, 688.
Buckingham, J. S., 646, 647; Duke of, and Chandos, 748.
Buddhism, Holy Land of, xix; in Nepāl, 624.
Bukkur (Bakhar), *t.*, 675, 678.
Bundī, Rājā of, 609.
Burdwan, 499, 503 *n.*, 571.
Burke, Edmund, 525, 548, 576.
Burma, distinct from India, i; war with, (1st) 648-54; (2nd) 702-4, 710; (3rd) 760, 761, 764.
Burn, Lt.-Col., 602.
Burnes, Sir Alexander, 661, 676-8, 680, 688.
Burney, Colonel, 652.
Bussy, 476, 478, 482, 543.
Buxar, battle of, 500, 501, 509.

Cachār = Kāchār, *q.v.*
Cael = Kāyal, *q.v.*
Calcutta, importance of, vi; threatened by Marāthās, 487; taken by Sirāju-d daula, 489, 509; recaptured by Clive, 491, 509; Clive's *jāgīr* near, 494; riches of, 495; Supreme Court at, 523; college for writers at, 594; improvements in, 606; Bishop of, 619; *Journal*, 647; population of, 781.
Calendar, xvi *n.*
Calicut, viii.
Camac, Colonel, 533.
Cambodia, *km.*, 769.
Campbell, Colonel, 545; Sir Colin, 717, 720, 730.
Canning, Lord, as Governor-general, 710-31, 786; as Viceroy, 732-7, 746, 786.
Canton, 711.
Cape of Good Hope, 578.
Caraccioli, on Clive, 509.
Carmichael, Lord, 784.
Carnac, Colonel (General), 502, 533.
Carnatic, *co.*, 473-7, 485, 545; annexed, 589, 606; Nawāb of, 707.
Cartier, John, 505, 507, 509, 510.
Cartridges, greased, 714.
Cauvery = Kāverī, *r.*, *q.v.*
Cavagnari, Sir Louis, 749, 752.
Cawnpore, mutiny at, 717-19, 721, 730, 731.
Ceded Districts, 592, 606.
Censorship of press, 647.
Census, British, 756, 764, 781.
Central, India, 633, 634 *n.*; Provinces, 633, 768.
Ceylon, distinct from India, i; chronicles of, xv; later history of, 593 *n.*
Chait Singh, Rājā, 536-8, 554.
Chakravartin, Rājā, ix.
Chaman, 765.
Chambal, *r.*, 686.
Chamberlain, Sir Neville, 752.
Chambers, Sir Robert, 522, 527 *n.*
Champion, Colonel, 518.
Chanda Sāhib, 474, 476, 485.
Chandernagore, 471, 480, 485, 491, 496.
Chandragupta Maurya, xii.
Charnock, Job, 339, 449.
Charter, of 1773 and 1793, 572, 578; of 1813, 619; of 1833, 668, 671; of 1853, 708, 785.
Chelmsford, Lord, Viceroy, 786.
Cherry, Mr., 576.
Chiefs' Colleges, 743.
Chiliānwālā, battle of, 698, 700, 709.
China, histories of, xv, xix; tea trade, 619, 668; and Nepāl, 624; war with, 711, 722; frontier of, 767; plague from, 768; and Tibet, 771; opium trade with, 777.
Chināb, *r.*, 699.
Chinese, pilgrims, xix; Republic, 771.
Chinsura, 481, 491, 496.
Chirol, Sir Valentine, author, 779, 783.
Chitōr, inscriptions at, xvii.
Chitrāl, 767, 783.
Chittagong, 499, 503 *n.*
Chītū (Cheetoo), Pindārī, 626, 629.
Chola, people and *km.*, xii.
Cholera, 629.
Christians, xi.
Chronology, i, xiv, xxiv.
Chunar (Chanār), fortress, 501, 503.
Chupatties, 714.
Chutiā (Chota) Nāgpur, 740, 775.
Cinder-mound, 665 *n.*
Civil Service, reform of, 557, 594, 619, 708, 746.
Clavering, Sir John, 521, 523-8.
Clive, Robert, 1st Baron, 474-6, 481, 485, 489-96, 498, 501-4; character of, 505-7, 510; 2nd Baron, governor of Madras, 583, 594.
Close, Colonel, 587.
Clyde, Lord = Campbell, Sir Colin, *q.v.*, 717.
Coinage of E. I. Co., 642.
Coins, as source of history, xvii; of E. I. Co., 641.
Colbert, minister, 471.
Colvin, John, 716, 731; Sir Auckland, 731.
Combermere, Lord, 653.
Comorin, Cape, 474.
Constitution, of India, xii, 519.
Coorg, *co.*, 560, 659.
Coote, Sir Eyre, 479, 492 *n.*, 537, 542-4.
Corah = Korā, *q.v.*, 503 *n.*
Cornwallis, Lord, administration of, 556-72; character of, 573; chronology of, 578; second administration of, 608, 609, 619.
Cossijurah case, 529.
Cossimbazaar = Kāsimbāzār, *q.v.*, 488.
Cotton, General, 679; speculation in, 742; taxation of, 745.
Councils Act of 1909, 777.

Courts-martial, 658.
Cow, venerated, x.
Cradock, Sir John, 610.
Crimean war, 697, 711, 730.
Ctesiphon, battle of, 784.
Cubbon, Sir Mark, 587.
Cultru, P., on Dupleix, 486.
Cunningham, Sir A., xv, xxiv; J. D., historian, 710.
Currency, 766.
Curzon of Kedleston, Lord, Viceroy, 768–77, 783, 786.
Curzon-Wyllie, Sir William, 780, 781 *n.*
Customs hedge, 750, 763.
Cutch, Runn of, 639; hostilities with, 639, 654; infanticide in, 690 *n.*
Cuttack (Orissa), 488, 503, 599, 600, 606; rebellion in, 641, 643.
Cutwa = Katwa, *q.v.*, 492.

