Those designs were shattered by Nelson's splendid naval victo
August 1 at the battle of the Nile or Aboukir Bay; bu
spectre of French ambition in the East long continued to tr
the repose of statesmen in London and Calcutta. Consequ
Wellesley's policy of subsidiary alliances and annexations, di
to the immediate purpose of making the British the su
power in India, was largely determined by his resolve to ex
for ever all possibility of French competition. The policy pu
did not rest only upon the local Indian situation. India, w
she liked it or not, had been drawn into the vortex of Eur
politics. Tippoo, the Nizam, and the Marāthās, each sou
gain French support, but all were too ignorant of Eur
geography, history, and current affairs, to understand i
least degree what France could or could not do. The
found after the death of Tippoo prove that that 'mad barb
as Cornwallis scornfully called him, was totally incapa
realizing the forces of the European world with which he
ventured to meddle. Bonaparte, who was equally ignor
Indian conditions, seems really to have believed that va
aid might be expected from Tippoo, and so contributed
speedy ruin of that headstrong prince, to whom he had add
a letter written in Cairo.

The Nizam disarmed. Wellesley, while recogniz
dangers of Tippoo's hostility, resolved to deal first with the N
who had been estranged by Shore's desertion in 1795, a
endeavoured to strengthen himself by allowing M. J. Ra
to organize for him a powerful body of regular troops, sim
those commanded by M. de Boigne and his successors for
The Governor-general succeeded in persuading or compel
Nizam to accept a revised form of subsidiary alliance,
consent to the disbandment of the troops under French co
The accomplishment of Wellesley's plan was made easier
death of Raymond, whose successor did not comman
influence. By means of clever diplomacy, combined with a
planned military demonstration, the force organized by Ra
was disarmed and disbanded. Malcolm, who was one of th
actors in the proceedings, relates how

'in a few hours, a corps, whose numbers amounted to fourteen
men, and who had in their possession a train of artillery, and
filled with every description of military stores, was completely
without one life having been lost'.

That bold stroke instantly reduced the Nizam to
dependence on the Company, and removed him from th
powers whose enmity should be feared, or whose amity sh
sought. In those days the Sikh kingdom had not yet
formidable to India, and the only powers needing serious co
tion were Tippoo and the Marāthās. The leading Maratha
were Sindia, Holkar, and the Bhonslā Rājā of Berār. The
Bājī Rāo, although nominally the head of all the Ma
enjoyed little substantial authority.

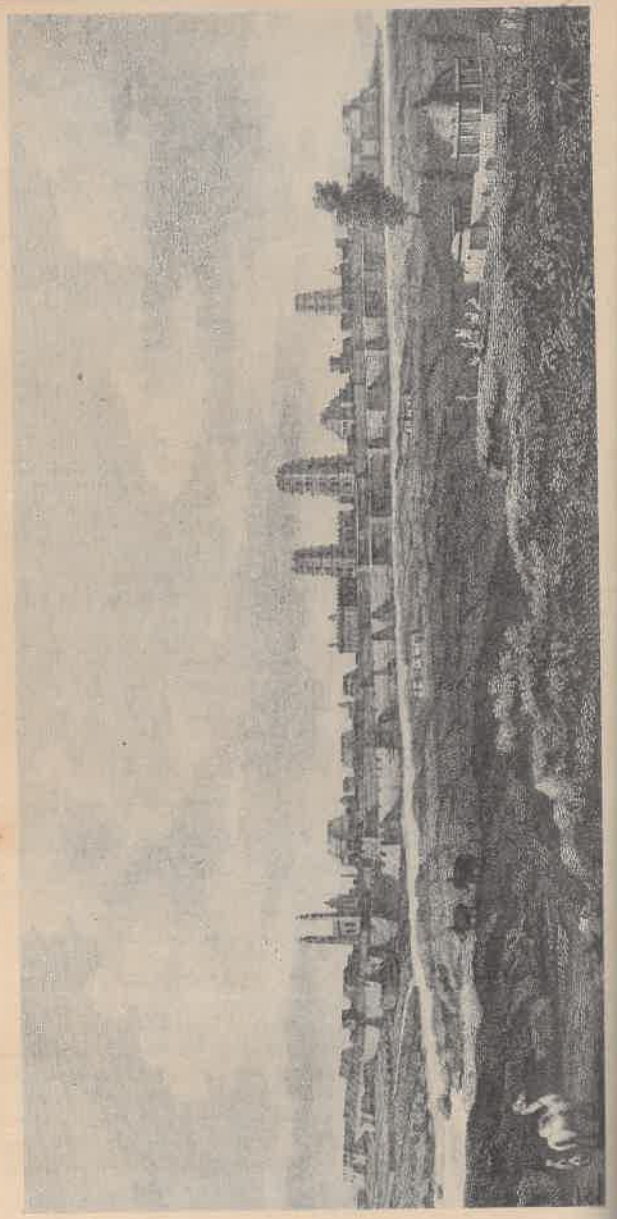
laration of war with Tippoo. Tippoo, after his defeat
d Cornwallis in 1792, had given many proofs of his inveterate
ty. The incident which immediately caused war was the
ation in June 1798 of a proclamation by Monsieur Malartic,
nor-general of the Isle of France or Mauritius and Réunion,
g the proposals of Tippoo for an offensive and defensive
with France, and calling for volunteers to serve under the
of Mysore for the purpose of expelling the English from
The response to the call was insignificant, but the pro-
s left no doubt as to the intentions of Tippoo. Wellesley,
carefully verified the authenticity of the document, called
for explanations. His replies being evasive and contemp-
the Governor-general, who had made effective preparations,
war on February 22, 1799. The reasons for that action
overruling the timid counsels of the government of Madras
corded in an elaborate minute. At that time the second
Clive was governor of the southern presidency.

war. The war was conducted with such lightning rapidity
w words are needed to describe its brief course. A Bombay
defeated a much larger body of the enemy on the Coorg
on March 6, 1799.[1] The main Carnatic army of about
men under General George Harris crossed the frontier on
; defeated Tippoo at Malavelli, twenty-eight miles east
own of Mysore, on March 27; and stormed Seringapatam
4. The campaign was all over in two months. Tippoo,
ighting gallantly in a gateway, was shot through the head
oldier. His body, extracted with difficulty from a heap of
next day received honourable burial by the side of his
The troops plundered the town. Their excesses were
repressed by the Governor-general's brother, Colonel Arthur
ley, who reported in his terribly laconic style:

in to take the command on the morning of the 5th, and by the
ersion, by hanging, flogging, &c., &c., in the course of that day
order among the troops, and I hope I have gained the confidence
eople.'

ed it with absolute completeness. The prearranged plan
paign had been carried out accurately in every particular,
whole kingdom lay at the mercy of the conqueror.

y of Seringapatam. Bowring, writing in 1893, states that
fortress of Seringapatan remains in much the same state as it was
the siege nearly a hundred years ago. The formidable fortifica-
stoutly withstood the ravages of time, while the breach made in
is still visible from the opposite bank of the river, where two
ed in the ground denote the spot on which the English batteries
ed. Inside is shown the gateway on the northern face where
in his death-struggle. The whole island is now insalubrious.
shed houses only remain where once was a great capital, and the
mple of Vishnu looks down, as if in mockery, on the ruins of the
d Stuart's dispatch (*Wellesley Despatches*, pp. 115, 116). Lord
gives the date as the 8th (ibid., p. 107).



of the Muhammadan usurper. Part of this building has been ished, and the rest turned into a sandal-wood store.'

Imperial Gazetteer published in 1908 records some improve- in the decayed town.

aracter of Tippoo. Tippoo, who was about fifty years at the time of his death, was a strange man, full of whims prices. He devised a new calendar, a new scale of weights easures, a fantastic coinage, and so forth. He suffered from lusion that he knew thing and was the wisest n.' He worked hard at siness of administration rote instructions on all ts, civil and military, his own hand in Persian. spoke fluently Persian, rese, and Urdu. He left him two collections of and possessed a valu- library, which was re- to Calcutta. His fierce bigotry did not prevent from having recourse to an prayers in time of or even from making Hindu temples. He his enemies and prison- with the most ferocious of which innumerable details are on record, not more harsh than neighbours to peaceful in his own territories, eem to have been well ted. He was personally while too ignorant and ed to merit praise as a general. His devotion to the faith the local Muhammadans to overlook his crimes and to him as a martyr of Islām. The tolerant British government ted inscriptions in that sense to be inscribed on his tomb. mausoleum, in which he and his father lie, is a handsome with ebony and ivory doors, the gift of Lord Dalhousie.



TIPPOO SULTAN.

lesley's Mysore policy. Lord Wellesley's intention had to cripple permanently rather than to destroy utterly the of Tippoo. The absolutely complete success of the operations al Harris and the death of the Sultan were a surprise to

restless spirit of innovation, and a wish to have everything originate himself, was the predominant feature of his character' (Sir T. Munro *Life*, i. 233).

the Governor-general, who was obliged to reconsider the p
of the disposal of Mysore. Wellesley explained in a dispa
dressed to the Directors that the Company and the allied
enjoyed the 'free and uncontrouled right of conquest',
the Marāthās, having taken no share in the war, had 'f
every pretension to share in the advantages of the peace
therefore felt at liberty to secure the objects originally c
plated, namely, a reasonable indemnification for the c
incurred and adequate guarantees of safety for the future
Governor-general was of opinion that the simple plan of d
the conquests equally between the Company and the Niza
had given some help, would unduly aggrandize that Princ
giving offence to other powers. He was convinced that no
of Haidar Ali's family possibly could prove an efficient and
ruler. After reviewing all conceivable alternatives, he c
the decision that the wisest course would be for the Comp
the Nizam to take the districts which best suited each pa
to make over the residue to a prince of the Hindu royal
which had been dispossessed by Haidar Ali. The prince
for restoration as Rājā being a child five years of age, th
of Mysore, except the districts assigned to the Nizam, pr
became British territory. The exception was only te
because in the following year (1800) the Nizam surrend
acquisitions in order to settle the Company's claims for t
ment of the subsidiary force. A leading principle of W
policy was to secure territory the revenues of which shou
to pay for the subsidiary force of each state concerned. He
strongly to the old practice of having unpaid and unsecu
for subsidiary payments continually the subject of negotia
the Indian states of that time were careless about fina
almost always in arrear.

In pursuance of that policy the Company annexed
thereby obtaining the whole of the south-western coast,
having been already annexed. Some other territory w
taken, and Seringapatam was retained in British contr
region assigned to the Nizam lay to the north-east. Th
or Rāj of Mysore was thus reduced to the compact tr
inland block which it is still. The territory left to the Rā
the Nizam's surrender of his share, was completely sur
by the British dominions and cut off from access to the se

Administration. The administration of the territory
for the child Rājā was entrusted to Pūrnia or Pūrnaiya (P
the capable Brahman minister who had served Tippoo to
The arrangements were embodied in the supplementary
of Seringapatam, which included the usual articles provi
the payment of a subsidiary force, prohibiting political
with other states, and excluding Europeans from emp
Articles 4 and 5 went far beyond the standard model by
the Governor-general power to introduce regulations for th
internal government of the country, or even, if he shou

er, to bring the state under the direct management of the
nts of the Company.

though the independence of Mysore was avowedly destroyed
ders clothed in the form of a treaty, the mistake of introducing
itish code of regulations was not committed. Pūrnia was
ed to manage his business in his own fashion. He had the
nse to employ irregular cavalry as his military force, an
gement which suited the habits of the people. Every office,
and military, was filled by natives of the country. The system
started worked admirably while it was supervised in succession
Arthur Wellesley and Colonel Close. The precedent might have
followed with advantage in other cases.

later history of Mysore. Pūrnia retained the executive
until December 1811, when the Rājā was allowed to un-
take the administration. He lapsed into evil ways, so that
1831 Lord William Bentinck was compelled unwillingly to act
the article of the treaty authorizing the assumption of the direct
inistration by the Company. For fifty years after that date
re was well governed by British Residents, working through
e agency. Sir Mark Cubbon held the office for twenty-seven
In 1881 Lord Ripon felt himself warranted in once more
ing the royal family to power. The experiment has been
ified by success, and Mysore now ranks as one of the best
inistered of the Protected States. Indeed, it might, perhaps,
with justice to be the best, but possibly such a claim, if
would be disputed.[1]

e relatives and principal officers of Tippoo were treated by
Wellesley with humanity and liberality. The members of
ultan's family were interned at Vellore, an arrangement
proved to be undesirable.

Subsidiary campaigns. The Governor-general's eminent
Colonel Arthur Wellesley, better known as the Duke
Wellington, enjoyed his first independent command when
sted with the task of hunting down a Marāthā adventurer
Dhoondia Waugh (Dhūndia Wahag), who aspired to found
dynasty.

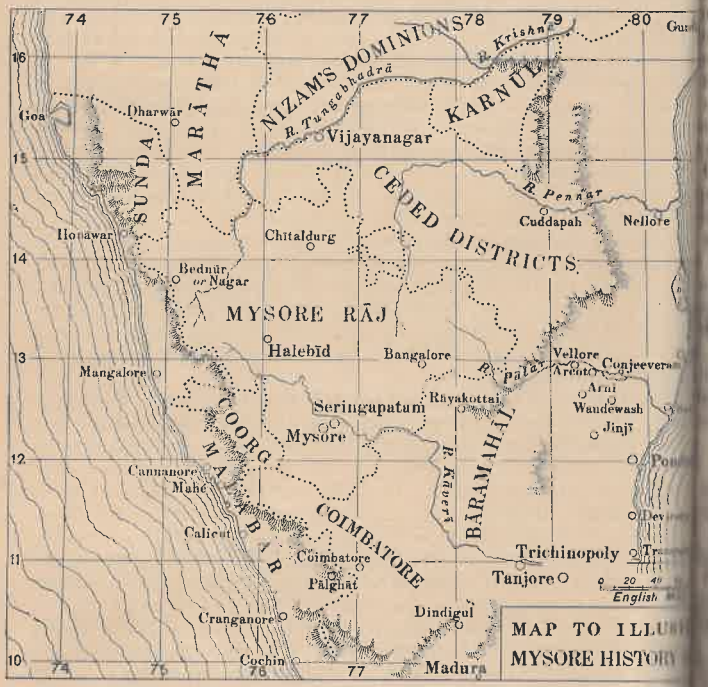
econd series of supplementary operations took place in the
Malabar country, and was conducted by Colonel Wellesley
haracteristic ability. The story of that forgotten minor
aign, while interesting to read in detail, is not susceptible
ful condensation.

Piracy in Malabar. Measures were taken to check piracy on
Malabar coast. Grant Duff, who gives the history of the pirate

For details see Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*[2] (1897). The author of this work
ch for the excellent administration of the Archaeological Depart-
established in 1908. The wise policy of employing natives of the
was initiated in 1799, has secured a supply of capable officials.
ition of the state in the midst of British territory leaves the local
ent free to attend solely to internal affairs. The chief now has the
Mahārāja. A representative assembly exists.

chiefs, observes that 'it is no slight stigma on the British I
administration that this system of piracy was not finally supp
until the year 1812'. In that year the Marāthā chief of Sā
wārī, the pirate nest situated to the north of Goa, was com
to give up all his vessels of war and to cede the port of Ven
now included in the Ratnagiri District.

The Mysore policy was approved by the ministry, and ho
and rewards were conferred upon the principal personages conc



MAP TO ILLU
MYSORE HISTOR

in the conquest. The campaign was popular and appla
Great Britain where many families had to deplore the
inflicted by Tippoo on his prisoners.

Wellesley's 'forward policy'. Wellesley's 'forward
and his firm conviction that the extension of direct Brit
was an unquestionable benefit to any region annexed led
seize every opportunity for increasing the Company's do
His efforts to prove that his proceedings were in strict con
with Pitt's India Act and subsequent legislation renew
prohibition against ambitious designs are not convinc

he had unlimited reliance on his own judgement and little
for the distant authority of his superiors in England. After
t enthusiasm over the conquest of Mysore and the destruc-
f Tippoo had worn off the general tendency of Wellesley's
was distrusted by both the ministry and the Directors
Company. The latter body especially displayed distinctly
sentiments and on several occasions passed irritating
which gave the Governor-general just cause for complaint.

nexations. He effected four annexations in addition to
by taking over the administration of the Carnatic, the
re Rāj, the Nawābī of Surat, and a large portion of Oudh.
proceedings demand brief notice. It is impossible to go
inute examination of the complicated facts of each case.
isputed succession gave an opportunity for the absorption
small Marāthā principality of Tanjore founded by Sivājī's
Shāhjī, a century and a half earlier. In October 1799
Rājā was persuaded to resign the administration to the
y and accept the position of a pensioned nobleman. The
lapsed in 1855 owing to the failure of heirs. Tanjore is
ordinary District of the Madras Presidency.
the same year, 1799, similar arrangements were carried out
ing Surat, on the occasion of the death of the local Nawāb.
ent cessions made under the provisions of treaties with
rāthās, coupled with the absorption by lapse of the Māndoi
resulted in the formation of the Surat District of the Bombay
ncy as now constituted.

Carnatic. The reasons for the annexation of the Carnatic
forth in the Governor-general's declaration dated July 27,
The papers seized at Seringapatam having proved that
awāb Muhammad Ali, who had died in 1795, and his son
ssor, Umdatu-l Umrā, who died in July 1801, had cor-
ed secretly with Tippoo, Lord Wellesley announced that
had 'placed themselves in the condition of public enemies
British Government in India'. He held accordingly that
ly had forfeited its title to retain the rank of a ruling
. After much negotiation he selected Prince Azamu-d
a grandson of Muhammad Ali, as titular Nawāb, and took
e administration of the country. Whatever opinion may
ed concerning the validity of the reasoning based upon
ngapatam papers, it was absolutely necessary to terminate
rous system of 'double government', and to give the
pressed inhabitants of the country a decent administra-
The sufferings of the people in the Carnatic had been far
re and much more prolonged than those of the Bengālis
e interval between the battle of Plassey and the appoint-
Warren Hastings as governor. The action of the Governor-
was approved by the home authorities. The nobleman who

spells the name عظم, ''Azam,' not ''Azīm' (عظيم) as in most

now represents the Nawāb's family is known as the Prince of
The greater part of the existing Presidency of Madras con
the annexations effected by Wellesley.

Oudh. Wellesley's action in depriving the Nawāb-Vi
Oudh of a large part of his territory undoubtedly was high-
and open to criticism both as regards the substance of the t
tion and the manner of its execution. Wellesley explai
Oudh policy in a dispatch addressed to the Secret Comm
the Directors dated November 28, 1799. The gist of the
is contained in the following passage :

'The affairs of Oude have occupied a considerable share of my a
No probability existing that Zemann Shah [the Afghan chief][1] wil
in the course of the present season to renew his hostile attempt
Hindostan, and a conjuncture so favourable coinciding with our
in Mysore, the most eligible opportunity seemed to be opened for
into execution such a reform of the Nabob Vizier's military establ
as would secure us from all future danger on the frontier of O
should enable me to introduce a variety of necessary improvemen
government of that country. With this view it was my int
establish a considerable augmentation of our troops in Oude witho
and to induce the Vizier to disband, under certain regulations,
tional part of his own useless and dangerous force.'

That passage clearly shows that the Governor-general felt
at liberty to do what he thought fit in Oudh, and to regard th
consent of the Nawāb to the proposed measures as a mere
ceremony. The Nawāb tried to evade compulsion by of
threatening to abdicate, but soon withdrew that proposal,
he had no intention of acting. Negotiations proceed
Wellesley lost patience, and in February 1800 adm
a seathing rebuke expressed in language deliberately dis
to the Nawāb, whom he accused of threatening abdicat
the sole view of defeating by delay the long meditated
of a reform of your military establishment'. That, of
actually was the motive of the Nawāb, who loathed all
reform, and was simply writhing helplessly in the grasp
tible power. The Governor-general informed the Nawāb
conduct was regarded as 'unequivocally hostile', and w
that his perseverance in a 'fatal and imprudent' cou
involve extremely disagreeable consequences.

In the end (January 1801) the Nawāb was forced to
unwilling assent to commands which he could not resist.
required to go through the form of signing a treaty
for the cession of the districts now constituting the
and Rohilkhand Divisions, besides certain territories
the Ganges and the Jumna, generally called the Doāb

[1] Zamān Shāh, or Shāh Zamān, grandson of Ahmad Shāh
Durrānī, had advanced as far as Lahore in 1796, but never
into India. He was blinded and imprisoned a few years later,
alive in 1842. Wellesley was inclined to make the most of th
danger of an invasion by Zamān Shāh.

vide permanently for the cost of so many Company's troops
Governor-general should be pleased to employ in Oudh or
frontier of that province. The territories thus annexed,
comprise some of the most favoured regions in India, were
own as the Ceded Districts. They now form part of the
of Agra.

