NIRMALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
5476
-5476
10,102
A COLLEGE LIBRARY COIMBATORE

FROM THE PREFACE

his consort at the close of 1911 seems to be the best stopping-pl for the narrative. The years since that event have been pass for the most part under the shadow of the Great War, with whi history cannot yet dare to meddle. A bare list of some of th happenings during those terrible years is appended.

The spelling of Asiatic words and names follows the principle observed in my work on Akbar, with, perhaps, a slight further indulgence in popular literary forms. The only diacritical mark used as a general rule is that placed over long vowels, and intended as a guide to the approximate pronunciation. Consonants are t be pronounced as in English. Vowels usually have the Italian sounds, so that *Mīr* is to be read as 'Meer' and *Mūl-* as 'Mool-' Short *a* with stress is pronounced like *u* in 'but', and whe without stress as an indistinct vowel like the *A* in 'America' The name *Akbar* consequently is pronounced 'Ukbar' or 'Ukber' No simpler system is practicable, for we cannot revert to barbarisms of the old books.

Much research and care have been devoted to the collection an reproduction of numerous illustrations.

My acknowledgements are due to the Secretary of State f India for general liberty to use illustrations in official publica tions, . . . and to K. Parbhkar, Esq., for the loan of an engraving Mahadaji Sindia. A few coins have been cop ied from the *Journa and Proceedings of the Asiatic So ety of Bengal*, by permission. . . .

NOTE.—As the book probably w be used in colleges, it seems well t say that the two sections of ll tion are not intended f junior students, who may leave unread.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SECTION		PAGE
1.	The geographical foundation; diversity in unity and unity in diversity; the scenes and periods of the story; sea-power; forms of government; the history of thought.	i
2.	The Sources, or the Original Authorities	xiv

THE BRITISH PERIOD

BOOK VII. THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO 1818

CHAP.		
I.	The South; French and English; Haidar Ali and Mysore. . . .	469
II.	Bengal affairs; Sirajud-daulah; battles of Plassey and Buxar; the 'double government'; famine of 1770	487
III.	Warren Hastings as governor of Bengal, 1772–4; the Rohilla War; the Regulating Act	510
IV.	Warren Hastings as Governor-General; the policy and character of Hastings; Sir John Macpherson	523
V.	Lord Cornwallis; reforms; the third Mysore War; the 'permanent settlement'; Sir John Shore, a man of peace	556
VI.	Lord Wellesley; the fourth and last Mysore War; annexations; treaty of Bassein and the second Marāthā War; policy and achievement .	578
VII.	Reaction; peace at any price policy of Lord Cornwallis in his second administration and of Sir George Barlow; Lord Minto's strong foreign and cautious internal policy	607
VIII.	The Marquess of Hastings; Nepalese, Pindārī, and Marāthā wars; establishment of British supremacy in 1818	620

BOOK VIII. THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM 1819 TO 1858

I.	The Marquess of Hastings continued: reconstruction and internal reforms; Mr. Adam and the press; Lord Amherst; the first Burmese War	637

CONTENTS

CHAP.

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

3. Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough; the first Afghan War; annexation of Sind; affairs of Gwālior; abolition of slavery . .

4. Sir Henry (Lord) Hardinge; first Sikh War; treaties of Lahore; Lord Dalhousie; second Sikh War; second Burmese War; annexations; reforms . . . . . .

5. Lord Canning; the Mutiny; the Queen's Proclamation and the passing of the East India Company . . . . . .

BOOK IX. INDIA UNDER THE CROWN; THE VICEROYS FROM 1858 TO 1911

1. Lord Canning continued; reconstruction; Lord Elgin I; Lord Lawrence; Lord Mayo; and Lord Northbrook; from 1858 to 1876, a period of almost unbroken peace . . . . . .

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

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

APPENDIXES

A. Some events from 1912 to 1918 specially concerning India and the Indian Army . . . . . .
B. East India Company . . . . . .
C. Governors-general and Viceroys . . . . . .

INDEX

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
...een Elizabeth .	*Frontispiece*
...Bourdonnais . . .	472
...wab Muhammad Ali . .	473
...inger Lawrence . . .	474
...chinopoly Fort . . .	475
...tograph of Clive . . .	476
...pleix	477
...oria Fort	490
...ive	506
...arren Hastings (as a young ...an)	512
...r William Jones . . .	515
...r Philip Francis . . .	521
...r Elijah Impey . . .	530
...wālior Fort	534
...ount de Boigne . . .	536
...aidar Ali	544
...arren Hastings (in old age) .	549
...William Pitt the younger . .	552
...ord Cornwallis . . .	557
...ahādaji Sindia . . .	573
...r John Shore . . .	576
...r Arthur Wellesley . .	579
...apoleon	581
...eringapatam in 1792 . .	584
...ippoo Sultan . . .	585
...ānā Farnavis . . .	596
...aji Rāo Peshwa . . .	597
...ateway, Gāwilgarh . .	601
...hurtpore Fort . . .	604
Marquess Wellesley . . .	605
Lord Minto	613
Marquess of Hastings . .	624
A Nepalese stockade . .	632
Colonel Tod and his Jain Pundit	632
Murshīdābād half-rupee . .	641
Sir Thomas Munro . . .	645
Bandūla's armed observation post	651
Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck	655
Sir William Sleeman . .	668
Bālā Hissar, Kābul . . .	681
Mahārāja Ranjit Singh . .	692
Lord Dalhousie . . .	697
Sir Henry Lawrence . .	700
Lord Canning	711
The Residency, Lucknow (before the Mutiny) . . .	718
The well and Bibīghar, Cawnpore	719
Sir Jung Bahādur . . .	722
Bahadur Shah II . . .	724
East India House, 1858 . .	726
Sir John Lawrence . . .	738
Lord Mayo	743
Lord Lytton	747
Lord Dufferin	758
Council Chamber, Mandalay .	762
Lord Curzon of Kedleston .	769

MAPS AND PLANS

	PAGE
India, Physical	ii
Changed course of Sōn	v
North-western Physical Features	vi
North-western Passes and Countries	vii
Plan of the battle of Plassey (Rennell)	493
Map to illustrate Mysore history to 1799	588
Map to illustrate Lord Lake's Campaigns, 1804–6	603
French and British Islands in the Indian Ocean	616
Malay Peninsula, &c., 1914	618
Sind	676
Ranjit Singh's Dominions in 1839	691
The Burmese wars, 1826, 1852, 1885	703
Indian Empire, showing Political Divisions	*facing* 786

ABBREVIATIONS

A. C.—After Christ.
A. D.—Anno Domini.
Ain.—*Ain-i Akbari*, by Abu-l Fazl, transl. Blochmann and Jarrett.
B. M.—British Museum.
E. I. Co.—East India Company.
I. G.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907, 1908).
Ind. Ant.—*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1872 to date.
I. O.—India Office, London.
J. A. S. B.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
J. B. O. (*or J. B. & O.*) *Res. Soc.*—*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
J. P. H. S.—*Journal of the Panjab Historical Society.*
J. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
J. U. P. H. S.—*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.*
N. W. P.—North-Western Provinces.
R. I.—Rulers of India Series.
U. P.—United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

NOTE.—An index number above the title of a book indicates the edition, e.g., *Annals of Rural Bengal*[7] means the 7th edition of that work.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The relevant entries in the list of Additions and Corrections printed in the first edition of the whole work have now been incorporated with the text and notes.

The opportunity has been taken by the author to rectify sundry minute slips or errors, to insert a few additional references, and to modify the wording of three or four passages liable to misconstruction. The principal corrections of matters of fact will be found on pages xvi *note*, 488, 492, 551 *note*, 606, 617, 640, 767, and 781 *note* 1.

LA COLLEGE LIBRARY

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I

geographical foundation ; diversity in unity and unity in diversity ; he scenes and periods of the story ; sea-power ; forms of government ; he history of thought.

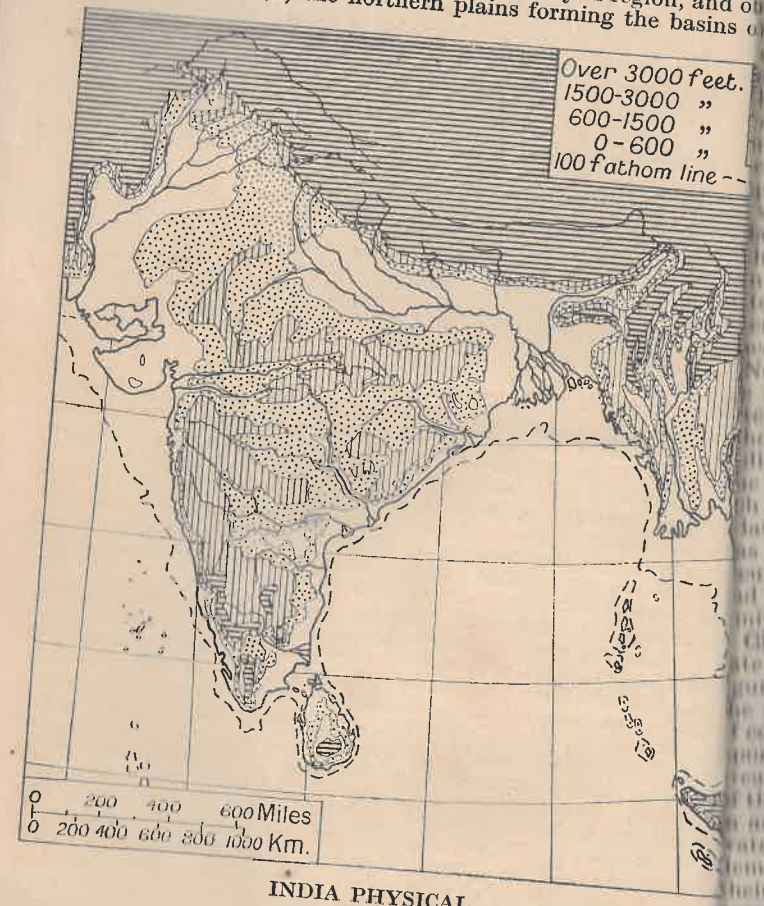
The geographical unit. The India of this book is almost clusively the geographical unit called by that name on the inary maps, bounded on the north, north-west, and north-east mountain ranges, and elsewhere by the sea. The extensive rmese territories, although now governed as part of the Indian pire, cannot be described as being part of India. Burma has separate history, rarely touching on that of India prior to the eteenth century. Similarly, Ceylon, although geologically fragment detached from the peninsula in relatively recent times, ways has had a distinct political existence, requiring separate torical treatment. The island is not now included in the Indian pire, and its affairs will not be discussed in this work, except identally. Certain portions of Balōchistan now administered controlled by the Indian Government lie beyond the limits of e geographical unit called India. Aden and sundry other outing dependencies of the Indian empire obviously are not parts of dia, and the happenings in those places rarely demand notice.

Vast extent of area. Formal, technical descriptions of the ographical and physical features of India may be found in many sily accessible books, and need not be reproduced here. But rtain geographical facts with a direct bearing on the history quire brief comment, because, as Richard Hakluyt truly observed ng ago, 'Geographie and Chronologie are the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left eye of all history.' The large tent of the area of India, which may be correctly designated as sub-continent, is a material geographical fact. The history of region so vast, bounded by a coast-line of about 3,400 miles, more or less, and a mountain barrier on the north some 1,600 iles in length, and inhabited by a population numbering nearly 00 millions, necessarily must be long and intricate. The detailed eatment suitable to the story of a small country cannot be plied in a general history of India. The author of such a book ust be content to sketch his picture in outlines boldly drawn, nd to leave out multitudes of recorded particulars.

Continental and peninsular regions. Another geographical fact, namely, that India comprises both a large continental, subtropical area, and an approximately equal peninsular, tropical area, has had immense influence upon the history.

Three territorial compartments. Geographical conditions

divided Indian history, until the nineteenth century, into
well-marked territorial compartments, not to mention mino
tinct areas, such as the Konkan, the Himalayan region, and o
The three are: (1) the northern plains forming the basins o



INDIA PHYSICAL.

Indus and Ganges; (2) the Deccan plateau lying to the south
the Narbadā, and to the north of the Krishnā and Tungabhad
rivers; and (3) the far south, beyond those rivers, comprisi
the group of Tamil states. Ordinarily, each o those three geogr
phical compartments has had a distinct, highly complex story

wn. The points of contact between the three histories are not
numerous.

ominance of the north. The northern plains, the Āryāvarta
he old books, and the Hindostan of more recent times, always
been the seat of the principal empires and the scene of the
ts most interesting to the outer world. The wide waterways
he great snow-fed rivers and the fertile level plains are natural
antages which have inevitably attracted a teeming population
time immemorial. The open nature of the country, easily
sible to martial invaders from the north-west, has given
uent occasion for the formation of powerful kingdoms ruled
igorous foreigners. The peninsular, tropical section of India,
ted from the rest of the world by its position, and in contact
other countries only by sea-borne commerce, has pursued its
course, little noticed by and caring little for foreigners. The
orian of India is bound by the nature of things to direct his
ntion primarily to the north, and is able to give only a secondary
e to the story of the Deccan plateau and the far south.
No southern power ever could attempt to master the north, but
more ambitious rulers of Āryāvarta or Hindostan often have
ended their sway far beyond the dividing line of the Narbadā.
hen Dupleix in the eighteenth century dreamed of a Franco-
dian empire with its base in the peninsula he was bound to fail.
e success of the English was dependent on their acquisition of
h Bengal and their command of the Gangetic waterway. In
later stage of the British advance the conquest of the Panjāb
s conditioned by the control of the Indus navigation, previously
ured by the rather unscrupulous proceedings of Lords Auckland
d Ellenborough. The rivers of the peninsula do not offer
ilar facilities for penetration of the interior.

Changes in rivers. The foregoing general observations indi-
te broadly the ways in which the geographical position and con-
guration of India have affected the course of her history. But
e subject will bear a little more elaboration and the discussion
certain less conspicuous illustrations of the bearing of geography
pon history. Let us consider for a moment the changes in the
eat rivers of India, which, when seen in full flood, suggest thoughts
f the ocean rather than of inland streams. Unless one has battled
n an open ferry-boat with one of those mighty masses of surging
ater in the height of the rains, it is difficult to realize their
emoniac power. They cut and carve the soft alluvial plains at
heir will, reeking of nothing. Old beds of the Sutlaj can be traced
across a space eighty-five miles wide. The Indus, the Ganges, the
Kosi, the Brahmaputra, and scores of other rivers behave, each
ccording to its ability, in the same way, despising all barriers,
atural or artificial. Who can tell where the Indus flowed in the
ays of Alexander the Great? Yet books, professedly learned,
are not afraid to trace his course minutely through the Panjāb
nd Sind by the help of some modern map, and to offer pretended
identifications of sites upon the banks of rivers which certainly

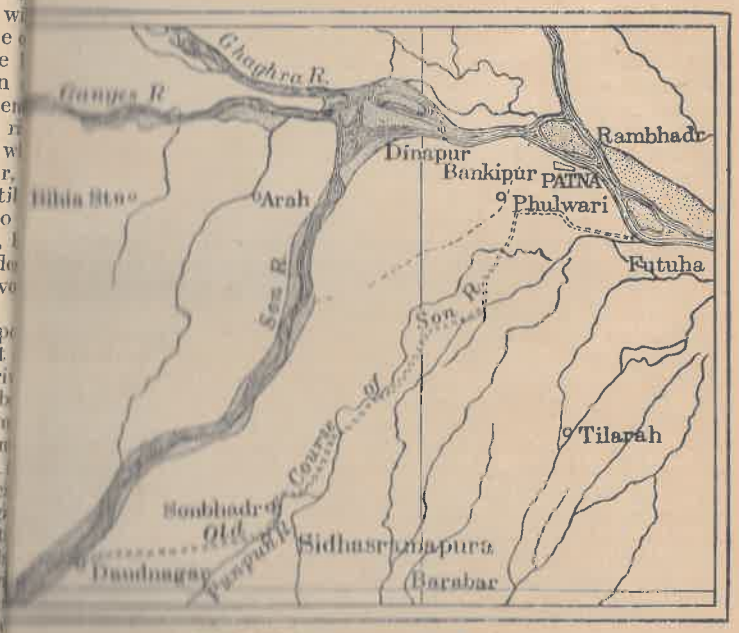
were somewhere else twenty-two centuries ago. We know they must have been somewhere else, but where they were no can tell. So with the Vedic rivers, several of which bear ancient names. The rivers of the Rishis were not the rive to-day. The descriptions prove that in the old, old days character often differed completely from what it now is, an perience teaches that their courses must have been widely d gent. Commentators in their arm-chairs with the latest ed of the Indian *Atlas* opened out before them are not always wi to be bothered with such inconvenient facts. Ever since the Muhammadan invasions the changes in the rivers have enormous, and the contemporary histories of the foreign querors cannot be understood unless the reality and exte those changes be borne constantly in mind. One huge r system, based on the extinct Hakrā or Wahindah river, w once flowed down from the mountains through Bahāwalpur, wholly disappeared, the final stages having been deferred until eighteenth century. Scores of mounds, silent witnesses to existence of numberless forgotten and often nameless towns, testimony to the desolation wrought when the waters of life de their channels. A large and fascinating volume might be devo to the study and description of the freaks of Indian rivers.

Position of cities. In connexion with that topic another p may be mentioned. The founders of the more important cities almost invariably built, if possible, on the bank of a ri and not only that, but between two rivers in the triangle ab the confluence. Dozens of examples might be cited, but one m suffice. The ancient imperial capital, Pātaliputra, represen by the modern Patna, occupied such a secure position between guarding waters of the Sōn and the Ganges. The existing c twelve miles or so below the confluence, has lost the strateg advantages of its predecessor. Historians who forget the posit of Pātaliputra in relation to the rivers go hopelessly wrong in t comments on the texts of the ancient Indian and foreign author

Changes of the land. Changes in the coast-line and the le of the land have greatly modified the course of history, and m be remembered by the historian who desires to avoid ludicr blunders. The story of the voyage of Nearchos, for instan cannot be properly appreciated by any student who fails to comp the descriptions recorded by the Greeks with the surveys modern geographers. When the changes in the coast-line understood, statements of the old authors which looked erroneo at first sight are found to be correct. The utter destruction the once wealthy commercial cities of Korkai and Kāyal on Tinnevelly coast, now miles from the sea and buried under sand dunes, ceases to be a mystery when we know, as we do, that coast level has risen. In other localities, some not very dista from the places named, the converse has happened, and the sea has advanced, or, in other words, the land has sunk. The care investigator of ancient history needs to be continually on his gua

lest the insidious deceptions of the modern map. Many learned ...sors, German and others, have tumbled headlong into the pit. ...subject being a hobby of mine I must not ride the steed too far.

...he scenes of Indian history. Emphasis has been laid on the ... that most of the notable events of Indian history occurred ...ne or other of the three great regions separated from each ...r by natural barriers. Hindostan, the Deccan, and the far



CHANGED COURSE OF SON.