Dabo, battle of, 685, 688.
Dacoits, 512.
Dalhousie, Lord, Governor-general, 697–710.
Daroga, 570.
Datūra, poisoning by, 668.
Dāūd Khān, governor of the Deccan, 674.
Daulat, Rāo Sindia, 572, 596, 597.
Deccan, the, ii, 599; army of, 628; famine in, 748.
Deeg (Dīg), battle of, 602, 606, 634.
Dehra Dūn District, 623.
Delhi, battle of, 600; defence of, 602, 606, 634; arsenal, 711, 716; mutiny at, 716, 723; territory, 725; new capital at, vi, 782, 784.
Dēogāon, treaty of, 600, 606, 634.
Dera Ghāzī Khān District, 772.
Dharma, defined, 714.
Dhoondia Waugh (Dhūndia Wahag), 587.
Dhuleep (Dilīp) Singh, Mahārāja, 693, 700.
Dinapore, 712.
Dindigul, 484, 486.
Dinkur Rāo, Sir, 721, 745.
District Boards, 756.
Districts, 570.
Dīwānī, grant of, 503.
Donabew, 650.
Dōst Muhammad Khān, Amīr, 675, 677–9, 683, 684, 722, 740.
Drake, Mr., governor, 489, 491.
Duff, Dr. Alexander, missionary, 670.
Dufferin, Lord, Viceroy, 757–61, 780.
Du Jarric, historian, xxii.
Dumas, governor, 471.
Dumdum, 715.
Duncan, Jonathan, 557, 562, 563.
Dundas (Lord Melville), 547, 549, 551 *n.*, 553 *n.*, 576.
Dupleix, 470 *n.*, 471–4, 476–8, 480, 483, 485, 494.
Durand, Sir Henry Marion, 679, 680, 688; Sir Henry Mortimer, 765; line called, 765.

Earthquakes, 639, 654.
Eastern Bengal and Assam, province, 774.
East India Company, history of, 725, 785.
Edicts, of Asoka, xvii.
Edinburgh, H.R.H. the Duke of, 743, 746.
Education, 708, 709, 735, 773.
Edward, VII, King-Emperor, 744, 745; Prince (Duke of Clarence), 744.
Edwardes, Sir Herbert, 698, 701.
Egypt, neck of the British empire, 581 *n.*; expedition to, 593, 606, 607; Sultan of, 784.
Elgin, Lord, Viceroy, (1) 737, 740, 786; (2) 767, 783, 786.
Elizabeth, Queen, 785.
Ellenborough, Lord, Governor-general, 676, 682–9, 727, 732, 786.
Elliot, Sir Henry, xx; Sir Gilbert, Lord Minto (1) *q.v.*, 611.
Ellis, Mr., 500.
Elphinstone, Mountstuart, xx, 580, 614, 633; General, 679, 680, 681; Lord, 721.
English education, 670.
Era, xv; Ilāhī, xvi.
Euphrates, *r.*, 784.
European, troops, 712.
Exchange, 766.

Fa-hien, pilgrim, xix.
Faltā (Fulta), 489, 491, 496, 510.
Famine, A. D. 1770, 507–9; at Madras, 543; in Cutch, 639; of A. D. 1837–8, 673, 688; of A. D. 1861, 734, 746; in Orissa, &c., 740, 746; policy, 741, 749, 770; of A. D. 1873–4, 745; A. D. 1876–8, 748, 763; A. D. 1896–7, 768, 783; A. D. 1900, 770, 783.
Fencibles, defined, 610 *n.*
Ferozeshāh, battle of, 694, 709.
Fifth Report, 567, 578.
Finance, 735, 744, 750.
Firisha (Ferishta), historian, xx.
Flogging in army, 657, 671.
Forde, Colonel, 481, 496.
Forrest, Sir G., historian, 509; 731.
Forsyth, Sir Douglas, 743.
Fort, William, 785; Victoria, 490; Marlborough, 521 *n.*
Fox, Charles, India Bills of, 547, 551.
Francis, Sir Philip, 511, 521, 523–5, 527, 528.
Fraser, Lovat, author, 783.
Frazer, Sir Andrew, 780, 781 *n.*
French, East India Company, 471, 485; settlements, 593; islands, 616, 619; intrigues in Burma, 760.
Frontier Force, 701, 772.
Fullarton, Colonel, 545.
Fyzabad, 539.

Gaikwār, of Baroda, 533, 535, 745, 746.
Gandamuk, treaty of, 752.
Ganges, *r.*, iii; Mungir on, 500; Canal, 689, 707.
Gāwīlgarh, fortress, 600.
Geography, and history, i–vi.
George, V, King-Emperor, 782, 783; Mr. Lloyd, 784.
Germany, war with, 784.
Ghāzīpur, 608.
Gheria, fortress, 490, 491, 509, 532.
Ghulām Kādir, 572.
Gibraltar, 535, 554.
Gilgit, 767.
Gillespie, General, 617, 622.
Gladstone, Mr., 753, 759.
Goddard, General, 533.
Godeheu, Monsieur, 478, 482, 483, 490.
Godwin, General, 702, 713.
Godhud State, 608.
Gokhale (Gokla), Bāpū, 630.
Gorakhpur, 590, 669.
Gough, Sir Hugh (Lord), 686, 698; Sir Charles, author, 710.
Grand Trunk Road, 707.
Great War, the, of 1914, 648, 781, 784.
Greece, dated history of, xiv, xv.
Griffin, Sir Lepel, author, 710.
Gubbins, Mr., 713.
Guides, Corps of, 701, 772.
Gujarāt, in Panjāb, battle of, 699.
Gulāb Singh, Rājā, 696.
Gun, great, of Agra, 600 *n.*
Guntūr District, 477 *n.*, 480, 481 *n.*, 540, 542, 578.
Gupta era, xv.
Gūrkha, people, xii, 621, 624.
Gwālior, *ci.* and State, captured by British, 533, 554; affairs of, 686; Contingent, 720; fort exchanged, vii, 761.
Gyantse, *t.* in Tibet, 771.