Thus became, like Mysore, a compact province of moderate
mpletely enclosed by British territory and absolutely
t for military purposes. The Nawāb-Vizier, although he
the transaction, gained considerable personal advantages.
secured permanently from attack by the Marāthās or anybody
was relieved from all pecuniary obligations to the Company ;
left free from any effective restraint on his vicious habits.
ndalous and shameless misgovernment of the country
ued unabated without the slightest improvement until
when the authorities in England insisted on annexation.
Governor-general had lectured every ruler of Oudh to the
ect concerning the duty of reform without producing the
improvement. Sleeman's well-known book, *A Journey
the Kingdom of Oudh in 1849–1850*, gives an appalling
ectly trustworthy picture of the horrors consequent on
ch tyranny of debauched and negligent sovereigns.[1]

diary alliances. Oudh continued to afford a conspicuous
on of the evils inherent in the system of subsidiary
whether the troops provided for defence by the para-
owers were paid for by cash subsidies or by assignments
ory. Wellesley was right in preferring the system of pay-
territorial cession, which eliminated many occasions for
discussions. But whatever mode of payment was adopted,
mental objection remained that

Prince being guaranteed in the possession of his dominions,
ed of so many of the essential attributes of sovereignty, sinks
steem, and loses that stimulus to good government, which is
the fear of rebellion and deposition. He becomes a *roi fainéant*,
an extortionate miser, or a careless and lax ruler, which is
in the East to an anarchist. The higher classes, coerced by
endancy, in turn lose their self-respect, and degenerate like
the people groan under a complicated oppression which
ble. Thus, in spite of the Resident's counsels and attempts
good government, the back of the State, so to speak, is broken ;
indigenous political life has departed : the native community
dulation : and annexation is eventually the inevitable remedy
lessness and chronic disorders.'

cription by Sidney Owen, echoing the opinions of Sir
ro, applies exactly to Oudh at any date until the

the reigning Nawāb-Vizier offended Muslim opinion by assum-
of king. Similar action by Tippoo, although disapproved, did
from attaining the reputation of a martyr, when he redeemed
soldier's death. No ruler of Oudh ever aspired to the crown
.

annexation in 1856, and equally well to most of the state
were compelled to accept subsidiary alliances at the be
of the nineteenth century. The conditions at present
when the rulers of the Protected States are bound to the
emperor both by ties of genuine loyalty and by intelligent
are so radically different that an effort is needed to und
and appreciate the attitude of Wellesley on the one side
of his critics on the other. The system of subsidiary
was a temporary expedient, serviceable in a transitional
but long since obsolete. Substantial, although not formal
tion, as in the case of Mysore, accompanied by the rule of a
indigenous minister, and unaccompanied by the une
introduction of British law and courts too elaborate
their purpose, was an alternative by far preferable and
more advantageous to the inhabitants.

But in Lord Wellesley's time the system of subsidiary
seemed to follow the line of least resistance. It was co
convenient to pretend that a country like Oudh still was
pendent state, and to go through the farce of expressing th
of the Governor-general in the form of a treaty between
contracting parties'. Sir Arthur Wellesley never sh
brother's predilection for subsidiary alliances,[1] and it
suspected that the wise arrangements effected in My
sanctioned in pursuance of his advice.

The Regulations in the Ceded Districts. When th
Districts were taken over in 1801 the Wellesleys arra
informal system of administration, deviating where
from the Regulations of the Lower Provinces, so that th
might grow accustomed to British ideas and methods.
years, as when the Panjāb was annexed in 1849, such
technically called 'non-regulation', was often applied wit
But when Wellesley resigned his arrangements were
and in 1803 the country was subjected to the operat
entire Bengal Regulations, except that the permanent
was not introduced (*J. U. P. H. S.*, 1918, pp. 91, 10
establishment of civil courts after the Bengal pattern in
taken over directly from the lawless government of
occasion to much roguery, and largely neutralized the
given by the reign of peace and order.

Henry Wellesley. Lord Wellesley's appointment of h
Henry as lieutenant-governor of the newly acquired Ceded
gave deep offence to the Directors, who held that the C
had a right to the post and that their own patronage wa
Although Henry Wellesley was competent for the duties

[1] His reason, among others, for objecting to the system
soon as such an alliance has been formed, it has invariably be
that the whole strength of the tributary government consist
afforded by its powerful ally, or rather protector' (*Wellington*
p. 476). Munro held the same opinions, and in 1817 regarded
as already obsolete (Gleig, *Life*[2], vol. ii, 6–10).

his near relationship to the Governor-general naturally
ession for accusations of nepotism against Lord Wellesley
nted them fiercely. He could easily have found a suitable
of the Civil Service for the appointment, and his action
d much unnecessary friction with the Directors. Their
nt action in recalling Lord Wellesley was largely influenced
displeasure at the promotion given to his brother in an
r manner. His habitually contemptuous attitude towards
tors was a deplorable mistake.

in Egypt, &c. The measures taken by Lord Wellesley
peration with the British ministry to combat the world-
bition of Napoleon were not confined to Indian soil. An
ion planned by the Governor-general for the conquest of
ch settlements in Java was diverted by the Home Govern-
Egypt, where a sepoy force under General Baird, who
the assault on Seringapatam, was landed early in 1801.
dian contingent, which included some British troops,
considerable hardships with credit, but had no fighting
consequence of the previous defeat of the French. Indian
did not again take part in European and Egyptian affairs
, when Lord Beaconsfield summoned a force from India
as a support to his anti-Russian diplomacy. The brilliant
ces of the Indian contingent sent to France in 1914
ral time in the Great War are fresh in the memory of all

If Wellesley could have got his way both Ceylon and
ch islands of Bourbon and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean
ave been brought under the rule of the Company, but his
effect those objects were frustrated.[1] An embassy to
nder Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm in 1801
considerable political and commercial results, and was
by the Governor-general as a complete success. Since
the government of India has always taken an active
maintaining control over the Persian Gulf. The
of the gigantic conflict still (1917) in progress have
dian arms far beyond Baghdad, and no man can predict
ate fate of Persia and Mesopotamia.

French possessions. The peace of Amiens in 1802
ovided for the restoration of the French possessions in

of Ceylon, which had been occupied by the Dutch for 138
taken from them by troops from Madras in 1796, and remained
authority of the governor of Madras until 1798, when Ceylon
d a colony under the Crown, and the Honourable Frederick
appointed governor. For the disgraceful story of the war with
see chapter xix of Thornton's *History*. On March 2,
g of the inland kingdom of Kandy was dethroned for good
the whole island passed under the sovereignty of King George III.
ration is controlled by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.
nt of India is not concerned with the affairs of the island.
of the French islands was deferred until the time of Lord
and 1810.

India, the government of France, which attached high imp
to their recovery, dispatched a fleet to take possession. W
who foresaw that the truce could not last, boldly order
Clive, the governor of Madras, to withhold the surre
Pondicherry and the other southern settlements pending
instructions. The French commander, not caring to
sailed back to Mauritius, and the prescience of the G
general was justified by the speedy renewal of the war. W
showed equal promptness and resolution by his occup
Portuguese Goa and Danish Serampore. He never fo
interdependence of India and the other parts of the British

The Civil Service. The operation of Wellesley's c
mind was not wholly confined to the direction of wars
matters of foreign policy. He paid careful attention to t
pensable subject of finance, although his numerous wars
permit of much economy. While he did not show any keen
in education or other administrative departments devoted
to the improvement of the condition of the natives of the
he entertained the most comprehensive and statesmanli
concerning the necessity for bestowing on the European
trators the best possible general and professional educat
seems to have believed that when the Company should
by British officers of high character, and equipped wit
general and special knowledge required for the efficient per
of their duties, all desirable improvements in the count
follow. Present day conditions require much more, but W
stately sketch of the ideal training for members of the In
Service was drawn on sound lines and still merits
consideration. Some extracts from his long minute on t
will repay the reader's attention.

'The civil servants of the East India Company . . . can no
considered as the agents of a commercial concern. They are,
ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign; they must now
in that capacity, with reference not to their nominal but to
occupations. They are required to discharge the functions of
judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces. . . . Their duti
of statesmen in every other part of the world. . . . Their educa
be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of lit
science which form the basis of the education of persons destine
occupation in Europe. To this foundation should be added
acquaintance with the history, languages, customs, and man
people of India, with the Mahometan and Hindoo codes of law
and with the political and commercial interests of Great Britain

The Governor-general goes on to recommend study of th
tions of the Indian government and of the British const

'The early discipline of the service should be calculated to
the defects of the climate and the vices of the people, and to for
barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation, and licentious
'To remedy the existing evils, the Governor-general propo
lish a College in Calcutta, for the reception of writers for the

who were there, for a limited period, to be subjected to the restraints
demic discipline, and trained in such studies as might fit them for
ture duties. These were to be pursued under the superintendence
clergymen, chaplains in the Company's service; for the native
moonshees were to be provided.'

ley was so eager to see his College at work that he started
out waiting for sanction, and was much mortified when the
was vetoed by the Directors, who substituted a much more
scheme for teaching Indian languages at the head-quarters
presidency.

w years later, in 1809, the East India College at Haileybury
Hertford was founded. It continued for nearly half a century
a training arranged approximately on the lines of Wellesley's
but carried out in England instead of at Calcutta.

nge in political relations with the Marāthās. The
ion of the Nizam to a condition of absolute dependence on
itish power, resulting from the treaties of 1798 and 1800, with
ultaneous destruction of Tippoo, produced, as Malcolm
, 'a complete alteration of our political relations with the
dia states'. When the government of India became bound
nd the territories of the Nizam as it would its own, and
ysore state had practically become a British possession,
vernment of India virtually succeeded to all the local and
relations which had existed between the Marāthās on the
t and the Hyderabad and Mysore States on the other. The
of non-interference in Marāthā affairs had ceased to be
ble, because the Marāthā chiefs always had claims out-
ing against both Hyderabad and Mysore for the realization
ith and on other accounts, while they could not subsist
troops except by the plunder of neighbours. A predatory
the essence of the existence of a Marāthā government.
possible alternatives open to the Governor-general were
the abandonment of all conquests, or measures such as
duce the Marāthā governments to acquiesce in a state of
peace and tranquillity. The former alternative, although
ated by the Directors, would have involved gross breaches
and would have consigned enormous territories to anarchy
ery. Lord Wellesley was not the man to entertain for a
designs so pusillanimous and dishonourable. He was
therefore to consider means by which he might hope to
the Marāthās into peaceable neighbours, while leaving
nestic institutions unchanged.

sley sought alliance with the Pēshwā. The prospect
in that endeavour was not promising. Marāthā institu-
and ideas were fundamentally incompatible with the *Pax*
which Wellesley sought to impose on India. He prob-
ed that obvious fact, although he felt bound to make an
the hope of inducing the Marāthā chiefs to accept his
of a peaceful India. He proposed to effect his purpose
the Pēshwā, whom he desired and professed to treat

as the actual ruler and head of all the Marāthās. His imm
aim, accordingly, was to persuade the Pēshwā, Bājī Rāo, to
a treaty of subsidiary alliance on lines resembling those
treaty with the Nizam. The Governor-general pursued that
with the utmost pertinacity, and apparently was not fully co
that he was asking the Pēshwā and all the Marāthā ch
renounce their independence and sink into the position
dependants on the British power. Lord Wellesley was d
to overrate the authority of the Pēshwā, and to give to
weight to the fact that
and the other leadin
of that time paid little
to the wishes or co
of their nominal hea



NĀNĀ FARNAVĪS.

Dominance of dajī and Daulat R dia. After the ex of the treaty of S 1782 the chiefs of th of Sindia had been to do as they plea out interference fr Calcutta governmen ren Hastings had b glad to obtain the Māhādajī in conclu then indispensable throw any obstacle way of his aggrand Lord Cornwallis and Shore had pursued of strict non-interfe principle. The re that Mahādajī Si came the most prince in India. when he died in 1794 his power w mitted to his successor, Daulat Rāo, with whom Lord had to deal.

Marāthā anarchy. After Lord Wellesley had assume in May 1798 Marāthā internal politics presented a scene o confusion, vividly pictured in Grant Duff's pages. That writing of the year 1799, describes a state of absolute an the Pēshwā's territory, where the Pēshwā, Sindia, the ladies of his family, the Rājā of Kolhāpur, and other were all fighting one with the other. The flame spread int stan, where Jaswant Rāo Holkar, a son of Tukājī, and a drunken savage, now became prominent as a leader of b

Death and character of Nānā Farnavīs. The death

vīs, who had been for thirty-eight years, since the death of wā Mādho Rāo in 1772, the leading Marāthā politician, ed in March 1800. 'With him', the Resident observed, 'has ted all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta govern- His death, however, was welcome to the treacherous wā, Bājī Rāo II, who had long sought the ruin of the great ter. Grant Duff held that the Nānā 'was certainly a great man', notwithstanding a conspicuous lack of personal ge, and his rather unscrupulous ambition. In difficult times ed to do his best for ster and country. He cribed as having been ivate life 'a man of veracity, humane, and charitable'. of his rivals were such dels that the his- praise of the Nānā's is a pleasant sur-



BĀJĪ RĀO PĒSHWĀ.

Rao Ghatgay. st scoundrel of those was Daulat Rāo father-in-law and the 'execrable' Ghātkē (Shirzee hatgay), who took a pleasure in devising horrible modes of and in plundering citizens whom ted to atrocious He lived longer served until 1809, Marāthā chief 'transfixed him with his spear, and thus world of a being, than whom few worse have ever dis- humanity'.

Rāo II. Pēshwā. Bājī Rāo, the Pēshwā, vied with Sarjī elty, and could sit on a balcony watching with delight ite of an enemy dragged about at the foot of an elephant. ruling passions, we are told, was 'implacable revenge', as so much the slave of that ignoble passion that he was of taking broad and statesmanlike views of any political His main object always was to destroy and plunder whom he disliked. He was the personification of and withal an arrant coward.

of Poona, October 25, 1802. At last, on October 25, turmoil in the Marāthā country was brought to a crisis ttle of Poona, in which Jaswant Rāo Holkar inflicted defeat on the forces of Daulat Rāo Sindia and the Pēshwā.

Bājī Rāo fled with about 7,000 followers as soon as the
of the battle was known, and at once intimated his willi
to accept the subsidiary treaty pressed upon him by the Gov
general. The Pēshwā ultimately proceeded to Bassein, wh
arrived early in December.

Amrit Rāo set up by Holkar. Jaswant Rāo Holkar,
object was to persuade Bājī Rāo to return, at first preten
use his victory with great moderation. But when he saw th
Pēshwā had no intention of coming back Holkar set up Amr
—brother by adoption of Bājī Rāo—as Pēshwā, and plu
Poona with the utmost cruelty. Several men died under t
tures they underwent.

Terms of the Treaty of Bassein. Colonel Close, the
Resident at Poona, proceeded to Bassein, where, on the l
of the year 1802, he concluded with Bājī Rāo the celebrated
known by the name of the place of signature. The c
purported to be a general defensive alliance, for the re
protection of the territories of the Company, the Pēshwā, a
respective allies. The Pēshwā bound himself to pay 26
year for a subsidiary force of not less than six battalio
stationed within his dominions; to exclude from his ser
Europeans of a nation hostile to the English; to relinq
claims on Surat; to recognize the engagements between th
wār and the British; to abstain from hostilities or neg
with other states, unless in consultation with the British
ment; and to accept the arbitration of that government in
with the Nizam or the Gaikwār.

Restoration of Bājī Rāo. Thus 'the Pēshwā sacri
independence as the price of protection'; no other cou
open to him. He was wholly unable to stand alone, an
choose between the Company, Holkar, or Sindia as his p
The evil which at the moment seemed to him to be the l
chosen. He never intended to abide by the terms of th
if by any means he could evade compliance.

The restoration of Bājī Rāo was accomplished by
Arthur Wellesley with his accustomed promptitude and
By making forced marches at extraordinary speed he sav
from destruction and installed the Pēshwā. Holkar's c
Amrit Rāo, who felt no desire to resist, was content to
Benares with a pension.

War. Meantime Sindia and the Rājā of Berār were
plans to defeat the Governor-general's policy. Neith
could contemplate the voluntary acceptance of a subsidia
involving the loss of independence. Holkar declined to j
combination, preferring to retire to Mālwā in order to
his own interests. Sindia and the Rājā declined to re
troops from the Nizam's frontier, where they occupied a th
position, and Sindia informed the Resident that the q
peace or war could not be decided until after consultation
Rājā. The withdrawal of the Resident from the camp of
on August 3, 1803, served as a declaration of war.

ord Wellesley too sanguine. Lord Wellesley undoubtedly
or professed to be too sanguine in hoping that he could induce
he Marāthā chiefs to surrender everything which made life
h living in their eyes, and to accept his invitations, which
losely resembled those of the spider to the fly. The critics
he Governor-general both in England and in India were not
to perceive that his policy necessarily involved the outbreak
eneral Marāthā war, which actullay began when the Resident
drew from the camp of Sindia and the Rājā of Berār in August
The truth is that a contest between the British and the
thās for the sovereignty of India had to be fought out, and
no treaty could long delay the inevitable trial of strength.
lesley would have finished the business if he had been allowed
o, but his recall postponed the final settlement until 1818.

heatres of war. The war involved five sets of operations,
ely, three major campaigns, that in the Deccan, a second
st Sindia, and a third against Holkar, with two subsidiary
aigns in Bundēlkhand and Orissa. It is needless to describe
tail the minor operations, which were successful, and resulted
notable improvement of the British military position. The
uest of Bundēlkhand secured the southern frontier of Hindostan
per India, while the annexation of Cuttack (Katak) joined
rritories of Bengal and Madras.[1]

he Deccan campaign. The Deccan campaign was entrusted
e capable hands of Arthur Wellesley, who was armed with
wers, political as well as military. He began by occupying
hagar, and securing the most important strategical position
country, the pass connecting the Nizam's dominions with
arāthā territory of Khāndēsh, and traversing the range of
ills variously known by the names of Ajantā, Sahyādri,
ahyādri. The army was divided into two corps, each of
,000 men, one under Colonel Stevenson, and the other
Arthur Wellesley. The arrangements for effecting a junction
impracticable, and Wellesley was obliged, or believed
obliged, to give battle while Stevenson was still about
iles distant.[2]

ttle of Assaye. Wellesley, with less than 5,000 men, boldly
the Marāthā army, from seven to ten times superior in
s at Assaye, close to the north-western frontier of the
dominions. The fight, which was desperate, resulted in
plete victory for the Company's troops on September 23, 1803.
the battle Wellesley found it expedient to offer Sindia a
ion of hostilities in the Deccan, and proceeded to deal
Bhonsla Rājā of Berār and Nāgpur.

ttle of Dēogāon. The army of that chief, under the com-
his brother, Venkājī, was decisively defeated at Argāon
in the Akola District of Berār on November 29. The

[1] For particulars see Thorn, chapters vii, viii.

[2] Even after receiving General Wellesley's explanation, held that
have been wiser to defer attack (Gleig, *Life*[2], i. 385).

strong fortress of Gāwīlgarh was stormed on December 15, and days later the war with Berār was closed by the treaty of Dēo drawn nearly on the same lines as the treaty of Bassein. document also arranged for the cession of Cuttack.

Battle of Delhi. The hostilities with Sindia in northern had equally brilliant results. General Lake, who was in com of about 10,000 men, operating in Hindostan, won a ser splendid victories. He began by an 'extraordinary feat' capture by assault of Aligarh, a strong fortress situated be Agra and Delhi, and then proceeded to defeat Louis Bou the French general who had succeeded Perron in the com of Sindia's regular troops, at a hard-fought battle near Delhi British force, outnumbered by four to one, had to face t of a hundred guns, many of large calibre. The losses of the necessarily were heavy.[1]

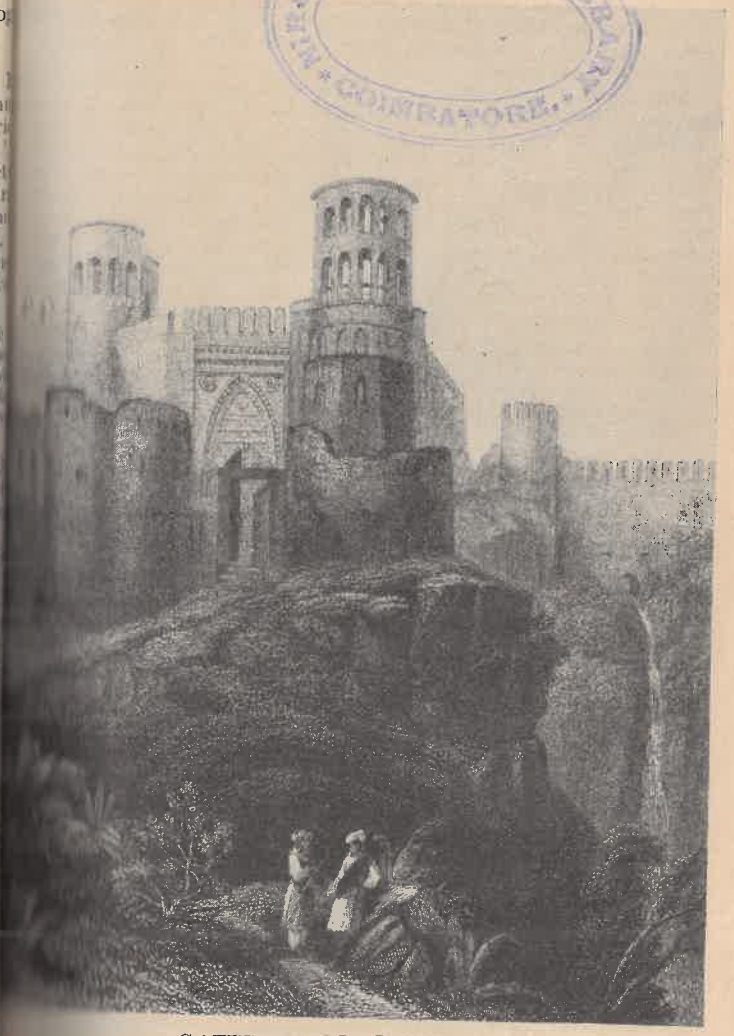
'I really do think', Lake wrote, 'the business was one of th gallant actions possible; such a fire of cannon has seldom been ever, against which our men marched up within one hundred yards taking a firelock from their shoulders, when they gave one volley, instantly, and drove the enemy. . . . I do not think there could ha a more glorious day.'