...continued to be thus kept apart until the rapid progress of ...ientific discovery during the nineteenth century overthrew the ...ow spanned by railway bridges as securely as a petty water- ...course is crossed by a six-foot culvert. The No Man's Land of ...dwāna—the wild country along the banks of the Narbadā among the neighbouring hills—no longer hides any secrets. ...roads and railways climb the steepest passes of the Western Ghāts, ...ich more than once tried the nerves of our soldiers in the old ...The magnificent natural haven of Bombay always was as ...good as it is now, but it was of no use to anybody as long as it ...was cut off from the interior of India by creeks, swamps, and

mountains. The changes in modern conditions, which it would be tedious to enumerate, have made Bombay the premier city of India. Royal command may decree that the official head-quarters of the Government of India should shift from Calcutta to Delhi, but no proclamations can make the inland city of the Moguls the real capital of India, so long as the Indian empire is ruled by the masters of the sea. The claim to the first place may be disputed



NORTH-WESTERN PHYSICAL FEATURES.

between Calcutta and Bombay. No rival can share in the competition.

Fortresses. The progress of modern science has not only destroyed the political and strategical value of the natural barriers offered by mountains, rivers, and forests. It has also rendered useless the ancient fortresses, which used to be considered impregnable, and were more often won by bribery than by assault. Asīrgarh in Khāndēsh, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was reckoned to be one of the wonders of the world,

it was 'impossible to conceive a stronger fortress', defied the efforts of Akbar, yielding only to his gold. Now it stands desolate, without a single soldier to guard it. When Lord Dufferin decided to pay Sindia the compliment of restoring Gwālior Fort to his keeping, the transfer could be effected without the slightest danger to the safety of the Empire. The numberless strongholds on the crests of the hills of the Deccan before which Aurangzēb wasted so



NORTH-WESTERN PASSES AND COUNTRIES.

years are now open to any sightseer. The strategical points which dominated the military action of the Hindu and Muhammadan sovereigns are for the most part of no account in these days. The sieges of fortresses which occupy so large a space in the earlier history will never occur again. Modern generals think much more of a railway junction than of the most inaccessible castle.

The northern record. One reason why the historian must devote most of his space to the narrative of events occurring in Northern India has been mentioned. Another is that the northern

record is far less imperfect than that of the peninsula. Very little is known definitely concerning the southern kingdoms before A. D. 600, whereas the history of Hindostan may be carried twelve centuries earlier. The extreme deficiency of really ancient records concerning the peninsula leaves an immense gap in the history of India which cannot be filled.

Sea-power. The arrival of Vasco da Gama's three little ships at Calicut in 1498 revolutionized Indian history by opening up the country to bold adventurers coming by sea. The earlier maritime visitors to the coasts had come solely for purposes of commerce without any thought of occupation or conquest. It is necessary here to recall how the Portuguese pointed out to their successors, Dutch, French, and English, the path of conquest, and so rendered possible the British empire of India. The country now is at the mercy of the power which commands the sea, and could not possibly be held by any power unable to control the sea routes. The strategical importance of the north-western passes has declined as that of Bombay and Karāchī has risen.

Endless diversity. The endlesss diversity in the Indian continent is apparent and has been the subject of many remarks. From the physical point of view we find every extremity of altitude, temperature, rainfall, and all the elements of climate. The variety of the flora and fauna, largely dependent upon climatic conditions, is equally obvious. From the human point of view India has been often described as an ethnological museum, in which numberless races of mankind may be studied, ranging from savages of low degree to polished philosophers. That variety of race, languages, manners and customs is largely the cause of the innumerable political subdivisions which characterize Indian history before the unification effected by the British supremacy. Megasthenes in the fourth century B.C. heard of 118 kingdoms, and the actual number may well have been more. Even now the Native States, or Protected States, small and great, may be reckoned as about 700. In all ages the crowd of principalities and powers has been almost past counting. From time to time a strong paramount power has arisen and succeeded for a few years in introducing a certain amount of political unity, but such occasions were regarded as being in a very loose sense the suzerain of almost all When no such power existed, the states, hundreds in number might be likened to a swarm of free, mutually repellent molecules in a state of incessant movement, now flying apart, and again coalescing.

Unity in diversity. How then, in the face of such bewildering diversity, can a history of India be written and compressed into a single volume of moderate bulk? The difficulties arising from the manifold diversities summarily indicated above are real, and present serious obstacles both to the writer and to the reader of Indian history. A chronicle of all the kingdoms for thousands of years is manifestly impracticable. The answer to the query is found in the fact that India offers unity in diversity. The underlying unity being less obvious than the superficial diversity,

and limitations merit exposition. The mere fact that the India conveniently designates a sub-continental area does help to unify history any more than the existence of the name could make a history of that continent feasible. The unity must be of a nature more fundamental than that implied the currency of a geographical term.

Political union. Political union attained by the subjection of India to one monarch or paramount authority would, of course, suffice to make smooth the path of the historian. Such political union never was enjoyed by all India until the full establishment of the British sovereignty, which may be dated in one so recently as 1877, when Queen Victoria became Empress of in another sense from 1858, when Her Majesty assumed the government of British India; and in a third sense from 1818, the Marquess of Hastings shattered the Marāthā power, openly proclaimed the fact that the East India Company had become the paramount authority throughout the whole country. few rulers, Hindu or Muhammadan, attained sovereignty as extensive as that claimed by the Marquess of Hastings. Mauryas, who after the defeat of Seleukos Nikator held the country now called Afghanistan as far as the Hindu Kush, exercised authority more or less direct over all India Proper down to the thern parts of Mysore. But even Asoka did not attempt to the Tamil kingdoms under his dominion. The empires of Kushāns and Guptas were confined to the north. In the fourteenth century Muhammad bin Tughlak for a few years exercised imperfect sovereign powers over very nearly the whole India. Akbar and his historians never mention the Tamil and so far as appears never heard of the powerful Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, which broke up in 1565. But the Great Mogul cherished a passionate desire to subdue the kingdoms of the Deccan plateau. His success, however, was incomplete, and did not extend beyond Ahmadnagar in the latitude of Bombay. descendants pursued his policy, and at the close of the eighteenth century Aurangzēb's officers levied tribute two or three times from Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Thus Aurangzēb might be regarded as being in a very loose sense the suzerain of almost all The Kābul territory continued to be part of the empire until 1739. The periods of partial political unification thus summarily indicated afford welcome footholds to the historian, and are far easier to deal with than the much longer intervals when power with any serious claim to paramountcy existed.

The political unity of all India, although never attained perfectly in fact, always was the ideal of the people throughout the centuries. The conception of the universal sovereign as the Chakravartin Rājā runs through Sanskrit literature and is emphasized in scores of inscriptions. The story of the gathering of the nations to the battle of Kurukshetra, as told in the *Mahābhārata*, implies the belief that all the Indian peoples, including those of the extreme south, were united by real bonds and concerned in

interests common to all. European writers, as a rule, have
more conscious of the diversity than of the unity of India. Jo
Cunningham, an author of unusually independent spirit, i
exception. When describing the Sikh fears of British aggre
in 1845, he recorded the acute and true observation that 'H
stan, moreover, from Caubul to the valley of Assam, and the i
of Ceylon, is regarded as one country, and dominion in it is
ciated in the minds of the people with the predominance o
monarch or one race'.[1] India therefore possesses, and alway
possessed for considerably more than two thousand years,
political unity, in spite of the fact that actual complete u
under one sovereign, universally acknowledged by all other pri
and potentates, dates only from 1877. The immemorial persist
of that ideal goes a long way to explain the acquiescence of I
in British rule, and was at the bottom of the passionate outb
of loyal devotion to their King-Emperor so touchingly expre
in many ways by princes and people in 1911.

Fundamental unity of Hinduism. The most essenti
fundamental Indian unity rests upon the fact that the div
peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture
civilization utterly different from any other type in the wo
That civilization may be summed up in the term Hindui
India primarily is a Hindu country, the land of the Brahmans,
have succeeded by means of peaceful penetration, not by
sword, in carrying their ideas into every corner of India. Ca
the characteristic Brahman institution, utterly unknown
Burma, Tibet, and other border lands, dominates the whol
Hindu India, and exercises no small influence over the powe
Muhammadan minority. Nearly all Hindus reverence Brahma
and all may be said to venerate the cow. Few deny the autho
of the Vedas and the other ancient scriptures. Sanskrit eve
where is the sacred language. The great gods, Vishnu and Si
are recognized and more or less worshipped in all parts of Ind
The pious pilgrim, when going the round of the holy places,
equally at home among the snows of Badrīnāth or on the burn
sands of Rāma's Bridge. The seven sacred cities include pla
in the far south as well as in Hindostan. Similarly, the cult
rivers is common to all Hindus, and all alike share in the affecti
felt for the tales of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*.

India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamen
unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographi
isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends t
innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manne
and sect.

Limitations of unity. But the limitations are many. Cas
which, looked at broadly, unites all Hindus by differentiati
them from the rest of mankind, disintegrates them by breaki

[1] *History of the Sikhs*[2] (1853), p. 283.

[2] The Lingāyats of the Kanarese country are the principal exceptio
but others exist.

up into thousands of mutually exclusive and often hostile
ions. It renders combined political or social action difficult,
in many cases impossible; while it shuts off all Hindus in
measure from sympathy with the numerous non-Hindu
ulation. The Muhammadans, by far the largest part of that
ulation, are not concerned with most of the reasons which
all Hindus one in a sense. An Indian Muslim may be, and
n is, far more in sympathy with an Arab or Persian fellow-
lever than he is with his Hindu neighbour. The smaller com-
nities, Christians, Jews, Parsees, and others, are still more
ant from the Hindu point of view.

Nevertheless, when all allowances are made for the limitations,
fundamental unity of Hindu culture alone makes a general
ory of India feasible.

Dravidian culture. The Brahmanical ideas and institutions,
though universally diffused in every province, have not been
lly victorious. Prehistoric forms of worship and many utterly
Aryan social practices survive, especially in the peninsula
ong the peoples speaking Dravidian languages. We see there
strange spectacle of an exaggerated regard for caste coexisting
th all sorts of weird notions and customs alien to Brahman
dition. While it is not improbable that the Dravidian civilization
y be as old as or even older than the Indo-Aryan Brahmanical
ulture of the north, which was long regarded in the south as an
welcome intruder to be resisted strenuously, the materials
ailable for the study of early Dravidian institutions are too
nty and imperfectly explored to permit of history being based
on them. The historian's attention necessarily must be directed
efly to the Indo-Aryan institutions of the north, which are much
re fully recorded than those of the south. An enthusiastic
uthern scholar has expressed the opinion that 'the scientific
storian of India . . . ought to begin his study with the basin of
e Krishnā, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai [in Madura and the
ndya country] rather than with the Gangetic plain, as it has
en now long, too long, the fashion'. That advice, however
und it may be in principle, cannot be followed in practice at
present; and, so far as I can see, it is not likely that even in a
distant future it will be practicable to begin writing Indian
history in the manner suggested.

Lack of political evolution. The interest attaching to the
radual evolution of political institutions is lacking in Indian
history. The early tribal constitutions of a republican, or at any
rate, oligarchical character, which are known to have existed
among the Mālavas, Kshudrakas, and other nations in the time of
Alexander the Great, as well as among the Lichchhavis and
Vaidhēyas at much later dates, all perished without leaving
a trace. Autocracy is substantially the only form of government
with which the historian of India is concerned. Despotism does
not admit of development. Individual monarchs vary infinitely
in ability and character, but the nature of a despotic government

remains much the same at all times and in all places, whether ruler be a saint or a tyrant.

Extinction of tribal constitutions. The reason for the extinction of the tribal constitutions appears to be that they were a Mongolian institution, the term Mongolian being used to include tribes racially allied to the Tibetans, Gūrkhas, and other Aryan nations. The Mongolian element in the population of northern India before and after the Christian era was, I believe, much larger than is usually admitted. When the Mongolian people and ideas were overborne in course of time by the stronger Indo-Aryan or Brahmanical culture, the tribal constitutions disappeared along with many other non-Aryan institutions. The Brahmanical people also were content with autocracy.[1] I use the term 'autocracy' as the equivalent 'despotism', without qualification intention, because I do not believe in the theory advocated by several modern Hindu authors that the ancient Indian king was a 'limited' or constitutional monarch. Those authors have been misled by taking too seriously the admonitions of the text-book writers that the ideal king should be endowed with all the virtues and should follow the advice of sage counsellors. In reality every Indian despot who was strong enough did exactly what he pleased. Where any limitations on his authority were operative, they took effect only because he was weak. A strong sovereign like Chandragupta Maurya was not to be bound by the cobwebs of texts. Akbar, afterwards, notwithstanding his taste for sententious moral aphorisms, was equally self-willed.

Village and municipal institutions. Much sentimental rhetoric with little relation to the actual facts has been written about the supposed indestructible constitution of the Indo-Aryan village in the north. The student of highly developed village institutions, involving real local self-government administered on an elaborately organized system, should turn to the south and examine the constitution of the villages in the Chola kingdom as recorded for the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries of the Christian era,[2] and no doubt of extremely ancient origin. Those institutions, like the tribal constitutions of the north, perished long ago, being killed by rulers who had no respect for the old indigenous modes of administration. The development of municipal institutions, which furnishes material for so many interesting chapters in European history, is a blank page in the history of India.

History of Indian thought. The defects in the subject-matter of Indian history pointed out in the foregoing observations undoubtedly tend to make the political history of the country seem dry reading. The more attractive story of the development of Indian thought as expressed in religion and philosophy, literature, art, and science cannot be written intelligibly unless it is built on the solid foundation of dynastic history, which alone can furnish the indispensable chronological basis. Readers who may be disposed to turn away with weariness from the endless procession of Hindu kings and despots may console themselves by the reflection that a working acquaintance with the political history of India is absolutely essential as a preliminary for the satisfactory treatment of the story of the development of her ideas.

[1] On this obscure subject see the author's papers entitled 'Tibetan Affinities of the Lichchhavis' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxii (1903), pp. 288 foll.) and 'Tibetan Illustration of the Yaudhēya Tribal Organization' (*ibid.* vol. xxxv (1906)), p. 290); and K. P. Jayaswal, 'Republics in the Mahābhārata' (*J. O. & B. Res. Soc.*, vol. i, pp. 173–8). A well-executed treatise on the subject would be welcome.

[2] *E. H. I.*[3] (1914), pp. 459, 464, with references.

I have tried to give in this work, so far as unavoidable limitations permit, an outline of the evolution of Indian thought in various departments. Students who desire further information must consult the special treatises when such exist.

Divisions of the history. The main divisions of a book on Indian history hardly admit of variation. I have drawn the line between the Ancient Period and the Hindu Period at the beginning of the Maurya dynasty as a matter of convenience. In the Hindu Period the death of Harsha in A. D. 647 marks a suitable place for commencing a fresh section. The subdivisions of the Muhammadan Period, occupying Books IV, V, VI, and including the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, are almost equally self-evident. Three books, VII, VIII, and IX, are devoted to the British Period. The dividing line between Books VII and VIII should be drawn in my opinion at the year 1818, and not at the close of the administration of the Marquess of Hastings. The significance of the events of 1858, when the series of Viceroys begins, cannot be mistaken.

Authorities

The subject-matter of this section has been treated previously by the author in several publications, namely, in *E. H. I.*[3] (1914), Introduction; *Oxford Student's History of India*, latest ed., chap. i; and the *Oxford History of the British Empire* (1914), chap. vii. A good formal geographical work is the *Geography of India* by G. Patterson (*Christian Literature Soc. for India*, London, 1909). See also *I. G.* (Indian Empire), 1907, vol. i, and the Atlas of the same work (1909). The little book entitled *The Fundamental Unity of India* (Longmans, 1914), by Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji is well written, learned, and accurate, notwithstanding its avowed political purpose. The influence of sea-power upon Indian history is expounded by Sir A. Lyall in *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India* (Murray, 1910).

SECTION 2

The Sources, or the Original Authorities.

Undated history before 650 B.C. A body of history st... so-called must be built upon a skeleton of chronology, that ... say, on a series of dates more or less precise. In India, as in G... such a series begins about the middle or close of the seventh cen... before Christ.[1] Nothing approaching exact chronology ... attainable for earlier times, the account which the historian ... offer of those times necessarily is wanting in definiteness and ... cision. It is often difficult to determine even the sequence or ... cessive order of events. Nevertheless, no historian of India ... the Indians can escape from the obligation of offering some so... picture of the life of undated ancient India, in its political, so... religious, literary, and artistic aspects, previous to the daw... exact history. The early literature, composed chiefly in ... Sanskrit, Pāli, and Tamil languages, supplies abundant mate... much of which is accessible in one or other European ton... The thorough exploration of the gigantic mass of literat... especially that of the southern books, is a task so vast that it ca... ever be completed. Large fields of study have been hardly ... vestigated at all. But a great deal of good work has been acc... plished, and the labours of innumerable scholars, Europ... American, and Indian have won results sufficiently certain ... warrant the drawing of an outline sketch of the beginnings ... Indian life and history. Although the lines of the sketch are so... what wanting in clearness, especially with reference to the V... age and the early Dravidian civilization, we moderns can f... a tolerably distinct mental picture of several stages of Indian hist... prior to the earliest date ascertained with even approxim... accuracy. Such an outline sketch or picture will be presented ... the second chapter of Book I.

Chronological puzzles. Definite chronological history beg... about 650 B.C. for Northern India. No positive historical statem... can be made concerning the peninsula until a date much la... Even in the north all approximate dates before the invasion ... Alexander in 326 B.C. are obtained only by reasoning back fr... the known to the unknown. The earliest absolutely certain pre... date is that just named, 326 B.C.

The student may be glad to have in this place a brief exposit... of the special difficulties which lie in the way of ascertaining pre...

[1] 'The first exact date we have bearing on the history of Greece ... April 6, 648 B.C., when an eclipse of the sun occurred which was witnes... and noted by the poet Archilochus (Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, ed. 1904, p. 1... But the earliest really historical date known with any approach to accu... seems to be that of Cylon's conspiracy at Athens, which is placed *ab*... 632 B.C. The archonship of Solon is put in either 594–593 or 592–591 B.... (ibid., pp. 178, 182).

...s for the events of early Hindu history. Numerous dates are ...orded in one fashion or another, but the various authorities are ...n contradictory, and usually open to more than one interpre... ...on. Dates expressed only in regnal years, such as 'in the ... year after the coronation of King A. B.', are not of much use ...ss we can find out by other means the time when King A. B. ...d. Very often the year is given as simply 'the year 215', or ...like, without mention of the era used, which to the writer ...ded no specification. In the same way when modern Europeans ...k of the 'year 1914', everybody understands that to mean ...er Christ', A. D. or A. C. In other cases an era may be named, ... it is not certain from what date the era is to be reckoned. ... example, many dates recorded in the Gupta era were known ...g before historians could make confident use of them. When ...t was able to prove that Gupta Era, year 1 = A. D. 319–20, the ...le Gupta dynasty dropped at once into its proper historical ...ing. The fixation of that one date brought order into several ...turies of early Indian history. Dated inscriptions of the Indo-...thian or Kushān kings are even more abundant, but up to the ...ent time we do not know to which era a record of theirs dated, ... 'in the year 98' should be referred; and in consequence an ...portant section of Indian history continues to be the sport of ...jecture, so that it is impossible to write with assurance a narra... ... of the events connected with one of the most interesting ...nasties. That chronological uncertainty spoils the history of ...gion, art, and literature, as well as the purely political chronicle, ... the first two centuries of the Christian era.