Habībullah, Amīr (*k.*), 770, 783.
Haidar, Ali, of Mysore, 469, 483–6, 540–5, 554.
Haileybury, E. I. College, 594.
Hakīm Mahdi, minister, 658.
Hakrā, *r.*, iv.
Halhed on Hindu law and grammar, 514, 648.
Halifax, Lord = Wood, Sir Charles, *q.v.*
Hardinge, Sir Henry, (1) Lord, Governor-general, 689–97, 709, 710; (2) Lord, author, 694, 710; (3) Lord (of Penshurst), Viceroy, 781, 783, 786.
Harris, General, 583; Lord (2nd), 740.
Hassan Ali, Mrs. Meer, author, 674 *n.*
Hastings, (1) Warren, 497, 500, 508; as governor of Bengal, 510–23; as Governor-general, 521, 523–47, 554; impeachment of, 547; character of, 548–51; death of, 554; books concerning, 555; (2) Marquess of, Governor-general, ix, 620–36, 638–47.
Hathrās, fort, 642.
Havelock, Sir Henry, 679 *n.*, 688, 717.
Hazāra District, 696.
Heber, Bishop, 654.
Herat, 674, 677.
Hewitt, General, 716.
Heytesbury, Lord, 672.
Hickey, Mr., editor, 646.
High Courts, 734.

Hindostan = Aryāvarta, iii; one country, x.
Hinduism, base of Indian unity, x.
Hislop, Sir Thomas, 628, 630.
History, Indian, scenes of, v; divisions of, xiii; sources of, xiv-xxiv; beginning of dated, xiv.
Hiuen Tsang, pilgrim, xix.
Hobhouse, Sir John, 675, 684.
Hodgson, Brian H., 624.
Hodson, Lieut., 723, 724.
Holkar, *see* Jaswant Rāo Holkar, &c.
Holmes, T. R. E., historian, 731.
Holwell, Mr., 489, 496.
Houghly (Hūglī), *t.* and *r.*, 495; District, 503.
Hpagyīdoa, *k.* of Burma, 648, 652.
Hunza, *co.*, 765, 783.
Hyde, Mr. Justice, 522, 526, 529.
Hyderabad (Haidarābād) *ci.*, (1) in Sind, 675; Ameers of, 676; (2) in Deccan, Contingent of, 773.

Ilāhī era, xvi.
Ilbert, Sir Courtenay, 746, 756.
Impeachment defined, 548 *n.*
Imperial Assemblage, 748.
Impey, Sir Elijah, 522, 525–31, 571 *n.*, 611.
India, historical geography of, i-vi; unity in diversity of, viii; transitional period in, 469; in eighteenth century, 487; 'constitution' of, 519; Act of Pitt, 551; designs of Napoleon on, 581; archaeology in, 776.
Indian Empire, Order of, 748.
Indigo-planting, 669, 734.
Indore, *t.*, 577.
Indrayādi range, 599.
Indus, *r.*, iii, 661, 685, 690; army of, 678.
Infanticide, 639, 689, 690 *n.*
Inglis, Brigadier, 717.
Inscriptions, xvi.
'Investment' defined, 607.
Irrigation, British, 707, 741.
Ives, Surgeon, 491, 496, 509.

Jackson, Coverley, 713, 717; A. M. T., 781 *n.*
J'afar, Mīr, Nawāb, 491–5, 498–500, 504, 505, 509.
Jaintiā Parganās, 651, 659, 672.
Jaipur, 627, 659.
Jaitpur State, 705.
Jalālābād, 680, 682.
Jankājī Sindia, 686.
Japan, 780.
Jaswant, Rāo Holkar, 596, 597, 615.
Java, 612, 617, 619, 620, 640.
Jenkins, Mr., 608.
Jericho, 785.
Jerusalem, 784, 785.
Jesuit missions, to Akbar, xxi.
Jews, xi.
Jhānsī State, 705, 720, 723.
Jones, Sir William, 515.
Jotā Rām, ex-minister, 659.
Jung Bahādur, Sir, 722.
Junius, Letters of, 511.

Kābul, Indian until 1739, ix; Elphinstone's mission to, 611, 619; British relations with, 675, 677–83. *See* Afghanistan and Afghan wars.
Kāchār (Cachar), 648, 649, 651, 659, 671.
Kaisar-i Hind, title, 748.
Kālanjar, 614.
Kalāt = Khelat, *q.v.*
Kālī, goddess, 659, 666.
Kālpī, *t.*, 721, 730.
Kāmil Husain Pasha, Sultan, 784.
Kanara, annexed, 586.
Kandahār, march of Roberts to, 753; a gate of India, 755.
Kandy, *km.*, 593 *n.*
Karā (Kurrah), *t.* and district, 503, 513.
Karauli State, 705.
Kārikāl, French settlement, 471.
Karīm Khān, Pindārī, 626, 629.
Karnūl (Kurnool), annexed, 671, 688.
Kashmīr, Mahārāja of, 766.
Kāsim, Mīr, 499, 500, 509.
Kāsimbāzār (Cossimbazaar), 488, 510.
Katak = Cuttack, *q.v.*
Katehar, province, 517.
Kāthīāwār, administrative problems in, 743.
Katwa (Cutwa), fort, 492.
Kāverī (Cauvery), *r.*, xi.
Kāverīpāk, battle of, 476.
Kāyal, ruined port, iv.
Kaye, Sir W. J., historian, 688, 731.
Keane, Sir John (Lord), 678, 679.
Keating, Colonel, 532.
Khāfī Khān, historian, xxii.
Khairpur State and Ameers, 675, 677, 686 *n.*
Khālsa, Sikh military order, 690, 693.
Khān Bahādur Khān, rebel, 720.
Khandē Rāo, 484, 486.
Kharak Singh, 689 *n.*, 692.
Khardā, battle of, 575, 578.
Khelat (Kalāt), *t.* and *co.*, 751.
Khond, people, customs of, 690.
Khyber (Khaibar) Pass, 752.
Kilpatrick, Major, 491.
Kirkee (Kharkī), battle of, 631, 634.
Kitchener, Lord, 776.
Knight, E. F., author, 765 *n.*
Knighton, William, author, 673 *n.*
Kolhāpur State, 596, 721.
Konkan, the, ii.
Korā, *t.* and district, 503, 517.
Koregāon (Koregaum), defence of, 631, 634.
Korkai, ruined port, iv.
Kosi, *r.*, iii.
Kotah, *t.* and State, 602, 628.
Krishnā, District, *r.*, ii.
Kshudraka (Oxydrakai), people, xi.
Kumaun, province, 623.
Kunde Row = Khandē Rāo, *q.v.*, 484.
Kundūr (Condore), battle at, 481.
Kurdla = Khardā, *q.v.*, 575 *n.*
Kurram, valley, 754.
Kurukshetra, ix.
Kut-el Amara, 784.