The poor old blind emperor, Shāh Ālam, was set on his again, and made as comfortable as he could be with allowances. He counted no longer in politics. Agra, 'of Hindostan', was surrendered by the enemy.[2]

Treaty of Surjī Arjungāon. A little later Sindia's re forces were utterly defeated at Laswārī in the Alwar st battle was even more severe and bloody than that of Assay war was ended by the treaty of Surjī Arjungāon on Dece Sindia accepted a subsidiary alliance of the usual kind rendered much territory. Thus the power of both Sin Berar had been overthrown within less than five month Wellesley rejoiced especially over the destruction of regular troops commanded by French officers, which had th to endanger the British supremacy in Hindostan.

[1] Sindia's strength lay chiefly in his artillery. The 'regular' under French command lacked steadiness as a rule, but at Lasw with extraordinary valour. 'Its discipline, its arms, and uniform I regard merely as the means of dressing it out for the sacrifice' (Gleig's *Life*[2], i. 392). Munro was right, as usual. Perron had re Sindia's service and passed through the British lines by perm only full account of Perron's career is in Compton's valuable w the true position of the Delhi battle-field see Jones, App. ii, Maclagan in *J. P. H. S.*, vol. iii, pp. 127–41. The 76th Reg 2nd Batt. Duke of Wellington's) did wonders at Delhi and elsewh

[2] A wonderful piece of ordnance, known as the 'great gun was taken. It was a casting in brass or some similar alloy, 14 fe long, with a calibre or bore 23 inches in diameter. It weighed 90, and could fire a shot weighing 1,500 pounds. When General L to remove it to Calcutta, it sank in the Jumna. Subsequently, Lord Bentinck caused it to be blown up and sold as old metal.



GATEWAY, GĀWĪLGARH.

War with Holkar. Holkar, who had remained aloof, determined to fight on his own account, and deliberately pref extravagant demands which forced Lord Wellesley to begin a war. The British plan of campaign was skilfully designed to the Marāthā chief from every direction, Lake operating in dostan, while Arthur Wellesley was to advance from the D and Colonel Murray from Gujarāt. Lake went into quart Cawnpore for the rainy reason, instructing Colonel W Monson to keep Holkar in check with three battalions of s and a considerable body of cavalry. Murray was desired to ad from Gujarāt in support. Both commanders failed to carr their instructions and mismanaged their business.[1] C Wellesley observed that they were afraid of Holkar and ' fle him in different directions '. Monson, who according to th caustic critic ' advanced without reason and retreated in th manner ', committed many military errors. His force suff overwhelming disaster in the Mukund Dara (Muckundra) in Rājputāna, thirty miles to the south of Kotah. The re reached Agra in utter disorder on August 31, 1804.

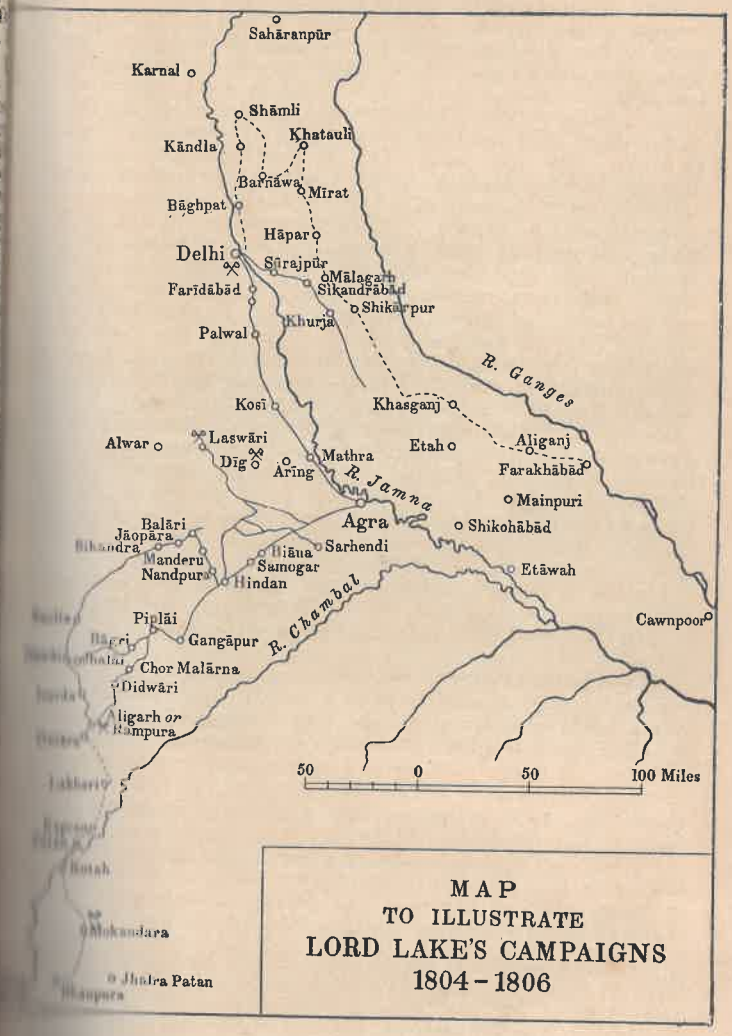
Defence of Delhi. The destruction of Monson's deta gave fresh courage to all the enemies of the Company and pr the Jāt Rājā of Bhurtpore (Bharatpur) to renounce allian the British and to support Holkar in an attack on Delhi. tenant-Colonel Ochterlony and Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, n standing the dilapidation of the walls, maintained the def nine days, and compelled the assailants to retreat.

Battle of Deeg. On November 13, 1804, Holkar was with heavy loss at the battle of Deeg (Dīg) and in the fo month the formidable fortress of Deeg was captured with a guns.

Siege of Bhurtpore. So far all had gone well in the war, for the mishap due to Monson's and Murray's blunderin minor reverse in Bundēlkhand, but the tide of success wa by Lake's failure before the walls of Bhurtpore (Bharatpu in 1805. General Lake, misled by his success at Aligarh an disregarded prudent advice, and ignoring his lack of an a siege train and of the services of skilled engineers[2] in making four assaults on the fortress, which was eight circumference and defended by a strong garrison. All th failed, the losses amounting to more than 3,000 men. The failures disturbed the minds of people throughout India, Rājā of Bhurtpore had had enough of war and its e

[1] Jones (p. 61) points out that the orders given by Wellesley were ' perplexing '. Monson's instructions from Lake also were It is right to add that Monson was an extremely gallant had led the storming party at Aligarh, and did good service disaster.

[2] Blacker (p. 237) points out that at that time and for afterwards the Indian government did not attach sufficient imp the engineering branch of the service.



expense. He returned to his allegiance and promised to p
indemnity of twenty lakhs (2 millions) of rupees.

Recall of Lord Wellesley. The authorities in England,
had not at any time cordially supported the aggressive pol
Lord Wellesley, seized the opportunity presented by the r
of the news of Monson's disaster and the outbreak of the fres
with Holkar, and decided to recall their ambitious Gov
general, hoping 'to bring back things to the state the legis
had prescribed in 1793'. Attempts were made to impeac
Marquess, but were not pressed. Pitt, as usual, had recou



BHURTPORE FORT.

Lord Cornwallis, whom he regarded as an infallible cur
Indian ills.

Policy and achievement of Wellesley. The M
Wellesley undoubtedly is entitled to a place in the fron
the Governors-general by the side of Warren Hastings, the M
of Hastings, and Lord Dalhousie. Some authors woul
him the first place, but in my judgement that honour be
Warren Hastings. Lord Wellesley, like Lords Lytton and
in later times, looked upon the affairs of India as seen by
nobleman and politician from a Foreign Office point of v
was a statesman, rather than an administrator, concerne
with matters of high policy, and little inclined to examin
the details of departmental administration. His pol

ted to two main objects. The first was the elevation of the
ish government to the position of paramount power in India;
use his stately words, 'to establishing a comprehensive system
liance and political relation over every region of Hindustan
the Deccan'. The second object was the full utilization
dian strength so that it might play a proper part in resist-
to the menace of Napoleon's world-wide ambition, which
edly aimed at the over-
w of the British power in
whole of India. All the
important acts of Welles-
such as the destruction of
, the treaty of Bassein,
Marāthā wars, and the
of annexations—were
ted to the attainment of
two purposes, which
inseparably connected.
India of those days was
to come under the
ation of either France
gland. It was impos-
for her to withstand
ench ambition unless
shielded by the might
gland. Wellesley, as al-
observed, seized every
unity for effecting an-
ns, because he believed
that every such
n was a clear benefit
people inhabiting the
territory. When re-



MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

an address from the citizens of Calcutta, he formulated
distinctly in these words:

public duty is discharged to the satisfaction of my conscience by
rous establishment of a system of policy which promises to im-
general condition of the people of India, and to unite the principal
s in the bond of peace, under the protection of the British

much to accomplish that grand design, and would have
ished it wholly but for his recall.

ision was clear and comprehensive. He saw what he
distinctly, and showed resolution so inflexible in the
of his well-laid plans, that he never failed in consequence
personal foresight, although he was often baulked by
ance of the home authorities to accord their support,

describes Lord Wellesley as 'the Akbar of the Company's

and occasionally, but not often, embarrassed by the failu
a trusted subordinate. He chose his agents, civil and mil
with sagacity, and trusted them without reserve.

Calcutta owes to him many much needed improvements a
dignified Government House, erroneously supposed to be mo
on the mansion of Lord Curzon's ancestor at Kedleston.
Wellesley was familiar with the ancient literature of Gree
Rome, as well as with that of modern Europe. He posses
intimate knowledge of Dante's noble poem. His style, w
in speech or writing, echoed the eloquence of Demosthen
Cicero, with a tendency to excessive formality and magnilo
He loved pomp and ceremony to such a degree that his ta
display sometimes invited ridicule and attracted hostile cri
But his weaknesses as a public man were nothing when co
with his merits, which were fully recognized by a later gen
of Directors, the year before his death. The Company
bestowed the rare honour of erecting his statue in his l
and, knowing that his means were rather straitened, pr
him with £20,000. When he was Governor-general he ha
with profusion and had scorned to take even sums of the
of prize money to which he was entitled.

On September 26, 1842, Wellesley died at the age of eigh
In accordance with his express wish he was buried at Et
to the renowned school of which he retained a loving r
and to which he had sent his two sons.

CHRONOLOGY

Lord Mornington (Wellesley) Governor-general (May); Ceyl
declared a Crown colony . . . . . .
Fourth and last Mysore war; capture of Seringapatam; annex
tion of Tanjore and Surat . . . . . .
Death of Nānā Farnavīs; union of Ireland with Great Britain
Annexation of the Carnatic and of the Ceded Districts of Oud
expedition to Egypt . . . . . .
Peace of Amiens; battle of Poona; treaty of Bassein .
Renewal of war with France; second Marāthā war; capture
Aligarh; battles of Delhi, Assaye, Laswārī, and Argāon; tre
of Dēogāon and cession of Cuttack; treaty of Surjī Arjun
War with Holkar; defeat of Monson; battle and capture of D
Failure of siege of Bhurtpore; recall of Lord Wellesley .
(For exact details of the dates of Lord Lake's campaigns see Jo
App. ii.)

Mysore Wars

First, 1767–9; ended by treaty dictated by Haidar Ali
walls of Madras.

Second, 1780–4; Warren Hastings Governor-general;
treaty of Mangalore, based on mutual restoration of conquests.

Third, 1790–2; ended by peace dictated by Lord Cornwall
walls of Seringapatam; Tippoo being deprived of half of his

Fourth and Last, March–May, 1799; Lord Wellesley
general; ended by the death of Tippoo, partition of his do
restoration of the Hindu Rājā in a portion of them.

primary authorities are the *Selections of Despatches*, &c., ed. by
J. Owen, namely, those of the Marquess Wellesley, 1877; and those
Duke of Wellington, 1880; both published at the Clarendon Press,
d, and skilfully edited. The earlier volume contains a good survey
ellesley's administration. The *Political History* by Sir J. Malcolm
ems to be useful. Wilks deals fully with the Mysore war, and
Duff relates all Marāthā affairs in ample detail. The *Lectures*
ajor H. Helsham Jones, R.E., delivered at the school of Military
ering, Chatham, in 1881, which give an admirable professional
of the campaigns of Lord Lake against the Marāthās, 1804 [read
-6, probably are difficult to procure. The *Memoir of the Life and
Services of Viscount Lake* by Col. Hugh Pearse (Blackwood, 1908)
readable and accessible. The authoritative contemporary account
*Memoir of the War in India conducted by General Lord Lake and
General Sir Arthur Wellesley*, &c., by Major W. Thorn, quarto, London,
with maps and battle-plans. The author shared in Lake's campaigns
kept a diary. The work gives full military details for each theatre
war. The *Marquess Wellesley* by W. H. Hutton (Rulers of India,
is well written and based on special research. *Haidar Alī and
Tipū* by L. B. Bowring is good (same series, 1893). The revised
of the *Mysore Gazetteer* (Westminster, Constable, 2 vols., 1897) is
cellent compilation, full of accurate information, the work of Mr. B.
Rice. G. B. Malleson in *Final French Struggles in India* (new
ndon, Allen, 1884) gives a detailed account of the expedition to
and certain other matters of interest. H. Compton, in *A Particular
of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan, from 1784 to
*, 1892), fulfils the promise of the title. It is a sound work on
ge scale.

CHAPTER 7

peace at any price policy of Lord Cornwallis in his second
inistration and of Sir George Barlow; Lord Minto's strong
and cautious internal policy.

ons for recall of Wellesley. The dislike in England to
policy was not confined to official circles. The body
Court of Proprietors or shareholders in the East India
was still more actively hostile. It is necessary to remem-
in 1805 the Company continued to be a commercial
ation, in almost exclusive possession of the overseas trade
as well as China, and expected to make a good percentage
The shareholders thought more of the 'investment',
of goods for export, than of empire. Although the
of British dominion was certain to pay in the end, the
results of annexation were increase of debt, an empty
diversion of funds from the 'investment', and consequent
dividend. Such considerations induced a large majority
holders to condemn Wellesley and clamour for his recall.

Lord Cornwallis a wreck. Malcolm observes that

'no one can be surprised that the choice of Lord Cornwallis as the su
to Lord Wellesley met with almost universal approbation in E
at such a moment: and to those acquainted with that venerable
man's character, it will be a subject of still less surprise that his accu
years and infirmities did not render him insensible to such a call'.

He was no longer the man who fifteen years earlier had spr
arms in order to defend distant Travancore. He had c
regard almost the worst peace as better than the best war, a
willing to listen to the pleasant words of admirers who hail
as the saviour of India. In truth, he was a wreck, unable
anybody. He took over charge on July 30, went up cou
river, and died at Ghāzīpur on October 5. He was insens
some days before his decease, and had not been really fit for b
from the time he landed. The state of his health forbid
judgement on the motives of his conduct, which in itself w
dishonourable and mischievous. Sindia had allowed the R
camp to be plundered, and had even dared to detain Mr.
the Resident. The Governor-general at first insisted on th
of his representative, but on reconsideration declared t
demand was 'a mere point of honour', not to be pres
should be the only obstacle to an arrangement with the M
prince. To such disgraceful pusillanimity had the v
Seringapatam sunk in his old age.

Reversal of policy. As long as he could hold a pen he
himself reversing the whole of his predecessor's policy
nouncing so far as possible all his gains, for the sake of a p
was no peace. He decided to abandon Gwālior and G
Sindia, to make the Jumna the British frontier, to deser
and the other Rājpūt states, and to give the Marāthā ban
hand. He descended even to the baseness of anticipat
satisfaction that

'Sindia's endeavours to wrest those territories [in Rājputāna]
hands of the Rajahs of Macherry and Bhurretpore may be
lay the foundation of interminable contests, which will afford
permanent employment to Sindia';

forgetting or refusing to see that the 'employment' of the
would be paid for by the agonies of millions of helpless
Lake's passionate remonstrances on the breach of faith
'deep injury to the honour and reputation of the Engli
which such sentiments involved could not stay the
infatuation of the Governor-general.

Sir George Barlow. When Cornwallis passed away
was taken by the senior member of council, Sir Geor
who once again proved that a capable departmental o
make an exceedingly bad head of the Government.
Barlow has been justly described as 'the meanest of the
general'. His narrowness of view was made the more
by the extreme personal dislike which he inspired.
himself even more zealous than the deceased Marquess

rrying out the behests of the ruling party at the India House
as Hindostan or Upper India was concerned, and he broke
so openly with Jaipur that the Directors felt constrained to
his action as 'extremely questionable'. Sir George went
as to bind the Government of British India not to make
engagement with the Rājpūt states for their protection
Marāthā oppression—a document described by Lord
gs as 'the inexplicable treaty', which tied the hands of
Minto throughout his term of office, and hampered Lord
gs until 1816. Lake's reiterated arguments produced no
upon Barlow's obstinate mind. The commander-in-chief
ently resigned his political powers, and retired to Europe.
s created a Viscount and shortly afterwards died, in 1808.

lkar. Before leaving India Lord Lake had pursued Jaswant
Holkar by a series of wonderful forced marches, until that
is chief was driven to bay on the banks of the Biās. Lake
en in a position to impose any terms he chose; but Barlow
on giving back to Holkar power and provinces, while
g him of full liberty to harry and ravage the Rājpūt states
h as he pleased. Even the Rājā of Bundī, who had helped
Monson in his extremity, was abandoned to the cruelty
Marāthā hordes. It is a sad and shameful story, still worse
l in detail than when presented in abstract.

Nizam. Sir George Barlow, when not frightened by his
a Marāthā war, was ready to admit 'the utter impractica-
applying' extreme principles of non-interference to the
the Nizam. When the Governor-general discovered that
competent prince had been led into a conspiracy to dismiss
, his able minister, and to subvert the alliance with the
Government, Barlow decided that acquiescence in those
gs was impossible, because 'by such an event the very
ns of our power and ascendancy in the political scale
would be subverted', and so on. Consequently he applied
ary pressure and stopped the intrigue.

y of Bassein. He was equally firm in resisting suggestions
land to modify the treaty of Bassein, and in adopting
was consistent, because he had recorded his deliberate
of the compact when it was made. He held that the
s with the Pēshwā must be either maintained as they
abandoned altogether. The latter course was rejected
ikely to result in

sion of the British power—in the prosecution of which the
would possess the means almost uncontrolled of efficient co-
with a French force'.

ith Napoleon had still to go on for nine years, and the
s of it had not yet appeared.

l surplus. Sir George Barlow's cringing before Sindia
had the great merit in the eyes of the shareholders
pany that during his brief period of rule he was able
the financial deficit into a surplus, and to leave a full

treasury to the credit of his unhonoured name. Accordi
H. H. Wilson, 'the provision of the investment of goods fo
in England was, in fact, the mainspring of Sir G. Barlow's pol

Vellore mutiny. The only other event during Barlow's
of office which requires notice is the sepoy mutiny at Vellore
Carnatic, wantonly produced by stupid orders of Sir John Cr
the local commander-in-chief, issued with the sanction and ap
of Lord William [Cavendish-]Bentinck, the governor.[1] Th
regulations required the men to wear a novel pattern of t
to train their beards in a particular way, and to abstain from p
sectarian marks on their foreheads. Anybody with a g
sense could have foreseen that such folly would produce t
An outcry arose that the sepoys were all to be forcibly
Christians. Popular opinion in India, accustomed to
'conversions' to Islām under Muhammadan governme
wont to regard Christianity rather as an impure mode
associated with the wearing of hats, the eating of beef an
the drinking of spirits, and the neglect of personal purity,
a system of lofty theological doctrine. A man is a 'K
who practises the objectionable habits thus indicated. The
of the local situation was seriously inflamed by the pre
Vellore of Tippoo's family and some thousands of their depe
At that place the sepoys suddenly broke out on July 10
seized the fort, and massacred two European companies, 113
including 14 officers. Troops from Arcot took swift vengea
a series of courts martial followed. The whole business
the subject of acute controversy, some people thinking t
mutineers had been treated too harshly, while others cla
for more executions. The complicity of Tippoo's sons was
rather than proved, but it is certain that the mutineers
communication with the palace.[2] As a precaution the
of the late Sultan were removed to Calcutta. The childish
tions about the sepoys' dress and sectarian marks were m
enough to account for the tragedy, without seeking for an
explanation. The final orders were passed by Lord Minto,
Governor-general, who halted at Madras on his way to
and treated the cases in a spirit of sane moderation. A
expiry of some months the fears and distrust excited by
break gradually died away. The Directors justly recall
Lord William Bentinck and Sir John Cradock.

Lord Minto. When the news of the death of Lord C

[1] Thornton, who had all the India Office records at hand
states that 'the governor not only approved, but ordered the
to be adopted by a corps of fencibles under his own especial
Wilson agrees that both the governor and the commander-in
blameable. 'Fencibles,' an obsolete term to denote troops
for home defence.