More than thirty different eras have been used in Indian annals ...m time to time.[1] Difficulties of various kinds, astronomical and ...er, are involved in the attempt to determine the dates on which ... various eras begin. Although those difficulties have been sur... ...ounted to a large extent many obscurities remain.

Synchronisms; old and new styles. Several puzzles have ...en solved by the use of 'synchronisms', that is to say, by the ... of stray bits of information showing that King A. of unknown ...te was contemporary with King B. of known date. The standard ...ample is that of Chandragupta Maurya, the contemporary of ...lexander the Great for some years. The approximate date of ...ing Meghavarna of Ceylon in the fourth century A. C. is similarly ...dicated by the 'synchronism' with the Indian King Samudra... ...gupta; many other cases might be cited.

The testimony of foreign authors is specially useful in this con... ...sion, because they often give dates the meaning of which is ...own with certainty. Indian historians obtain much help in ...hat way from the chronicles of Greece, China, and Ceylon, all of ...hich have well-known systems of chronology. The subject ...ght be further illustrated at great length, but what has been ...aid may suffice to give the student a notion of the difficulties of

[1] Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras* (1883) discusses 27, and many ...ore are mentioned in records.

Hindu chronology, and some of the ways in which many of
have been cleared away.

In the Muhammadan period chronological puzzles are n
due to the innumerable contradictions of the authorities
trouble is often experienced in converting Muslim Hijrī
exactly into the terms of the Christian era. Akbar's fanciful Ilā
Divine Era, and Tippoo Sultan's still more whimsical chron
present special conundrums. In the British period near
dates are ascertained with ease and certainty, subject to occa
conflict of evidence or confusion between the old and new s
which differ by ten days in the seventeenth and by eleven da
the eighteenth century.[1]

Six classes of sources of Hindu history. The nature o
sources of or original authorities for Hindu history from 650
will now be considered briefly. The native or indigenous so
may be classified under five heads, namely: (1) inscription
epigraphic evidence; (2) coins, or numismatic evidence;
monuments, buildings, and works of art, or archaeological evide
(4) tradition, as recorded in literature; and (5) ancient histo
writings, sometimes contemporary with the events narrated.
sixth source, foreign testimony, is mostly supplied either by
works of travellers of various nations, or by regular histori
especially the Cingalese, Greek, and Chinese. The value of
class of evidence will now be explained.

Inscriptions. Inscriptions have been given the first p
in the list because they are, on the whole, the most important
trustworthy source of our knowledge. Unfortunately, they do
at present go further back than the third century B.C. with
tainty, although it is not unlikely that records considerably ear
may be discovered, and it is possible that a very few kn
documents may go back beyond the reign of Asoka. Indian
scriptions, which usually are incised on either stone or metal, n
be either official documents set forth by kings or other authori
or records made by private persons for various purposes. M
of the inscriptions on stone either commemorate particular eve
or record the dedication of buildings or images. The commem
tive documents range from the simple signature of a pilgrim to l
and elaborate Sanskrit poems detailing the achievements of
torious kings. Such poems are called *prasasti*. The inscripti
on metal are for the most part grants of land inscribed on plate

[1] Pope Gregory XIII undertook to reform the Roman calendar
correcting the error which had gradually grown to inconvenient dimens
in the course of centuries. Accordingly he decreed in 1582 that Octob
by the old calendar of that year should be called October 15. The ref
was adopted either immediately or soon by Portugal, France, and sev
other nations; but in Great Britain and Ireland the change was not effec
until 1752, Parliament having passed an Act enacting that September
that year should be deemed to be September 14, new style; eleven d
being dropped out of the reckoning. Russia still adhered to the old st
until 1917 and was then nearly 13 days in error.

per. They are sometimes extremely long, especially in the
ch, and usually include information about the reigning king
his ancestors. Exact knowledge of the dates of events in early
dian history, so far as it has been attained, rests chiefly on the
timony of inscriptions.

Records of an exceptional kind occur occasionally. The most
arkable of such documents are the edicts of Asoka, which in the
m are sermons on *dharma*, the Law of Piety or Duty. At
ner in Rājputāna and at Dhār in Central India fragments of
ws have been found inscribed on stone tablets. Part of a
atise on architecture is incised on one of the towers at Chitōr,
d a score of music for the *vīnā*, or Indian lute, has been found in
Pudukottai State, Madras. A few of the metal inscriptions
dedications, and one very ancient document on copper, the
ganra plate from the Gorakhpur District, is concerned with
vernment storehouses.

The inscriptions which have been catalogued and published
re or less fully aggregate many thousands. The numbers in
peninsula especially are enormous.

Coins. The legends on coins really are a class of inscriptions
metal, but it is more convenient to treat them separately. The
nce of numismatics, or the study of ancient coins, requires
cial expert knowledge. Coins, including those without any
gends, can be made to yield much information concerning the
ndition of the country in the distant past. The dates frequently
corded on them afford invaluable evidence for fixing chronology
en when the outline of the history is well known from books, as
the case for most of the Muhammadan period, the numismatic
timony helps greatly in settling doubtful dates, and in illustra-
g details of many kinds. Our scanty knowledge of the Bactrian,
do-Greek, and Indo-Parthian dynasties rests chiefly on inferences
wn from the study of coins.

Archaeological evidence. The archaeological evidence, re-
rded as distinct from that of inscriptions and coins, is obtained
the systematic skilled examination of buildings, monuments,
d works of art. Careful registration of the stratification of the
ins on ancient sites, that is to say, of the exact order in which
e remains of one period follow those of another, often gives
luable proof of date. The excavations on the site of Taxila, for
stance, have done much to clear up the puzzle of the Kushān
Indo-Scythian chronology already mentioned. The scientific
scription of buildings erected for religious or civil purposes,
ch as temples, *stūpas*, palaces, and private houses, throws
lcome light on the conditions prevailing in ancient times. The
dy of works of art, including images, frescoes, and other objects,
nables us to draw in outline the history of Indian art, and often
affords a most illuminating commentary on the statements in books.
The history of Indian religions cannot be properly understood
by students who confine their attention to literary evidence. The
testimony of the monuments and works of art is equally important,

and, in fact, those remains tell much which is not to be learnt from books. Intelligent appreciation of the material wrought by the ancients is necessary for the formation of a mental picture of the past. Such observations apply equally to the Hindu and the Muhammadan periods.

Tradition almost the sole source of undated history. knowledge, necessarily extremely imperfect, which we possess concerning ancient India between 650 and 326 B.C. is almost wholly derived from tradition as recorded in literature of various kinds, chiefly composed in the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Tamil languages. Most of the early literature is of a religious kind, and the statements historical facts have to be collected laboriously, bit by bit, from works which were not intended to serve as histories. Several valuable scraps of historical tradition have been picked out of the writings of grammarians; and several plays, based on historical facts, yield important testimony. Tradition continues to be a source of historical information long after 326 B.C.

Absence of Hindu historical literature explained. trite observation that Indian literature, prior to the Muhammadan period, does not include formal histories, although true in a sense does not present the whole truth. Most of the Sanskrit books were composed by Brahmans, who certainly had not a taste for writing histories, their interest being engaged in other pursuits. But the Rājās were eager to preserve annals of their own doings and took much pains to secure ample and permanent records of their achievements. They are not to blame for the melancholy fact that their efforts have had little success. The records laboriously prepared and regularly maintained have perished almost completely in consequence of the climate, including insect pests, in that term, and of the innumerable political revolutions from which India has suffered. Every court in the old Hindu kingdoms maintained official bards and chroniclers whose duty it was to record and keep up the annals of the state. Some portion of such chronicles has been preserved and published by Colonel Tod, author of the famous book, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, published in 1829, but that work stands almost alone. The great mass of the Rājās' annals has perished beyond recall.[1] Some fragments of the early chronicles clearly are preserved in the royal genealogies and connected historical observations recorded in the more ancient Purānas; and numerous extracts from local records are given in the prefaces to many inscriptions. Thus it appears that the Hindus were not indifferent to history, although the Brahmans, the principal literary class, cared little for historical composition as a form of literature, except in the form of *prasastis*, some of which are poems of considerable literary merit. Such Sanskrit histories as exist usually were produced in the border countries, the best being the metrical chronicle of Kashmīr, called the *Rāja-taranginī*, composed in the twelfth century. Even this

[1] The survey of Rājputāna literature now in progress will disclose many more historical works.

does not attain exactly to the European ideal of a formal history. Several Brahman authors, notably Bāna in the seventh century, wrote interesting works, half history and half romance, which contain a good deal of authentic historical matter. Our exceptionally full knowledge of the story of Harsha vardhana, king of Thānēsar and Kanauj, is derived largely from the work of Bāna entitled 'The Deeds of Harsha'.

Historical or semi-historical compositions are numerous in the languages of the south. The Mackenzie collection of manuscripts catalogued by H. H. Wilson contains a large number of texts which may be regarded as histories in some degree.

Foreign evidence. The indigenous or native sources enumerated above, which must necessarily be the basis of early Hindu history, are supplemented to a most important extent by the writings of foreigners. Hearsay notes recorded by the Greek authors Herodotus and Ktesias in the fifth century B.C. record some scraps of information, but Europe was almost ignorant of India until the veil was lifted by the operations of Alexander (326 to 323 B.C.) and the reports of his officers. Those reports, as a whole, survive in considerable extracts quoted in the writings of later authors, Greek and Roman. The expedition of Alexander the Great is not mentioned distinctly by any Hindu author, and the references to the subject by Muhammadan authors are of little value. Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator to Chandragupta Maurya in the closing years of the fourth century, wrote a highly valuable account of India, much of which has been preserved in fragments.

Formal Chinese histories from about 120 B.C. have something to tell us, but by far the most important and interesting of all the foreign witnesses are the numerous Chinese pilgrims who visited the Holy Land of Buddhism, between A.D. 400 and 700. Fa-hien, the earliest of them (A.D. 399–414), gives life to the bald chronicle of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, as constructed from inscriptions and coins. The learned Hiuen Tsang, or Yuan Chwang, in the seventh century, does the same for Harsha vardhana, and also records innumerable matters of interest concerning every part of India. I-tsing and more than sixty other pilgrims have left valuable notes of their travels. A book on the early history of Hindu India would be a very meagre and dry record but for the narratives of the pilgrims, which are full of vivid detail.

Alberūnī. Alberūnī, justly entitled the Master, a profoundly learned mathematician and astronomer, who entered India in the train of Mahmūd of Ghaznī early in the eleventh century, applied his powerful intellect to the thorough study of the whole life of the Hindus. He mastered the difficult Sanskrit language, and produced a truly scientific treatise, entitled 'An Enquiry into India' (*Tahkīk-i Hind*), which is a marvel of well-digested erudition. More than five centuries later that great book served as a model to Abu-l Fazl, whose 'Institutes of Akbar' (*Āīn-i Akbarī*) plainly betray the unacknowledged debt due to Alberūnī.

Muhammadan histories. Muhammadans, unlike the [illegible] and modern readers. The reports of the Jesuit missionmans, always have shown a liking and aptitude for the writ[illegible] for the Mogul period possess special value, having been written professed histories, so that every Muslim dynasty in Asia has [illegible] highly educated, specially trained, and endowed with its chronicler. The authors who deal with Indian history [illegible] of keen observation. Large use is made in this volume of as a rule, in the Persian language. Most of the books are ge[illegible] reports which have been too often neglected by modern histories of the Muslim world, in which Indian affairs occ[illegible]. References to the works of the leading Jesuits and the a comparatively small space, but a few works are confine[illegible] foreign travellers will be given in due course.

Indian subjects. The most celebrated is the excellent and **Authorities for Indo-European history and British Period.** scientious compilation composed by Firishta (Ferishta) in[illegible] papers and private original documents of many kinds dating reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, which forms the basis of El[illegible] back as a thousand years ago are fairly abundant in most stone's *History of India* and of most modern works on the subj[illegible]ries of Europe, and supply a vast quarry of material for the

A comprehensive general view of the Indian histories in Pe[illegible]rsian. In India they are wholly wanting for both the Hindu is to be obtained from the translations and summaries in the c[illegible] the pre-Mogul Muhammadan periods, except in so far as their volumes of *The History of India as told by its own Histor[illegible]* is supplied by inscriptions on stone and metal. A few (London, 1867–77) by Sir Henry Elliot and Professor John Dow[illegible]uments from the reigns of Akbar and his successors survive, Sir Edward Bayley's incomplete work entitled the *History* most of what we know about the Moguls is derived from the *Gujarāt* is a supplement to Elliot and Dowson's collection. [illegible]ndary evidence of historians, as supplemented by the testimony English translations of the *Tabakāt-i Nāsirī* by Raverty; of [illegible] foreign travellers, inscriptions, and coins. The case changes *Āīn-i Akbarī* by Blochmann and Jarrett; of the *Akbarnāma* [illegible] the appearance of Europeans on the scene. The records of the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* by H. Beveridge; of Badāonī's book[illegible] East India Company go back to the beginning of the seven- Ranking and Lowe; and Prof. Jadunāth Sarkar's learned acco[illegible]th century, and the Portuguese archives contain numerous of Aurangzēb's reign may be specially mentioned. Many o[illegible]uments of the sixteenth century. important books exist. The author of this volume has publis[illegible]rom the middle of the eighteenth century, the commencement a detailed biography of Akbar.

The modern historian of India, therefore, when he comes to [illegible] the British period, the mass of contemporary papers, public Muhammadan period, finds plenty of history books ready m[illegible] private, is almost infinite. Considerable portions of the from which he can draw most of his material. He is not reduced [illegible]ords have been either printed at length or catalogued, and much the necessity of piecing together his story by combining fragme[illegible] the printed material has been worked up by writers on special of information laboriously collected from inscriptions, co[illegible]tions of the history, but an enormous quantity remains unused. traditions, and passing literary references, as he is compelled to [illegible] the composition of this work I have not attempted to explore when treating of the Hindu period. His principal difficulties a[illegible]uscript collections, and have necessarily been obliged to from the contradictions of his authorities, the defects of th[illegible]ntent myself with printed matter only so far as I could manage mode of composition, and endless minor chronological puzzles. [illegible]read and digest it. No person can read it all, or nearly all. The epigraphic, numismatic, and monumental testimony [illegible]he leading authorities consulted will be noted at the end of each needed only for the completion and correction of details. [illegible]apter.

The histories written in Persian have many faults when judg[illegible] **Present state of Indian historical studies.** A brief survey by European standards, but, whatever may be the opinion h[illegible] the present state of Indian historical studies will not be out of concerning those defects, it is impossible to write the history [illegible] connexion with the foregoing review of the original Muhammadan India without using the Persian chronicles as [illegible]uthorities. foundation. No general history of the Hindu period was in existence before

Foreign evidence for the Muhammadan period. Forei[illegible] the publication in 1904 of the first edition of the *Early History of* testimony is as valuable for the Muhammadan period as it is f[illegible]*ndia*. The more condensed treatment of the subject in this the Hindu. From the ninth century onwards Muslim mercha[illegible]olume is based on the third edition of that work, published in and other travellers throw light upon the history of mediaev[illegible]914, but much new material has been used; and the subject has India. Some scanty notes recorded by European observers in t[illegible]en treated from a point of view to some extent changed. Many fifteenth century have been preserved; and from the sixteent[illegible]ections of the story need further elucidation, and it is certain that century numerous works by European travellers present a mas[illegible]search will add greatly to our knowledge of the period in the of authentic information supplementary to that recorded by th[illegible]future. Numerous eager inquirers are now at work, who Muslim historians, who looked at things from a different point [illegible]ontribute something of value almost every month. view, and omitted mention of many matters interesting to foreig[illegible] **The Muhammadan period.** The publication in 1841 of Elphinstone's justly famous *History of India* made possible for the

first time systematic study of the Indo-Muhammadan histo
Hindostan or Northern India down to the battle of Pānīpat in
Although Elphinstone's book, mainly based on the compilati
Firishta and Khāfī Khān, is of permanent value, it is n
paragement of its high merit to say that in these changed ti
is no longer adequate for the needs of either the close stude
the general reader. Since Elphinstone wrote many autho
unknown to him have become accessible, archaeological disco
have been numerous, and corrections of various kinds have be
necessary. Moreover, the attitude of readers has been mod
They now ask for something more than is to be found i
austere pages of Elphinstone, who modelled his work on the
adopted by Muslim chroniclers.

The history of the Sultans of Delhi is in an unsatisfactory s
Much preliminary dry research is required for the accurate a
tainment of the chronology and other facts. The subject is
attractive to a large number of students, and many years
elapse before a thoroughly sound account of the Sultanat
Delhi can be written. A foundation of specialized detailed st
is always needed before a concise narrative can be composed
confidence and accuracy. I have not attempted in this volun
probe deeply among the difficulties connected with the histori
the Sultanate, but venture to hope that I may have succe
in presenting the subject with a certain amount of fresh
especially in dealing with the reign of Muhammad bin Tugh
Although considerable advance has been made in the study o
history of the Bahmanī empire and other Muslim kingdoms w
became independent of Delhi in the fourteenth century, ther
plenty of room for further investigation. The chapters on
subject in this volume are based on the examination of var
and sometimes conflicting authorities. The story of the exten
Hindu empire of Vijayanagar (1336–1565) has been largely el
dated by the labours of Mr. Sewell, whose excellent work has
continued and in certain matters corrected by several author
Indian birth. In these days some of the best historical rese
is done by Indian scholars, a fact which has resulted in a
found change in the presentation of the history of their land.
public addressed by a modern historian differs essentially in c
position and character from that addressed by Elphinstone
Mill.

The true history of the Mogul dynasty is only beginning to
known. The story of Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar has b
illuminated by the researches of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Beveri
and the study of Akbar's life by the author of this volume inclu
much novel matter. The interesting reign of Jahāngīr has b
badly handled in the current books, Elphinstone's included.
publication of a good version of that emperor's authentic *Memo*
and the use of the forgotten third volume of Du Jarric's gr
work, not to speak of minor advantages, have enabled me to g
an abbreviated account of Jahāngīr's reign, which, so far as

may fairly claim to be nearer to the truth than any narrative
printed.
he reign of Shāhjahān, prior to the war of succession, still
its critical study, based on the original authorities; but my
ment of the material available will be found to present a certain
unt of novelty. The long and difficult reign of Aurangzēb
being discussed by Professor Jadunāth Sarkār with adequate
and learning. His work, so far as it has been published, is
indispensable authority. The dreary history of the later
has been considerably elucidated in the monographs by
and other works by specialists.