Lahore, treaties of, 695, 709.
Laing, Samuel, financier, 735.
Lake, General (Lord), 600, 602, 606, 607, 609.
Lakheri, battle of, 572, 578.
Lally, (1) Comte de (Count), 478, 482, 486; (2) junior, 541.
Lāl Singh, 695.
Lambert, Commodore, 702.
Land, Alienation Act, 773; revenue, theory of, 516; system of Warren Hastings, 513; Lord Curzon on, 773. *See* Settlement.
Lansdowne, Lord, Viceroy, 763–7, 786.
Lapse, doctrine of, 704, 709.
Laswārī, battle of, 600, 606, 634.
Law, of Lauriston, 495 *n.*, 499 *n.*; Member of Council, 669.
Lawrence, Colonel Stringer, 474, 479; Sir Henry, 695, 700, 717; Sir John (Lord), 695, 701; as Viceroy, 737–42, 746, 786.
Lemaistre, Mr. Justice, 522, 526.
Lhāsa, 771.
Lichchhavi, tribe or clan, xi, xii *n.*
Linga Rājā of Coorg, 660.
Lingāyat, sect, x *n.*
Literature, in time of Warren Hastings, 515; European, 670.
Local self-government, xii, 756.
Lotteries, suppressed, 687.
Lotus flowers, circulation of, 715.
Lucknow, siege of, 717, 730; capital of Oudh, 772.
Lūdiānā, 614, 623, 675, 693.
Lyall, Sir James, 768; Sir Alfred, xiii, 783.
Lytton, Lord, Viceroy, 746–55, 763, 764, 786.

Macartney, Lord, 542, 545, 546, 553.
Macaulay, Lord, 525, 529, 657, 669, 670, 672.
MacDonnell, Sir Antony (Lord), 768, 770.
Mackenzie MSS., xxiv.
Macnaghten, Sir William, 678–80, 688.
Macpherson, Sir John, 553, 554.
Mādho Rāo Nārāyan, Pēshwā, 575, 578.
Mādho Rāo, Pēshwā, 532.
Madras, taken by French, and restored, 472, 485; attacked by Lally, 479, 486; 'double government' of, 485; Sir Thomas Rumbold at, 541; famine at, 543; Lord Macartney at, 546; *Fifth Report* on, 578; mutiny of officers of, 615, 619; revenue settlements in, 644; no mutiny in, 721.
Madrasah, Calcutta, 514.
Madura, *t.* and *co.*, xi.
Mahā Bandūla, Burmese general, 648–50.
Mādajī Sindia, 533, 535, 553, 554, 571, 572, 578, 596.
Mahārājpur, battle of, 686, 688.
Mahé, French settlement, 471, 480, 540.
Mahīdpur, battle of, 630, 631, 634.
Mahsūd tribe, 772.
Maiwand, battle of, 753, 764.

INDEX TO PART III

Malabar, freeholds in, 562; annexation of, 560; campaign in, 587; slavery in, 687.
Malacca, 661.
Malāon fort, 623.
Mālava (Malloi), people in Panjāb, xi.
Malavelli, battle of, 583.
Malcolm, Sir John, 580, 582, 613, 628, 630, 633, 705.
Malhār, Holkar, 576; Rāo Gaikwār, 745, 746.
Mālwā, settled, 632.
Mānbhūm, famine in, 740.
Mandalay, 760.
Mangalore, 545, 554.
Manilla, 481, 486.
Manipur State, 648, 651, 765.
Mannī Bēgam, 525.
Mansfield, Lord, 514.
Marāthā, three wars, 634; system, 637.
Marāthās, the, ix, 532, 541, 546, 575, 595, 602, 609; oppressions of, 615; chiefs, 627, 633; books on, 451, 468, 636.
Marlborough, Fort = Bencoolen, 521 *n.*
Marshman, John Clark, 648.
Martin, François, 470 *n.*, 471.
Mascarene = French Islands, *q.v.*, 617 *n.*
Masulipatam, 471.
Mauritius, 507, 613, 617.
Mayo, Lord, Viceroy, 742–4, 746, 786.
Mazār-i Sharīf, *t.* or *vi.*, 752.
Mecca, Sharīf (King) of, 784.
Medical College, Calcutta, 671, 672.
Medows, General, 559, 561, 574 *n.*
Meerut, *t.*, 715, 716.
Megasthenes, author, xix.
Meghavarna, *k.* of Ceylon, xv.
Melbourne, Lord, 672.
Melville, Lord = Dundas, *q.v.*, 548.
Mercāra, *t.*, 660.
'Meriah', sacrificial victim, 690.
Merv, 759.
Mesopotamia, 784, 785.
Metcalfe, Sir Charles (Lord), 614, 647, 671, 672.
Miānī (Meeanee), battle of, 685, 688.
Middleton, Mr., 539.
Midnapur, 499, 503 *n.*
Mill, James, historian, xxiii, 506, 549.
Minto, Lord (1) Governor-general, 610–21, 625, 675, 785; (2) Viceroy, 776–81, 783, 786.
Mīr Ālam, minister, 609.
Mīran, son of Mīr J'afar, 494, 499; Katra, battle of, 518.
Mīr Madan, 494.
Mīrpur Khās, 675.
Missionaries, 619, 670.
Moira, Earl of = Hastings, Marquess of, *q.v.*, 620.
Moluccas, the, 613, 617 619.
Mongolian type, xii.
Monson, (1) Hon. George, 521, 523–7, 531, 554, 555; (2) Col. William, 602, 604.
Montgomery, Mr., 733.
Morley, Lord, 777, 778.
Mornington = Wellesley, Lord, *q.v.*, 578.
Mudkī (Moodkee), battle of, 693, 709.
Muhammad, (1) bin Tughlak, Sultān of Delhi, ix; (2) Ali, Nawāb of Carnatic, 474, 476, 485, 544, 589; (3) = Allahvardī Khān, *q.v.*, 487; (4) Kāsim Khān, Mīr = Kāsim Mīr, *q.v.*; (5) Akbar, Afghan, 680.
Muhammadan historians, xx.
Mukund Dara (Muckundra) Pass, 602.
Mūlraj, Dīwān, 697, 698, 709.
Mūltān, *ci.*, 698.
Mungir (Monghyr), *t.*, 500.
Municipal institutions, xii.
Munro, Sir Hector, 500, 541, 542; Sir Thomas, 562, 569 *n.*, 571 *n.*, 644, 652, 654.
Murray, Colonel, 602.
Murshīdābād, 488, 494, 508, 511.
Murshīd Kulī Khān, 494.
Mussoorie, 623.
Mutilation, penalty, 515.
Mutinies, from 1844 to 1852, 685, 688, 712.
Mutiny, the, 715–31.
Muttra = Mathurā, *q.v.*
Muzaffar Jang, 473 *n.*, 474, 476.
Muzaffarnagar, 722.
Mysore, *km.* and State, 483–6, 546; partition of, 561, 586; four wars with, 606; rendition of, 658, 755; *Gazetteer*, 756 *n.*