[2] Wilson observes that 'even with regard to the sons of Tip
selves, no proof could be elicited that they had been concer
conspiracy'.

ed London, Lord Minto, then President of the Board of
rol, agreed with the Directors in supporting the confirmation
George Barlow as Governor-general. The change of ministry
quent on Pitt's death upset those arrangements, and the new
ters suggested the Earl of Lauderdale as a candidate. The
tors strongly objected to his nomination. Lord Grenville,
Prime Minister, a warm admirer of Lord Wellesley, was equally
ed to the confirmation of Sir George Barlow. After much
discussion all parties concurred in the nomination of Lord
, who accepted office with sincere reluctance.[1]

he Governor-general elect had enjoyed considerable parlia-
ary and official experience. His warm personal friendship
Burke had coloured his early views on Indian subjects, so that,
his elevation to the peerage, he had been as Sir Gilbert
one of the managers of the prosecution of Warren Hastings,
had also been entrusted with the conduct of the projected
chment of Sir Elijah Impey, which never matured. Those
belonged to a distant past. Time had so far ripened Lord
's character and judgement that the Prime Minister, not-
anding his own attachment to Lord Wellesley's policy, could
ally approve the proposed appointment. The Directors,
other hand, expected the new Governor-general to follow
dance of Cornwallis and Barlow rather than that of Wellesley.
a cautious, canny, and yet genial Scotsman, he steered
le course with a degree of success which has not always been
ally appreciated.

olm observes with his accustomed good sense that

inistration of Lord Minto differs essentially from that of every
general who preceded him. It was impossible for a man possessed
clear intellect, and so well acquainted with the whole science of
nt, to be long in India without being satisfied that the system
policy which had been adopted could not be persevered in without
ger of great and increasing danger to the state. His calm mind
the same time, the advantage of reconciling the authorities in
to the measure[s] which he contemplated.
he ever preferred delay, where he thought that it was unaccom-
ith danger, and referred to the administration at home, whom he
every argument he could use, to sanction the course he deemed
d to the public interests. But the desire to conciliate, and carry
ers along with him, did not result from any dread of responsibility;
er the exigency of the case required a departure from this
ple, he was prompt and decided. . . . The government of Lord
no result more important, than the impression it conveyed to
rities at home, of the utter impracticability of perseverance in
al policy they had desired to pursue. It was a progressive
course of action more suited to the extent, the character, and
of the British power; but when compelled to depart from the
ed, the measures adopted by this nobleman were so moderate,
. . . a situation which, so far from seeking, I thought
no human persuasion could have led me to undertake'
India, p. 5).

and the sentiments he recorded so just, that it was impossible to
assent to their expediency and wisdom. A gradual change was thus e
in the minds of his superiors in England, and this change tended in n
degree to facilitate the attainment of the advantages which have a
from the more active and brilliant administration of his successor. .
marked feature in this nobleman's character was moderation; bu
was combined with firmness and capacity.'

I concur heartily with the verdict of Thornton that Lord Minto
deserves to be held in remembrance as one of the eminent stat
of India'.

Unappreciated merit. The appreciation of Lord M
personal character and policy has been placed at the beg
rather than at the end of the narrative of his administrati
special reasons. One of those reasons is that the scale
book does not permit the insertion of an adequate account
achievements, especially of his admirably planned and ex
expeditions overseas. The story of the conquest of Java,
the most splendid feats of British arms, coupled with that
reduction of the French islands, would suffice to fill a consi
volume. The restoration of Java to the Dutch at the
peace of 1815 has almost blotted out the memory of the co
A concise summary of Lord Minto's proceedings in connexi
the expeditions above mentioned cannot give the reader
idea of the resolution, skill, and moderation with which th
tions were conducted. Many circumstances contributed
Lord Minto's fame.[1] The six years of his administration co
with the most critical period of the Napoleonic war, durin
public attention was concentrated either on Wellington's
struggle in Spain and Portugal or on Napoleon's Russian ad
Even the most brilliant successes in the eastern seas co
compete in interest with the events of the European dra
distinction of Lord Minto's most masterly performance in t
of Indian politics—his defiance of Ranjit Singh, coupled w
extension of the British frontier to the Sutlaj—was ob
the complete success of the policy enforced and by the M
loyal observance of his engagements until his death thir
later. Undue depreciation of Lord Minto's eminent mer
times seems to have been due to the belief that within th
of India he merely carried on the policy of Sir George
The extracts from Malcolm quoted above should di
illusion. He could not have done much more than he did
antagonizing the authorities at home, and causing a
war, which he could not prosecute at the same time as th
tions abroad. The moderate man always incurs the risk o
from violent partisans. Lord Minto also had the mis
provoke the hostility of the powerful missionary societies
numerous supporters, who roundly denounced the Governo
as the enemy of Christianity because he had dared to re
exuberance of indiscreet theologians.

[1] 'Lord Minto's administration has never been sufficiently ap
(Marshman, *Abridgement* (1873), p. 306).

ord Minto, who was then fifty-six years of age, took his seat
alcutta on July 31, 1807. Sir George Barlow quietly resumed
place in council, which he continued to retain for several months
ll he was appointed governor of Madras, where, as will appear
ntly, he again failed as a ruler of men.

reign policy. 'The most brilliant chapter in Lord Minto's Indian
rnment is that of his foreign policy. . . . Every fresh gain of France in
pe was followed by a corresponding loss in Asia. It was the glory
d Minto's administration that, whereas at its commencement lread
French invasion of India haunted the imagination of statesmen, at
ose France had lost all her
ssions eastward of the
The isles of Bourbon
f France, the Moluccas,
Java, had been added to
olonial possessions of Great
in, the fleets of France were
from the Indian seas, and
nd was without a rival in
astern hemisphere.'

Governor-general himself writing from Java informed the Secretary of State for War that British nation has nei-
an enemy nor a rival
from the Cape of Good
to Cape Horn'. Those
were attained by
evised naval and mili-
perations.



LORD MINTO.

plomacy. Lord Minto
much pains, but
success, to curb by
the world-wide
s of Napoleon. It is
that the autocrat
French ever seriously
gitated an actual invasion of India, nor does such an operation
to have been feasible. But he certainly did his best to
all the Asiatic nations within his reach against England.
a mission to Persia in 1808, which was countered by one
ued from India by the Governor-general as well as by a royal
from England. An unseemly conflict arose between the
British missions, and Lord Minto, so far as I can judge
ts of a tangled story, failed to display his usual discretion.
worth while to examine in detail forgotten quarrels. The
bassador obtained a treaty which the Governor-general
ed to accept with a bad grace. Malcolm, who paid two
Persia under Lord Minto's direction, effected nothing
the collection of materials for his excellent *History of Persia*.

Elphinstone's embassy to Kābul in the same year never farther than Peshāwar. Shāh Shuj'ā, to whom the mission accredited, soon afterwards was expelled from his king so that no direct political results were obtained. The e devoted much of his time to investigation through agents a all means at his command of the conditions existing in Afghan then a completely unknown country. He embodied the r of his researches in a book of great value, entitled *An Ac of the Kingdom of Caubul, &c.*, which was published in 1815, still counts as an authority.

Ranjit Singh. Diplomacy, supported by the threatened ad of an army, effectually stayed the triumphant progress of Mal Ranjit Singh, the able Sikh leader, whose ambition menace security of the British provinces of Upper India. Ranjit S who was only twelve years old when his father died, was susp of having murdered his mother, who certainly disappeared an not heard of again. At the age of nineteen he acquired poss of Lahore with the title of Rājā from Shāh Zamān or Zamā the Afghan ruler, in 1799. Three years later, in 1802, he himself master of Amritsar, the Sikh holy city, and thus b a formidable chieftain. Continuing to extend his power i Panjāb proper, he desired to annex the Sikh territories so the Sutlaj, which had been 'a sort of no-man's land' betwe Marāthās and the Sikhs, and had been reduced to a waste. of the country was inhabited only by wild beasts. In 1806 Singh, at the invitation of his uncle, a notable of Jīnd, cro Sutlaj with a large force and occupied Lūdiāna.

Two years later the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs repented of having in a person so powerful as the Mahārājā to take a side i quarrels, and appealed to the Governor-general for prote

Lord Minto dispatched as his envoy to the Sikh court Metcalfe, then only twenty-four years of age. After much tion a treaty was signed at Amritsar on April 25, 1809, estab 'perpetual amity' between the contracting parties.

The brief operative clauses were these :

> 'The British government will have no concern with the territ subjects of the Raja to the northward of the river Sutlej.
>
> The Raja will never maintain in the territory which he occupi left bank of the river Sutlej more troops than are necessary for th duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachment possessions or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.'

Thus the British frontier was advanced from the Jumn Sutlaj by a Governor-general who was supposed to refrain extensions of territory. Lūdiāna became the frontier can

Central India. Early in his administration Lord M been obliged to secure peace in Bundēlkhand to the sout Jumna by the capture from local chiefs of the fortresses of and Kālanjar. He also made a military demonstration off Amīr Khān, the Pathān leader of banditti, from Nāgpur, but drew back when confronted with the pre

Marāthā war. The Marāthās, with their Pathān and Pindāri ociates, continued to oppress Central India and Rājputāna, ch were in a state 'truly deplorable'.[1]

People do not scruple to assert', as the Resident at Delhi reported, at they have a right to the protection of the British government. say that . . . the British government now occupies the place of the protecting power, and is the natural guardian of the peaceable and but, owing to its refusal to use its influence for their protection, peaceful and weak states are continually exposed to oppressions and ies of robbers and plunderers, the most licentious and abandoned nkind.'

rd Minto never felt himself at liberty to interfere effectually p those horrors. He could not have done so without commit- himself to a general Marāthā war, and the strength of India absorbed by the expeditions overseas. Jaswant Rāo Holkar me insane from the effects of intemperance and died in 1811. British government had little intercourse with Indore for al years.

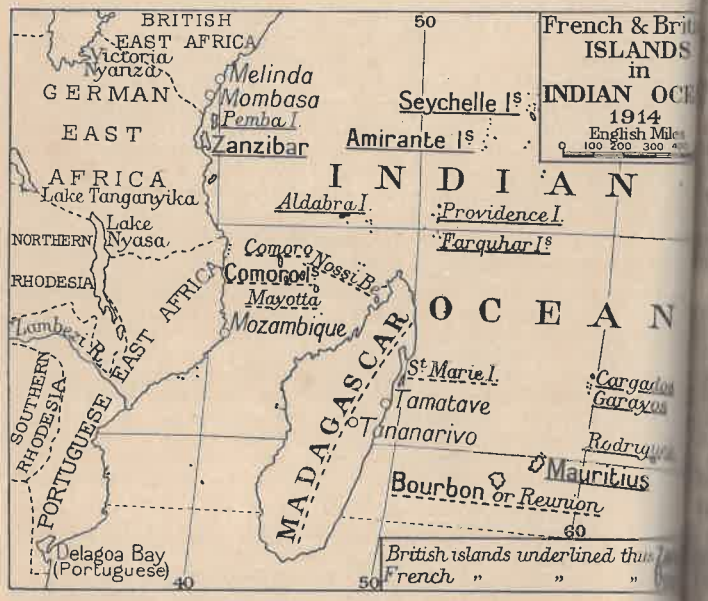
ravancore rebellion. The strangest event during Lord s term of office was the mad rebellion in Travancore organized e Diwān or minister, Velu Tampi. The country had been ingly misgoverned, and constant disputes had existed between inister and the Resident concerning the administration and ears of payment for the subsidiary force. In December 1808 inister, who felt much aggrieved at certain measures taken Resident, made a furious attack on the house of that officer, arely escaped with his life. Velu Tampi then issued a violent nation calling on the inhabitants to defend caste and the religion, which elicited an eager response from the Nāyars. hole country rose like one man. Their religious suscepti- were touched, which in a conservative country like Travan- like smoking in a powder magazine.' An officer and about European soldiers of H.M. 12th Regiment were foully d, an incident which induced Thornton to echo an opinion turpitude and moral degradation' the people of the transcend every nation upon the face of the earth'. That judgement is not justified by the later history of the state, now, and has been for many years, exceptionally well ered.[2] The rebellion, of course, never had any chance s and was soon suppressed. The minister committed and his brother was deservedly hanged for his active share murder of the soldiers.

y of Madras officers. An event much more dangerous mutiny of the officers of the Madras army, occasioned ly by the stoppage of certain perquisites on tent contracts by Sir George Barlow in compliance with peremptory of the Directors. The ill feeling was embittered by the

[1] details see Tod.

[2] ntry and people of Travancore are the most interesting in all many accounts.

injudicious action of the governor and other authorities. In I
the conspiracy, which had extended to many stations, colla
and most of the officers returned to their duty. 'Lord M
on learning the nature and extent of the disaffection, had proce
without delay to Madras; but the crisis had passed befor
arrived.' The punishments inflicted were few. Sir Samuel A
muty or Ahmuty, a competent officer, was appointed the
commander-in-chief. The affair destroyed Sir George Ba
chances of again becoming Governor-general.



The French islands. The resolve of the British min
attempt the capture of the French islands in the Indian Oc
prompted not only by the desire to inflict a heavy blow on th
power of France but by the necessity of stopping the dev
of the privateers which issued from the island harbou
losses caused by privateering during Lord Wellesley's
estimated at from two to three millions sterling; and
six 'Indiamen', or large vessels belonging to the Compa
captured. Lord Minto co-operated actively with the hom
ties in planning and executing the difficult operations
which proved thoroughly successful, in spite of some inte
mishaps.

The island of Rodriguez was taken in 1809; Bou

nion, and Mauritius, or the Isle of France, after considerable
ting, capitulated in 1810. At the general peace Bourbon
restored to France; Mauritius being retained as a Crown
ny, with Rodriguez and certain minor dependencies. The
ipal industry is sugar-planting, which has been developed
the aid of Indian coolies. The Indians resident number about
uarter of a million. The population is dense, the institutions
language being mainly French. The islands have suffered
h from epidemics and hurricanes. A small garrison occupies
uritius.[1]

ava expedition. The attack on the Dutch settlements in the
Islands or Moluccas, and in Java, then under French control,
a formidable business, which required careful organization,
hearty co-operation between the forces of the Crown and those
Company. The Spice Islands, including Amboyna, notorious
the massacre of 1623, were occupied quickly in 1810, although
without some lively fighting. Batavia, the capital of Dutch
had been strongly fortified under French direction, because
apoleon attached high importance to its retention. Fort Cornelis,
miles from the town, was believed to be impregnable. But it
to yield. The storm may be described in the words of Lord
, who was present.

ugust 28 [1811]. The enemy's impregnable works were stormed at
reak on August 26, a new day in our military calendar. The place
most formidable in strength, and it really seems miraculous that
n men could live in such a fire of round, grape, shells, and musketry
nough to pass deep trenches defended by pointed palissades inclining
the inner edge of the ditch outwards, force their way into redoubt
redoubt, till they were in possession of all the numerous works,
extend at least a mile. . . . The slaughter was dreadful, both during
ttack and in the pursuit. . . . We have upwards of 5,000 prisoners,
ing all the Europeans left alive. . . . There never was such a rout.'

storming troops were led by General (Colonel) Gillespie;
supreme direction was in the hands of Sir Samuel Auchmuty,
mander-in-chief of the Madras army.

d Minto is sometimes alleged to have accompanied the expedi-
as a volunteer'. That is incorrect; he went as Governor-
d in order that being on the spot he might be able to settle
and with authority 'many important points regarding
ture relations with the Dutch and with the native states
', and also secure harmonious working with the admirals.
the help of Mr. (Sir Stamford) Raffles admirable arrangements
made, and if the colony had been retained it would now be
ession of the highest value. But at the general peace the
was restored to the Dutch, who still retain it. The abuses
disfigured the administration in Lord Minto's time have
tly remedied.

names of the islands have been changed repeatedly. In some of
documents they are called collectively the Mascarene islands.



Charter legislation, 1813. The legislation of 1813 for the newal of the Company's charter was preceded by the exhaustive uiries of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, culmina- in the *Fifth Report*, sufficiently noticed in an earlier chapter. debates in Parliament were prolonged and interesting. poleon having closed the continental ports, British merchants ted on the opening of the Indian trade. The concession was ted, subject to certain limitations. The Company still retained terest in Indian commerce, but only as one competitor among , and made little or no profit, although the captains of the nificent 'Indiamen' acquired ample fortunes. For the ises of government the Company continued until 1858 to erely a 'fifth wheel in the coach' of the administrative hinery. Parliament, being unwilling to raise the thorny tion of patronage of Indian appointments, declined to adopt Grenville's suggestions that the Crown should assume the administration and that the Civil Service should be recruited limited competition between nominees of the public schools. Company preserved for twenty years longer its exclusive in the China trade, of which tea was the principal item. question of the admission of missionaries was hotly debated. admission under licence was allowed. Provision was made spiritual needs of the European population by the appoint- a bishop of Calcutta and three archdeacons paid from Indian . A grant for public education was made for the first lakh of rupees, then worth more than £10,000, being

and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and ngagement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction duction of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of itish territories in India'.

ed arrangements for the training of the civil and military ts of the Company were sanctioned. Subject to the above ions and many others, the charter was renewed for twenty

CHRONOLOGY

Cornwallis Governor-general for second time (July 31–Oct. 5)	1805
Barlow Governor-general	1805
Mutiny	1806
Minto Governor-general	1807
In Persia and Kābul	1808
The rebellion	1808–9
At Amritsar with Ranjit Singh; mutiny of Madras officers	1809
The French islands	1809–10
The Moluccas	1810
Of Java	1811
Land on Mirzāpur; *Fifth Report*	1812
The charter of E. I. Co.; retirement of Lord Minto	1813

Authorities

Malcolm's *Political History*, Thornton, and H. H. Wilson's tinuation of Mill are useful for the whole period. Vol. iii of *Corn Correspondence*, ed. Ross, gives some documents.

The leading authorities for Lord Minto are his *Life and Letters*, 1806, 3 vols., 1874; and *Lord Minto in India*, 1880, both well edit his grand-niece the Countess of Minto. *Ranjit Singh*, by Lepel G (1898, in 'Rulers of India'), is excellent. The separate work on th expedition is the *Memoir of the Conquest of Java* by Major W. T 4to, London, 1815, with maps, plans, and plates. A full account local rebellion will be found in Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, T drum, 1906, vol. i.

For the charter legislation see Ilbert, *The Government of Indi* App. x of vol. vii of H. H. Wilson (continuation of Mill—vol. i of W *History of British India*, ed. 1858).

CHAPTER 8

The Marquess of Hastings; Nepalese, Pindārī, and Marāthā w establishment of British supremacy in 1818.

The Marquess of Hastings. Francis Rawdon-Ha Baron Rawdon in the peerage of Great Britain, and Earl o in the peerage of Ireland, represented two of the most noble families in England, those of Rawdon and Hastin Rawdons settled in Ireland in the seventeenth century and Earls of Moira. Francis Lord Moira in early life had spent eight years in America as an officer during the War of Indep and afterwards had seen some military service in Europe, the greater part of his life had attained little distinction. notorious for profuse, generous extravagance, resulting in tion of a noble fortune, and was on terms of the closest a expensive intimacy with the Prince Regent, afterward George IV, whose friendship was not an honour. Lord having rendered the prince certain special political ser 1812, was nominated by him in 1813 as successor to Lord and was accepted by the Directors. He was then nearly years of age, and apparently much too old for a term of Indian exile. His record gave no indication that he would himself worthy to be ranked with the greatest of the G general, and that, notwithstanding his advanced age, he be strong enough to bear the heavy burden of civil gov combined with supreme military command for nine and years. The length of his administration was surpassed that of Warren Hastings. He never went to the hills, failed to be at his desk at four o'clock in the morning. 1817, as a reward for his conduct of the Nepalese war created Marquess of Hastings in the peerage of Great

ill be convenient to designate him from the beginning by that

even quarrels pending. The seeds of the wars which were main business of the early years of the administration of Lord ings had been sown by the enforcement of the timid non- vention policy prescribed by the home authorities, carried whole-heartedly by Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, only slightly modified by Lord Minto. During the govern- of that nobleman the seeds had began to germinate, so that uccessor, on assuming found 'seven different ds likely to demand the m of arms' awaiting ers.

epalese aggressions. most urgent of the seven s was that with the called Gūrkhas, who verthrown the ancient ies of the Nepāl Valley , and had subsequently s large estate possessing rable military force, extended over the hill region of the lower ras from the Sutlaj west to the frontier an on the east. The of the Gorakhpur ter- the Nawāb-Vizier of 1801 had brought h districts into con- the Gūrkha posses- the Tarāi or strip of ing under the hills.



MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

has displayed an aggressive, hostile spirit and constantly rroads across the ill-defined frontier. Lord Minto was to take notice of daring invasions in the Būtwal region rth of what is now the Bastī District and in another alled Sheorāj farther to the east. The tracts wrongfully the Nepalese were reoccupied by Company's troops pen opposition. A fresh aggression in May 1814, when s without provocation attacked three police stations killing eighteen policemen, brought on war.

ith Nepāl, 1814–16. Lord Hastings, who from the was his own commander-in-chief, at once proved his genius. He devised an admirable plan of campaign attack the enemy at four distinct points on a frontier e hundred miles, and supplemented his military disposi- gotiations with various hill chiefs. If the Governor-

general's instructions had been obeyed prompt success cert
would have attended the army, which was amply sufficie
numbers and equipment. But, unfortunately, four out o
generals employed displayed extraordinary incompeten
different fashions, so that the early operations failed, a
India was excited by news of defeats suffered by the Com
forces. General Gillespie, who had won a high reputation
storm of Fort Cornelis in Java, lost his own life and us



A NEPALESE STOCKADE.

sacrificed many men by making a rash frontal attack o
wooden stockade, in direct violation of the commande
orders. Gillespie, unaccustomed to mountain warfare
the tactics customary in the Indian plains, and paid th
During the progress of the operations the Compan
gained experience of the novel conditions, and learne
make stockades for their own protection. Three othe
ders wasted their efforts from sheer imbecility. Th
were partly compensated for by successes in Kumāon a
upper Sutlaj. Colonels Nicholls and Gardner occupie

umāon, thus driving a wedge into the Gūrkha territory, and
ral (Sir David) Ochterlony, who had defended Delhi against
ar, operated from Lūdiāna with such skill that in May 1815
mpelled the brave Gūrkha leader, Amar Singh, to surrender
rt of Malāon.

reaty of Sagauli. A treaty was then signed, but at the last
nt the government of Nepāl refused ratification, and hostilities
sumed. Sir David Ochterlony, advancing in February
in strong force and with reasonable precautions, was soon
sition to threaten the capital, so that the enemy consented
fy the treaty in its original form. That document, the treaty
agauli (Segowlee), signed in March 1816, provided for the
n by the Nepalese of Garhwāl and Kumāon to the west of the
iver, the surrender of most of the Tarāi,[1] withdrawal from
n, and the acceptance of a British Resident at Kathmāndu,
apital. The clause requiring the admission of a Resident
re distasteful to the enemy than the loss of territory.

vantages gained. The terms, although by no means
to the Nepalese, secured extremely important advantages
British government and the people of India. The Kumaun
on) province, now organized as the Kumaun Division,
sing the Nainī Tāl, Almora, and Garhwāl Districts, has
d to be an acquisition of the highest value. The temperate
being suitable to European constitutions, has favoured
th of large 'hill-stations', where a considerable population
Europeans and persons of mixed descent can settle per-
ly and rear families. Nainī Tāl, the summer capital of the
ment of the United Provinces, and Almora, are the principal
settlements in Kumaun. The prosperity of the country
reased enormously since the annexation, which was warmly
ed by the inhabitants. The Gūrkha rule had been oppressive.
pid growth of the revenue has materially helped the finances
and the informal 'non-regulation' system of adminis-
which was wisely adopted, suits the peculiarities of the

Dehra Dūn District, including the hill station of Mussoorie
ginally formed, was also annexed.
isting Simla District is made up of sundry patches of
some of which were obtained in 1815–16, and some
e later dates by amicable arrangements with hill chiefs.
residence, a thatched wooden cottage, erected in 1819,
ually followed by others. In 1827 Lord Amherst, then
neral, spent the summer at Simla, which in course of
loped into what it now is, the official capital of India
part of the year. A considerable tract ceded by the
was made over to the Rājā of Sikkim.

nbroken. The peace concluded more than a century
Nepāl has never been broken. The kingdom, indeed,
first boundary was modified more than once later, and the
is defined by masonry pillars.

far from being hostile, may be regarded justly as one of the p
of the Indian empire. During the Mutiny of 1857–9 Sir
Bahādur, then the Minister responsible for the goverr
rendered valuable assistance, which was suitably recogniz
territorial concessions and in other ways. Almost imme
after the Nepalese war Gūrkha soldiers began to enter the
pany's army. An elaborate system of recruiting was de
subsequently by friendly agreement between the two goverr
under which the Gūrkha regiments have become one of th
efficient and trustworthy elements in the Indian army.
services in many fields, and notably in France and elsewhere
the Great War, are more or less familiar to everybody. G
also enlist as military police and are highly esteemed i
capacity.

Internal independence of Nepāl. The government
kingdom, while unswerving in its friendly attitude, is je
its independence, which it has managed to retain intac
Resident does not attempt to interfere in the internal ad
tion, and has to submit to considerable restriction on hi
ments. Most of the hill territory has not been visited
European, and British subjects even of Indian birth ar
admitted to the interior.

'The political status of Nepāl is somewhat difficult to define.
said to stand intermediate between Afghānistān and the Nati
of India. The point of resemblance to Afghānistān is in the
freedom which Nepāl enjoys in the management of its interna
while in both countries foreign relations are controlled by th
Government. The analogy to the Native States is that, by trea
is obliged to receive a British Resident at Kātmāndu, and ca
Europeans into service without the sanction of the Indian Gov
(*I. G.*, 1908).

The situation is further complicated by the fact tha
recognizes the nominal suzerainty of China as the result o
events. The acknowledgement takes, or recently took,
of the dispatch every five years of a mission carrying pr
the Chinese Court. Possibly the establishment of th
Republic may modify the practice.

Interest of Nepāl. The country is of exceptional in
many reasons, and exploration would yield many valuab
to science, historical and physical; but the increase of k
gained by insisting on free access to the interior coul
purchased save at an excessive price. The existence of
Buddhism and an enormous Buddhist literature of a
character was revealed by Mr. Brian H. Hodgson, who
Kathmāndu from 1820 to 1844, and conducted extensive
which have placed a vast mass of material at the dispo
learned. Nepāl offers special advantages for the stu
interaction of Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism
religions and social systems.

Anarchy and robbers. The awful anarchy in
Central India resulting from the refusal of the British govern-
to assert itself as the paramount power raged unchecked, or
unchecked, from 1805 to the close of Lord Minto's adminis-
Lord Minto undoubtedly would have been compelled
strong action if he had remained in office. The outrages
the work of three distinct though closely related organizations
Marāthās, the Pathāns, and the Pindārīs.[1] The Marāthā
of whom Sindia, Holkar, and the Bhonsla of Nāgpur and
were the most prominent, each possessed considerable
ries more or less defined in extent, which they used as a base
which to make predatory raids. Sir George Barlow gave
his licence to harry Rājputāna as much as they pleased, and
did not fail to make full use of their opportunities. The
armies were no longer recruited mainly from the Deccan,
cluded Muhammadans and Hindus of various classes and from
countries. The Pathān bands of Musalmān freebooters
first no definite territory, and were content to plunder
they could find an opening, and to lend their swords to
who would provide pay and booty.

Pindarries, who had arisen, like masses of putrefaction in animal
out of the corruption of weak and expiring states, had fortunately
those bonds of union which unite men in adversity. They had
the tie of religious nor of national feeling. They were men of all
of all religions. They had been brought together less by despair
leading the life of a plunderer, in the actual state of India, as one
hazard, but great indulgence. . . . The Pindarries, when they came
country, had neither the means nor inclination, like the Tartars,
also they have been compared, to settle and repose. Like swarms
acting from instinct, they destroyed and wasted whatever
they visited. Their chiefs had, from grants or usurpation, ob-
small territorial possessions; but the revenues of their land were
not to the maintenance of one-tenth part of their numbers, and
therefore, only be supported by plunder.'

supposed to have numbered 20,000 or 30,000 about the
of the nineteenth century; but all calculation of their
strength is fallacious, and, as Munro pointed out,
reports showed a strong tendency to exaggerate
bers. They were 'so amalgamated with the whole of
part of the military population of India, that it had
system, not a particular force, that was to be subdued'.
their forays in bodies often numbering each two or
thousand horsemen under the command of a chosen leader,
neither tents nor baggage. They rode forty or fifty
straight for their destination.

divided, and made a clean sweep of all the cattle and property
committing at the same time the most horrid atrocities,
what they could not carry away. . . . The Pindarries who
Central India may be said to have been introduced by the

Pindārī or Pindāra seems to be Marāthī and to mean
pinda', a fermented drink.

Mahrattas. Ghazee u Deen, a person who served under the first B[ājī Rāo I, A. D. 1720–40], died when employed with a detachm Oojein.'

Subsequently the Pindārīs usually were loosely attached armies of either Sindia or Holkar.

'Condemned from their origin to be the very scavengers of Ma their habits and character took, from the first, a shape suited to t they had to perform. . . . All appear to have shared in the ignora meanness, the rapacity, and unfeeling cruelty, by which they a body, distinguished.'[1]

In the time of Lord Hastings the three chief leaders were (Cheetoo), Wāsil Muhammad, and Karīm Khān. Chī a Mewātī, and professed allegiance to Daulat Rāo Sindia.

Pindārī atrocities. It is impossible to find space fo description of the devastation wrought and the cruelties p by the various classes of plunderers, but a few brief quo from contemporary authors are indispensable in order to the reader to realize in an imperfect degree the horrors o terrible years.

James Tod during his memorable term of service in Rāj from 1812 to 1823 enjoyed and used ample opportunitie nessing the havoc wrought by the banditti of all classes watching the rapid reparation effected largely by his own e after the destruction of the robber hordes.

Describing Mewār as it was about A.D. 1817, he writes :

'Expression might be racked for phrases which could a delineate the miseries all classes had endured. . . . The capital wi a specimen of the country. Oodipoor [Udaipur], which formerly fifty thousand houses within the walls, had not now three houses occupied, the rest were in ruin, the rafters being taken fo The realization of the spring harvest of 1818, from the entire was about £4,000 ! . . . Such was the chaos from which order evoked . . . On the same day, and within eight months subseq signature of the treaty, above three hundred towns and vil *simultaneously* re-inhabited, and the land, which for many yea a stranger to the plough-share, was broken up. . . . The chief mart, Bhīlwara, which showed not a vestige of humanity, ra from ruin, and in a few months contained twelve hundred h of which were occupied by foreign merchants.'

A Marāthā chief named Ambājī extracted two million from Mewār in the course of eight years.[2]

'The cruelties they [the Pindārīs] perpetrated were beyond every one whose appearance indicated the probability of his money was immediately put to the most horrid torture, till he out his hoard, or died under the infliction. Nothing was pursuit of Pindaree lust or avarice ; it was their common pra and destroy what could not be carried away ; and, in the

[1] The quotations are from chap. x of Malcolm, *A Memoir of India*[2], 1832.

[2] *Annals of Mewār*, chap. xvii.

barity, to ravish and murder women and children, under the eyes their husbands and parents . . .

favourite mode of compulsion with them was to put hot ashes into which they tied over the mouth and nostrils of their victim, whom then thumped on the back till he inhaled the ashes. The effect on lungs of the sufferer was such that few long survived the operation. other common mode was to throw the victim on his back, and place ak or beam across his chest, on which two people pressed with their weight.'[1]

alcolm observes that

omen of almost all the Mahomedan Pindarries dressed like Hindus, shipped Hindu deities. From accompanying their husbands in their excursions they became hardy and masculine : they were mounted on small horses or camels, and were more dreaded by illagers than the men, whom they exceeded in cruelty and rapacity.'[2]

ids on British territory. The Pindārīs began to raid the ny's territory in 1812, when they harried Mirzapur and South But for a long time both the home authorities and the rs of council in Calcutta hesitated to take the necessary ures for the extermination of the plague. A fierce incursion in 1816 into the northern Sarkārs settled the question. That had enjoyed unbroken peace for half a century. In twelve the brigands plundered 339 villages, 182 persons were cruelly 505 severely wounded, and 3,603 subjected to different of torture. Many women destroyed themselves in order to dishonour. But it is needless to pursue farther the tale of Even the Directors were roused by the news, and in ber they authorized the necessary measures of repression. that dispatch had been received, Lord Hastings, with his fearlessness, had made up his mind to act, sanction or no ns, and to act effectively.

plomacy. The Governor-general understood fully the inti- ature of the relations between the powerful Marāthā chiefs the plundering hordes of Pathāns and Pindārīs. He laid his with a distinct consciousness that the operations directed only against the Pindārī lairs in the Narbadā Valley might , as they actually did, into a general Marāthā war ; and that his preparations should be on a scale adequate final settlement of the problem. He supplemented his arrangements by diplomacy, and succeeded in negotiating military treaty with the regent of the Bhonsla's territory, ja Apā Sāhib. The Rājā of Jaipur asked for protection, d Hastings was willing to execute a treaty, but the Rājā ck, and in the end was the last of the Rājpūt princes to terms with the British government. The Muhammadan of Bhopāl signed a treaty, and proved to be a staunch ighal ally. Since 1844 the state usually has been ruled Sikandar Bēgam rendered signal services to the govern- India in 1857. During the course of 1817 alliances were

Prinsep, *History*, i. 39.

[2] *Central India*[2], ii. 177.

arranged with Udaipur (Mewār), Jodhpur (Mārwār), and Z
Singh, the Regent of Kotah.[1] Bājī Rāo continued his usual
of perfidious intrigue, but had to sign a compact supplem
to the treaty of Bassein. Besides consenting to the outlaw
his guilty favourite Trimbakjī, who had foully murdered the
wār's Brahman envoy, with the privity of the Pēshwā, Bāj
was obliged to renounce his headship of the Marāthā confed
and to cede the Konkan province on the Bombay coast, with c
other territory and strongholds. Both the Pēshwā and
Sahib, who had become the Bhonsla ruler of Nāgpur by the m
of a rival, conspired incessantly to defeat the plans of the Gov
general. Negotiations with Sindia, Holkar, and Amīr Khā
leader of the Pathān banditti, also were undertaken.

The army. Lord Hastings, while neglecting no diplo
precaution, relied chiefly on his military preparations, co
on a comprehensive scale and designed with true strategical
With a view to an energetic campaign during the cold se
1817–18 he mobilized a great army of about 120,000 m
300 guns. The European troops included in that total nu
about 13,000, namely 8,500 infantry, more than 2,000 c
and the rest gunners. The entire force was divided int
armies, namely the Northern or Army of Hindostan, und
personal command of the Governor-general and comma
chief; and the Southern or Deccan Army, commanded
Thomas Hislop, whose principal lieutenant was Sir John M
Both Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm were inves
extensive political powers.

Strategy. The plan of the operations, the most extens
conducted in India before or since, may be described a
encircling movement.

'The Pindārīs were to be rooted out of their haunts which lay in
somewhat to the east of Ujjain, north of the Narbadā and betwe
and the dominions of Sindia and Holkar; to accomplish this it
decided to surround them on all sides—on the north and east fro
on the south from the Deccan, and on the west from Gujarāt—and
the native states in check. An extended movement, therefore,
to be made inwards, from the circumference of a great circle, wh
was somewhere near Handiā [in the Allahabad District], and wh
was nearly 700 miles in length; the enormous distances which
the different bases of operations, the absence of rapid mea
communication, and the necessity of simultaneous action, all
to render the task which had been undertaken an exceedingly
one.'

Sindia isolated. Lord Hastings reached Cawnpore by
route in September 1817, and at the end of October ad
the Sind river in Bundēlkhand.[2] Sir Thomas Hislop to

[1] The strange story of that 'consummate politician', Zālim
blind Regent, who ruled Kotah for sixty years, should be rea
lively narrative.

[2] The Sind river rises in the Tonk state, flows through
and Bundēlkhand, and falls into the Jumna.

ral position near Handiā in November. It is hardly necessary
state explicitly that the Pēshwā, Sindia, and all other Marāthā
s were hostile, and prepared to violate any engagements into
h they had been constrained to enter. Sindia was isolated
ver strategical movements and effectually neutralized during
ar, much against his inclination.

holera. The operations suffered a check in November from
lent outbreak of cholera in the camp of Lord Hastings, which
d in a virulent form for ten days, causing much mortality and
desertions. The epidemic, first observed in the delta of
anges at the beginning of the rainy season of 1817, killed
undred people a day in Calcutta for some time in September,
radually crept up country, attacking the crowded camp of
Hastings with exceptional severity. The whole encampment
hospital, and about one-tenth of its occupants perished,
ing many personal servants of the Governor-general and his
n. The disease abated when the camp moved to healthier
, but the epidemic spread over a large part of the world,
th fluctuations, lasted for twenty years.

ular belief sometimes erroneously represents the epidemic
as the first appearance of cholera in India. The disease,
, had been observed as early as the seventeenth century,
been extremely fatal to Colonel Pearse's detachment when
ng to Madras in 1781.

of the Pindārīs. By the end of 1817 the primary object
campaign had been almost accomplished, the Pindārīs
been driven out of Mālwā and across the Chambal. A
later, towards the close of January 1818, all the organized
of Pindārīs had been annihilated, and the time had come
ing the remnants to settle down to a quiet life. Karīm
surrendered and was granted the estate of Ganēshpur, then
Gorakhpur, and now in the Bastī District, where his descen-
still reside. Wāsil Muhammad, who had taken refuge with
and was surrendered by that prince, committed suicide
captivity. Chītū (Cheetoo), the most formidable of the
pindarian leaders, was hunted with unremitting vigour
was driven into a jungle near Asīrgarh, where a tiger
him. Thus the Pindārīs were finally disposed of. Amīr
the Pathān chief, was made happy by the grant of the
ity or Nawābī of Tonk.

n of Kirkee. The Pēshwā, who, as already observed, had
ttle throughout, assembled a large force near Poona.
Elphinstone, the Resident, and Colonel Burr, commanding
, found it necessary to retire to Kirkee (Khadkī), four
the north-west of the city. Bājī Rāo then burnt the
and on November 5, 1817, attacked with about 26,000
force under Colonel Burr, which did not exceed 2,800.
lasted from four in the afternoon until dark, when the
tired after suffering heavy losses. Reinforcements
and the British reoccupied Poona.

Battles of Sītābaldī and Nāgpur. Āpā Sahib Bh
presently followed the Pēshwā's example by assailing Mr. Jen
the Resident at Nāgpur, who had only about 1,400 men a
disposal, comprised in two weak regiments of Madras inf
three squadrons of Bengal cavalry, and the European gunn
four six-pounders. That small force took up its position o
ridge known as Sītābaldī, consisting of two eminences con
by a narrow neck. Āpā Sahib's army of about 18,000
including 4,000 Arabs, and supported by thirty-six guns, att
on the night of November 26. The fight continued the nex
The assailants were on the point of overwhelming the wea
rison, when Captain Fitzgerald made two brilliant charge
his tiny force of cavalry and converted defeat into victory
gallant defenders had more than a quarter of their numbe
or wounded during the action which lasted for eighteen
A few days later reinforcements arrived and Āpā Sahib
dered. His troops, refusing to acknowledge defeat, fought a
battle close to the city of Nāgpur on December 16, which r
in their total rout with the loss of their camp, elephants, and

Deposition of the Bhonsla. The Governor-general
decided on the deposition of the faithless Āpā Sahib, a
annexation of his dominions lying to the north of the N
which became known as the Sāgar (Saugor) and Narbadā Ter

Battle of Mahīdpur. The operations against Holk
conducted by Sir Thomas Hislop with the aid of Sir John M
Attempts at negotiations failed, and the murder of Tulsī
Regent, by the soldiers under the command of a Pathān
Ghafūr Khān on the morning of December 20, made
inevitable. On the same day the British commander fo
Sīprā river, to the north of Ujjain, and carried the enemy's
at the point of the bayonet. Holkar's guns, which w
served, inflicted heavy losses, 174 killed and 606 wou
the victorious army. The loss of the enemy was esti
3,000. The battle is described by the military historian a
been 'the only general action of primary order in India sin
Holkar attempted no further resistance and signed the
treaty on January 6, 1818.

Battle of Ashtī. The Pēshwā's army, which had b
pursued and was under the command of Bāpū Gokhal
a brave officer, was forced to give battle on February 20
Ashtī or Ashta, now in the Sholāpur District, Bombay. Th
fought solely by cavalry on both sides, resulted in a
victory for the Company's troops gained with extremely s
The Marāthā general was killed, the Pēshwā became a fu
the titular Rājā of Sātārā, the representative of Sivāji, w

End of the war; Koregāon. The fights above d
outline—at Kirkee, Sītābaldī, Nāgpur, Mahīdpur, and
decided the war, but considerable subsidiary operations
which were accomplished in due course. The fortress of
did not capitulate until April 1819, after standing a short

derful defence of Koregāon (Koregaum) for eleven hours on
uary 1, 1818, by Captain Staunton, with 500 Bombay native
ntry, 250 irregular cavalry, and two six-pounders served by
nty-four European gunners from Madras, against the whole
y of the Pēshwā, numbering more than 20,000, merits a passing
. The little garrison suffered 276 casualties. The action,
d the 'Indian Thermopylae' by Tod, is commemorated by
ome obelisk at the village. Except at Mahīdpur, where the
pean element in the army of the commander-in-chief was
derable, the actions in the fourth Marāthā war were won
t exclusively by native Indian troops under the command of
British officers. No soldiers could have done better than
hen who defended Kirkee, Sītābaldī, and Koregāon.

rrender of the Pēshwā. Bājī Rāo, finding resistance or
escape hopeless, had surrendered on June 3, 1818, to Sir John
lm, who entered into wholly unnecessary negotiations, and
d him the excessive annuity of eight lakhs (800,000) of
a year. The Governor-general, knowing that the fugitive
have surrendered at discretion and that he was not in a
n to argue about terms, disapproved of Malcolm's action,
lt bound to confirm it officially. The question concerning
propriety of Malcolm's proceedings evoked much difference
inion. Personally I agree with Grant Duff and Lord Hastings
ing that Sir John allowed his feelings of compassion for
greatness to overbear his judgement. Bājī Rāo, a perjured,
coward, possessed no personal claim whatever to the
generous treatment which he received. The office of
having been extinguished, Bājī Rāo was allowed to reside
, a sacred place near Cawnpore, where he lived for many
His adopted son, known as Nānā Sahib, gained an infamous
ality in the Mutiny.

itical settlement. The political settlement resulting from
was planned by Lord Hastings on broad lines, as his
had been, and in a comprehensive spirit which took
all the conditions of the complex problem. He desired
ment, not merely a temporary settlement, which should
general peace under the avowed paramount control of the
overnment, with the minimum of interference in the internal
states allowed to retain their autonomy. No native state
India proper could any longer claim absolute independence.

mount power established. Prinsep, writing in 1824 or
erves

universal extension of the British influence has been attended
antage to the people of India is a proposition not likely to be
at the present day. The different state of Malwa, and of all
recently brought within its range, as viewed now that the system
years trial, compared with the condition of the same countries
establishes the fact incontestably. . . . But we may be allowed
that such a result could not have been produced by the simple
of the Pindarees, and suppression of the predatory system;

without the general controlling government established at the same t
the relief must have been temporary, and the effect would before this
disappeared.'