The British Period. James Mill's famous work, the *History British India*, published between 1806 and 1818, brought ether for the first time, to use the author's words, 'a history of part of the British transactions, which have had an immediate ation to India'. Mill's book, notwithstanding its well-known its, will always be valuable for reference. But it is a hundred rs old, and much has happened since it was written. A history the British period, whether long or short, must now be planned somewhat different lines, and must include at least the whole the nineteenth century.

No really satisfactory work on the period exists. The reason haps is that the material is too vast to be handled properly. absence of any first class work on a large scale renders impos- at present the preparation of a condensed history capable of fying the ideals of an author or the requirements of skilled ics. The composition of a sound, large work on the subject ld be more than sufficient occupation for a long life. A writer he aims only at producing a readable, reasonably accurate, and to-date general history of India within the limits of a single ume, must be content to do his best with so much of the over- ndant material as he has leisure to master.

Changed methods. It will be apparent from the foregoing mmary review of the present condition of Indian historical dies, that the writer of a comparatively short history, while joying various advantages denied to his predecessors even a few rs ago, is not at present in a position to supply a uniformly thentic and digested narrative in all the sections of his work. some fields the ground has been thoroughly, or at any rate, aboriously cultivated, whereas in others, it has been but lightly ratched by the plough of investigation.

The value and interest of history depend largely on the degree which the present is illuminated by the past. Our existing nditions differ so radically from those which prevailed in the mes of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and our positive owledge of the facts of the past has increased so enormously that new book on Indian history—even though avowedly compressed— must be composed in a new spirit, as it is addressed to a new udience. Certain it is that the history of India does not begin with the battle of Plassey, as some people think it ought to begin, and

that a sound, even if not profound knowledge of the older h
will always be a valuable aid in the attempt to solve the num
problems of modern India.

Authorities

The references here given for pre-Muhammadan history are
supplementary to those in *E. H. I.*[3] (1914). The easiest book on syst
chronology, suitable for the use of ordinary people, is the *Book of India*
by Sir Alexander Cunningham (Calcutta, Thacker, Spink, and Co.,
Chronological lists of events are given in *The Chronology of India fr*
Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, by C. Mabel
(Mrs. W. R. Rickmers), Constable, Westminster, 1899; a good bo
longer quite up to date; and in *The Chronology of Modern India fo*
hundred years from the close of the fifteenth century (A.D. 1494–189
J. Burgess (Grant, Edinburgh, 1913).

For the ancient musical score inscription, of about seventh century A
a rock at Kudimiya-malai in the Pudukottai State, see *Ep. Ind.*, xi,

The extremely ancient Sohgaura copper-plate, perhaps about h
century prior to Asoka, was edited and described by Bühler (*Vienna O*
vol. x (1896), p. 138; and also in *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1894) and Fleet (*J. R.*
1907, pp. 509–32); but the document needs further elucidation.

The excavations at Taxila, which are likely to continue for many y
have been described in preliminary reports, e.g., in *J. R. A. S.*,
p. 116. See also *J. P. H. S.*, the *Archaeol. S. Reports*, and *A Gui*
Taxila (1918).

For historical allusions in Tamil literature the student may co
M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies* (Madras, 1914); and Pro
Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (London, Luzac, 1911;
Madras, S.P.C.K. Depository) and *The Beginnings of South Indian His*
1918.

Top may be read most conveniently in the Popular Edition (2 v
Routledge, 1914). An annotated edition, prepared by Mr. Wil
Crooke, is ready, but held up by war conditions. The *Mackenzie M*
were catalogued by H. H. Wilson (1828; and Madras reprint, 18
Probably the best small book on the British Period to the Mutiny is *In*
History to the End of the E. I. Co., by P. E. Roberts (Clarendon P
1916), in which India Office MS. records have been utilized.

...RIBALA COLLEGE LIBRARY ...TORE.

BOOK VII

E RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO 1818

CHAPTER 1

The South: French and English; Haidar Ali and Mysore.

eriod of transition, 1761–1818. Anglo-Indian history does
attain any semblance of unity until 1774, when, under the
isions of the Regulating Act of the preceding year, Warren
tings was appointed the first Governor-General of Bengal and
ted with a certain amount of ill-defined control over the
r British settlements in India. The distinct recognition of the
India Company, representing the British Government, as
paramount authority in India was deferred until 1818.
he period between 1761 and 1818 which will be now discussed
one of transition. The Mogul emperor, whose acts had
iously filled the pages of history, had shrunk into an insignifi-
phantom, almost powerless to influence the course of events.
traditional authority of the court of Delhi during the earlier
s of the period merely served as the means of giving a colour
egality to the forcible and essentially lawless proceedings of
various parties who from time to time invoked the sanction
he imperial seal. After 1803 the ghost of imperial control
finally laid and the successor of Akbar became a purely titular
reign, subsisting as a pensioner of the East India Company.
the years following the disaster of Pānīpat, which had
troyed the first Marāthā confederacy and annihilated for the
ent Hindu hopes of supremacy, the predatory armies of the
rāthās under the leadership of Sindia, Holkar, and other
pendent chiefs recovered strength with surprising rapidity,
soon acquired a position offering a reasonable prospect of
wed Hindu domination in both the Deccan and Hindostan.
o Muhammadan kingdoms in the south, ruled respectively by
Nizam and the upstart Haidar (Hyder) Ali, and also the
ilim Sūbadār of Bengal, disputed the Marāthā claims to levy
ematic blackmail and so to exercise substantially sovereign
hority over all the states within their reach.
Meantime the foreign settlers on the coast had begun to realize
practical value of European superiority in armament, the art
war, and general knowledge. They had learned, even before
close of the seventeenth century, that the 'country powers',
use the old phrase, were eager to compete for the help to be
ived from small bodies of European gunners and disciplined

soldiers.[1] The two principal European nations represent
the factories on the coast were drawn into conflict with each
and as allies of one or other of the warring neighbouring
Within the brief space of fifteen years between 1746 and 17
European rivalry was decided once and for all in favour
English, French influence both in the south and in Bengal
reduced almost to nothing. Subsequent French efforts d
affect the result of the conflict which had been decided nin
after the carnage of Pānipat.

Treatment of the subject. The transactions of the transi
period thus summarily reviewed in outline are fully recor
a multitude of documents and books written in French and E
not to mention Dutch or other tongues. The history, alt
crowded with incidents of a stirring and often heroic cha
has lost much of its interest by reason of the lapse of time a
complete disappearance from the Indian scene of all the p
to the ancient quarrels, save the sole survivor. Few n
readers can brace themselves to the task of mastering in
the copious narratives of Orme and other writers of the
time, who seem to belong to a vanished world. People livi
the twentieth century are more interested in studying the c
and effects of the events of the eighteenth century than i
particulars of the events themselves, which are apt to seem
or trivial.[2] But an author whose fate it is to write while the
world is convulsed in the agonies of the Great War, when an
of 100,000 men is regarded as a small force, must be on his g
against the illusion produced by mere bigness. The battles o
eighteenth century, fought upon a narrow stage where tens per
as compared with the thousands of to-day, were as signi
as the gigantic struggles now (1917) in progress and were
more decisive. Clive won the rich prize of Bengal at the co
twenty-two killed and forty-nine or fifty wounded. Eve
Assaye (1803), where the number of wounded was considere
be 'fearfully large' and the enemy had at least a seven
superiority in numbers, the killed on the British side were
than four hundred, and the tale of wounded was estimated t
between fifteen and sixteen hundred. Yet the battle of Assaye
consequences far more definite and of more obvious political v

[1] In 1676 François Martin took by assault the fort of Valdūr for a
prince named Shēr Khān. 'Donc, pour la première fois avec F. M
et dès l'époque de Louis XIV, longtemps avant Dumas, Duplei
Bussy, on voyait des Français entrer dans les querelles des souve
indigènes, commander et encadrer leurs troupes, espérant se faire p
de ces services en concessions territoriales ou commerciales' (Kaepp
p. 161).

[2] Wilks, when justifying himself for giving unusually detailed acco
of the Anglo-French fighting, gives as his excuse 'the extraordi
character of the war of Coromandel, in which the operations of a han
of troops assumed the political importance, and outstripped the mili
glory of the mightiest armies' (reprint, i. 207).

many of the nameless wholesale massacres of these latter

high importance of the period in question in the story of
development demands attentive study of its essential
although people no longer have leisure to acquire an inti-
knowledge of local military operations or of the intrigues of
native potentates. In this book room cannot be found for
than a sketch of the period, and numberless deeds of heroism
which it would be a pleasure to rescue from oblivion must be passed
in silence. It is convenient to begin with the transactions in
South.

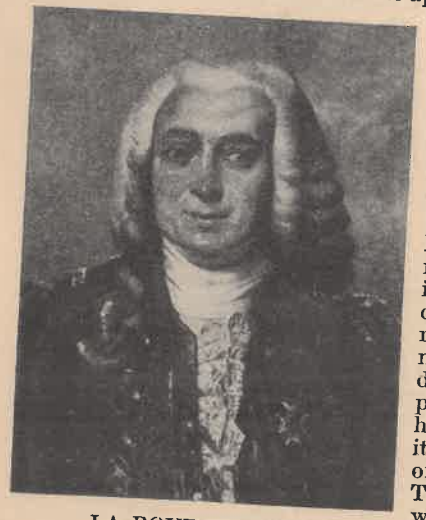
The French possessions. It is needless to linger over the
feeble efforts of the French to secure a share of the Indian
by setting up agencies (*loges* or *comptoirs*) at Surat and other
The first serious effort to compete with the Dutch and
English in common was marked by the establishment in 1664 of
French East India Company (La Compagnie des Indes Orien-
tales), organized by Colbert, the correspondent of Bernier and
prime minister of Louis XIV. Ten years later François Martin,
accompanied by sixty other Frenchmen driven out of St. Thomé
near Masulipatam by the Dutch, landed at the village of Pondi-
cherry, eighty-five miles south of Madras, and by permission of
the local authorities built a small commercial agency or factory,
which was slightly fortified in subsequent years. The site of the
village was purchased in 1683 and a town began to grow. The
adventurers, equipped with extremely limited resources, were
unable to resist the Dutch, who seized the settlement in 1693
and held it for six years, until they were constrained to restore
it under the provisions of the treaty of Ryswick (1697).
During the following half-century Pondicherry was fortunate
in its governors, who included F. Martin, Dumas, and Dupleix.
Under their care the settlement prospered and its trade attained
considerable dimensions. Dupleix assumed charge in 1742.
Chandernagore (Chandarnagar), the second in rank of the French
establishments, was occupied first about 1673 and acquired perma-
nently fifteen years later. Dupleix, who was in charge of the town
before his transfer to Pondicherry, did much to improve the build-
ings and develop trade. Its situation on the Hooghly (Hūglī)
below Calcutta prevented the settlement from ever possessing
political importance. It is now a quiet country town with little
external trade.

The other French settlements, Mahé on the Malabar coast,
Karikāl on the Coromandel coast, and Yanāon in the delta of
the Godāvarī, acquired at various dates, are and always were insig-
nificant.

The French possessions as a whole, notwithstanding the efforts
of Dupleix and his predecessors, continued to be far inferior to
the British in strength, wealth, and trade.

[1] For full details see H. Castonnet Des Fosses, *L'Inde Française avant Dupleix*, Paris (Challamel), 1887.

Madras taken by the French. The European war of Austrian Succession extended to India in 1746. An E squadron which appeared on the Coromandel coast was w handled and retired without doing anything effectual. The was thus opened for the French privateer captain, La Bourdon who attacked and captured Madras in September without th of a man. No serious resistance was offered and the town wa to ransom for eleven lakhs of pagodas, equal to about forty lakhs of rupees, payable in bills falling due at intervals. attack had been arranged with the approval and aid of the Gov and Council of Pondich La Bourdonnais argued the commission which he as admiral made him pendent of the Pondich authorities, while Du maintained that as hea the French settlements i his business to settle the of the town. On that p he seems to have been in right. La Bourdonnais, ing on his assumption o dependence, had promise restore the town in t months, but Dupleix re diated the promise, and possession until 1749, w he was compelled to relinq it in accordance with the te of the peace of Aix-la-Chap The fleet of La Bourdon was disabled and almost stroyed by a storm in Octo 1746; and subsequently



LA BOURDONNAIS.

commander was taken prisoner by the English, who released and allowed him to return to France. On his arrival he was trea as a traitor and imprisoned in the Bastille. After three ye confinement he was liberated, but only to die. The circumstan of the surrender of Madras and the consequent quarrel between Bourdonnais and Dupleix have been the subject of prolonged c troversy, especially in the pages of French authors. The evide as now ascertained, establishes clearly that before the capitulat treaty was signed La Bourdonnais exacted an engagement to p him personally 100,000 pagodas, of which 88,000 were actu paid over in cash, bullion, and jewels.[2] Dupleix carried his po

[1] The name is written by several French authors as in the text, but t more accurate form is de la Bourdonnais.

[2] The proof is given by H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Ind. Reco Ser., Murray, 1913), vol. ii, pp. 369, 270, 584 *n.*

kept the town until he was forced to give it up by the action superiors. He failed in an attempt on the other small English ment on the Coromandel coast called Fort St. David, formerly to Tegnapatam.

Defeat of the Nawāb. Anwaru-d dīn, the Nawāb of the Carnatic, capital was at Arcot, resented the pretensions of the French Madras without his permission, and sent a consider- under the command of his eldest son to capture the A tiny force of Frenchmen under Paradis won a complete the Nawāb's host commanded by his son at Mailāpur St. Thomé close All historians are to point out the impor- that fight as proving helplessness of an old- Indian army against extremely small body of trained Europeans.

naval attack on Pondi- repelled with heavy losses in 1748 by Du- whose reputation was enhanced by the success. wider political ambitions be dated from about time. In his earlier days been concerned with commercial speculations them with high politics. disputed successions. peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748 ought to have defi- stopped all fighting be- the French and English Indian soil, but it did not; the opposition between the local representatives of the two soon developed into an unofficial war waged without the of the governments in Europe. At that time the English the example of interfering in the tortuous politics of the prin- of the Far South by taking a side in a quarrel concerning succession to the Rāj of Tanjore. The death of the old Nizam of Jāh, at an advanced age in 1748, gave rise to disputes among sons and grandsons, which were complicated by somewhat simi- pretentions in the Carnatic, in all of which the local French and English authorities judged it expedient to intervene.[1]



NAWĀB MUHAMMAD ALI.

It is convenient to designate the ruler of the Deccan throughout as Asaf Jāh held the title of Nizāmu-l Mulk, but is generally known to by his contemporaries as the Sūbadār or Sūba of the Deccan. Orme calls Anwaru-d dīn 'Anaverdy Khan', and similar corruptions are found in other writers. So Muzaffar is disguised as 'Mirzapha', &c.

The succession to the Nizam's throne was not then clai
the eldest of his six sons, who was employed in high offic
court of Delhi. Nāsir Jang, the second son, and Muzaffa
a grandson, son of a daughter of Āsaf Jāh, fought for the
throne. A little later Anwaru-d dīn, whom Āsaf Jāh h
pointed to be Nawāb of the Carnatic, was killed, and his h
was claimed by his illegitimate son, Muhammad Ali, of t
part, and Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of a former Naw
the other part.

The French for reasons of their own backed Muzaffar Ja
the Nizāmat and Chanda Sahib for the Nawābī, while the E
favoured Nāsir Jan
Muhammad Alirespec
After the death of An
dīn in 1749, Muhamm
took refuge in the f
Trichinopoly support
British troops, while C
Sahib with the aid
French allies obtained
session of the rest o
Carnatic. Towards th
of 1750 Nāsir Jang was k
and Muzaffar Jang, his
was solemnly instal
Pondicherry as Nizam
paid the French wel
their services and prof
to recognize Dupleix a
titular sovereign of sou
India from the Krish
Cape Comorin, or, in
words, of Mysore, Ta
and Madura. Soon
wards, in 1751, Muzaffa
was killed and replac
the old Nizam's third

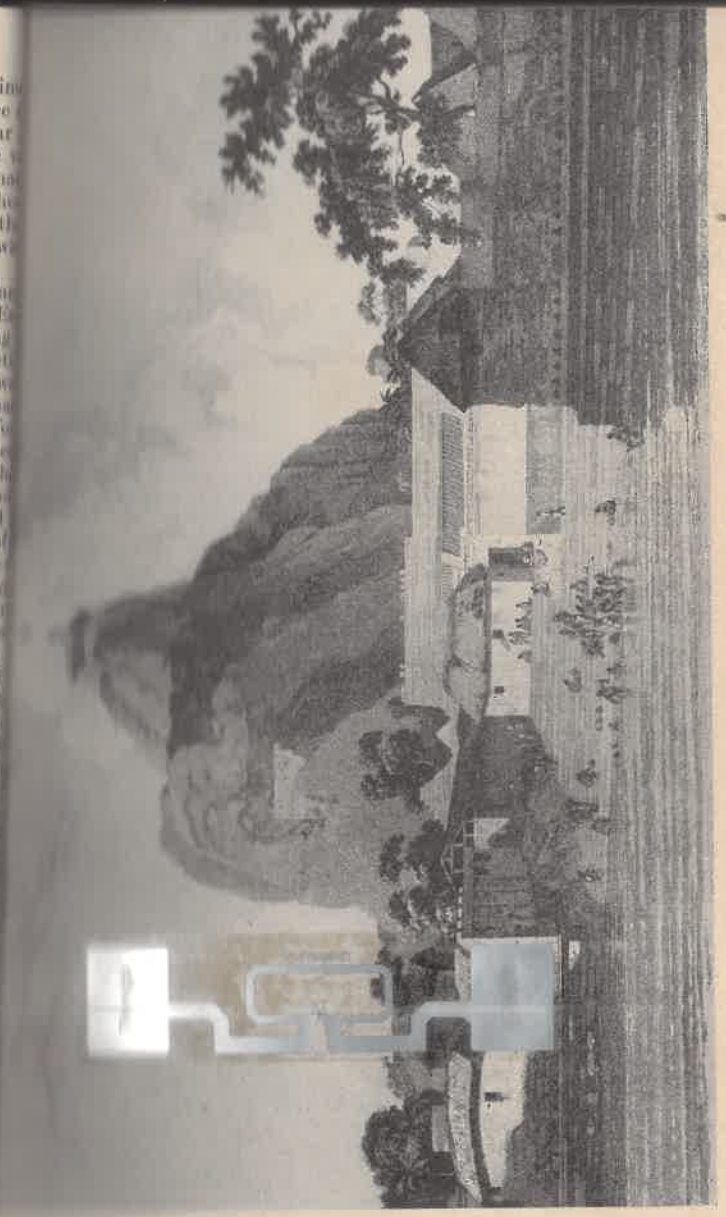


STRINGER LAWRENCE.

Salābat Jang, under French protection.