Nagar, *t.*, (1) = Bednūr, *q.v.*, 484; (2) near Chitrāl, 765, 783.
Nāgpur, 599, 628, 630, 633, 705; battle of, 630, 634.
Nainī Tāl, 623.
Najmu-d daula, Nawāb, 500.
Nānā, (1) Farnavis, 555, 558, 575, 596; (2) Sāhib, 631, 705, 717–23.
Nandkumār, Mahārāja, 524–7, 554.
Nanjarāj, minister, 483.
Nāo Nihāl Singh, 689 *n.*, 692.
Napier, Sir Charles, 685, 686, 689, 699; Sir William, 689.
Napoleon, 581, 605, 612, 613, 640.
Nāsir Jang, Nizam, 474.
Nasīru-d dīn, Haidar, *k.* of Oudh, 673.
Nepāl, war with, 621–4, 634; helped in Mutiny, 722.
Neuve Chapelle, battle of, 784.
Newspapers, 646, 654.
Nicholson, John, 701, 716.
Nil Darpan, drama, 669 *n.*, 734.
Nile, battle of, 582.
Nizam, the, 473 *n.*, 485, 540, 574, 582.
Nizāmu-d dīn, Auliya, saint, 667.
Non-regulation system, 643, 701.
North, Lord, 511, 516.
Northbrook, Lord, Viceroy, 744–6.
Northern Circars, *see* Sarkārs, Northern.
North-Western Provinces, 772.
North-West Frontier Province, 771.
Nott, General, 679, 683.
Nuncomar = Nandkumār, *q.v.*

Ochterlony, Sir David, 602, 603.
Officers, mutinous combinations of, (1) 504, 509; (2) 575; (3) 615.
Omichund = Amīrchand, *q.v.*, 492.
Opium finance, 516.
Orissa, human sacrifices in, 690, 709.
Orme, R., historian, 486.
O'Shaughnessy, Dr., 708.
Oudh, *co.* and *ci.*, 495, 503, 517, 524; Bēgams of, 538–40, 554; defence of, 571; Wellesley's treatment of, 590; Hakīm Mahdi, minister of, 658; affairs of, 673, 705–7, 709; mutiny in, 717, 723, 792.
Outram, Sir James, 685, 688, 706, 713, 717.
Owen, Sidney, works of, 607.

P. & O. Company, 662.
Palmer and Co., 646.
Palmerston, Lord, 674, 684.
Paltū, Shaikh, 715.
Pāmīrs, the, 767.
Panchāvats, revived, 643.
Paniār, battle of, 686, 688.
Pānīpat, third battle of, xxii.
Panjāb, 614, 690, 696; annexation of, 693, 700, 709; administration of, 701; Delhi territory added to, 725; Tenancy Act, 742, 743, 764; Land Alienation Act, 773.
Panjdeh incident, 759, 764.
Pārachinār, 754.
Paradis, French officer, 473.
Paris, peace of, 481, 486.
Parliament and India, 779.
Parsees, xi.
Patna = massacre of, 500, 509, 511; cause, 529.
Pearse, Colonel, 533.
Peel, Sir Robert, 672.
Peggs, J., on suttee, &c., 664 *n.*, 687 *n.*
Pegu, 652, 712.
Peiwār Kotal, 753.
Pelly, Sir Lewis, 745.
Penal code, 734.
Penang, 661.
Permanent settlement, 561–70.
Perron, Monsieur, 600.
Persia, embassies to, 613, 619; war with, 711, 722; Lord Curzon on, 769.
Persian Gulf, 771.
Pēshwās, the, 635.
Phayre, Sir Arthur, 654, 704.
Philippines, the, 481.
Pigot, Mr. (Lord), governor, 479, 528 *n.*
Pilgrim tax, 673.
Pilibhīt, *t.*, 517.
Pillai, Ānanda Ranga, diarist, 483.
Pindārīs, 625–9, 634.
Piracy, 587, 639.
Pitt, the younger, 547, 551, 552.
Plague, 767, 782.
Plassey, battle of, xxiii, 492, 495, 498.
Poisoning, crime of, 668.
Police, 570.
Pollock, General, 683.
Pondicherry, 471, 473, 479, 480, 485, 491, 540.
Poona, battle of, 597, 606, 629.
Pope, Gregory, xiii, xvi *n.*
Popham, Major, 533.
Port Cornwallis, 650.
Porto Novo, battle of, 541, 542, 554.