Rājpūt states and Mālwā. The same judicious and
informed author shows the necessity for a certain amount of co
over the Rājpūt states and of interference in their affairs.



COLONEL TOD AND HIS JAIN PUNDIT.

'Independently of quarrels and wars prosecuted from motiv
tion or avarice, there were hereditary feuds and jealousies be
different tribes of Rajpoots, the Kychuhas [Kachchhwāhas], th
and the Rhatōrs, both these again, and the Chouhans, whi
ever have prevented their living together in harmony witho
sense of the necessity of submitting to the behest of a cont

The same reasoning applied to Mālwā. The proble
state was separately examined, discussed, and decided
aid of a group of exceptionally able officers, including

colm, Elphinstone, Tod, and many others. The sympathetic
urs of Tod in Rājputāna are recorded for all time in his immor-
Annals. The decisions were embodied in a long series of treaties,
nning with Kotah and ending with Jaipur or Ambēr. Full
ils will be found in the special treatises cited at the end of
chapter.

Marāthā states. Among the greater Marāthā chiefs, Sindia
Holkar were fortunate enough to retain considerable kingdoms
to be allowed a large measure of independence. Holkar was
her lucky in securing the services of a competent minister
d Tantia Jōg. The foundations put down by Lord Hastings
well and truly laid. The present representatives of all the
ties embraced in the comprehensive system devised by the
nor-general are faithful supporters of the paramount power,
ing willing homage to the person of their King-Emperor, and,
rule, administering their dominions, whether small or large,
sufficient regard to equity.

Abolition of the Pēshwā. The Governor-general, after very
consideration of the question, decided

ur of the total expulsion of Bajee Rao from the Dukhun, the
al exclusion of his family from any share of influence or dominion,
annihilation of the Pēshwa's name and authority for ever'.

that those stern measures were warranted by the uniformly
conduct of Bājī Rāo, who had violated all engagements
ed himself at the head of the confederation against the
power, choosing the moment for treacherous defection
emed to him the most critical. No less penalty would
fficed as 'a warning example to the sovereigns of India,
awful lesson on the consequences of incurring the full
of our just indignation'. The measure adopted was
ted, and the intended lesson was learnt by all concerned.
ā. A concession was made to Marāthā opinion by the
tion of a small area around Sātārā in the Western Ghāts
state semi-independent principality for the descendant of
ptured at Ashtī. The experiment was not a success. The
ity was suppressed in 1848 by Lord Dalhousie and now
District of the Bombay Presidency. Grant Duff, who was
Lord Hastings in charge of the Rājā, collected the mate-
his invaluable *History of the Mahrattas* while employed

Bhonsla. The perfidy and crimes of Āpā Sahib Bhonsla
ited his deposition and the annexation of the Sāgar and
territories. A new Rājā was set up in the regions south
under British control. In 1853 Lord Dalhousie applied
ine of lapse and annexed the whole of the Bhonsla
which, with certain additions, now constitute the
rovinces, Nāgpur being the official capital. Care should
not to confound the Central Provinces with Central India,
Native or Protected States, roughly corresponding with
Mālwā, and including the dominions of Sindia and

Holkar.[1] The Agent to the Governor-general resides at Ind
Holkar's capital.

An elastic 'non-regulation' system of administration was
ciously applied to the Sāgar and Narbadā Territories, which are
liar to all readers of Sleeman's fascinating *Rambles and Recollec*

Conclusion. This chapter may be fitly closed by quoting
passage with which Prinsep concludes his 'Political Rev
published in 1825 :

'The struggle which has thus ended in the universal establishm
the British influence is particularly important and worthy of atte
as it promises to be the last we shall ever have to maintain with the
powers of India. Henceforward this epoch will be referred to a
whence each of the existing states will date the commencement
peaceable settlement, and the consolidation of its relations wit
controlling power. The dark age of trouble and violence, which
spread its malign influence over the fertile regions of Central Ind
thus ceased from this time ; and a new era has commenced, w
with brighter prospects—an era of peace, prosperity, and wea
least, if not of political liberty and high moral improvement.'

The validity of the prediction that no further struggle wi
native powers of India need occur is not affected by Lord
borough's momentary and probably unnecessary fight
Sindia's army in 1843 ; nor by the annexations of Sind a
Panjāb, provinces lying outside the limits of India proper
1825 really independent.

Since Prinsep wrote, some progress in the evolution of '
liberty' has been effected, and not a few signs of 'high
improvement' may be noted by a sympathetic observer.

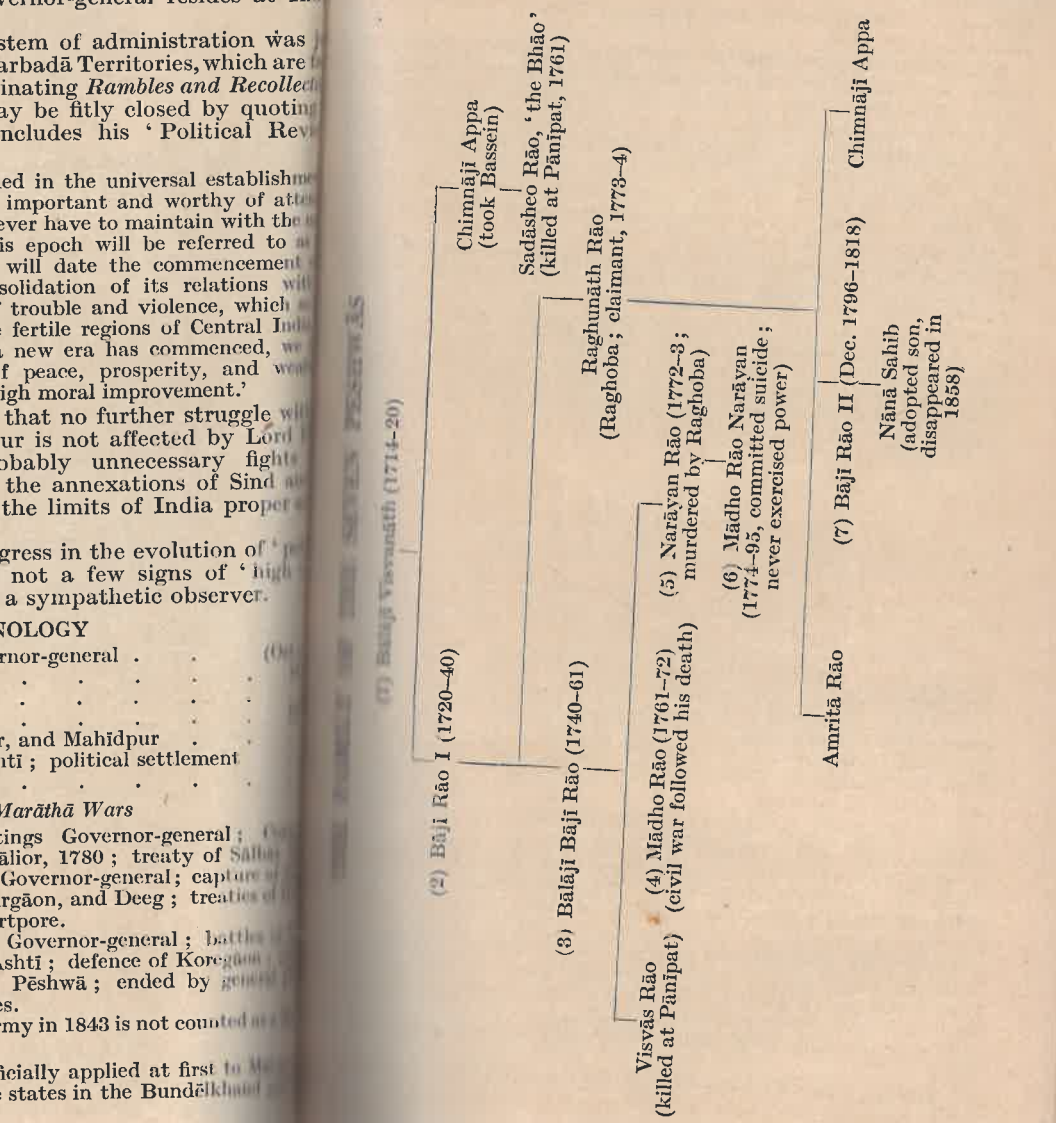
CHRONOLOGY

Lord Hastings (Earl of Moira) Governor-general . .	(1
War with Nepāl	
Treaty of Sagaulī (Segowlee)	
Pindārī and Marāthā war	
Battles of Kirkee, Sītābaldī, Nāgpur, and Mahīdpur .	
Defence of Koregāon ; battle of Ashtī ; political settlement	
Capitulation of Asīrgarh	

The three Marāthā Wars

First, 1775–82 : Warren Hastings Governor-general ; C
of Wargāon, 1778 ; capture of Gwālior, 1780 ; treaty of Sālb
Second, 1803–5 : Lord Wellesley Governor-general ; capture o
battles of Delhi, Assaye, Laswārī, Argāon, and Deeg ; treaties of
and Surjī Arjungāon ; siege of Bhurtpore.
Third, 1817–19 : Lord Hastings Governor-general ; battles
Sītābaldī, Nāgpur, Mahīdpur, and Ashtī ; defence of Koregāon
tion of Asīrgarh ; abolition of the Pēshwā ; ended by gen
settlement and about twenty treaties.
(The brief conflict with Sindia's army in 1843 is not counted a
war.)

[1] The term Central India was officially applied at first to M
but is now used so as to include the states in the Bundēlkhand
ēlkhand Political Agencies.



Authorities

The two leading contemporary printed authoritative works on the
of the Marquess of Hastings are (1) *Memoir of the Operations of the*
Army in India during the Mahratta War of 1817, 1818, and 181
Lt.-Col. Valentine Blacker, Q.M.G. of the army of the Deccan, qu
London, 1821, which gives full professional details; and (2) *Histo*
the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Adminis
of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813–1823, by Henry T. Prinsep, I
Assistant Secretary to the Governor-general, 2 vols., 8vo, London,
based on an earlier quarto work published in 1820. The book end
a political and financial review.

The Marquess of Hastings, K.G., by Major Ross-of-Blade
(Rulers of India, 1893), is a well-written and lucid summary of the
history. Wilson devotes the entire third volume of his *History*
of Mill and continuation) to the administration of the Marquess,
is treated at considerable length in several histories by other a
Malcolm, Marshman, Thornton, &c. The *Private Journal* of the Ma
edited by his daughter, the Marchioness of Bute, 2 vols., London
and a *Summary* published by the Marquess himself in 1824 give
particulars.

BOOK VIII

THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM 1819 TO 1858

CHAPTER I

Marquess of Hastings continued; reconstruction and internal reforms; Mr. Adam and the press; Lord Amherst; the first Burmese War.

Abominable Marāthā system. The admiration felt and
ressed by many Hindus for Sivājī may be explained easily
justified partially by many reasons, notwithstanding his
g crimes of violence and treachery. Bājī Rāo and the other
thā chiefs at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of
nineteenth century are not entitled to either respect or esteem.
the solitary exception of one woman, Ahalyā Bāī, they
possessed any discernible virtues, while they were all
by perfidy, cruelty, rapacity, and most of the other vices.
abominable system of government which they administered
capable of effecting any benefit to or improvement of man-
in any direction.

contempt of all morality, in their political arrangements, was with
Marattas avowed and shameless.'

constitution of their government and army was
calculated to destroy, than to create an empire. . . . The Mahrattas,
their feeling and policy as well as from those habits of predatory
on which the whole construction of their government was founded,
natural enemies of the British power. There could be no lasting
between states whose object and principles of government were
in collision.'[1]

the Marāthās were robbers by profession, whose activities
not be endured by decent neighbours. They were openly
with all the ruffians who came to the front in a time of
and the suppression of their lawless rule was the first
that government which, in spite of itself, had become the
ing power in India.

mplete and final overthrow of the Marāthā domination
should not excite the slightest feeling of regret or sympathy
part of any person, Indian or European. Nobody who
even a slight acquaintance with the facts of history can
the utter destruction of the Marāthā capacity for evil

position applies to the case of the Central Empires against the
1918.

and the substitution of orderly government were necessary
of incalculable benefit to India.[1]

The merit of Lord Hastings. It is the peculiar merit of
Hastings that he realized both the necessity and the benefit
comprehensive mind provided with ample sufficiency the
needed to ensure the indispensable preliminary destruct
a wholly evil system,[2] and worked out with equal grasp of re
the measures best calculated for the construction of a ne
lasting fabric. His work lives after him. The existing pl
relations between the surviving Marāthā states and the g
ment of India stand on the foundations well and truly laid
Marquess of Hastings. The ill faith of the Pēshwā and the B
met its just reward. Sindia and Holkar, who could not rea
have complained if they too had been condemned to
penalties, were wisely left in a position where they were
reap immense advantages immediately. Holkar's reven
in a few years from a pitiful sum of barely four lakhs to thir
lakhs a year. Sindia soon found himself the master of a pr
kingdom. He ceded Ajmēr, the strategical key to Rāj
receiving other districts in exchange, so that on the whol
not lose territory, and had every reason to be satisfied
treatment he received. Everywhere towns and village
up from their ashes, and the returning ryot soon creat
for the prince in amounts immeasurably exceeding the pr
gains of predatory raids.

Variety of transactions. Even during the progres
wars which chiefly occupied the earlier years of his admini
Lord Hastings engaged, to use Wilson's words, in

> a variety of transactions . . ., which, although of minor moment
> objects of considerable magnitude, arising from the determ
> preserve the tranquillity of India undisturbed; from the nec
> existing of shielding maritime commerce from piratical dep

[1] It may be well to support the propositions in the text as
Malcolm's writings by the equally competent testimony of
Munro:

> 'The Mahratta Government, from its foundation, has been
> most destructive that ever existed in India. It never relin
> predatory spirit of its founder, Sewajee. That spirit grew with
> and when its empire extended from the Ganges to the Cavery,
> was little better than a horde of imperial thieves. All oth
> states took a pride in the improvement of the country, and
> struction of pagodas, tanks, canals, and other public
> Mahrattas have done nothing of this kind; their work has
> desolation. They did not seek their revenue in the improv
> country, but in the exactions of the established *chout* from the
> and in predatory incursions to levy more' (Gleig, *Life*[2], ii. 1

Those propositions are absolutely true without qualificat

[2] 'Nothing is so expensive as war carried on with inade
It entails all the expense without the advantages of war'
Munro in Gleig, *Life*[2], ii. 371).

the duty of providing for British as well as Indian interests in the
rn seas;'

from treaty relations with the Native States.

uppression of piracy. The annexation of the Pēshwā's
ory involved the adjustment of relations with the Konkan
icts lying between the Western Ghāts and the sea. The
chiefs, who had been incompletely chastised in 1812, were
ghly subjected in 1820, and required to cede the remainder
coast between Kolhāpur and Goa. The measures adopted
ished all vestiges of the piratical practices for which this
the coast of India had been infamous, since the days of
n commerce'.

tive operations against the pirates of the Red Sea and
Gulf were also carried out.

airs of Cutch. The Rāo of Cutch (Kacchh), the peninsula
to the north of Kāthiawār, and separated from the mainland
Runn' (Ran), formerly an arm of the sea, had been caught
wide sweep of the net of treaties. He soon grew tired of
and early in 1819 began hostilities. A small force of
y's troops, aided by the nobles of the state, who were
to the Rāo, captured Bhūj, the capital. The Rāo surren-
and was deposed by Lord Hastings. An infant prince was
ted in his place, and the administration was conducted by
y under the control of the Resident until 1834. The
ings alarmed the Ameers of Sind, and war with them was
only by the forbearance of the Governor-general under
tion.

thquakes. Although the country of Cutch has suffered
m famine, pestilence, and earthquakes, it is now tolerably
, and is governed on modern lines. The practice of
fanticide, once terribly prevalent, has been materially
if not suppressed. Shortly after the capture of Bhūj the
ity endured a series of earthquake shocks, about a hundred
, which lasted from June 16 to November 23, 1819.
rtion of the Western Runn subsided, including the small
ndrī, which disappeared under the waters. In some
land appears to have risen. The changes of level due
movements in Cutch, the Runn, and the neighbouring
rt have transformed the face of the country during
times.

tle Frere observes:

> the frontiers of Sirhind to Jeysulmere, the Thurr [Thar, or
> ert] contains frequent traces of ancient watercourses which
> where no stream now flows even in the heaviest rains; and
> nt towns and villages, which have for ages been utterly
> e that the country in former days was more populous, and
> water and cultivation than at present.
> with similar indications are very frequent, though owing to
> permanent buildings in the Thurr itself they are more fre-
> ith in the plain country east and west of it. Thus the plain

between Hyderabad and Oomercote ['Umarkōt, Amercote] pre
everywhere indications of having been thickly populated as far ba
the Bhuddist period, and well irrigated by canals from the Indus, whi
longer carry water in consequence of a slight change in the relative
of the Indus and the plain to be irrigated.' [1]

Students of the movements of Alexander the Great and
events in ancient story must bear such facts in mind.

Singapore. The ministers in London had never taken
interest in the conquest of Java, or cordially supported th
seeing policy of Lord Minto and Sir Stamford Raffles. Whe
final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815 freed Holland
French domination and restored the independence of the co
the Cabinet was glad to get rid of Java and hand it back
Dutch unconditionally. No pains were taken either to ma
the engagements made by the British with the Javanese ch
to secure the interests of British commerce in the Archip
The Dutch were alleged to have allowed themselves to be

'actuated by a spirit of ambition, by views of boundless aggrandi
and rapacity, and by a desire to obtain the power of monopoli
commerce of the eastern archipelago'.

They were credited with the will to resume their tradi
exclusive policy, which had led to the massacre of Amboy
centuries earlier.

Lord Hastings, wiser than his masters in Europe, saw th
sity of securing a safe trade route with China and the Fa
He approved the proposition of Raffles to acquire the
Singapore at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula, whi
occupied accordingly in 1819, much to the annoyance of th
The foresight of the Governor-general and his enthusia
tenant has been justified abundantly. The island wild
1819, tenanted by a handful of poor Malay fisher-folk, is
noble colony of Singapore, with a population of 309,18
The city, with its capacious harbour situated in a po
nating the Straits of Malacca, the principal gate to the
and strongly fortified, is 'the port of call for practica
shipping of the eastern world'. Before the Great Wa
vessels, with a tonnage of about fifteen million tons,
and out of the port each year. 'A stupendous revenue
from tin mining and opium, and the population
astonishing variety of races and nationalities, among wh
different classes of industrious Chinese are the most p

The occupation of Singapore by Lord Hastings was
to the empire hardly second to his unification of India
consolidation of the British authority in that country.
Japan and the United States are in alliance with Gr
(1918) it is needless to dilate upon the strategical impo
commercial value of Singapore.

[1] 'Notes on the Runn of Cutch and neighbouring region,' p
dated 1870 from ? *Geographical Journal*. See also Raverty,
of Sind' (*J. A. S. B.*, 1892, vol. lxi, part i, pp. 456–66).

A few years after the occupation of the port the difficulties
th the Dutch were settled by friendly agreement—the British
ernment giving up its settlements in Sumatra in exchange for
Dutch settlements in India.

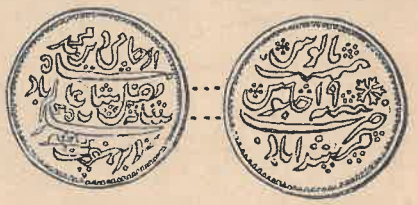
Singapore is the leading element in the Straits Settlement
ony, which has received many extensions since the time of
d Hastings. A competent writer affirms that

mplete history of that extension and growth, and the devious ways
ich they have been brought about, would make a fascinating tale
a long one'.

ancient port of Malacca, which seemed to have closed its
urable career, has been revived by the development of the
industry. Penang, too, which had superseded Malacca
time, is now prosperous, although far inferior to Singapore.
whole colony is extraordinarily progressive, with infinite
ilities. But it is now administered, like Ceylon, under the
of the Colonial Office, and its development does not directly
the history of India.[1]

Various occurrences. The dealings of the Governor-
with the protected states other than those of Rājputāna
Mālwā were ordinarily marked by discretion and forbearance.
encouraging the Nawāb-Vizier of Oudh to assume the
title in defiance of the shadowy authority of the Pādshāh
was generally regarded as a mistake. The Nizam refused
the same liberty. In 1816 the people of Cuttack (Katak)
were driven to rebellion by over-assessment, undue
ment of the salt tax, and the chicanery of Bengālī under-
who defrauded the ignorant inhabitants. When the necessary
operations took place, the insurgents submitted promptly
on a promise that their grievances would be remedied.
promise was faithfully redeemed by the reduction of the
the taxation and the
ment of a sympa-
administration under
commissioner. The
has never been
again.

Titular emperor. Hastings stopped the
tion of *nazars* (*nuz-*
formal presents
a superior, which
the practice for
of the government to tender to the titular emperor. He
ught such a public testimony of dependence and subser-
to be irreconcilable with any rational system of policy
paramount authority of the British government had
fully proclaimed and established. With strange incon-
ood was finally taken over from India and the Crown Colony
in 1867.



Murshīdābād half-rupee.

sistency the Company's coinage was allowed to bear the n
and titles of Shāh Ālam until 1835, when Act XVII presc
a new coinage with European devices.[1]

Bareilly outbreak. Nearly at the same time as the Cut
insurrection a dangerous outbreak occurred at Bareilly in R
khand, the immediate provocation being the imposition of a
municipal tax. Other grievances also came into play, a
Muhammadan Mufti having taken the lead the usual c
'religion in danger' was raised. An inoffensive young E
gentleman was murdered, and the insurgents fought the t
with such fury that they lost more than three hundred k
The casualties among the troops were twenty-one killed
sixty-two wounded. The incident deserves notice becaus
a good illustration of the way in which the unexpected ha
in India, and of the facility with which an ordinary com
against the administration can be used to excite a fanatical
burst of religious enthusiasm. The reader may remember
in Lord Minto's time the differences between the Hindu m
and the British Resident in Travancore were similarly utili
the foundation for a war of religion.