Temporary French success. So far the French scem
have won the game. They had succeeded in raising two nom
of theirs in succession to the throne of the Deccan, and had se
the Carnatic, except Trichinopoly, for their friend Chanda S
The local English authorities being unwilling to allow Muha
Ali to be utterly crushed, sought to relieve Trichinopoly, a
for which the means at their disposal were inadequate.

Clive and Arcot. At this point Robert Clive entered upo
scene and turned the tables on the French. Clive, who had
out as a writer in the service of the East India Company,
been permitted to join the small military force of the Ma
government under Major Stringer Lawrence, an officer of excepti

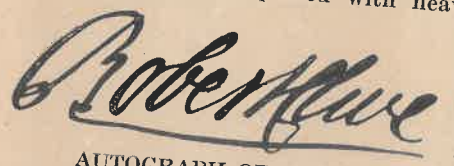


TRICHINOPOLY FORT

capacity, and in 1751 held the rank of captain, being then t
six years of age. In order to relieve Trichinopoly he prop
attack Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital, and so divert the h
from Trichinopoly. The plan was approved.

'Fort St. David and Madras were left, the one with 100, the oth
less than 50 men, in order to supply the greatest force that could
lected for this enterprise.'

After all was done the force consisted of only 200 Europea
300 sepoys, led by eight officers, four of whom were civil ser
The little band was allowed to occupy Arcot without oppo
The fort was ruinous and at first sight seemed incapable of de
but Clive and his men worked wonders and threw up impr
fortifications. 'The acquisition of the fort of Arcot soon pro
the effect which had been expected from it,' and attracted a
force of the enemy from under the walls of Trichinopoly.
force battered the tiny garrison of Arcot for fifty-three
(September 23 to November 14), and at last made one atte
storm, which was repulsed with heavy loss to the assail
That failure dishear
Chanda Sahib's
which suddenly wit
from before the town.
heroic garrison had l
Europeans and 30 s
killed, besides a large n
ber of wounded.



AUTOGRAPH OF CLIVE.

The gallantry of th
fence, in which the sepoys had taken a most honourable p
made a deep impression throughout India. The British and
allies presently gained further successes at Kāveripāk ca
Arcot and at other places, with the result that in 1752 the Fr
resigned all claims to Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib, having
rendered to the Rājā of Tanjore, was perfidiously executed, at
instigation of Muhammad Ali, by order of the Rājā, who de
apparently to get rid of an embarrassing prisoner.[1] Chanda S
is given a good character by Orme, who describes him as
'a brave, benevolent, humane and generous man, as princes go in Indo
His military abilities were much greater than are commonly found in
generals of India, insomuch that if he had had an absolute command
the French troops, it is believed he would not have committed the mist
which brought on his catastrophe, and the total reduction of his army
The military successes and the death of Chanda Sahib m
Muhammad Ali undisputed Nawāb of the Carnatic. His worthl
and discreditable life lasted until 1795.

Bussy. In 1751 Muzaffar Jang, having been made Nizam, w
escorted to Aurangabad, then treated as the capital, by a distin
guished French officer, usually known as Bussy.[2] On the death

[1] See Wilks, reprint, i. 177.

[2] His full designation was Charles Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Buss
Castelnau. In 1751 he was thirty-five years of age.

Jang and the accession of Salābat Jang in the same
became the adviser and guide of the new Nizam,
government he directed for seven years with eminent skill,
was recalled by Lally. In 1753 Bussy obtained the assign-
of the revenue of the 'Northern Circars' for the payment
troops, but the country had been so devastated by long
fighting that the revenue actually realizable was not
His temporary successful administration of the Deccan
its lasting results and did not directly affect the course
in the Carnatic briefly summarized in the preceding
that Bussy supplied Dupleix with funds to a cer-



DUPLEIX.

Incidentally, he
an immense fortune
and 'in the course
passed from poverty

Dupleix. In
Dupleix became con-
of the failure of his
which had aimed at
Dupleix's expulsion of the
from India, including
and the establishment
as the paramount
He therefore opened
tions with the Madras
whom he at-
to deceive by pro-
a forged imperial grant
him to appoint him
the Carnatic. The
came to nothing.
between the Governments
France and England
much disturbed by the advices received from India. The coun-
officially at peace, the home authorities regarded it as
that their servants should dare to wage unofficial wars
East and enter into alliances with Indian princes on their
account without the slightest authorization. The whole
ambitious policy pursued by Dupleix was directly opposed

(reprint, i. 209) writes that Bussy obtained the 'absolute
of the whole of these provinces, now denominated the northern
Mr. Roberts (*Historical Geography, India*, p. 111) denies that
any unconditional grant of territory, asserting that merely
assignment of revenue was granted for the support of Bussy's troops
long as they were in the service of the Sūbadār'. While Bussy retained
the practical result was the same.
Northern Sarkārs were equivalent to the modern Districts, Guntūr,
Kistna (Krishnā), Ganjām, and Vizagapatam, of the Madras

to the standing orders of the French East India Company
the king's Government. The official documents publish
Cultru permit of no doubt on the subject. In 1752, for ex
the Directors wrote that

'it is not compatible either with the Company's interest or with
conduct on your part to engage in wars in the interior of India . .
and durable peace is the sole end at which you should aim . . . th
of the Company is not to become a land-power', and so on.

Accordingly the Governments of both countries agreed to st
irregular proceedings in India. The French authorities de
M. Godeheu, one of the Directors, to proceed to India with str
orders requiring him to arrange terms of peace. Duplei
recalled and Godeheu was authorized to arrest him if he sho
disposed to resist. Dupleix, however, submitted to the royal
without the slightest attempt at opposition and returned to F
where he lived until 1763. Godeheu has been abused most un
for his action. He simply did his unpleasant duty in carryi
the king's commands expressed in the most positive terms.
might, perhaps, have shown less harshness in his manner, b
is clear that he expected resistance and thought it necessa
be peremptory. Dupleix was not condemned to poverty b
superiors. On the contrary, he was given liberal passage m
and was allowed to retain a *jāgīr* assignment of revenue bring
a large income, although the acceptance of the *jāgīr* had
a breach of French law. It was his misfortune that the al
immediate renewal of war between the two countries in
stopped his Indian income. He had been granted the tit
Marquis in 1752.

The Seven Years' War; Lally. The outbreak of the S
Years' War in 1756 (May 17) again involved the French
English settlements in India in authorized hostilities. In t
days communication between Europe and India was so slow
Count de Lally, the general selected by the French Governm
to drive the English into the sea, did not arrive at Pondich
until April 1758.[1] By that time the relative positions of the
nations in India had changed radically, because the English w
in firm possession of Bengal, and whatever might happen to Ma
their footing in India was secure. At the time that fact,
obvious, was not so well understood, and Lally did not feel conse
of having been sent on a hopeless errand. He even cheri
hopes of conquering Bengal. One of the first steps that he t
was to recall Bussy and so to destroy French influence at
Nizam's court.

[1] His full personal style was Thomas Arthur, Comte de Lally, B
de Tollendal. Two documents invested him with full powers, (1
Lieutenant-Général, commander-in-chief; and (2) as Commissary of
King, empowered to exercise complete control over all persons milit
and civil in the French settlements in India, as well as in Madaga
the Ile de France or Mauritius, and Bourbon. The first bore date Nove
19, and the second December 31, 1756.

failure of Lally. Lally, the son of an Irish exile and a French
was born in 1700, and from a very early age had taken an
part in the continental wars of the period, attaining high
distinction and marked favour at court. In 1756, when
to represent his sovereign in the East, he was regarded
of the wealthiest as well as one of the bravest men in the
h army'. The Government which sent him out evidently
d him to be the best officer available for the purpose, and
ly furnished him with such men, ships, and money as could
ed. At that time France was deeply concerned for the
of Canada, and was obliged to withdraw for that purpose
forces originally intended for India. From the start Lally
pursued by ill luck. The admiral delayed on the voyage most
ously and never showed either a good fighting spirit or
ess to cooperate with the commander-in-chief of the land
The local authorities at Pondicherry, who knew that the
commissary possessed full powers and carried strict orders
ning him to suppress the numerous abuses in the administra-
were deliberately negligent and almost openly hostile. They
made no preparations whatever for war, and had failed even
collect information, although they had been given full notice
ships which arrived long in advance of Lally.[1] He displayed
most feverish energy, and, in spite of want of supplies and every
ginable difficulty, quickly captured Fort St. David and other
h places. His countrymen left his army to starve, so that the
ps became mutinous. The attack which Lally launched against
ras in 1758 was hampered by the apathy of the Pondicherry
ernment, resisted by the able defence of Mr. Pigot and Stringer
rence, and finally stopped by the appearance of a British fleet.
ly, reduced to a condition of starvation and extreme distress,
constrained to give battle to a superior force commanded by
Coote at Wandiwash in 1760, and was utterly defeated. He
ed with difficulty to Pondicherry, which he defended gallantly
May 1760 to January 16, 1761, when he was forced by
to capitulate at discretion. It is said that towards the end
l was so scarce that a dog sold for twenty-four rupees. Lally
as sent to England as a prisoner of war. When he returned to
rance, at the close of hostilities in 1763, his enemies succeeded in
ing him arrested and confined in the Bastille. After two and
half years he was 'convicted of having betrayed the interests
the king, his dominions, and the Company of the Indies; of
buses of authority, &c.', and condemned to death. The sentence
s executed with accompaniments of cruel insult a few days later.

Execution of Lally. Nobody now doubts that his condemna-
n was unjust and brought about by the malignity of his numerous

[1] The above accords with the narrative of Malleson and most authors.
Orme, who was very hostile to Lally, says, on the contrary, that 'no useful
energy was omitted in seconding the impracticable orders of M. Lally'
(reprint, i. 243). Lally certainly succeeded in 'putting everybody's back
up' and had himself to thank for much grudging service.

enemies. It is also true that Lally was ill fitted for service in I
He neither knew nor cared anything about the customs o
country and made no effort to restrain his violent temper.
English writer notes that

'Monsieur Lally is arrived amongst us. Notwithstanding his fallen
dition, he is now as proud and haughty as ever. A great share o
sense, and martial abilities, obscured by a savage ferocity, and an
tinguished contempt for every person that moves in a sphere below
of a General, characterizes this odd compound of a man. . . . He w
generally hated (if I may be allowed the expression) that the very
howled at him. It is a convincing proof of his abilities, the mann
so long and vigorous a defence in a place where he was held in univ
detestation.'

He was equally hated, and with good reason, by the native
the country, whom he had outraged in various ways. After
revolution had begun the parliament of Paris reversed his
demnation and restored his estates to his son, in 1778.

Destruction of Pondicherry. The English victors felt bo
to take stern measures for their own security. When L
captured Fort St. David he had allowed the inhabitants
three days to evacuate the town, which he then destroyed.
was known that his orders directed him to 'demolish all
maritime places that he might take from the English, and
transport all the Europeans he should find in them to the Isl
of Bourbon'. Mr. Saunders, the able President of Madras,
took over Pondicherry, felt the necessity of making his own se
ment safe. The fortifications and most of the buildings in
captured town were accordingly demolished, the inhabitants b
allowed nearly three months in which to move. 'In a few mo
more', to quote Orme's words, 'not a roof was left standing in
once fair and flourishing city.'

Result of the operations. The result of the operations t
briefly sketched may be described in the words of Thornton:

'From the time when Pondicherry fell, the French power in the Carn
was virtually at an end. Gingee [Jinjī] still remained in their possess
as did also Thiagur, which had been restored by the Mysoreans on t
departure: but the former yielded to a force under Captain Stephen Sm
and the latter, after sustaining sixty-five days of blockade and bomb
ment, capitulated to Major Preston. Mahé, and its dependencies on
coast of Malabar, also surrendered; and early in the year 1761 the Fre
had neither any regular force in any part of India,[1] nor any local possessi
except their factories of Calicut and Surat, which were merely trad
establishments.'

Chandernagore had been captured by Clive and Watson in 1757.

The districts near the Godāvarī commonly known as the North
Sarkārs ('Circars'), of which the revenues had been assigned
the Nizam to Bussy, were occupied (Guntūr excepted) in 1758
by a force dispatched from Bengal by Clive and landed at Vizag

[1] Parties of French gunners and other adventurers continued for ma
years to help Haidar Ali and other enemies of the British.

in October 1758.[1] Clive had responded to an appeal mad
the Hindu Rāja of Rājamahendri, and, regardless of risk, ha
Bengal of troops in order to make the expedition a succes
commander, Colonel Forde, a capable officer, completel
the army under French command at Kundūr (Condore
miles from Rājamahendri, stormed Masulipatam, and too
of the districts. Subsequently he returned to Beng
defeated the Dutch of Chinsūra.

Great defeat of France. Orme, when commenting on th
gained in India by the British forces, observes:

'For ten years before, the fortune of France had been declining in eve
part of the world; they had lost their settlements on the coa
half their West India islands, the whole region of Canada; the
of Italy was utterly ruined, and their armies were struggling und
ills in Germany.'[2]

Capture of Manilla. The comprehensive policy of Pitt ha
had yet another blow at the enemy by means of an expeditionar
sent from Madras in 1762 to seize Manilla in the Philippi
lands then belonging to Spain, an ally of France. The combine
naval and military operations on the spot occupied only twel
The town was stormed with small loss to the assailants, an
favourable terms were accorded to the garrison and inhabitant
brilliant feat of arms had no permanent effect, and is no
almost forgotten, because the colony was restored to Spain in th
following year, 1763, when the general peace of Paris was signe
Manilla trophy at Madras is the only visible memorial of th
temporary British occupation of the Philippines, which have bee
annexed by the United States of America as the result of operation
extending from 1898 to 1901.

Causes of French failure. The collapse of the French pow
which had seemed to occupy such a strong position from 17
1761 demands explanation more explicit than that to be deduce
from perusal of a summary narrative of the Anglo-French war
three causes contributed to the result.

The French East India Company was far inferior to its Englis
rival in constitution, enterprise, and wealth. It was merel
a minor department of the king's government and was usuall
administered badly in France. The shareholders, who were assure

The Districts, excepting Guntūr, were ceded formally in 1765; Gunt
being reserved as the *jāgīr* of Basālat Jang, a son of the old Nizam.
came definitely into British possession in 1788, but the cession was n
confirmed finally until 1823.

[2] In 1759 Wolfe captured Quebec in Canada; the French were defeate
at Minden in Germany, and several times at sea. In 1760 Canada submitte
Senegal in West Africa and several West Indian islands, which had be
occupied during the war, were ceded to England at the peace in 17
Although Pitt had resigned in October 1761, the Manilla expedition ha
been planned by him. The student should remember that in these da
Prussia was the ally of England and was supported against her enemi
by British efforts.

of a fixed dividend, took no active part in the management
Company's affairs. The spirit of bold individual and co
effort, so often exhibited in the doings of the English advent
was rarely imitated by the French, and few of their local o
were men of mark. Funds were always deficient. The home G
ment, entangled as it was in unceasing wars in Europe and A
could not furnish the money required for the successful w
of ambitious schemes in India. Except Dupleix, and to
extent Bussy, the Company's representatives at the settl
rarely desired to meddle much with the politics of the adj
states. They were content to hold only so much territory as su
to provide opportunities for unmolested trading on a m
scale. They were not prepared to support bold projects fo
quiring sovereign power over extensive territories. Dupleix hi
was a trader for the greater part of his career, somewhat d
in commercial speculations, and not always successful, bu
politician. His plans of extended dominion are not traceable b
1748, when the possession of Madras and his justifiable elati
the successful defence of Pondicherry inclined him to ente
large ambitions. The compulsory restoration of Madras in
was a severe blow to him. The loss of Arcot in 1751 and of Tr
nopoly in 1752 ruined his prospects. His failure, however, did
depend merely on such local mishaps. His resources never w
adequate for his purposes, and the British conquest of rich Be
in 1757 rendered his dream of empire absolutely incapable
realization, no matter what happened in the course of fights
the extremity of the peninsula. The mastery of the sea, wh
usually, although not invariably, remained in British hands, g
the opponents of the French an advantage which no minor succe
on land could balance. In April 1758, when Lally arrived, he
too late. The position of the French was then hopeless, and wo
have been equally past remedy if Dupleix had not been recalled
1754. His continuance in office would not have made any diff
ence. He was a ruined man before Godeheu's arrival. Buss
influential position at the court of the Nizam afforded little suppo
beyond some financial assistance, to the grand projects of t
governor of Pondicherry. Neither Bussy nor Dupleix singly, n
both combined, had a chance of success against the governme
which controlled the sea routes and the resources of the Gange
valley. It is futile to lay stress upon the personal frailties of D
pleix, Lally, or lesser men in order to explain the French failu
Neither Alexander the Great nor Napoleon could have won t
empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base and co
tending with the power which held Bengal and command of the se
No southern potentate had ever either attained or seriousl
sought to attain the sovereignty of India. Even a local peninsula
empire like that of Vijayanagar in the fifteenth and sixteent
centuries was unattainable in the conditions of the eighteenth
century.

Character and merits of Dupleix. The character and achiev

of Dupleix hardly merit the admiration which they have
The hero worshipped by Malleson and Hamont
of his lustre under close inspection. Thornton's
of him as 'this man, in whose character, ambition,
and duplicity reigned in a degree which makes it impossible
which predominated', although not exactly untrue,
do Dupleix full justice. The ambition, vanity, and
were all there, but ambition in a man who aspires to be
can cannot properly be counted as a vice. The vanity
is undoubted and appears prominently in the intimate
of Ananda Ranga Pillai, now in course of publication.
however, is a weakness common to many great men. The
Wellesley, who resembled Dupleix in ambition and
for his employers, was notoriously vain. The large plans
French governor and the considerable success which he
may be deemed sufficient cover for some personal frailties.
question of duplicity cannot be denied, although it is going
to brand the repudiation of the treaty of La Bourdonnais
as of 'atrocious perfidy'. Dupleix had a good case against
Bertrand, who rated his official powers too high. Putting that
aside, there is no doubt that Dupleix was prone to tortuous
and too ready to use the disreputable trickery practised
the decadent Indian princes of his time. He was content to
Nawab or Subadar, without much regard for veracity. His
in money matters was of a low standard, and his wife,
Portuguese half-caste, was a shameless bribe-taker. Dupleix
not gifted with military talents, and was reputed to be some-
lacking in personal courage. He was a capable administrator,
failed as a statesman mainly because he could not adjust the
of his grand schemes to that of his limited resources. He
gives credit for the dignified fortitude with which he received
abrupt dismissal. The harshness displayed by Godeheu seems
have been due, not to malignity, but to a genuine fear that
Dupleix might revolt.