INDEX TO PART III

Portuguese, viii; archives, xxi.
Post office, 708.
Prasasti defined, xvi.
Press, history of Indian, 646, 751.
Prince, Regent, 557, 620; of Wales, 745.
Prinsep, H. T., historian, 636.
Privateering, 616.
Prome, *t.*, 651, 702.
'Pronouncement', August 20, 1917, 786.
Public Works Department, 707.
Purandhar, treaty of, 532, 554.
Pūrnia (Poornea), minister, 543, 586, 587.

Quebec, 481.
Quetta, occupation of, 747 751, 763, 765.
Quinton, Mr., 766.

Raffles, Sir Stamford, 617, 640.
Ragoba (=Raghunāth Rāo), 532–5, 540, 575.
Rahmat Khān, Hāfiz, 518.
Railways, 662, 707, 709, 722.
Rāma's Bridge, x.
Ramaseeana, 672.
Rammohan Rāi, reformer, 664.
Rāmpur, Nawāb of, 720.
Rangoon, 650, 652, 702, 724.
Rānīganj, 707.
Ranjit Singh, Mahārāja, 614, 619, 677, 688, 689 *n.*, 690–3, 701.
Ratnagiri, *t.*, 760.
Rāyakottai (Rayacota), fort, 560.
Raymond, Monsieur, 575, 582.
Razā Khān Muhammad, 503, 508, 513, 514.
Records, xxi.
Reform Act of 1832, 663.
Regulating Act, 519–23, 528, 529, 532, 552, 557, 572.
Regulation, VII of 1822 and IX of 1833, 644, 646, 654, 662; XVII of 1829, 664.
Reinhard, Walter=Sumroo, *q.v.*, 500.
Religions, Indian, xvii.
Rennell, Major, 514.
Republics, ancient Indian, xii *n.*
'Resumption' operations, 662.
Réunion, island=Bourbon, *q.v.*, 617.
Revolutionary war, 573.
Ridge, the, at Delhi, 716.
Ripon, Lord, Viceroy, 753–7, 764, 786.
River changes, iii, iv.
Roads, British, 707.
Roberts, P. E., historian, xxiv; General (Lord), 752, 753.
Rodney, Admiral, 535.
Rodriguez Island, 616.
Rohilkhand, 517, 590, 642, 717, 720.
Rohilla people and war, 517, 518, 523.
Rose, Sir Hugh, 720, 721.
Royal Titles Act, 748, 763.
Rumbold, Sir Thomas, 540, 541.
Runjeet Singh, *see* Ranjit Singh.
Runn (Ran) of Cutch, 639.
Rūpar (Roopur), meeting at, 661, 671.
Rupee, exchange value of, 766.
Russia and India, 674, 677, 743, 754, 759; revolution in, 784.
Ryot (*raiyat*) defined, 562.
'Ryotwar settlement', 644.
Ryswick, treaty of, 471.

Sa'ādat, Alī Khān of Oudh, 570, 578.
Sacrifice, human, 690.
Sāgar and Narbadā Territories, 630, 634.
Sagaulī (Segowlee), treaty of, 623, 634.
Sahāranpur, 722.
Sahyādri range, 599.
Salābat Jang, 474.
Sālār Jang, Sir, 721.
Sālbāī, treaty of, 535, 546, 554, 596.
Sale, law, 566; Sir Robert, 680, 682.
Salisbury, Lord, 747.
Salsette, near Bombay, 532, 535, 543.
Salt, finance, 502, 516.
Samachar Darpan, 648.
Sambalpur State, 705.
Sambhal, province, 517.
Samrū=Sumroo, *q.v.*, 500.
Samudragupta, *k.*, xv.
Sandeman, Sir Robert, 772.
Sanyāsīs, 512, 516.
Sarfarāz Khān, Nawāb, 487.
Sarjī Rāo Ghātkē (Shirzee Rāo Ghatgay), 597.
Sarkar, Prof. J., author, xxii.
Sarkārs (Circars), Northern, 477, 480, 496, 540, 561 *n.*, 627.
Sātārā, *t.* and State, 633, 674, 688, 704.
Satī=Suttee, *q.v.*
Saunders, Mr. President, 480, 490.
Sāwantwārī, port, 588.
Scott, J. G., author, 760 *n.*
Sea-power, viii, xiii.
Secretary of State, 552.
Seleukos, Nikator, *k.*, ix, xix.
Seringapatam, 541, 560, 578, 583, 606.
'Settlement' defined, 564.
Seven Years' War, 486.
Sewell, Mr. R., work of, xxii.
Shāhjahān, emperor, xxiii.
Shāh Shujā, *k.* of Kābul, 675, 677–80, 683, 684 *n.*
Shāh Zamān=Zamān Shāh, *q.v.*
Shan states, 761 *n.*
Shēr Alī, Amīr, 740, 746, 752.
Shērpur camp, 753.
Shēr Singh, Mahārāja, 692.
Shikārpur, 675, 678.
Shitāb Rāi, Mahārāja, 503, 513, 514.
Shore, Sir John, 557, 565, 568, 574–6, 578, 581.
Shujāu-d daula, Nawāb, 501, 503, 513, 517.
Shujāu-d dīn, Nawāb, 487, 509.
Siam, 767, 769.
Sikandar, Bēgam of Bhopāl, 627.
Sikh history, later, 614, 689–96, 698–700, 709.
Sikkim State, 704.
Simla, 623.
Sind, (1) province, 676, 685, 688; (2) river in Central India, 628.
Sindia, *see* Māhādajī, &c.
Singapore, 640, 661.
Singhbhūm, famine in, 740.
Sirāju-d daula, Nawāb, 488–94, 510.
Sītābaldī, battle of, 630, 631, 634.
Siva, deity, x.
Slavery, 687, 688.
Sleeman, Sir William, 591, 633, 658, 666–8, 672, 705–7, 741.
Smith, Col. Joseph, 485, 486.
Snodgrass, Major, on Burmese war, 654.
Sobrāon, battle of, 694, 709.
Sohgaura copper-plate, xvii, xxiv.
Sombre=Sumroo, *q.v.*, 500.
Somnāth, 684.
Spice Islands, 617.
Staff Corps, 733.
St. David, fort, 473, 476, 479, 480.
Steamships, 653, 661.
Stockades, 622, 650.
Strachey, Sir John, 523, 750.
Straits Settlements, 641, 661.
Strathnairn, Lord=Sir Hugh Rose, *q.v.*, 720.
Stuart, General, 542, 543, 545.
Stūpas, xvii.
Style, old and new, xvi *n.*
Subsidiary alliances, 591.
Suez, route by, 531.
Suffren de, Admiral, 543.
Sumatra, 641.
Sumroo, Walter, 500; Bēgam, 500.
Supervisors, 504, 511.
Supreme Court, 521, 528.
Surat, 589, 606; treaty of, 532, 554.
Surjī Arjungāon, treaty of, 600, 606, 634.
Sutlaj (Sutudrī), *r.*, iii, 614, 689, 690, 693, 698.
Suttee (*Satī*), history of, 665; in native states, 689.
Sylhet, 659.
Symes, Captain, 649.