The lesson of Hathrās. In the next year (1817) Dya
a zemindar in the Aligarh District, who had shown a contum
spirit, refused to dismantle his fortress at Hathrās. Lord Ha
who was then preparing for the Pindārī war, took measures
left nothing to chance and soon rendered the fort untena
means of an incessant shower of bombs from forty-two m
The Governor-general, who was his own commander-in
had satisfied himself at an early date that considerations
economy had unduly limited the use of artillery, and had
failures at Bhurtpore and elsewhere. He was resolved
repeat the error. The lesson taught by the speedy fall of H
did not need repetition.

Public works, education, and finance. The M
resumed the much-needed improvements in Calcutta, whi
been suspended since the departure of Lord Wellesley. H
repaired an ancient canal, and thus secured a good wate
for Delhi. Generally, throughout the country, he paid at
to roads and bridges, a subject neglected by previous adm
tions. He was steadfastly opposed to the ignoble policy of
the natives of the country in ignorance, which had
supporters at the India House.

'This Government', he boldly declared, 'never will be influen
erroneous position that to spread information among men is
them less tractable and less submissive to authority. . . . It would
to British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the prin

[1] See Thurston, *History of the Coinage of the E. I. Co.* (Mad
and J. M. C. Johnston, 'Coinage of the East India Compa
Chron., 1903, p. 71, Pl. III). In 1827 Lord Amherst permitted
men of his suite to present 'nuzzurs', but did not himself touch

vernment to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest
vantages over the blindness of the multitude.'

Those liberal sentiments, far in advance of the ideas current at
time, were translated into action. Both the Marquess and
dy Hastings established schools, to which they made generous
ntributions from their own purse, and the Governor-general
pted the office of patron of a college founded by Bengālī
ntlemen. His action in regard to the press will be noticed more
ntently in connexion with the administration of Mr. Adam.
Finance, notwithstanding the long-continued wars on a large
, was managed so well that government bonds, which stood
12 per cent. discount in 1813, rose to 14 per cent. premium
years later.

Reforms begun. The publication in 1812 of the *Fifth Report*,
ferred in an earlier chapter of this work, and the elaborate
ates on the renewal of the charter in 1813 reopened all the
ems of Indian administration, which demanded still further
nsideration in consequence of the upheaval caused by the
uction of the Marāthā power in 1818. Efforts were made in
e older British possessions to reform the abuses in the judicial
, civil and criminal; and some progress was made in
ing the mistaken policy of Lord Cornwallis, which excluded
Indian birth from all responsible or decently paid office.
Hastings was keenly alive to the necessity of reform; and
of his lieutenants entertained the most sensible and
ened opinions.

Bengal official opinion opposed extensive change in the judi-
angements, but something was done to remedy abuses by
ing the number of courts and enhancing the powers of Indian
. At the instance of the directors a determined attempt
s made in Madras to revive the old system of *panchāyats*, or
uries of neighbours, for the settlement of disputes, which
d little result owing to the unwillingness of the people to

rigorous separation between the judicial and revenue
on which Lord Cornwallis had laid so much stress was
, and the offices of collector and district magistrate were
in every presidency at various dates, in some cases after
ture of Lord Hastings. Generally speaking the employ-
natives of the country in positions of considerable authority
ly extended. As new territory was acquired the absurdity
ying a complicated code of English laws among communi-
unprepared to receive it began to be recognized, and
ity for a simpler, more elastic form of administration
owledged. The 'non-regulation' system for the govern-
ewly acquired or backward territory was developed in
Lord Amherst, but its application had begun during
office of Lord Hastings. We have seen how Cuttack was
since the moment that a reasonable system for the man-
rude people was introduced by a special commissioner.

Settlement problems. The complex problem of land 'se
ment' in every province came under review. In the terri
now known as the Province of Agra an extremely elab
system of survey and assessment was enacted by Regulation
of 1822, which failed because it was too elaborate to wo
practice. Ten years after the departure of Lord Hastings, R
tion IX of 1833 laid the foundation of the modern syst
'settlement' in Upper India.

The proposal to make 'permanent settlements' the g
rule in all provinces was often mooted, and at times was o
point of being decreed. It was not finally negatived until
'Settlements' are now most commonly sanctioned for p
of either thirty or twenty years.

Munro's 'ryotwar settlement'. The name of Sir Th
Munro—a man equally distinguished as a soldier and an ad
trator—who was perhaps the wisest of the many brilliant o
who served Lord Hastings,[1] is specially associated with the
war settlement' of the greater part of the Madras Pres
which he is often alleged erroneously to have 'introduced'
his service in various capacities before 1820 and as Gover
Madras from 1820 to 1827.

Writing in 1825 he warmly repudiated the charge of
invented or introduced 'the Rayetwar system, which, tho
old system of the country, is by some strange misappre
regarded in England as a new one'. He proceeded to
that official opinion had been unduly biased by familiarity
the Bengal zemindārī system, which was unknown in M
except in the Northern Sarkārs (Circars).

'The greater part of our [Madras] territories have been acqui
Native Princes who did not employ Zemindars, and who coll
revenue, as we now do, from the Rayets, by means of Tishildars,
a monthly salary, and appointed and dismissed at pleasure. M
provinces have in ancient times been surveyed and assessed; b
accounts have in general been altered or lost, we make a new
assessment, in order that we may know the resources of the
and in order that every Rayet may know the exact amount of his
and thus be protected against any extra demand. . . . It is our
let the distribution of property remain as we find it, and not a
force it into larger masses upon any theoretical notion of
or improvement. There are many Rayets who have not more
or five acres; there are some who have four or five thousand
these extremes, there are great numbers who have from one
five hundred.'[2]

[1] Canning declared that 'Europe never produced a more
statesman, nor India, fertile as it was in heroes, a more skilf
In 1824 Munro stated that 'I have introduced no new syste
the revenue or the judicial department. . . . I have never wished
any new system of revenue, but I wish in all cases to have
to collect directly from the occupants or owners, whether
or great. Renters are no necessary part of any revenue
op. cit., ii. 205).

[2] Gleig, Life
(1908), xvi. 318.

The system. 'The basis of this system is the division of the whole
into fields by a cadastral survey, each field being valued at a fixed
per acre and the assessment settled thereon. A holding is one or more
such fields or of their recognized subdivisions. The registered occupant
each field deals directly with Government, and so long as he pays the
assessment he is entitled to hold the land for ever and cannot be ejected
Government, though he himself may, in any year, increase or diminish
holding or entirely abandon it; should the land be required for a public
purpose, it must be bought at 15 per cent. above its market value. In-
heritance, transfer, mortgage, sale, and lease are without restriction;
improvements involve
addition, either present or
to the assessment. Waste
may be taken up by any
under the rules laid down,
granted to a ryot it is
long as he pleases.'[1]



SIR THOMAS MUNRO.

Munro, who laid down the
principle so contrary
views of Lord Corn-
that 'no theoretical
should make us
what is supported by
', was right in
the *ryotwar* sys-
settlement'. But the
made in his time
long afterwards were
high, and the Madras
collection was dis-
by cruel severities,
did something to
The modern system
from 1855, and
from that of Munro's
several important par-
notably in the ryot's absolute freedom to relinquish his
and in the full protection given to private improvements.
assessments have been largely reduced, and the penalty of
ment for default is no longer enforced. The Madras system
marked seems to be excellent, but I have not any personal
of its operation.

Bombay system. The Bombay system has a general resem-
to that of Madras,

holdings are to a large extent grouped into small "survey
with practically immutable boundaries, which are solidly and
marked out upon the ground; and in Bombay this fact constitutes
a feature of the revenue system that the occupant who
number on the condition of paying the revenue assessed
to hold on the "survey tenure".'[2]

[1] *I. G.* (1907), iv. 209.

The early assessments in Bombay, as in Madras and most o provinces, were too heavy and caused much distress. The refor system dates from 1847.[1]

In the Agra Province, comprising the Ceded and Conqu Districts, with certain other territory, the 'settlement' con ordinarily was made with groups of zemindars forming a bro hood or community in each village, through their headmen lands of a 'village' being the unit of assessment. The sy as already mentioned, rests upon Regulations VII of 182 IX of 1833, as largely modified by subsequent legislation orders.

Resignation of Lord Hastings. The closing years o brilliant administration of Lord Hastings were darkened fo personally by the censure passed by the home authorities indiscreet indulgence to the banking house of Palmer and which had acquired an undue and corrupt control over the N government, similar to that exercised by Paul Benfield ov Nawāb of the Carnatic in an earlier generation. The Gov general permitted himself to be influenced by the fact that the partners was married to a ward of his, a young lady Lord Hastings regarded as a daughter. The Governor-g who left India poorer than when he came out, was abs cleared of any corrupt motive, but was so distressed by th tures on his indiscretion that he sent home his resignation i He made over charge on January 1, 1823, to Mr. John Ada senior member of council,[2] after nine and a quarter y unremitting labour. The directors passed cordial votes of and granted him at different times sums amounting to In 1824 he became Governor of Malta, and on November he died at sea off Naples.

Mr. Adam. The administration of Mr. Adam for seven until he was relieved by Lord Amherst in August 1823, is bered only for his expulsion from India of Mr. James Silk B ham, the able editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, who offe authorities by the freedom of his criticisms on official per doings. The incident offers a convenient opportunity for briefly the history of journalism in India from the days of Hastings to the present time.[3]

History of the Indian press. The first Indian p printed in English was Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, which stormy course in January 1780 and was suppressed earl The editor spent a long time in jail on account of the published on Mrs. Hastings and various people. Hick was succeeded by the *Indian Gazette* and several other

[1] *I. G.* (1908), viii. 294.

[2] Thornton calls him 'second member', the Governor-general first.

[3] The principal, although not the sole authority, is Mal entitled 'Free Press' in *Political History*, vol. ii, 1826. He that Mr. Adam was 'one of the most popular men in India', countrymen and with Indians. Hickey's name is sometimes

Cornwallis found it necessary in 1791 to order the deportation another editor. The right of the Governor-general to inflict penalty having been affirmed after a long discussion by the unanimous judgement of the Supreme Court, the editor in question actually deported in 1794.

Five years later, in 1799, a censorship was instituted and moved by the directors. In Lord Wellesley's time, when French privateers were active and the free publication of shipping news observed to guide them in their depredations, severe restric- on the newspapers were enforced as being necessary for the safety. Lord Minto, influenced by the same reasons, main- a vigilant control over the press, and formulated a revised of regulations for the censorship in 1813.

Lord Hastings, in 1817, while recognizing the necessity for revision, preferred to exercise it through rules prohibiting the tion of certain matters; and therefore abolished the censor- The Marquess had no objection to fair, honest criticism, ing, as he said, that

salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most to look to the control of public scrutiny: while conscious of rectitude, authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general

were directed against the abuse of liberty.

James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, by him in 1818, took full advantage of the liberal opinions Hastings, and commented boldly on public measures. indulged in sarcastic comments on high officials. Mr. Adam, not agree with Lord Hastings on the subject, and was by Buckingham's articles, required every printer of paper to take out a licence. When that measure failed to the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, Mr. Adam deported that proceeding gave rise to acute controversy. Bucking- arrival in London, was compensated for his losses by subscription raised among his friends. Some years later parliament as member for Sheffield, and afterwards a pension of £200 a year from the East India Company. strous life ended in 1855.[1] Lord William Bentinck while avowing the conviction that it is 'necessary for safety that the press in India should be kept under the control', allowed great freedom in practice. sor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, in September 1835, removed ions, incurring thereby the wrath of the directors. From until 1878, when Lord Lytton's government imposed on *vernacular* papers, the Indian press continued to ties for offences against the ordinary law. Lord Lytton's

strange career of Buckingham, who was a voluminous author, ham, *Men Whom India has Known*[2], 1874. His *Autobiography* mately remained unfinished, and does not deal with the ing part of his life.

measure was repealed by his successor, Lord Ripon. The outb
of atrocious political crime, much of which was traced dir
to the instigation of newspaper articles, constrained the go
ment of India to pass a restrictive Press Act in 1908 and a
stringent one in 1910.

During the agony of the nations in the Great War since
paramount regard for the public safety has forced even th
democracies of England and America to endure restriction
newspaper publication which would have been regarded as in
able at any other time. No theories about natural liberty c
allowed to override the requirements of the defence of the rea

Vernacular press. No independent Hindu or Muhamm
government in India ever made any use of the printing-
Excluding the excessively rare publications issued by th
Jesuit presses on the western coast, and at a later date by m
aries in the south, the first vernacular work printed in Indi
Halhed's Bengālī grammar, issued in 1778. The earliest B
weekly newspaper, the *Samachar Darpan*, appeared in 18
Serampore under the editorship of the famous missionary
historian, John Clark Marshman, with the cordial appro
the Marquess of Hastings. It is needless to dilate on the
modern development of the Indian newspaper press both in E
and in various vernacular languages. The early papers w
in English circulated only among the small European popu
Their modern successors have access to a large Indian publ

Burmese war. The war with Burma, which lasted for
two years, from March 1824 to February 1826, was the pr
event of Lord Amherst's short administration. The ope
were originally purely defensive on the British side, the Gov
general's declaration of war having been forced by def
Burmese acts of aggression, and the avowal by the Burme
of its intention to take both Chittagong and Calcutta.

Origin of the war. Bodoahprā, the ferocious king of B
who had a long and generally victorious reign of thirty-seven
died in 1819, and was succeeded by his grandson Hpa
The Burmese having conquered Arakan in 1784, multit
Arakanese refugees crossed into British territory, and com
stirred up trouble by conflicts with the Burmese.

In 1813 the Burman troops occupied Manipur, and in 1
Assam was annexed to the Burmese Empire. An incurs
Kāchār (Cachar) at the beginning of 1824 actually brou
a fight with the Company's troops. Some months ear
Burmese had forcibly occupied an island (Shuparu, or
on the Chittagong frontier well within British territory,
killed some sepoys. In January 1824 the best Burmese
known by his title of Mahā Bandūla, was sent in com
a considerable army with orders to expel the British from
The court of Ava, intoxicated by its numerous military
against neighbours, believed its army to be invincible
profound ignorance of all the facts, regarded the white

with ineffable contempt. Mahā Bandūla felt no doubts about the
ess of his proposed invasion of Bengal, and was provided with
ion letters for the Governor-general.

Missions to Burma. The Calcutta government had made
sistent efforts to establish friendly relations with the Burmese
rt. Lt.-Col. Symes had been sent on a mission by Sir John
re as early as 1795. He was sent again in 1802.[1] Captain
ning followed him in 1803 and once more in 1811–12. All
missions were unsuccessful, and the envoys were invariably
ected to studied insult. The king intrigued with the Pēshwā
817. Lord Hastings ignored the provocations offered by the
rnment of Ava, having his hands more than full with the affairs
India. But the attack on British territory and the projected
sion of Bengal early in 1824 could not be ignored, and neces-
led to war.

Amherst's policy. Lord Amherst's government aimed
arily at turning the Burmese out of Assam, Manipur, and
ar. The Governor-general at first did not intend to invade
an or Burma through the difficult mountain country—his
ect was to secure the Bengal frontier. Without going into the
ils of the operations by land, which included some failures,
suffice to say that all the primary objectives of the war
re attained by June 1825, when Manipur was occupied by
mpany's troops. The Burmese had evacuated Kāchār and
driven from Assam earlier in that year. Those successes were
t about indirectly by the British attack on Rangoon and
rawaddy (Irāwadī) valley, which became the principal
re of the war. Mahā Bandūla was recalled to meet the invasion
the sea, and the Company's forces had thus a comparatively
sk in clearing the enemy out of Assam and the other hill
on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal.

attempted invasion of Arakan by land failed, owing to terrible
among the troops.

Barrackpore mutiny. The preparations for that unlucky
dition in October 1824 led to a painful incident, the mutiny
47th Native Infantry and a few other troops stationed at
pore, the Governor-general's country seat on the Hooghly
miles above Calcutta. The sepoys, who dreaded the loss
if they should be sent by sea, also had a real material
owing to the impossibility of obtaining land transport,
had to be provided by the men themselves under the rules
force. As usual the genuine grievance was made the
for raising the cry of religion in danger. The 47th, when
refused to obey the orders to either march or ground
remained sullenly, although passively, defiant. A battery
foot artillery, supported by two British regiments, then
ke and killed many. Others were subsequently tried and

[1] Michael Symes, *Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava*, published
and reprinted with additions in Constable's Miscellany, 2 vols.
Edinburgh, 1831.

hanged, and the number of the regiment was removed from
Army List. The business was not well managed by the mili
authorities. The tragedy apparently might have been av
by judicious handling of the men, without sacrifice of indispen
discipline.

Origin of the Rangoon expedition. The expedition to Ran
was undertaken on the advice of Captain Canning, who had
one of the envoys to Burma and was supposed to know the cou
Lord Amherst was induced to believe that the occupation o
port would frighten the king into submission. The disappoint
of that ill-founded expectation led to a costly war, involving
sacrifice of life and treasure. The expedition originally wa
designed to advance into the interior, and in consequen
arrangements had been made for transport, which was sup
to be available locally if it should be needed. As a matter o
none was to be had.

The campaign. The fleet assembled at Port Cornwall
the Andaman Islands carrying troops to the number of
11,500 under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell
Rangoon was occupied in May 1824 without serious resi
The trouble began in the following month, when the rains
and the army of occupation suffered terribly from disea
putrid food. The town had been evacuated of its inhab
and, as the military secretary to the commander writes,

'the plains, for many miles around us, were swept of their
the rivers were unprovided with one friendly canoe; the towns and
were deserted, and every man beyond our posts [was] in arms agai

The weakened force of the invaders endured bravely the
of its situation, and fought many actions against the en
multitudes of Burmese. The end of October, when th
ceased, brought some relief in comfort, but the sudden ch
temperature aggravated the sickness and mortality, whic
greater in October than in any previous month. In No
the health of the troops improved; reinforcements were re
and a fleet of boats was being built. Tenasserim and Pe
occupied by detachments.

At the beginning of December the whole army from A
under the command of Mahā Bandūla was entrenched
positions opposite the British force. On the 6th of that m
was defeated and compelled to retire to Donabew (Da
about sixty miles above Rangoon. The Burmese general en
himself in his new position with remarkable skill, cons
a formidable stockade more than a mile long, and com
huge teak beams 'from fifteen to seventeen feet high
firmly into the earth, and placed as closely as possible
other', supported in the rear by brick ramparts and provi
many guns of poor quality.

The first attack on the stockade was repulsed. On April
a lucky accident gave the British force possession of th
A rocket having killed Mahā Bandūla, the whole garrison

dispersed during the night, abandoning everything, including
welcome store of grain. The enemy also evacuated the important
town of Prome which was occupied on April 4, and used as a com-
fortable and healthy cantonment for the expeditionary force during
the rainy season.

When operations were resumed early in December, the British
troops, after fighting several actions with success, quickly reached



BANDŪLA'S ARMED OBSERVATION POST.

Ava, only four marches from the capital, on February 22,
Two days later the Burmese government accepted the terms
offered by the victors.

Treaty of Yandabo. The treaty of Yandabo provided for the
payment of a crore of rupees, or one million pounds sterling;
as for the cession of Assam, Arakan, and the coast of
Tenasserim, including the portion of the province of Martaban lying
east of the Salween river. The king of Burma further agreed to
withdraw from all interference in Kāchār (Cachar), Jaintia, and
Manipur. A quarter of the indemnity was paid at once, and a

NIRMAL COIMBATORE

second quarter towards the end of the year, whereupon the Bri
evacuated Rangoon. The Burmese retained Pegu, inclu
Rangoon, until the next war. A commercial treaty of an un
factory kind was arranged subsequently, and the appointme
a resident British envoy was accepted. But until 1830 no
officer was appointed. From that date Colonel Burney held
appointment for seven years, discharging his difficult duties
tact and success.[1] King Hpagyīdoa sank into a state of melanc
and had to be kept in strict seclusion. He was deposed qu
by his brother in 1837, and allowed to end his days in pe
a prisoner, well treated.

The Burmese version. The Burmese official account o
war, as recorded in the *Royal Chronicle*, deserves quotation

'In the years 1186 and 1187 [of the Burmese era], the *Kula p*
white strangers of the west, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the
Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and
permitted to advance as far as Yandaboo; for the King, from
of piety and regard to life, made no preparation whatever to oppo
The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise, so
the time they reached Yandaboo their resources were exhausted, an
were in great distress. They then petitioned the King, who in his cl
and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expen
and ordered them out of the country.'[2]

Criticism. The errors in the planning and execution
operations against the Burmese caused much needless wa
life and treasure.[3] The actual fighting was nearly all done
European troops, the commander of the expedition, Sir Ar
Campbell, having little confidence in the native army
Madras regiments showed fortitude under privation, but, ac
to Lord William Bentinck, 'entirely failed' in attac
employed without European support. Notwithstanding th
of the soldiers, the Rangoon expedition probably would ha
a failure but for the help sent by Sir Thomas Munro, the co
Governor of Madras. Lord Amherst was not qualified
by natural ability or by training to direct a war and Sir Ar
Campbell's strategy was open to criticism.