Rise of Haidar Ali. While in the Peninsula the conflict
between the French and English was in progress and in Bengal
events of equal or greater importance were happening, which will
be narrated presently, a new and formidable power under a Mu-
hammadan prince was growing up in the south. The Mysore
country, roughly equivalent to the mediaeval Hoysala kingdom,
had been included in the empire of Vijayanagar. When that
empire was broken up in 1565 the territory of Mysore gradually
passed under the rule of the Hindu Wodeyar dynasty. That
dynasty in the middle of the eighteenth century had lost its energy,
and its weakness offered an opportunity to a bold adventurer.
Such an adventurer was Haidar (Hyder) Ali, born in 1722, the
son of an officer of the Mysore Government. He secured the favour
of Nanjarāj, the powerful minister, by organizing a small body of
troops better equipped than the rest of the Rājā's army. His
appointment in 1755, when he was thirty-three years of age, as

Faujdār or commandant of Dindigul may be regarded as the beginning of his successful career. At a later date he received the district of Bangalore as his *jāgīr* and became commander-in-chief of the Mysore army. In 1761, the year of Pānīpat and the fall of Pondicherry, he controlled directly more than half of the dominions of his nominal sovereign and actually was ruler of the whole kingdom. His fortunes then underwent a temporary eclipse, but two years later, in 1763, he emerged victorious.

Fate of Khandē Rāo. A cunning Brahman named Khandē Rāo who owed his advancement to Haidar Ali had presumed to join his patron's enemies. When the combination was defeated 'Kundē Row was given up and confined; and his official servants as well as himself were of course plundered to the utmost extent of means. Before it had been determined that Kundē Row should be rendered, a joint message was sent to Hyder from the Raja and the ladies of the palace praying for mercy towards that unfortunate man as a necessary to the adjustment of public affairs. Hyder replied that Kundē Row was his old servant, and that he would not only spare his life but cherish him like a parroquet; a term of endearment common in connexion with women, from that bird being a favourite pet in the harems of the wealthy. When he was afterwards gently admonished of his severity to Kundē Row, he ironically replied that he had exactly kept his promise and that they were at liberty to inspect his *iron cage* and the rice and ragi allotted for his food; for such was the fate to which he had doomed Kundē Row for the remainder of his miserable life.'

The unhappy captive survived for a year. In 1786, when Wilks was writing, the cage containing the dead man's bones was still to be seen in the public bazaar of Bangalore.

Conquest and sack of Bednūr. In the same year, 1763, Wilks saw the defeat of Khandē Rāo, Haidar Ali conquered Bednūr (Bednore), now represented by a petty country town or village called Nagar in the western part of the Mysore State, then a place of such importance that Wilks felt justified in describing it as 'the most opulent commercial town of the east; of miles in circumference, and full of rich dwellings'. The author affirms that the booty 'may, without risk of exaggeration be estimated at twelve millions sterling'.

The huge figure suggests scepticism, but Wilks was in a position to judge and no materials exist for forming a closer estimate.[1] Haidar Ali always spoke of the Bednūr windfall as 'the foundation of all his subsequent greatness'.

Career of Haidar Ali, 1766–9. The death of the Rājā of Mysore in April 1766 still further increased the power of the upstart, who ruthlessly plundered the palace, although he went through the form of recognizing a new Rājā.

The following three years were occupied by obscure complica-

[1] Mark Wilks, F.R.S., colonel and major-general, was born about 1760 and died in 1831. He quitted India in 1808, having been Resident at Mysore from 1803. Previously he had held various offices at Madras. The first volume of his great book was published in 1810.

fights in which Muhammad Ali, the scoundrelly [illegible] the Carnatic; the corrupt and weak government of [illegible] and abettors; the vacillating Nizam; the greedy and ambitious Haidar Ali were concerned in varying [illegible] In 1767 the Nizam and Haidar Ali, who had [illegible] for the moment, were severely defeated at Trinomalai [illegible] Joseph Smith. But the inefficient rogues at the Presi- [illegible] managed the war that early in 1769 Haidar Ali [illegible] the walls of Madras, and dictated a treaty providing [illegible] restitution of conquests, and binding each party [illegible] the other if attacked. Thus ended the First Mysore

[illegible] government. The 'double government' of the Madras [illegible] the Nawāb at that time was quite as bad as or worse [illegible] similar arrangements in force in Bengal between 1757 [illegible] Corruption was rampant, and the country was horribly [illegible] Wilks, who had an intimate knowledge of all the [illegible] concerned, observes that

[illegible] strange combination of vicious arrangements, corrupt influence, [illegible] political incapacity which directed the general measures of the Govern- [illegible] of Madras have been too constantly traced to demand recapitulation'.

CHRONOLOGY

The French Settlements

[illegible] establishment of the French East India Company (La Compagnie [illegible] des Indes orientales)	1664
[illegible] occupation of Pondicherry	1674
[illegible] re-occupation of Pondicherry	1693–9
[illegible] became Governor of Pondicherry	1742
[illegible] recall of Dupleix	1754

The First Anglo-French War

(*War of the Austrian Succession*)

[illegible] Madras captured by the French	1746
[illegible] British attack on Pondicherry repulsed; treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; death of Asaf Jāh, Nizam	1748
[illegible] restoration of Madras to the English; death of Anwaru-d dīn, Nawāb of the Carnatic	1749

The Second Anglo-French War

(*unofficial*)

[illegible] siege of Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib and the French; defence of Arcot by Clive	1751
[illegible] Trichinopoly given up by the French; death of Chanda Sahib	1752
[illegible] recall of Dupleix and end of the war	1754

The Third Anglo-French War
(The Seven Years' War)

War began
Chandernagore taken by Clive and Watson; the Northern Sarkā
occupied by Bussy
Lally arrived in India; captured Fort St. David, &c.; failed to tak
Madras; Col. Forde occupied the Northern Sarkārs
Battle of Wandiwash
Fall of Pondicherry
Capture of Manilla by the British
Peace of Paris; end of the Seven Years' War
Execution of Lally

Haidar Ali and the First Mysore War

Haidar Ali born
Haidar Ali appointed Faujdār of Dindigul
Haidar Ali became master of Mysore
Defeat of Khandē Rāo by Haidar Ali; capture and sack of Bednū
Defeat of Haidar Ali and the Nizam by Col. Joseph Smith at
Trinomalai
Treaty of Madras; end of the war

Authorities

It is unnecessary to describe the well-known general histories by Thornton, Marshman, &c. The small book by P. E. Roberts, *History of India to the End of the E. I. Co.* (in Historical Geography of the British Dependencies, Clarendon Press, 1916), is a generally sound and judicious summary of the history of the period treated in this chapter and of the whole Anglo-Indian history to 1858.

The story of the French Settlements is best told in P. Kaeppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales* (Paris, Challamel, 1908); and H. Weber, *La Compagnie Française des Indes* (Paris, Rousseau, 1904).

The leading authority on Dupleix is P. Cultru, *Dupleix* (Paris, Hachette, 1901). G. B. Malleson's work, *History of the French in India* (London, 1867; 2nd ed., Edinburgh, Grant, 1893), has much merit, but is more French than the French and spoiled by adulation of Dupleix. It is written with very imperfect knowledge of the documents in Paris. The same author's views are expressed on a smaller scale in *Dupleix* (British Statesmen of India, 1890), and reaffirmed by T. Hamont, *Dupleix*, Paris, 1881. *Stringer Lawrence* by Col. J. Biddulph (London, Murray, 1901) is a little book, with an excellent portrait of Dupleix.

Copious details of the Anglo-French wars in the peninsula will be found in R. Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions*, &c. (London, 1778);[1] and in M. Wilks, *Sketches of the South of India*, &c. (London, 1810, 1817). Both those works rank as first-class original authorities. Wilks gives an excellent account of Haidar Ali.

The scarce *Life of Hyder Ally* by Captain Francis Robson (London, Hooper, 1776); and the anonymous compilation, *Memoirs of Count Lally* (London, Kiernan, 1766), have been consulted, besides other works. *Haidar Ali and Tīpū Sultan* by Lewin B. Bowring (Rulers of India, Oxford, 1893) is a valuable book, illuminated by accurate local knowledge.

[1] Orme was corrupt and extortionate; see *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. ii, especially p. 519.

CHAPTER 2

Standard of public life; battles of Plassey and Buxar; the double government'; the famine of 1770.

Standard of public life. In the eighteenth century, during the political period which intervened between the death of Aurangzīb and the establishment of the British supremacy, the character of the princes and other public men of India had sunk to an extremely low level. Nearly all the notable men of that time were lives, stained by gross sensuality, ruthless cruelty, ...ible greed.

Shuj'āu-d dīn. One of the few good men of that ... was Shuj'āu-d dīn, the Sūbadār or governor of the ... provinces from 1725 to 1739, who is recorded to have ...nerally regretted as a man of strict veracity, general ...rity, and unbounded liberality'. His administration ... provinces was marked by impartial justice, and he refrained ... pretensions to independence, being content to remit ... the tribute due to his sovereign at Delhi.

Usurpation of Allahvardī Khān. Sarfarāz Khān, the son and ... of that admirable man, was scrupulous in performing ... ceremonies of his religion, but indifferent and incapable ... rules. At the time of his accession the governor of Bihār ... brave, able, and unscrupulous officer, named Mīrzā Muham... Alī, but better known by his title of Allahvardī (or Alīvardī) ... who had been raised from obscurity by Shuj'āu-d dīn, ... been appointed by him prime minister.

Allahvardī Khān, taking advantage of the troubles resulting ... Nādir Shāh's invasion, and basely ignoring the debt of ... due to the son of his patron, revolted. Sarfarāz Khān ... been killed in the ensuing battle, Allahvardī Khān took ... upon the vacant provincial throne. He had previously ... from the corrupt court of Delhi letters patent appointing ... governor of the eastern provinces. Having secured condona... of his rebellion and usurpation by further lavish presents to ... Muhammad Shāh and his courtiers, he never sent a rupee of tribute ... and ruled until the end of his life as an independent sovereign.

Allahvardī Khān as Nawāb. For eleven years Allahvardī ... was mainly occupied in efforts to repel the plundering ... of the Marāthās, who overran all Bengal to the west of ... Hūgli at one time or another. In 1742, Calcutta being ...atened, the English inhabitants caused to be dug the imperfect ...ification known as the Marāthā Ditch, which long formed the ...dary of the settlement. Two years later the Nawāb secured ...porary respite by the treacherous massacre of Bhāskar Rāo ...dit, with nineteen of his retinue. More definite relief was ...ined in 1751 at the cost of the cession of Orissa (Cuttack) and ... promise to pay twelve lakhs of rupees annually as the *chauth*

of Bengal. Orissa remained under the heel of the band
1803.[1] The Marāthās never attempted to establish
administration in the province, being content to allow
chiefs to rule as they best could, subject to the necessity of
so far as possible the boundless rapacity of the robber stat

Allahvardī Khān in his latter days, being then betwee
and eighty years of age, showed the weakness of an old
bestowing doting affection on his grandson, Mīrzā Mah
Muhammad), infamous under his title of Sirāju-d dau
young man, who was the son of the Nawāb's youngest d
a dissolute woman, was almost wholly evil.[2] In 1750,
had dared to revolt against his grandfather, the dotard
showed no resentment, but confirmed the youth's right of su
and allowed him to control the government. Allahvar
to some extent atoned for his many political crimes by a
moral private life, and by carefully regulated admin
much better than that of most of the contemporary princ
he was in his eightieth lunar year when he died in April 17
for some time previously had become inefficient.

He had declined to act on advice to expel the English m
from his dominions and is reported to have used this rem
language :

'What have the English done against me that I should use t
It is now difficult to extinguish fire on land, but should the sea be i
who can put them out ? '

Nawāb Sirāju-d daula. Sirāju-d daula, then about
eight years of age, succeeded to his grandfather's throne
much serious opposition, although his vices were not
Disregarding the old man's sage counsels concerning the st
who had come across the sea, the young Nawāb longed
the riches of the foreign merchants, which were magnified by
far beyond the reality. Grievances sufficient to give a pl
excuse for war were not wanting. The tiny English fac
Kāsimbāzār (Cossimbazar) near Murshīdābād, the capital of
was easily taken, and Sirāju-d daula moved on Calcutta
army of about 50,000 men. The settlement was ill prepa

[1] The Cuttack (Katak) province was distinct from the part of O
British hands, comprising the Midnapur District and part of H
(Hūglī).

[2] See the tract by S. C. Barman and B. N. Banerji entitled
of Bengal, Calcutta, Mitter & Co., 1915.

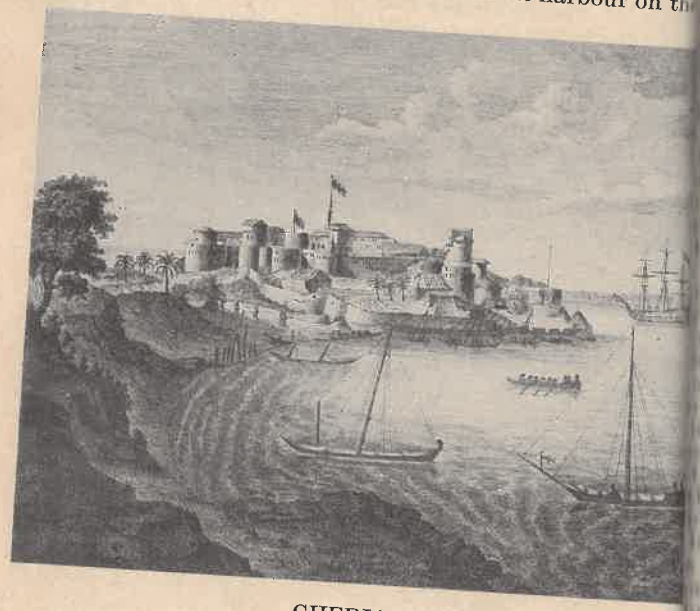
[3] The statement that Sirāju-d daula was only nineteen at the
his death is found in Orme and most books, but Busteed (ed. 4, p. 7
him to be 'about 25 years old' at the time of his accession. Tha
be nearly correct, as he had rebelled six years earlier, and he co
have done so at the age of twelve or thirteen. Ives (p. 154) says
had not quite compleated his 25th year, and but one of his reign, w
thus fell.' Law of Lauriston writes : 'Telle fut la fin de Souradj
à la fleur de son âge, ayant à peine 25 ans' (*Mémoire*, ed. Mart
Paris, Larose, 1913). But he was really 29 or 30 (*Bengal Past and P*
xii. 244).

The fortifications had been neglected and were com-
the private houses which had been allowed to grow up
the walls. 'The garrison did not amount to two hundred ;
than a third of their number were Europeans, and few, if
ever been in action.' The militia was useless and de-
after the siege began. A determined enemy could
the place in an hour. The Nawāb appeared before the
June 16, equivalent to the 17th of Ramazān, the month
Mohammadan fast. On the 19th of that month the outposts
retired. The final capitulation took place in the afternoon
of Ramazān 21. Mr. Drake, the governor, a peaceful
man who at the beginning of the operations, according to
had not betrayed any signs of personal fear, but ex-
person on the ramparts', did not maintain his courage to
He was afraid of being put to death if captured, yielded
useless panic, and slipped away down the river in a ship,
followed by the Commandant and all those who could get on
the vessels. Mr. Holwell, a member of the Council, was
left behind with about 190 Europeans. He too, it was
said, would have embarked if he could, but was unable to
do so. He then made a gallant and determined defence for a
time, until he was forced to capitulate on the afternoon of
the 20th.

'Black Hole' tragedy. It is unnecessary to repeat in
detail the oft-told story of the horrors of the Black Hole. But it
is indispensable to observe that recent attempts to discredit the
narrative as an invention are not well founded. The incident certainly
did occur, although some uncertainty may exist concerning one
or two minor detail. The Nawāb was not personally and directly
responsible for the atrocity. He left the disposal of the prisoners
to his subordinate who forced them all into a stifling guard-room,
about twenty feet square, and not large enough to hold a quarter
of the crowd. Although the Nawāb did not personally order the
inhuman treatment of his prisoners, he did not either reprove
the officers for their cruelty or express any regret at the tragic
result. It is generally stated that 146 were put in for the night,
and that only 23, including one lady, came out alive in the morning ;
but the exact number of the sufferers is not certain, and there is
reason for believing that the prisoners confined included
several women of whom only one survived.

The fugitives at Faltā. The fugitives from Calcutta landed at
Faltā, now in the Diamond Harbour subdivision, the site of an
old Dutch factory on the Hooghly, a considerable distance below
Calcutta, and there passed a miserable time until they were
relieved in the following January. Many perished from a malignant
fever. Mr. Drake dispatched a small vessel with news of the
disaster to Madras, where the tidings caused much excitement
and debate. It so happened that Admiral Watson with a small
fleet squadron was then at Madras, and had Clive, now a colonel,
under him. The squadron had sailed from England early in 1754.

The Gheria expedition. Clive, who had gone home after his successes in the unofficial war in the south, in 1755 and landed at Bombay with three companies of t artillery intending to operate with the aid of the Marāthā the French. The peace or truce negotiated by Godeh Saunders having rendered hostilities against the French imp the civil, naval, and military authorities agreed that the tunity should be seized of rooting out the nest of troul pirates at Gheria or Vijayadurg, an excellent harbour on th



GHERIA FORT.

170 miles south of Bombay. The expedition was entirely su ful, and the important stronghold was captured at the expen no more than twenty killed and wounded on the British About 250 'pieces of cannon' were taken with much other val booty.[1]

Bānkōt, with nine dependent villages, was ceded by the Marā and thus

'became the first British possession on the mainland of western I It was renamed Fort Victoria, and was highly valued as supplying Bo

[1] Surgeon Ives gives a vivid account of the Gheria operations illustr by good plates.

conditions, and also as affording the inhabitants a change of air and

fortress of Gheria was made over to the Marāthās.

Recapture of Calcutta. Watson and Clive sailed from Gheria Madras, where they heard the bad news from Bengal. The authorities, as early as July 20 (Orme), had sent a detachment of 440 men under Major Kilpatrick to Bengal, hoping that it might be in time to relieve Calcutta, the fall of which was not known until August 5. The climate and conditions at Faltā were so deadly that nearly all the men perished. According to Ives, about thirty were alive and ten fit for duty when the larger forces arrived in December. After two months' debate Clive was elected to command the land forces dispatched with Watson's ships. The squadron sailed from Madras on October 16. The voyage was difficult and dangerous owing to the season and the strength of the currents, so that the expedition did not reach Faltā until December 14. A series of successful operations brought the fleet under the walls of Fort William on January 2, 1757. The enemy evacuated the fort without serious resistance, and Admiral Watson replaced the runaway Drake in his office as governor. The town of Hooghly (Hūglī) was then stormed. The admiral dispatched an officer to England with the news in a tiny sloop of 60 tons. At the present time a steamer of 5,000 tons is considered to be rather small to carry the Calcutta mail.