Tabakāt-i Nāsirī, xx.
Tahmāsp Kulī Khān=Nādir Shāh, *q.v.*, 658.
Tālpur Ameers, 675.
Tamil, language and literature, xiii, xxiv.
Tanjore, ix, 473, 476, 589, 606.
Tantia, (1) Jōg, minister, 633; (2) Topi, rebel, 719, 721, 730.
Tarāi, *co.*, 621, 623 *n.*
Taxila, *ci.*, xvii, xxiv; customs at, 665.
Tea trade, 619.
Tegnapatam = St. David, fort, *q.v* 473.
Teignmouth, 1st Lord = Sir John Shore, *q.v.*, 576.
Telegraph, 708.
Temple, Sir Richard, 701, 710.
Tenancy Acts, 763, 764.
Tenasserim, 651, 704.
Thagī=Thuggee, *q.v.*
Thāna=police circle, 570.
Thānēsar, *t.*, xix.
Theebaw, *k.*, of Burma, 760.
Thiagur, fort, 480.
Thomason, James, 708, 710, 716.
Thuggee (*thagī*), 666–8, 671.
Tibet, British missions to, 515; war with, 771.
Tibetan type of mankind, xii.

INDEX TO PART III

Tinnevelly District, changes of level, iv.
Tippoo (Tipū), Sultan, xvi, 542, 544-6, 558-61, 582-6; sons of, 610.
Tirāh, *co.*, 767, 783.
Tod, Colonel, xviii, xxiv, 626.
Tonk State, 628 *n.*, 629.
Townshend, General, 784.
Tradition, xviii.
Travancore, *co.*, 615, 619.
'Tree-daubing', 715.
Trevelyan, G. O., Sir, author, 731.
Tribal constitutions, xii.
Trichinopoly, ix, 474, 475, 482, 485.
Trinomalai, battle of, 485, 486.
Tripartite treaty of Lord Auckland, 677.
Triple alliance of Lord Cornwallis, 559.
Tsar, the, 743, 759, 784.
Tukajī Holkar, 577, 596.
Tungabhadrā, *r.*, ii.
Turkey, war with, 784.
Twenty-four Parganas, 495, 503 *n.*, 509.

Umarkōt, 640.
Umbeyla campaign, 737.
Umdatu-l Umarā, Nawāb, 589.
United States, 481, 742, 784.
Universities, 735-7, 774, 783, 786.
Urdu language, 736.

Vaigai, *r.*, xi.
Valdūr fort, 470 *n.*
Vansittart, Mr., 496, 499, 500, 509, 510.
Vasco da Gama, viii.
Vedas, x.
Vellore, 610, 619.
Velu Tampi, minister, 615.
Vengurla, port, 588.
Venkājī Bhonsla, 599.
Ventura, General, 693.
Verelst, Mr., 502, 505, 506, 509, 510, 545 *n.*
Vernacular Press Act, 747, 750, 756, 764.
Versailles, peace of, 545, 554.
Viceroys, British, 728, 730, 732 *n.*
Victoria, (1) Queen, 669, 688, 727, 730, 761; death of, 783; (2) Fort = Bānkōt, *q.v.*, 490.
Vijayadurg = Gheria, *q.v.*, 490.
Vijayanagar, *ci.* and *km.*, rise of, ix; suttee at, 665.
Vīnā, Indian lute, xvii.
Vīra, Rājā of Coorg, 660.
Vishnu, deity, x.
Vizier (Vazīr) Alī, Nawāb, 576.

Wahindah, *r.* = Hakrā, *q.v.*, iv.
Wandiwash, battle of, 479, 486.
Wargāon, convention of, 532, 554.
War, principles of, 638.
Wāsil Muhammad Pindārī, 626, 629.
Waterloo, battle of, 573.
Watson, Admiral, 489, 491, 496, 509.
Watts, M., 401.
Wellesley, (1) Lord, administration of, 578-603; policy of, 604-6; chronology of, 606; (2) Sir Arthur, 580, 583, 587, 592, 598, 599, 602; (3) Henry, 580, 592.
Wellington, Duke of = Wellesley, Sir Arthur, *q.v.*, 580.
Wheeler, Sir Hugh, 717.
Wheler, Mr., 537.
Whitlock, Brigadier, 720.
Wilks, General Mark, 484 *n.*, 486.
Wilson, Mr. James, financier, 735.
Windham, General, 720, 730.
Wood, Sir Charles, Education dispatch of, 708, 709, 735.

Yākub Khān, Amīr, 752, 753.
Yanāon, 471.
Yandabo, treaty of, 651, 654.
Yaudheya tribe, xi, xii *n.*
Yorktown, surrender at, 556.
Yūsufzai settlers, 517.

Zābita Khān, 518.
Zālim Singh, Regent, 628.
Zamān Shāh, 590, 614.
Zemindar, in Bengal, 567.
Zillah = District, *q.v.*, 571.

NIRMALA COLLEGE
LIBRARY
5476

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, C.I.E.