The Burmese soldier fought well, considering that, as
observes, he 'fought under conditions which rendered
impossible'. The army was composed mainly of un

[1] Burney, a Malay and Pālī scholar, published works on
subjects.

[2] Lawrie, p. 60. The passage is of interest as indicating th
official documents in many cases when the means of checking th
ments do not exist.

[3] Munro wrote in April 1826:

'There has been no want of energy or decision at any time in
the enemy; but there has certainly been a great want of
arrangements and combinations by which the movements of an
facilitated, and its success rendered more certain.' Munro
recognize the difficulties, and to give Lord Amherst credit for
(Gleig, op. cit., ii. 279).

ants, badly armed. The home-made gunpowder was defecti
the artillery consisted of 'mostly old ship-guns of diver
ibre, and some of them two hundred or more years old'. Th
editionary force, if it had been properly directed and equipped,
uld have made short work of the resistance. The Burmese
played extraordinary skill in the construction of stockades,
rior even to those of the Nepalese. A competent writer
ares that 'the position and defences at Donoobew, as a field-
, would have done credit to the most scientific engineer'.

Fall of Bhurtpore. The mishaps during the earlier stages of
Burmese war excited feelings of unrest throughout India, as
ar failures in the first Nepalese campaign had done in the
of Lord Hastings. Durjan Sāl, cousin of the child Rājā of
rtpore, who had been enthroned with the approval of Sir David
dony, the Resident at Delhi, ventured to dispute the succession
principality and proclaimed himself as Rājā. The Resident
moved troops to enforce the decision of the agent of the
government; but Lord Amherst, then anxious about
success in Burma, denounced his action as premature, and
censorious comments which provoked the resignation of
eran, who was replaced by Sir Charles Metcalfe. Sir David
dony, who was old and in bad health, died a few months
Sir Charles Metcalfe soon succeeded in persuading the Gover-
eral that the paramount power could not allow itself to
ated by a petty princeling. The fortress was besieged by
mbermere, the commander-in-chief, with an adequate
and a suitable train of heavy artillery. The fortifications were
ted in January 1826 by the explosion of a huge mine, and the
of Lord Lake twenty years earlier were amply avenged. The
the achievement was dimmed by the excessive rapacity
money displayed by Lord Combermere.[1]

Resignation of Lord Amherst. No other political event
the administration of Lord Amherst calls for notice. The
general resigned owing to domestic reasons, and quitted
March 1828, making over charge to Mr. Bayley, the senior
of council. Lord Amherst was not intellectually fit for
office, and ought not to have been appointed. Parliament,
accustomed generosity, pardoned his errors, and awarded
dial thanks for the final success of the operations against
rtpore.

Steamships. The Burmese war offered the first opportunity
employment of steamships in war in the Indian seas.
vessel named the *Diana* rendered valuable service at
A little later, in April 1827, Sir Thomas Munro and

gives full particulars of the siege, with a reference to Capt.
Narrative of the Siege and Capture of Bhurtpore (4to London,
is in the India Office Library. For the rapacity see Metcalfe's
Marshman, ii. 409.

William Bentinck observed that 'if five powerful steamers had

a vast crowd of all classes assembled on the Madras beach
see the *Enterprize* steam-vessel manœuvre for the gratifica
of the public '. The incident serves as a reminder of the ext
rapidity with which scientific invention had advanced within
space of a hundred years. The moralist, unhappily, ca
discern a corresponding advance in human nature.

CHRONOLOGY

First Bengālī newspaper . . . . . .
Deposition of Rāo of Cutch ; earthquakes ; occupation of Singapore ;
Nawāb-Vizier of Oudh takes the title of king . . .
Sir Thomas Munro Governor of Madras . . . .
Regulation VII . . . . . .
Departure of Lord Hastings ; Mr. Adam acting Governor-general ;
deportation of Mr. Buckingham ; Lord Amherst Governor-
general . . . . . .
War with Burma . . . . . .
Barrackpore mutiny . . . . . .
Fall of Bhurtpore ; treaty of Yandabo . . . .
Resignation of Lord Amherst ; Mr. Bayley acting Governor-general

Authorities

The books cited are additional to those named in the foot-notes
the last preceding chapter.

For Singapore : Oxford Survey of the British Empire (Oxford
vol. ii ; A. T. Ritchie and R. Evans, *Lord Amherst* (R. I.,
rather unsatisfactory book.

For the Burmese War : Phayre, *History of Burma* (1883), cha
clearest chronicle ; Major Snodgrass, *Narrative of the Burm*
(London, Murray, 1827), a short and unpretentious contemporary
account ; Colonel W. E. B. Laurie, *Our Burmese Wars* (Lond
1880), Part I, a diffuse work ; and correspondence of Sir T. M
Gleig, *Life* [2], vol. ii. The life of Sir Thomas Munro has been al
by Bradshaw (R. I., 1894), and by Arbuthnot, 1881. I have
No critical military history of the war seems to exist.[1] *The N*
a Journey, &c., by Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta fro
1826, was published soon after his death in the latter year, and
through several editions. It contains many interesting observ
the India of Lord Amherst's time.

then been at our command to bring up in quick succession all
reinforcements and supplies, the war would probably have
in a few months, and many millions of treasure, many thousands
and extraordinary misery and sickness would have been spared
Lord William Bentinck (in R. I.), p. 199).

[1] Professor Ramsay Muir observes that ' there is probably
the history of British India upon which less material is easily
than the first Burmese war. No documented life of Lord A
been published, and the printed documents on the war are very be

CHAPTER 2

William Cavendish-Bentinck ; reforms ; relations with native states ; abolition of suttee ; suppression of thuggee ; renewal of charter ; Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck. The second son of the 3rd Duke of Portland was William, known by the courtesy of Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck, and commonly called William Bentinck. He had been Governor of Madras at an unusually early age, and, having been recalled on account of the Vellore mutiny, had been variously employed since that event. He had admitted the justice of the recall, and made no secret of his intense desire for compensation by appointment as Governor-general. He even went so far as to violate propriety by applying for the office to the Marquess of Hastings, resigned. On that occasion Lord Amherst was appointed, but in 1827 the Duke consented to grant William Bentinck's wish and appointed him. He did not actually take charge until July 1828, Mr. Butterworth Bayley acting meantime as Governor-general. Nothing especially worthy of record occurred during his tenure of power, but some of the reforms subsequently distinguished the term of office of Lord William Bentinck were prepared by the Bayley administration. The new Governor-general was almost fifty-four years of age when he entered upon his career as ruler of India.



LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH-BENTINCK.

On his return from India in 1835 he declined the offer of a peerage, preferring to share in active political life as a member of the House of Commons.[1] In 1837 he was elected as a Liberal

[1] Younger sons of a British peer are commoners in law and eligible for the House of Commons. The eldest son of a peer is accorded by courtesy the use of the second territorial title held by his father. The eldest son of a Duke are called Lord without any territorial title.

member for the city of Glasgow. He died on June 17, 183[illegible] the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Diverse opinions. While the dictum of the poet that

> 'peace hath her victories
> No less than those of war'

may pass unchallenged as a statement of fact, it is unquestio[illegible] that the glories of the successful warrior arouse interest to a d[illegible] with which the legislation of the domestic reformer cannot pr[illegible] to compete. The administration of Lord William Bentinc[illegible] almost seven years from July 1828 to March 1835, with n[illegible] to show which can be described as a victory of war, has to its[illegible] many achievements justly entitled to be called victories of [illegible] and important enough to earn for their author a high place a[illegible] the rulers of India. Two of those achievements—the aboli[illegible] suttee and the suppression of thuggee—may even be [illegible] 'renowned', and so justify the revised and more familiar r[illegible] of Milton's lines. The almost exclusively peaceful career o[illegible] William Bentinck in India has given occasion for strangely div[illegible] appreciations of the merits and demerits of his work: r[illegible] from the vitriolic denunciation of Thornton, through the g[illegible] commendation of Wilson, and the almost unqualified p[illegible] Marshman, to the exuberant eulogy of Macaulay, his co[illegible] and brother Whig. Thornton, constrained to admit that [illegible] of the Governor-general, the abolition of suttee, will be '[illegible] eternal honour', can find nothing else deserving of appr[illegible] the history of seven years, and concludes his inadequate [illegible] of the facts by the surprising observations:

> 'The best and brightest of his deeds has been reserved to close th[illegible] of Lord William Bentinck's administration. It remains only to [illegible] he quitted India in May 1835, having held the office of Governo[illegible] somewhat longer than the ordinary period; but having done l[illegible] interest of India and for his own reputation than any who had [illegible] his place since the commencement of the nineteenth century, [illegible] single exception of Sir George Barlow.'

A few lines above that passage we find the remarkable al[illegible] that

> 'but for the indulgence of similar extravagance in a variety of [illegible] administration of Lord William Bentinck would appear almost [illegible] and were all record of it obliterated posterity would scarcely [illegible] deficiency, while it is certain they would have little reason to reg[illegible]

Wilson held that

> 'a dispassionate retrospect of the results of his government will [illegible] Lord William Bentinck an honourable place amongst the stat[illegible] have been intrusted with the delegated sovereignty over the Brit[illegible] in the East'.

Marshman, with greater warmth, affirms that

> 'his administration marks the most memorable period of im[illegible] between the days of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Dalhousie [illegible] a salient point in the history of Indian reform . . . with the [illegible]

[illegible] mind, he discovered the weak points of our system of administra-[illegible] which was becoming effete under the withering influence of routine, [illegible] remedies he applied went to the root of the disease. He infused [illegible] blood into our institutions, and started them upon a new career of [illegible] and efficiency . . . the impulse of his genius, which became the [illegible] of a long succession of improvements.'

The climax of eulogy is attained in the inscription composed [illegible] Macaulay:

> This statue is erected to William Cavendish-Bentinck, who during [illegible] years ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence; [illegible] placed at the head of a great empire, never laid aside the simplicity [illegible] moderation of a private citizen; who infused into Oriental despotism [illegible] the spirit of British freedom; who never forgot that the end of government [illegible] is the welfare of the governed; who abolished cruel rites, who effaced [illegible] debasing distinctions; who allowed liberty to the expression of public [illegible] opinion, whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual [illegible] state of the Government committed to his charge;—this monument was [illegible] erected by men who, differing from each other in race, in manners, in [illegible] language, and in religion, cherish, with equal veneration and gratitude, [illegible] the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration.'

[illegible] doings of a man whose character could evoke judgements [illegible] contradictory as those cited merit narration and consideration.

Financial economies. The undoubted unpopularity of Lord [illegible] Bentinck with the members of the European services, [illegible] civil and military, was primarily due to the strictness with which [illegible] he enforced financial economies at the beginning of his administra-[illegible] tion. The directors, frightened by the heavy cost of the Burmese [illegible] war, insisted on retrenchment, and issued peremptory orders to [illegible] abolish the 'half-batta', or field allowances still enjoyed by [illegible] the officers of their army. Lord William Bentinck, who simply [illegible] carried out the orders from home, was not in any way responsible [illegible] for them, although the angry sufferers vented their indignation [illegible] upon him. The allowances of the Civil Service, which could better [illegible] afford it, were also diminished.

Confidential reports. The Governor-general further irritated [illegible] the service by his suspicious attitude and inquisitorial proceedings, [illegible] described by Thornton in these bitter words:

> [illegible] pretence of improving the character of the civil service and [illegible] providing for the advancement of merit, he sought to establish a system [illegible] of espionage, better suited to the bureau of the holy office of [illegible] Venice than to the closet of a statesman anxious to be regarded [illegible] as the representative of all that was liberal. Every superior officer, court, [illegible] and collector was required to make periodical reports on the character and [illegible] conduct of every covenanted servant employed in a subordinate capacity. [illegible] Such was his lordship's projects, this plan met neither with approbation [illegible] nor support, and it was soon abolished.'

Reforms in native army. In 1833 Lord William Bentinck [illegible] followed the example of Lord Cornwallis and the Marquess of [illegible] Hastings by taking on himself the office of commander-in-chief. [illegible] In this capacity he issued two important orders affecting the [illegible] army, one giving the sepoys enhanced rates of pay after

long service, and the other abolishing the punishment of flog
Both measures were good in themselves, but the fatal obje
to the second one was that flogging was retained as a penalt
the European king's troops. Thus an 'odious distinction
Sleeman observes, was created, subjecting the white man
member and support of the ruling race, to a grave personal indi
from which his dark-skinned comrade in arms was exempt.
consideration could justify such a distinction, and the ord
the subject must be counted as one of the errors of Lord W
Bentinck, which in large measure explains and justifies h
popularity with the European services.[1] Subsequently, ca
the administration of Sir Henry Hardinge, courts-martial
again empowered to inflict corporal punishment not exc
fifty lashes on soldiers of the native army, but the power ha
exercised very rarely.

In the whole British army the penalty of flogging in t
peace was prohibited in April 1868, by an amendment
Mutiny Act. It was completely abolished by the Army Act o

Relations with Native States. The action of Lord W
Bentinck's government in its dealings with the Native o
tected States and with tribal chiefs cannot be unre
commended, although the blame for the vacillating and
dictory policy pursued may be held to rest upon the auth
in England more than upon the Governor-general. The di
under the delusion that everything had been settled b
Hastings, quickly relapsed into their old timidity, and re
forbade any sort of interference with Rājās and chiefs
William Bentinck, who set great store upon obedience
instructions, came out steeped in the notion that the par
power could afford to allow disorder in the Native State
facts convinced him in course of time and against his w
a certain amount of interference was unavoidable, and co
him in the end to interpose with more force than would ha
needed at an earlier stage of the troubles induced by the de
of duty on the part of the paramount power.

An admirable review of the situation in each state, fu
copious details, may be found in Book III, chapter viii of
History, which proves conclusively the wide extent of
wrought by a timorous, selfish policy aiming at a retu
ignoble ideal of Sir George Barlow. In Oudh the reforming
Hakīm Mehdi, was deserted by the British government, an
from the kingdom.[2] The Nizam's dominions were permitt
into disorder; support to the infant Holkar was refu
a like result; and dangerous quarrels were allowed to

[1] An interesting discussion of the subject will be found
Rambles and Recollections, chap. 76, ed. V. A. Smith, Oxford
Press, 1915. That book, published in 1844, was written some
The remarks on flogging were printed in a pamphlet dated 18

[2] See article on 'Hakīm Mehdi' by Prof. S. B. Smith in
i. 168–84.

allior. The Gaikwār assumed an attitude of open hostility.
Rājpūt States were almost encouraged to engage in civil war;
improvements in Udaipur were checked, and the prosperity
the state created by Tod and his fellow labourers rapidly
ined; at Jaipur, the policy of the Governor-general,
exhibiting the extremes of interference and of abstinence from
rence, terminated in a catastrophe which was wholly unprecedented,
which was followed by a still closer and more authoritative connexion'.

catastrophe' alluded to was the furious attack made on the
ish officers stationed at the local court in June 1835, shortly
the departure of Lord William Bentinck, but due to his
ating policy. The Resident was severely wounded, and
Blake, his assistant, was killed.[1] The crime was traced to
Rām, the ex-minister, and a knot of Jain bankers, who sup-
d his cause in the tortuous politics of the state.
subject might be developed at length, but what has been
fices to show that the policy of Lord William Bentinck
entitled to indiscriminate eulogy, and that his failure to
the principles of Wellesley and the Marquess of Hastings
its inevitable effects.[2]
ore. At times his action in regard to the Protected States
rous enough. In 1831 the misgovernment of the Rājā of
provoked a rebellion, which induced the Governor-general
under a clause in the treaty of 1799, and to place the
nder British administration. That arrangement lasted for
rs until 1881, when Lord Ripon felt justified in effecting
olition of Mysore' to a young Mahārājā, who had been
trained. Happily the experiment proved successful;
Mahārājā did his duty, and the state is still admirably adminis-

ll annexations. Three small annexations were effected,
the north-eastern frontier, and one in the extreme south.
ntia Parganas to the north-east of Sylhet were annexed
because the Rājā refused to surrender men who had
d British subjects and sacrificed them to the goddess

the Rājā of the neighbouring territory of Kāchār (Cachar)
1830, his dominions lapsed to the British government under
isions of a treaty made a few years before, and without
n from the inhabitants. The country is now prosperous
cultivated, producing valuable crops of rice and tea.
The annexation of Coorg (Kodagu) in 1834 was forced

man, *Rambles*, ed. V. A. Smith, 1915, pp. 503, 504.
Durand '"often said—and it was an opinion shared by
ng natives—that the surest way of extinguishing native states
e from all interference in their affairs. I see that a late writer
rly Review* quotes a remark to the same effect made by the
Minister, Sir Madava Rao; "If left to themselves they will
ss out"' (editor's note in Durand, *The First Afghan War*
).

on the government by the outrageous conduct of Vīra Rājā, practised the most bloodthirsty tyranny. He cherished in animosity against the English, in spite of the fact that they rescued his country from the savage cruelty of Haidar Ali Tippoo ; he closed his frontiers, permitting nobody to leave, admitting nobody who declined to declare himself an enemy the English ; he murdered all his male relatives and many female, often with his own hands. After his surrender seven bodies, dug up from a pit in the jungle, comprised the remains the Rājā's aunt, the child of his sister, and the brother of his band, with others. His adherents contrived a plot to seize him lore and overthrow the Company's government. All endeavours to bring the furious chief to reason having failed, troops in columns were sent into his country. After a few days, and considerable fighting, they occupied Mercāra the capital,[1] and Rājā surrendered. No male relative having survived, and it obviously useless to set up a stranger as Rājā, the country annexed and administered in subordination to Mysore. The province is now governed by a commissioner, under the supervision of the resident at Bangalore (Mysore), and the government India. For some years after 1865 coffee-planting was profitable but the industry has since declined. Rice is the main crop.

Coorg is a strange land, inhabited by queer tribes. Their religion is the worship of ancestors and demons, slightly tinged with a colouring introduced by domiciled Brahmans. The absence true Hindu feeling is shown by the fact that the brown monkey is eaten and regarded as a great delicacy.

The Rājā and his family. The criminal Rājā was treated with excessive lenity. He was deported first to Vellore and then to Benares, and in 1852 was granted by Lord Dalhousie leave visit England with his favourite daughter, then ten years old. He died in London about 1863. The curious and tragic story to the family history is told briefly in the foot-note.[2] It is often asserted that Vīra Rājā must have been insane, but the explanation of his ferocity does not seem to be necessary. His father, Linga Rājā, was nearly as bad, and governed

[1] Madhukaira of Wilson. The correct form is said to be Mahadeopura, meaning 'clean town'. (*I. G.*).

[2] The princess having been brought up as a Christian by her own desire, was baptized by the name of Victoria in 1852, the Queen being godmother. The royal favour encouraged the Rājā to claim seven lakhs of rupees from the East India Company, but he lost his suit after a trial lasting several years. In 1860 the princess married Col. John Cameron (Madras Army), dying in 1864. Their daughter, according to Lady Constance Russell (*N. & Qu.*, Nov., 1919, p. 296), married Captain H. [illegible] in 1882. According to *I. G.* (1908, *s. v.* Coorg), as followed in my first edition, the marriage was unhappy and the daughter disappeared with a lover. Col. Campbell's son told me that his father vanished from the Junior Club. Lady Constance substitutes 'his lodging in Jermyn Street, carrying a small hand-bag', supposed to contain his wife's jewels, also disappeared. The Rājā was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery.

principles. Vīra Rājendra, the elder brother of Linga, who was equally ferocious, appears to have been really a maniac at times.

Anti-Russian policy. The ill-conceived policy, which brought about the first Afghan war and the annexation of Sind a few years later, was initiated by the Home Government in Lord William Bentinck's time. It was founded on an excessive fear of a Russian advance towards India by way of Herat and Kandahār. Negotiations with the Ameers of Sind were opened, nominally to secure commercial privileges on the waters of the Indus, then unexplored by Europeans, but in reality mainly directed to political objects. The Ameers, much against their will, were constrained to sign commercial treaties, stipulating among other things that the parties should never look with a covetous eye on the possessions of each other. In 1830–1 Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, acting under the instructions of Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, was sent up the Indus with a present of English horses for Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, who received his visitor with marked distinction. Later in the same year the Governor-general paid a highly ceremonial visit to the Mahārājā at Rūpar (Roopur) on the Sutlaj. The meeting resulted in 'a treaty of perpetual friendship with the great Sikh ruler, who agreed in his turn to encourage trade along the Sutlej and upper Indus, and to respect the territories of the British frontier.' Shāh Shujā, the Afghan prince who lived in exile at Ludiāna, the British frontier station, then made an attempt to recover the throne of Afghanistan from Dōst Muhammad, his successful possession. Shāh Shujā, notwithstanding the help given by Ranjit Singh and the benevolent neutrality of the government of India, suffered a total defeat, and was obliged to return to exile.

Malay peninsula. Lord William Bentinck took much pains to make himself personally acquainted with the local conditions of the immense territories under his government, and travelled almost continually. In 1829 he visited Malacca and the neighbouring settlements, where he effected certain administrative changes. The connexion of the settlements with Bengal lasted, as already noted, until 1867. The Governor-general appreciated the importance of Singapore, which was made the capital, instead of Malacca, in 1830.

Steam navigation. He was a man of his age, with a mind open to the ideas of reform then in the air, and was ready to recognize the achievements of applied science. The subject of communication by means of steamships especially interested him. The first steamship plying regularly in Great Britain had appeared on the Clyde in 1812 ; and, as has been seen, a small vessel of the Company's rendered valuable service at Rangoon in 1824. Lord William quickly saw the importance of utilizing the novel form of power both on the Indian rivers and for the abridgement of

[illegible], *Lord Auckland*, p. 41 ; but the text is not quoted.