Capture of Chandernagore. The commanders now had to consider the problem of meeting the Nawāb, who was marching from Murshidābād with a large army. Complicated negotiations have been fully narrated and illustrated by documents in the vivid pages of Surgeon Ives. War with France having begun again, the fleet under Watson and the troops under Clive took the French settlement of Chandernagore in March, after a spirited resistance which caused many naval casualties. Clive described the place as being 'a large, rich, and thriving colony', of which the loss was an inexpressible blow to the French Company'. The French inhabitants mostly took refuge in the Dutch settlement of Chinsūra (Hooghly). Later, in 1759, a stern decree commanded the utter demolition of the buildings, public and private. We have seen that the same policy was pursued at Pondicherry when it was taken in 1761. Both towns had to be rebuilt after the peace of 1763.

Plot with Mīr J'afar. The danger from the French having been removed, the admiral renewed his correspondence with the Nawāb, who, in February, had signed a treaty, which each party accused the other of violating.

In June, Clive, supported by Mr. Watts, resolved to depose Sirāj-ud-daula and replace him by Mīr J'afar, who had married Alivardī Khān's sister, and was now engaged in a secret plot against his young master. Mīr J'afar accordingly executed a treaty, which was signed on the British side by Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, and Counsellors Drake and Watts.

The forged treaty. This was the occasion on which devised the notorious trick played on Amīrchand (Omic the rich Sikh banker, who was concerned in the plot, b threatened to divulge it, unless his silence was bought by ment of thirty lakhs, or three millions of rupees, subseq reduced to two millions. After the battle of Plassey Clive d the banker by showing him a forged duplicate containi promise of payment, which was omitted from the original g treaty. His signature was then appended by Mr. Lushington Clive's direction. It is impossible to justify Clive's action matter, and the special pleading of the authors who have atte to defend the fraud is sophistical. Amīrchand at the time na was overwhelmed with disappointment, but the story that his reason is untrue. Subsequently he resumed busines the English, and in his will bequeathed a considerable sum Foundling Hospital in London.[1] He also left money to th shrine of Guru Gobind.

The secret agreement with Mīr J'afar rendered a fight wi Nawāb inevitable. Accordingly, on June 13 Clive wrote letter reproaching him for various delinquencies, and endin the intimation that as the rains were approaching and an could not be received in time, the writer found it necess 'wait upon' his correspondent immediately.

Battle of Plassey. The same day Clive marched north His small force consisted of about 3,000 men in all, with six-pounder guns, and one howitzer, or two, according to The fort at Katwa (Cutwa) was yielded by the enemy w serious resistance, and a welcome addition to the supplies British force was obtained. The Nawāb's army, said to co 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and about fifty guns of heavy c entrenched on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī river near the vill Plassey.[2] On June 23, Clive, after some hesitation whether he fight at once or wait for the close of the rains, encamped in a grove which had partly disappeared in 1780 when Rennell his plan, and has now been wholly carried away by the The traitor Mīr J'afar was on the extreme left of the Nawāb The enemy's intention was to envelop the small force under command, but the manœuvre was not successful. About o'clock in the afternoon the Nawāb's host retreated to its entre camp, being considerably hampered by the cumbrous heavy each of which was drawn by forty or fifty pairs of oxen, ma which were killed. A sudden attack by Eyre Coote caused a g

[1] 18,750 rupees in 1762, then equivalent to about £2,000 (Secre letter to author dated December 5, 1910). The banker, as Orme out, owned the best houses in Calcutta and had many interests there he could not afford to sacrifice.

[2] Clive held a council of war, voting in the majority of thirte postponing action, while Eyre Coote led the minority of seven. writers state that Clive changed his mind an hour later, but the used by Forrest give another account.



rout, the only people on the Nawāb's side who fought at all being a party of 'vagabond Frenchmen' under a leader Sinfray or St. Frais. The rest of the host lacked confid their cause and failed to display courage or any other quality. The pursuit was continued for six miles. The N whole camp with the guns, baggage, elephants, and hor into the hands of the victors, whose loss was extremely amounting to about 22 killed and 49 or 50 wounded. The were supposed to have lost about five hundred killed, in their best general, Mīr Madan, whose death at an early s the contest much discouraged the Nawāb and his troop a battle the fight at Plassey does not deserve critical exami Mīr J'afar took care to do nothing but wait and see whi would win.

Results of the battle. However contemptible the battle appear to a professional soldier, it was sufficient to decide t of Bengal, and, in a sense, of all India.

Sirāju-d daula fled starving and almost naked, but accom by Lutfu-n nisā, his wife or favourite concubine, whose casts a gleam of light on a dark and unpleasant story. Rājmahāl he was betrayed by a man in whose hut he had refuge, and was brought back to Murshīdābād, where Mīr J son Mīran caused him to be brutally hacked to death.

Mīr J'afar received the reward of his treason, and was fo installed as Nawāb by Clive, who exercised the real power. only fair to remember that Mīr J'afar had been grossly insult Sirāju-d daula, and that his treachery was not altogether unpro The new ruler was made to pay well for his promotion. Cliv the other officials concerned obtained large sums for them while the compensation due to the inhabitants of Calcut their losses was calculated on a liberal scale, beyond the imm capacity of the provincial treasury, which contained far les had been supposed. Clive received the gigantic sum of £23 and members of council from £50,000 to £80,000 each. A later Clive also obtained from the Nawāb an assignment of re on the lands south of Calcutta, which was known as 'C *jāgīr*', and brought in nearly £30,000 a year. Dupleix, it m remembered, had enriched himself in similar fashion. transactions were not condemned by the public opinion of th as they would be now, but discussion of their morality ma deferred until Clive's character as a whole comes under re The exactions certainly imposed an excessive burden on the fin of Bengal and from that point of view were politically wrong injurious.

The 'Twenty-four Parganas'. The somewhat complic

[1] The figures concerning the strength of the armies, the details forces, and the number of casualties vary slightly in different contemp authorities. The Nawāb certainly had numbers twenty-fold the Clive, not to speak of his huge park of heavy artillery opposed to C nine or ten little pieces.

which gave the Company the rights of a zemīndār holder, and those of a sovereign, over a large tract near lot to the grant of 'Clive's *jāgīr*' are best described language of a writer in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (*s.v.* Parganas'):

the battle of Plassey in 1757, the Nawāb Nāzim of Bengal, ded to the East India Company a tract of country which ly to the south of Calcutta and comprised about 882 square n as the *zamīndāri* of Calcutta, or the Twenty-four Parganas Under this grant the Company acquired the rights of a *zamīn-* and in the following year they obtained from the emperor's chief *sanad*, which particularized the lands held by them and assessment at Rs. 2,22,958, equivalent to nearly £28,000 at In 1759 the emperor confirmed the grant by a *farmān* which Company a perpetual heritable jurisdiction over the land. Mean- a deed of gift executed in 1759 Lord Clive had been presented, for services rendered by him to the Nawab Mīr Jafar, with of the District due from the Company; and this sum continued to him till his death in 1774, when, by a deed sanctioned by the emperor, the whole proprietary right in the land and revenues to the Company.'

is necessary to add that the Company, after some hesitation controversy, had freely sanctioned the enjoyment of the *jāgīr* by Clive until his death, and accepted the reversion when event should occur.

Defeat of the Shāhzāda and the Dutch. During 1759 the Shāh, or Prince, the Mogul emperor's son, who was in rebellion against his father, invaded Bihār, with the aid of the ruler of Oudh. Clive used effectually the Company's troops to repel the invasion, and to suppress certain rebellions.

The same year saw an unofficial war with the Dutch whose country was officially at peace with England. The endless intrigues of the period included secret negotiations between the Dutch of Chinsura and Mīr J'afar, the Nawāb, who was uneasy under his English masters.[2] The Dutch settlement, it must be remembered, was on the bank of the Hooghly close to the town of that name, a little more than twenty miles above Calcutta. First one Dutch ship arrived. About two months later six more from Batavia, 'crammed with soldiers', appeared in the river, and Mīr J'afar refused a formal reception of the Dutch authorities, who enlisted troops, and addressed a threatening remonstrance to the governor at Calcutta complaining of various grievances. The danger from the British was obvious, but nerve was required to meet a risk

[1] The text of art. 9 of the treaty with Mīr J'afar (1757) is: 'All the land belonging to the south of Calcutta, as far as Kalpi, shall be under the Zamindari of the English Company; and all the Officers of those parts shall be under the Company's jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other Zamindars' (Aitchison, ed. 4, vol. i, p. 185).

[2] Law of Lauriston, like earlier writers, notes that nothing at an Indian court was secret. 'A peine le nabab a-t-il formé un projet qu'il est aussitôt su du dernier de ses esclaves' (*Mémoire*, p. 107).

due to the hostile preparations of a technically friendly
Clive took the responsibility on himself and made all arra
to fight the Dutch both on the water and on the land.
scripted all the European and half-European men in
as well as the Armenians, and so put every person avail
the field, to the number of 700 or 800. Colonel Forde,
returned from the successful expedition to the Northern
was placed in command of the small military force, while
Wilson, with a squadron much inferior to the enemy in
strength, attacked the Hollanders' ships and captured
On the next day, November 25, Colonel Forde achieved
success. At a village called Biderra between Chandernag
Chinsūra he utterly defeated the much larger Dutch force
the command of a French officer. The action, which was
bloody, and decisive', resulted in the complete submission
Dutch and their final withdrawal from the field of Indian
For that reason the battle of Biderra, the very name of
seldom mentioned or remembered, has been reckoned by
Malleson among the fifteen decisive battles of India.
was left in the possession of Holland, which retained it unt
when it was ceded to the British Government in exchange for
settlements in Sumatra. The place now forms part of the
of Hooghly.

Departure of Clive. In February 1760 Clive, who had
long desirous to quit India, sailed for England, making
charge to Mr. Holwell, pending the arrival from Madras
Vansittart, who had been appointed Governor of Bengal. The
Governor assumed office on July 27, 1760. Thus ended
memorable first administration of Clive, which may be rec
as having lasted just three years from February 1757 to Feb
1760. During that time, whatever his official designation
be, his was the moving spirit. He was in his thirty-fifth
'in the midst of life's path', when he departed from the sta
which he had played so brilliant a part.

Tribute to the navy. While the conquest of Bengal and
suppression of Dutch hostility must always be credited m
to Clive, the writers and readers of history often forget and
the large share in the operations taken by the navy. The tran
of the relieving force from Madras to Faltā and up the riv
Calcutta was a triumph of seamanship, the merit of which ca
realized fully only by perusal of the details furnished by Sur
Ives. The skill and gallantry displayed by the naval force in
attack on Chandernagore have never been surpassed, and
defeat of the Dutch ships was an equally brilliant achievemen
Admiral Watson, who had done so much to recover Calcu
unfortunately died of a malignant fever two months after Pla
at the age of forty-three. The character of Charles Wat
remained unstained during thirty years of honourable ser
No action of his calls for either regret or apology. His fri
was justified when he wrote that 'in a word, no man ever li

died more regretted than Admiral Watson'.
received due recognition from his country. A monu-
memory was erected in Westminster Abbey at the
East India Company, and his son was created a

of temptation. We now turn to the doings of men who
deserving of much esteem when alive or much regret
Their failings, which look so black on the page of
in large measure the outcome of the extraordinary
in which they were placed by events wholly unex-
The merchants and factors of the Company, trained
an eye to business conducted in a country where
was wanting to check abuses, and accustomed to
corrupt, unscrupulous officials, whose favour they had
to court by intrigue and bribery, suddenly found them-
masters of an enormous territory and in a position to make
kings. Riches were to be had for the asking, nay,
asking. The sudden affluence thrust upon the Calcutta
by the lavish compensation paid for the losses sustained
of the capture of the city and the huge 'presents'
the new Nawāb as the price of his elevation turned the
all, and led to a scramble for riches which brought into
prominence the evil features of human nature. Gentlemen,
the ordinary course of nature would have been content
successful traders and end their days in respectable
were tempted to sell their souls for gain and so condemned
for the scorn of posterity names tarnished by the stain of
greed. The temptation was great and we must not be
that it was too much for the virtue of most of the persons
to its snares.

unpleasant details of the period, and especially of the years
Clive's absence in England, which, unfortunately, have been
fully, may be passed over lightly in a book like this.
scandals which occurred were almost inevitable, and it is well
remember that they lasted only a short time. From 1772 a
effort was made to reform the administration, and Warren
, as Governor of Bengal from that year to 1774, did all
could then be done to lay the foundation of a better system.[1]

Warren Hastings, when writing to the Directors on November 11, 1773,
observed that 'whatever may have been the conduct of individuals or
of the collective members of your former administrations, the blame
so much imputable to them as to the want of a principle of govern-
adequate to its substance, and a coercive power to enforce it'. He
pointed out the absurdity of trying to govern a great kingdom by
organization of a trading company. 'Among your servants, who for
of years have been left at large in possession of so tempting
, it is not to be wondered at that many have applied it to the
ement of their own fortunes. . . . Few men are inspired with so
a share of public virtue as to sacrifice their interests, peace, and social
to it, and to begin the work of reformation on themselves.' In

Inherent difficulties. The inherent difficulties of the [situation] in which the officials of the Company found themselves were enormous, and could not have been wholly overcome [even] if an Englishman in Bengal had been an angel of light. The governments with which the British had to deal were thoroughly debased. Treachery and murder of the most atrocious kind were almost universally recognized as ordinary methods of state. English officials who had to transact business with the public men of the eighteenth century could hardly help themselves from suffering a certain amount of moral deterioration by yielding to the temptation of meeting guile by guile. The Court of Delhi was hopelessly vicious and corrupt. Every one of the Pādshāhs or so-called emperors after the death of Bahādur Shāh in 1712 was absolutely worthless, and most of them were more than worthless. The ministers were utterly unscrupulous, nobody pretended to entertain patriotic sentiments. The law courts, as a rule, were no better, and it would be difficult to find an honest man among the prominent Indian notables of the time, whether in the north or in the south.

The legal position of the personages claiming authority was confused and obscure. For instance, the ruler of Bengal whom the English overthrew at Plassey was supposed to be the subject tributary of the Pādshāh of Delhi. As a matter of fact he was neither, and the theoretical suzerainty of the Great Mogul was valuable only as a saleable commodity. Everybody and everything was on sale. Those disagreeable facts must be realized before judgements of unrelenting severity are passed on the conduct of the foreigners who had to work in such an atmosphere, and deal with authorities who never actually were what they pretended to be. The political position was further complicated by the existence of the predatory Marāthā power. The Marāthā government lived by and for plunder. It would be difficult to exaggerate the wickedness of the leaders of the Marāthā hordes and their allies the Pindārīs. The rapid introduction of good government into a country so disorganized was impossible. The Company could not possibly find competent rulers either in its own ranks or among the natives of the country. So we come back to the proposition that the disorders of the state in the years following the revolution caused by the battle of Plassey were unavoidable to a large extent. Grapes cannot be gathered from thistles, and thistles were an abundant crop in the India of those days.

Situation in 1760. In the beginning of 1760 both the Shāh and the Marāthās again invaded the provinces which were reduced to a state of intense distress. Mīr J'afar was utterly incompetent to deal with his difficulties, and Clive's intention to leave to him all the responsibilities of government, while the English shared a later letter (December 18) he writes: 'God forbid that the government of this fine country should continue to be a mere chair for a train succession of indigent adventurers to sit and hatch private fortunes' (Gleig, i. 368, 377).

[to] commerce, which was our proper sphere and our [gain] in these parts', was frustrated. The situation when [Clive] took over charge in July 1760 is well described [by him]:

'The governor found the treasury at Calcutta empty, the English [army] on the very brink of mutiny, and deserting in multitudes [daily]; the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay totally dependent [on Bengal] for pecuniary resources; the provision of an investment suspended; the income of the Company scarcely sufficient for [the] expenses of Calcutta; the allowance paid by the Nabob for [several] months in arrear; and the attainment of that, as well [as the] large balance upon his first agreements, totally hopeless. Some [means] by which the revenue of the Company could be placed on a level [with] expenditure was indispensable. . . . From the administration of [Mīr Jafar] resigned as he was to a set of unworthy favourites—old, indolent, [and] estranged from the English, and without authority—no other [measures] were to be expected than those which had already been [pursued].'

Mīr Kāsim appointed Nawāb. The Calcutta authorities, [being] forced to make some change, resolved to transfer the control [of] administration to the Nawāb's son-in-law, Mīr Kāsim, who [appeared] to be the most worthy member of the ruling family, [to] leave Mīr J'afar on the throne as nominal Nawāb. Arrangements were made accordingly. Mīr J'afar's son, Mīran, a debauched [and] tyrannical man, having died suddenly, and perhaps been [assassinated], Mīr J'afar retired, and Mīr Kāsim became Nawāb. [The] English promised military aid to their nominee, recouping [themselves] by securing the cession of the districts of Burdwan, [Midnapur], and Chittagong for the payment of the troops—the [first] instance of the system of 'subsidiary alliances' adopted later [on a] large scale by Lord Wellesley.[2]

The story of Mīr Kāsim. So far the arrangements made might [be] justified as offering a prospect of better government and the [restoration] of order.

The 'investment' meant the supply of goods for export in the trade [of the] Company. Cash advances were made to the weavers and others [who] supplied the goods.

[2] Treaty dated September 27, 1760; articles 4 and 5 are: '(4) The [Europeans] and *Telingas* [Madras sepoys] of the English Army shall be [ready] to assist the Nawab, Mir Mahomed Kasim Khan Bahadur, in the [management] of all affairs; and in all affairs dependent on him they shall [exert] themselves to the utmost of their abilities. (5) For all charges of [the] Company and of the said Army, and provisions for the field, &c., the [districts] of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong shall be assigned, and *Sanads* [grants] for that purpose shall be written and granted. The Company [to] stand to all losses and receive all the profits of these three countries, [but] we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid' (Aitchison, ed. 4, vol. i, p. 215). The current official story that Mīran was killed by lightning which fired his tent, was disbelieved by Jean Law [de] Lauriston, who was of opinion that Mīran was assassinated, the tent being set on fire during a thunderstorm to conceal the crime (*Mémoire*, [ed.] Martineau, Paris, 1913, p. 452).

restoration of financial solvency. They were spoiled and r
suspect by the greed of the majority of the Company's
who exploited the change in the government to their
profit. The new Nawāb was a man far more competent t
father-in-law, and might have done well if he had bee
a fair chance. Vansittart and Warren Hastings, then a you
who had been brought into the Council in 1761, were anx
be just, but they were outvoted by their greedy colleagu
wrongfully claimed a right to carry on the inland trade in
produce free of duties, while their Indian competitors shou
to pay them.[1] The claim, which was utterly baseless, was e
with much oppression and disregard of justice. The Nawāb
an escape by moving his court to Monghyr (Mungir) much
up the Ganges, where he occupied the ruinous fort then h
by tigers, and evaded the demands of the Council by anno
that the trade of all parties alike should be free of duties.
and the other members of the majority of the Council disa
the Nawāb's proposals, which Vansittart and Hastings h
proved. A Mr. Ellis stationed at Patna was especially
in his opposition to the Nawāb, who was driven into hos
Mīr Kāsim was ' rendered frantic ', to use Vansittart's word
in October 1763 retaliated in a barbarous fashion by the ma
of all the Europeans in his power, save one, Dr. Fullarton.
was among the victims, who numbered about 200. The ma
about 150, were slaughtered at Patna by a brutal foreign
turer named Walter Reinhard, commonly known by his nick
of Sombre, Sumroo, or Samrū, who survived until 1778.
widow, the famous Bēgam, had a long and adventurous
Mīr Kāsim, defeated in several engagements, took refuge in
and old Mīr J'afar was brought back as Nawāb. He di
January 1765, and was succeeded as titular ruler by a son
Najmu-d daula. All these changes were utilized by the ma
of the Council as opportunities for making fortunes by the exa
of huge ' presents ' from each successive prince.[2] Even Vansi
who had held out for a time, yielded to the temptation and
five lakhs of rupees in 1762. Warren Hastings did not soil his h

Battle of Buxar. The notice of Mīr Kāsim's fate in the
ceding lines has anticipated the story of his final military d
which was accomplished at the battle of Buxar, on Octobe
1764. Mīr Kāsim, whose army was more efficient than was
in those times, had the half-hearted support of the titular emp
Shāh Ālam and the Nawāb-Vizier of Oudh. The British
was commanded by Major Munro, afterwards Sir Hecto
king's officer, who had come from Bombay with reinforceme

[1] The Company was concerned only with the foreign trade. The
to conduct the inland trade duty-free was based on a forced and inequi
interpretation of the *farmān* of Farrukhsiyar, which was loosely wo

[2] For the details as disclosed to the House of Commons committ
1773 see Mill, ed. 5 (1858), vol. iii, pp. 257–60. The student should
that the name of Warren Hastings is *not* in the list.