January, 1920

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF INDIA from the Earliest Times to the end of 1911. 1919. Crown 8vo ($7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$), pp. xxiv + 816, with one hundred and eighty-two illustrations and twenty-four maps and plans. 12s. 6d. net.

'Dr. Vincent Smith has in this volume (a marvel of skilful selection and concision) completely superseded all existing manuals of Indian history. To tell so long and varied a tale in some seven hundred and eighty pages, to be at once brief, accurate, informing, and entertaining, is to perform a feat which calls for respectful admiration. Dr. Vincent Smith has achieved it with an ease and success due to long practice and a life-long enthusiasm for his subject. . . . We have here incomparably the best summary history of India yet written.'—*Spectator.*

'Dr. Vincent Smith's study of first-hand authorities has been exhaustive—he has made his studies on the spot, and he writes with eminent fairness and candour. He has given us . . . an admirable book of reference. . . . We have described Dr. Vincent Smith's work as a chronicle, but it must not be supposed that it is a mere collection of names and dates. On the contrary, one is struck by the great wealth of picturesque and interesting detail which the author has managed to pack into his small space . . . The book is abundantly illustrated.'—*Times Literary Supplement.*

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the invasion of Alexander the Great. Third edition, revised and enlarged, 1914. 8vo, pp. xii + 512, with separate plates, and maps and plans. 14s. net.

'The author has patiently sifted a vast mass of evidence and condensed it into a connected summary of moderate dimensions. His style is lucid and elegant. His intimate acquaintance with modern India gives a special zest and an authoritative value to his statements and conclusions.'—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

'A work which will form a foundation for future historians of India to build upon, and at the same time assist students to gain a better and a more connected record of early Indian history.'—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute.*

AKBAR, the Great Mogul, 1542–1605. 1917. Second edition revised, 1920. 8vo, pp. xvi + 504, with fourteen illustrations in half-tone, a frontispiece in colour, and ten maps. 16s. net.

'Mr. Vincent Smith has ransacked all the surviving authorities (including, for the first time in English, the Jesuit Fathers) and has put the materials thus compiled into a very attractive and absorbing literary shape. His book deserves more than one attentive reading, and will, no doubt, long be the standard life of the great Mogul.'—*Spectator.*

ASOKA, the Buddhist Emperor of India. Second edition, revised and enlarged, 1909. Crown 8vo, pp. 252, with two illustrations in half-tone and a map. 4s. net. (Rulers of India Series.)

'Contains a readable English version of all edicts and other inscriptions of Asoka, with so much of introduction and commentary needful to make them intelligible to the lay reader. . . . The author has very successfully carried out his purpose.'—*Times of India.*

THE OXFORD STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA. Eighth edition, revised and enlarged, 1918. With appendixes, including King George's Message to the Princes and Peoples of India. 1914. Crown 8vo, pp. 364, with forty-eight illustrations and maps. 3s. net.

'The repeated and continuous demand for new editions of the book bespeaks its value and popularity. Without going into meticulous detail it gives a concise and careful outline of the country and its peoples throughout their long and varied history, and surveys the main movements, causes, courses and effects, in a fair, critical, and most informative manner.'—*Irish Independent.*

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ENGLAND, for Indi
Students. 1912. Crown 8vo, pp. 384, with fifty-nine illustrations and sev
maps. 3s. net.

'Mr. Vincent Smith has done real service in writing this history.'—*Times*.

Mr. Vincent Smith has done the utmost that can be done to give a clear record of t
thousand years in a distant and very different country to the Indian student.'—*Ind*
Spectator.

INDIA. Political Geography, Government and Administ
tion. Pp. 1–337 of the *Oxford Survey of the British Empire*. Vol. II. A
14s. net.

A HISTORY OF FINE ART in India and Ceylon. 191
Medium 4to, pp. 536, with five coloured plates, and three hundred a
eighty-one other illustrations in half-tone. In full morocco (to orde
94s. net, cloth 63s. net.

'The book is a piece of pioneer work of very great value, and one for which every fut
student of the subject will be grateful. . . . The illustrations alone . . . give it uni
value.'—*Times*.

'We have given but few indications of the wonders of Indian art which are to be fo
in this book, to turn over the leaves of which is a delight, while to read it is an educati
Specta

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS in the Indian Museu
Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Vol. I. 1906. Royal 8vo, with plates, 30s. net; or in parts (prices
application). Published for the Trustees.

RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS of an Indian Offici
by Major-General Sleeman. First published 1844. Revised editi
edited by V. A. Smith, 1915. Crown 8vo, pp. 708, 6s. net; on Oxfo
India paper, 7s. 6d. net.

'A handsome and convenient edition. There are always new comers to India and th
will always be new readers for Sleeman. They may consider themselves fortunate t
they can purchase him so easily.'—*Indian Education*.

TRAVELS IN THE MOGUL EMPIRE, A.D. 1636–166
by François Bernier, translated and edited by A. Constable. Seco
edition revised by V. A. Smith. 1914. Crown 8vo, pp. 552, 6s. n
on Oxford India paper, 7s. 6d. net.

'A book which reveals so much of India in the seventeenth century, and served Dry
as the basis of his *Aureng-Zebe* will also remain valuable, and it is satisfactory to hav
in what should be its definitive English dress.'—*Nation* (New York).

MACAULAY'S ESSAY ON CLIVE. Edited with Intr
duction and Notes by V. A. Smith. 1911. Fcap 8vo, pp. 116, with two ma
2s. net.

'Seventeen pages of notes of great utility.'—*The Literary World*.

'There is a critical introduction, and nearly twenty pages of scholarly notes, in wh
nothing has been forgotten that is worth knowing.'—*The Schoolmaster*.

MACAULAY'S ESSAY ON WARREN HASTING
Edited with Introduction and Notes by V. A. Smith. 1911. Fcap 8
Pp. 160, with a map. 2s. net.

'Supplies with the skill of an expert the needful corrections.'—*The Athenæum*.

'An excellent school book for classes in English literature.'—*The Scotsman*.

'The notes supplied are excellent, as is the brief introduction.'—*Teachers' Times*.

LIBRARY
BANGALORE

Lawrence