-5476

suppressed a sepoy mutiny with terrible but necessary
He led an army of 7,072 men, including 857 Euro-
and had a train of artillery comprising 20 field-pieces.
of the allied enemies was variously estimated as
from 40,000 to 60,000 men. The fight, which was
contested, lasted from nine in the morning until noon,
the enemy gave way. Pursuit was stopped by the destruction
bridge of boats two miles distant from the battle-field. The
left 2,000 dead on the ground, in addition to about the same
drowned. The British lost 847 in killed and wounded,
figure for an Indian battle. The victory, which was abso-
decisive, completed the work of Plassey. The emperor
fled, and came under British protection. In the following
the fortresses of Chunar and Allahabad were captured,
the power of Shuj'āu-d daula, the Nawāb-Vizier of Oudh,
broken for ever.

Appointment of Clive. The Directors in London were aghast
news of the misrule in India, and on April 26, 1764, avowed
they were ' at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order
this confusion '. They were obliged, under pressure from the
proprietors, to invoke the aid of Clive, who had been created
Clive of Plassey in the peerage of Ireland as a reward for
earlier services.[1] A Select Committee was appointed to assist
and the Directors could ' only say, that "we rely on the zeal
abilities of Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the Select Committee
remedy " the evils of the state.
Clive arrived at Calcutta on May 3, 1765, armed with strict
instructions and ample powers to reform abuses.

Contemporary events. Before proceeding to study the pro-
ings of Clive's second administration from May 1765 to
January 1767, the reader should bear in mind the course of
contemporary events outside of Bengal, and remember that in
the Marāthā power had been temporarily shattered at
that in the same year French influence had been finally
ed by the capitulation of Pondicherry, and that Haidar
had become supreme in Mysore. The battle of Buxar in 1764
closed the story of the military conquest of Bengal and Bihār,
from that date were substantially British territory, however
fact might be obscured by confused legal fictions concerning
Pādshāh of Delhi, the Sūbadār of Bengal, and other personages
real position differed widely from that officially ascribed
them. During the five years of Clive's absence from India
1) the situation had changed radically, and strong measures
needed to check the gross abuses prevalent and to prepare
way for a decently ordered administration.

[1] Governments in the eighteenth century were slow to confer a peerage
the United Kingdom, or rather of Great Britain (England and Scotland),
carried with it a seat in the English House of Lords. An Irish peer
sat in England as a commoner and could become a member of the
House of Commons, as Clive actually became.

COIMBATORE

Covenants and inland trade. Clive brought with hi[m] members of the Select Committee nominated to assist him, other two, General Carnac and Mr. Harry Verelst, being employed in Bihār and at Chittagong respectively.[1] The [Court] of the Directors commanding the instant cessation of their ser[vants'] interference in the inland trade and the execution of cov[enants] prohibiting the acceptance of 'presents' except within [certain] narrow limits, although received in January, had been laid [before] by the Calcutta councillors, who simply ignored them. [Clive] insisted on the immediate execution of the new covenants, [and] in accord with the Select Committee, disobeyed and tried to [evade] the perfectly clear orders from home concerning the partic[ipation] of the Company's servants in the inland trade, which was for[bidden] absolutely by the Directors. Clive and his colleagues [were] the opinion that in the circumstances then existing the l[imited] amount of lawful trade open to the servants of the Compan[y was] insufficient to provide them with adequate remuneration. [The] salaries, as is well known, were mostly of nominal amount. [The] Directors and proprietors of stock had always displayed a [great] dislike to the appearance of a heavy charge for salaries on th[e debit] of the accounts. They took no heed of the enormous perq[uisites] often amassed by individual officials, so long as there w[as no] public scandal. Clive and his colleagues accordingly di[d not] propose the obvious remedy of assigning adequate salaries [to] officers and prohibiting them altogether from practising [trade]. That remedy had to come a little later, but at that tim[e the] Directors could not have been persuaded to sanction it.

The Society of Trade. Clive unfortunately was induc[ed] his colleagues to accept and defend a fantastic scheme for enr[iching] the senior servants of the Company, civil and military, by [institu]tuting a Society of Trade, for carrying on the forbidden i[nland] trade in salt, betel-leaf, and opium. The operations of the S[ociety] in practice were almost confined to salt, in which a strict mo[nopoly] was created. The enormous profits were shared in certain p[ropor]tions by the Company and the officers concerned. Clive h[imself] held five shares, which he sold in 1767 to his colleagues, M[unro], Sumner, Verelst, and Sykes, for the considerable sum of £3[7,000]. The Directors rightly disallowed absolutely the monstrous sc[heme], but full effect was not given to their orders until Sept[ember] 1768. The proceedings relating to the business were too co[mplex] cated for detailed exposition in this place. The reader w[ho is] curious about the particulars of an unpleasant affair will [find] everything concerning it in the pages of Bolts on one side a[nd] Verelst on the other.

[1] The Select or Secret Committee took charge of all political and f[oreign] affairs, thus becoming the parent of the Foreign Department o[f the] Government of India. Ordinary administration remained in the ha[nds of] the Council.

[2] Bolts gives the text of the deed without date, which must have [been] in 1767.

Political arrangements. The victory of Buxar in 1764 had [relieved] Clive from the necessity of directing military operations [and] had left him free to devote his attention to political and [administrative] problems. The chief political questions, all closely [connected] one with the other, concerned the Nawāb or Sūbadār of [Bengal], Shāh Ālam, the titular emperor or Pādshāh, and Shuj'āu-d[-Daula], the Nawāb-Vizier of Oudh. The new Nawāb of Bengal [was] disposed of by converting him into a titled pensioner stripped [of] power. Clive in one of his letters states that the young man [was] pleased with the arrangement and observed, 'Thank God, [I] now have as many dancing-girls as I please'. Nevertheless, [he] insisted on keeping up the fiction of the 'double government', [by] conducting the administration in the name of the Nawāb, [whose] authority was vested in two Nāibs or Deputies, Muhammad [Rezā] Khān for Bengal, and a Hindu, Mahārājā Shitāb Rāi, for [Bihār]. The titular emperor, who was not in a position to have a [will] of his own and was thankful to get what he could, was pro[vided] for by the treaty of Allahabad. The districts of Allaha[bad] and Korā, the latter being often described as Korā (Corah) and [Kurrah],[1] were cut off from Oudh and assigned to Shāh Ālam, [who] was also granted an annuity of twenty-six lakhs of rupees [(£260,000)] from the revenues of Bengal. The Mogul, in return, [was] required to resign all further claims on the revenue and to [confirm] formally the right of the Company to the territories in [its] possession.[2] He thus became in substance a dependant and [pensioner] of the Company.

Grant of the Dīwānī. Shāh Ālam was further directed to grant [to] the Company the Dīwānī of the whole of Bengal, Bihār, and [Orissa]. The province last named then included only Midnapur [and] part of the Hooghly District, the rest of Orissa or Cuttack [(Katak)] being in Marāthā hands since 1751. The Grant of [the] Dīwānī in 1765, as it is commonly called, meant that the [emperor], so far as he could, conferred on the Company the appoint[ment] of Diwān or coadjutor to the Nawāb in all matters connected [with] the revenue.[3] The general administration was still in the [hands] of the officers who posed as Deputies of the Nawāb. The [Company] did not take up the duties and responsibilities of Dīwān

[1] Korā is a town in the Fatehpur District, about 100 miles NW. of [Allahabad]. It was the capital of a *sarkār* or District in Akbar's time. [Kurrah], about 40 miles NW. of Allahabad, is a small town in that district, [which] played a considerable historical part in earlier ages. Some of the [early] English documents speak of 'Corah' only, but the territory often [is described] as 'Corah and Kurrah' (Strachey, *Rohilla War*, p. 37 *n.*).

[2] Namely, the Twenty-four Parganas near Calcutta, the Districts of [Burdwan], Midnapur, and Chittagong; and the Northern Sarkārs (Circars).

[3] Lord Mahon comically, although with all gravity, observes that 'Clive [obtained] from the fallen Emperor a Dewannee or public deed conferring [on] the English Company the sole right of administration throughout the [provinces] of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar' (*The Rise of our Indian Empire*, [1858], p. 85).

until seven years later. The so-called 'grant' was a paper t
action designed to give a show of legality to the Company's irr
position. English Supervisors appointed to superintend
operations of the Indian revenue officials were not a success.

Combination of officers. In 1766 a dangerous mut
combination of the British officers of the Company's mi
forces, not quite amounting to open mutiny, took place, w
needed Clive's strong nerve for its suppression, and seem
one time to threaten a revolution. The Directors, eager for fin
economies, insisted on the field allowance or *batta* to the of
being stopped. It had been doubled by Mīr J'afar, and the
pany regarded the increased charge as a serious grievance.
the other hand, many of the junior officers could not live on
small pay without the allowance, and undoubtedly had substa
grounds of complaint when the extra pay was suddenly sto
Many of the Company's civil servants sympathized with
officers and subscribed in support of their cause. The army
been organized by Clive in three brigades stationed respect
at Monghyr, Allahabad, and Bankipore near Patna. The off
of the third brigade at Bankipore remained loyal, but tho
the other two brigades arranged to resist the orders for the sto
of the allowance by throwing up their commissions simultaneo
hoping that the pressure thus exercised would compel Clive
the Select Committee to refrain from enforcing the Direc
orders. The European privates and the Indian sepoys on the w
kept clear of the combination. Clive met the danger with
flinching firmness and within a fortnight had conquered it.
of the officers submitted and were allowed to remain in the ser
but a few were treated with vindictive severity and shippe
Europe with the accommodation provided for common sa
a harsh measure of at least doubtful legality. Clive deserves
credit for the resolution which he displayed in a perilous emerge
but the details of the hard cases are not pleasant reading.

Departure and death of Clive. At the beginning of
Clive felt himself free to return to England, which he had qui
unwillingly. While making no direct personal profit from the
he provided handsomely for his surgeon and two other mem
of his personal staff by dividing among them his large pr
derived from the Society of Trade. He stated, and no d
truly, that he himself was nearly six thousand pounds poorer
when he left England.

In February 1767 he left India for ever. The remaining se
years of his life, largely occupied by party conflicts at the I
House and in Parliament, concern his biographer rather than
historian of India and need not be further noticed here. Th
years were clouded by depression resulting from painful mala
and enhanced by the excessive use of opium taken to relieve
suffering. In 1774 he cut his throat at his London house in Berk
Square.

Verelst and Cartier. He left the territories in his charge

of perfect outward tranquillity to his successor, Mr. Harry
an experienced man of considerable ability, and superior
character to many of his colleagues and contemporaries. Two
later Verelst handed on the government to Mr. John Cartier,
also enjoyed a good reputation and retired with a fortune
not modest in those days.[1] Although Clive's exertions had
something to clear the air, grave abuses continued to exist,
appear from the next chapter.

Policy and character of Clive. The acts commonly specified
those staining Clive's reputation are the deception practised
Aminchand (Omichund) and the acquisition of an immense
sum by accepting from Mīr J'afar cash 'presents' on a vast
to the amount of £234,000 besides the *jāgīr* worth about
000 a year. It is needless to discuss minutely the forged
business. Although Clive refused to repent of his action,
certain writers have tried to justify, the trick unquestionably
indefensible, both morally and politically. The matter of
presents' and the *jāgīr* is much more complicated when due
deration is given to the time and circumstances. Clive felt
as a conqueror he was entitled to help himself freely to prize-
which in those days and long afterwards was claimed by
various armies in a way which now would be deemed discreditable.
He urged in his defence before Parliament that the Directors
masters had not merely approved his acts but had sent him
again to India, in order to retrieve their affairs by his 'zeal
abilities'. They had not only condoned the acceptance of
jāgīr. His enjoyment of the grant for a term of years was
finally sanctioned and the reversion of it to the Company was
ured. In 1773, Clive, when examined before the committee
the House of Commons, argued that

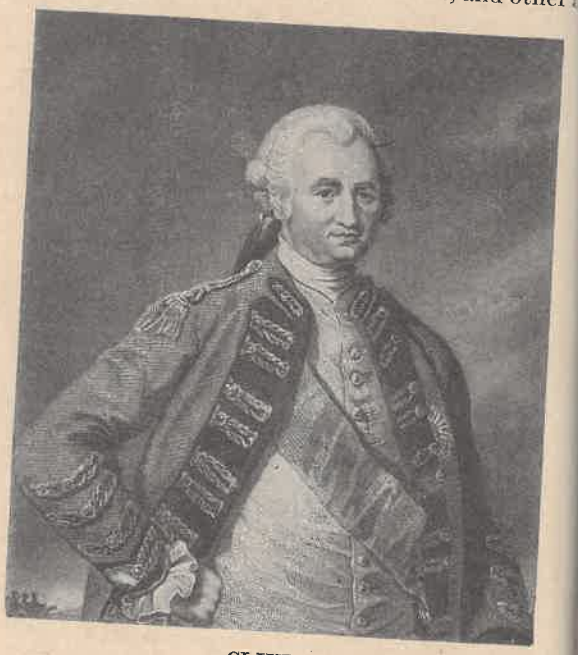
> that time (1757) there were no covenants existing: the Company's
> ants were at liberty to receive presents: they always had received
> nts. . . . He never made the least secret of the presents he had received:
> unicated the Court of Directors with it: and they, who are his
> ers, and were the only persons who had a right to object to his
> ving those presents, approved of it.'

The propositions thus stated are all true in fact, and the defence,
far as it went, was sound. The House of Commons, while ex-
ssing general disapproval of the practice current sixteen years
ier, refrained from formulating a personal condemnation of
ve and wisely recorded their judgement that 'Robert, Lord
, did at the same time render great and meritorious services
his country'.

Clive's proceedings respecting the Society for trade in salt,
bacco, and tobacco formed by him and the Select Committee
1765 and continued in operation until September 1768, in defiance
the Directors' repeated positive orders and in violation of his

[1] Both Verelst and Cartier are given good characters by an anonymous
iter in 1790, as quoted by Miss Monckton Jones (*Warren Hastings in
engal*, 1772–4, p. 114 *n.*).

own express undertaking to abstain from trade, seem to
more discreditable than his early acceptance of excessive 'pr
It would be impossible to justify that judgement without
upon a lengthy disquisition unsuitable for a book like th
It must suffice to say that for once I agree with Mill in re
the affair of the Society as being 'in its own nature sha
and in rejecting as altogether unconvincing the elaborate arg
adduced in its defence by H. H. Wilson, Verelst, and other a



CLIVE.

It appears to me impossible for the impartial historian to
that Clive was too willing to meet Asiatic intrigues on their
ground; too greedy of riches, and too much disposed to
delicate scruples in their acquisition. That verdict undoub
tarnishes his memory and precludes the historian from acc
to him the unqualified admiration which his heroic qualities
to exact. His most outstanding characteristic was an infl
will which guided his conduct to success in affairs, whether mi
or civil. His military genius and his gift for leadership

[1] For a full statement and an ample supply of documents see the
of Bolts on one side and that of Verelst on the other.

fully manifested both in the peninsula and in Bengal. His
as a statesman were exhibited chiefly in his second adminis-
when he confronted extraordinary difficulties with un-
ing courage. The merits and demerits of that administration
will continue to excite differences of opinion nearly as
as those expressed in his lifetime. His affection for the
scheme of 'double government' was largely influenced
desire to veil from rival European states the real position
British masters of Bengal as 'the umpires of Hindostan'.[1]
policy is expressed with perfect clearness in a letter signed
ve and his colleagues on January 24, 1767:

may, in our present circumstances, be regarded as the spring which,
ed under the shadow of the Nabob's name, secretly gives motion
vast machine of government, without offering violence to the original
tution. The increase of our own, and diminution of his power, are
d without encroachment on his prerogative. The Nabob holds in
ef, as he always did, the whole civil administration, the distribution
ces, the disposal of offices, and all those sovereign rights which
titute the essence of his dignity, and form the most convenient barrier
st us and the jealousy of the other European settlements.'[2]

argument advanced in the last clause is an inadequate founda-
for such a structure of make-believe. There is no reason to
ve that anybody was deceived by all the pretending. It
wever, proper to note that the French, although beaten and
ven on Indian soil, still retained a naval base at the islands
Bourbon and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, and consequently
re in a position to threaten trouble. From the Indian point of
Clive's second administration may be contemplated with
ch satisfaction as the beginning of the end of an evil time.
om the British point of view the controversy concerning his
rits and defects is best closed by the resolution of the House
Commons quoted above.

famine of 1770. The administration of Mr. Cartier, other-
of little interest, was signalized by the famine of 1770, a
ster which, as Hunter truly observed, is 'the key to the history
Bengal for the succeeding forty years'. The famine was due
the early cessation of the rains in 1769, which caused the minor
mon crop of rice to wither and prevented the growth of the
ter crop due for cutting in December. The lack of roads and the
unfavourable circumstances of the time sufficed to produce
famine of unsurpassed intensity from that one failure of rain.
ma and the south-eastern districts escaped nearly unhurt.
rest of Bengal and Bihār both north and south of the Ganges
s rendered desolate, 'a silent and deserted province'. Yet the
ine was completely over, so far as the crops were concerned,
September 1770, and in the three following years the produce

[1] The remarkable phrase used by Verelst on March 28, 1768 (*A View*, &c., p. 41). Nearly three years earlier Clive had written 'The Company ...reigns in India' (ibid., p. 252).
[2] Verelst, *op. cit.*, App., p. 41.